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LABOR OMNIA VINCIT

**REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
SIXTY-EIGHTH CONVENTION
OF THE**

**American Federation
of Labor**

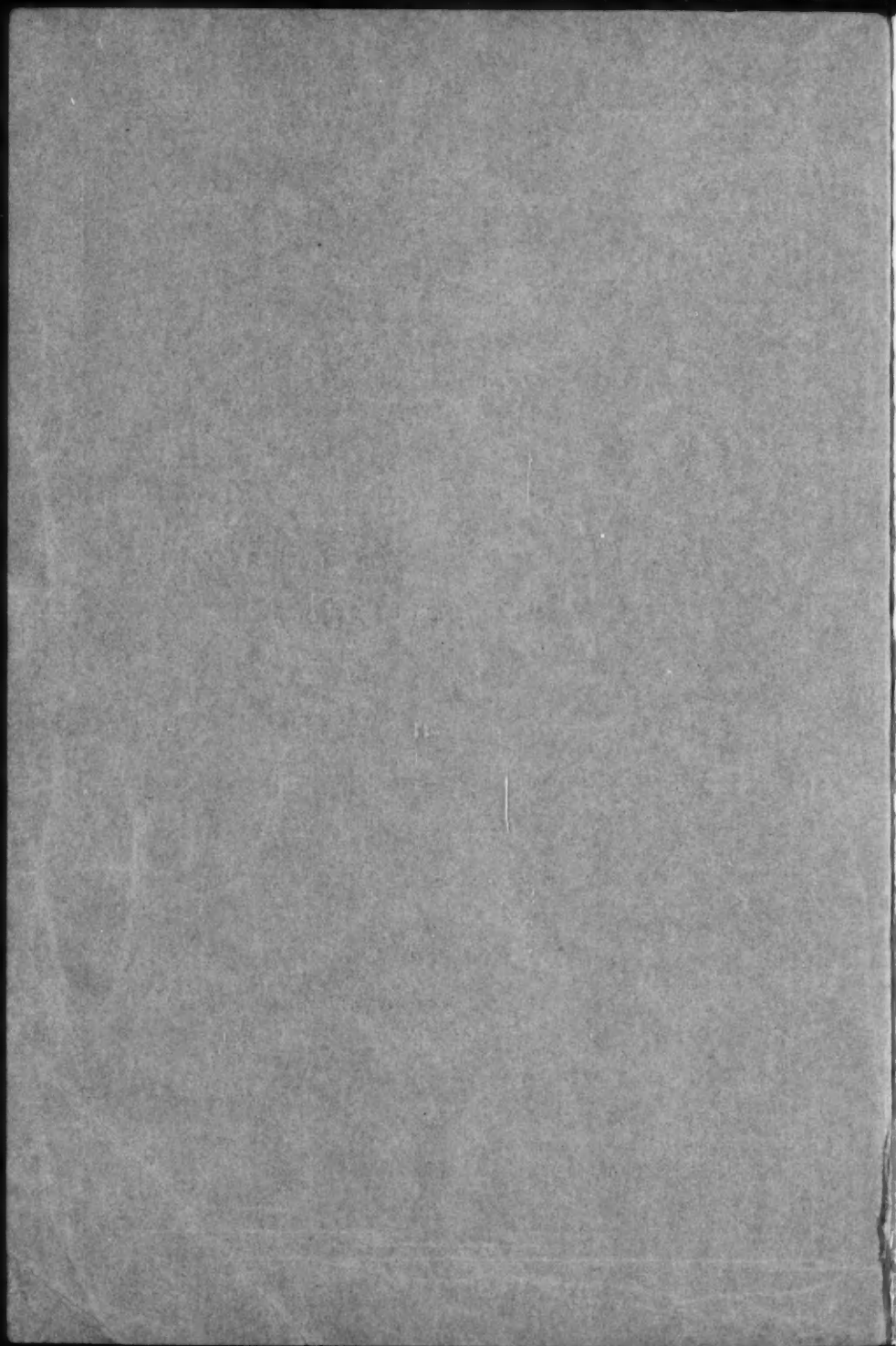
HELD AT

ST. PAUL, MINN.

OCTOBER 3 TO 10, INCLUSIVE

1949

PUBLISHED BY DIRECTION OF AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR



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EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1949

| | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------------|
| WILLIAM GREEN..... | | <i>President</i> |
| | Washington, D. C. | |
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| | Chicago, Illinois | |
| DAN W. TRACY..... | | <i>Thirteenth Vice-President</i> |
| | Washington, D. C. | |

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-EIGHTH CONVENTION

| ORGANIZATIONS | No. of Delegates | No. of votes of each Delegate | NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES |
|---------------|------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|
|---------------|------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

| | | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|--|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | 79 Paul Dulzell, 45 West 47th St., New York, N. Y. |
| | | | 79 George Heller, care American Federation of Radio Artists, 2 W. 45th St., New York, N. Y. |
| Actors and Artistes of America, Associated | 5 | | 78 Reuben Guskin, care Hebrew Actors' Union, 31 E. 7th St., New York, N. Y. |
| | | | 78 Dewey Barto, care American Guild of Variety Artists, 1697 Broadway, New York, N. Y. |
| | | | 78 Pat Somerset, care Screen Actors' Guild, 7046 Hollywood Blvd., Hollywood, Calif. |
| Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and | 2 | | 29 Joseph A. Mullaney, 41-32 Benham St., Elmhurst, L. I., N. Y. |
| | | | 28 C. W. Sickles, 7810 16th St., N. W., Washington, D. C. |
| | | | 109 Lester Washburn, 429 W. Michigan St., Milwaukee 3, Wis. |
| | | | 109 George Grisham, 429 W. Michigan St., Milwaukee 3, Wis. |
| Automobile Workers of America, International Union United | 5 | | 109 Anthony Doria, 429 W. Michigan St., Milwaukee 3, Wis. |
| | | | 108 Earl Heaton, 325 Standard Office Bldg., Decatur, Ill. |
| | | | 108 Frank Evans, 11307 Kinsman Rd., Cleveland, Ohio. |
| | | | 190 Herman Winter, 2719 N. Wilton Ave., Chicago 14, Ill. |
| | | | 190 Wm. F. Schnitzler, 2719 N. Wilton Ave., Chicago 14, Ill. |
| | | | 190 James G. Cross, 2719 N. Wilton Ave., Chicago 14, Ill. |
| Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America..... | 7 | | 189 Curtis R. Sims, 2719 N. Wilton Ave., Chicago 14, Ill. |
| | | | 189 Wm. McGuern, 1340 N. 79th St., Seattle, Wash. |
| | | | 189 Seb. Ollinger, 5576 Samver Road, Cincinnati 24, Ohio. |
| | | | 189 Peter H. Olson, 2923 Columbus Ave., Minneapolis, Minn. |
| | | | 120 William C. Birthright, 1141 N. Delaware St., Indianapolis 7, Ind. |
| | | | 120 Patrick H. Reagan, 509 Seward St., Rochester, N. Y. |
| Barbers, Hairdressers and Cosmetologists' International Union of America, The Journeymen | 5 | | 120 John B. Robinson, 5524 Miller Ave., Dallas 6, Tex. |
| | | | 120 Alvin L. Holt, 4942 Navarro Ave., Los Angeles 32, Calif. |
| | | | 120 Fred Scifidi, 1739 Boston Road, New York 60, N. Y. |

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| ORGANIZATIONS | No. of Delegates | No. of votes of each Delegate | NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of..... | 1 | 16 | Leo Abernathy, 303 Bessemer Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa. |
| Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of..... | 3 | 34 | John Pelkofer, 2922 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill. |
| | | 33 | A. J. Eberhardy, 2922 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill. |
| | | 33 | George Edgerton, 21 Sanford St., Springfield, Mass. |
| Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of..... | 7 | 215 | Charles J. MacGowan, 570 New Brotherhood Bldg., Kansas City, Kans. |
| | | 215 | William J. Buckley, 565 New Brotherhood Bldg., Kansas City, Kans. |
| | | 214 | J. N. Davis, 6411 Washington, Kansas City, Kans. |
| | | 214 | Harry Nacey, 147 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y. |
| | | 214 | George Nolan, 36 S. Peoria, Chicago 7, Ill. |
| | | 214 | Russell Berg, Room 212, 117 Fourth St., S. E., Minneapolis 14, Minn. |
| | | 214 | O. W. Mursener, 570 New Brotherhood Bldg., Kansas City 11, Kans. |
| | | * | Earl Ashbrook, 570 New Brotherhood Bldg., Kansas City, Kans. |
| Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of..... | 4 | 119 | John B. Haggerty, 302 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington 1, D. C. |
| | | 119 | Robert E. Haskin, 4911 Waveland Ave., Chicago, Ill. |
| | | 119 | Miss Mary G. Morley, 406 Old South Bldg., Boston 8, Mass. |
| | | 118 | Joseph Denny, 63 Park Row, Room 905, New York, N. Y. |
| Boot and Shoe Workers' Union..... | 5 | 100 | John J. Mara, 246 Summer St., Boston 10, Mass. |
| | | 100 | Frank W. Anderson, 5734 Belle Plaine Ave., Chicago 34, Ill. |
| | | 100 | George W. Lawson, Labor Temple, St. Paul, Minn. |
| | | 100 | Hartley B. Hutchison, 200 Metropolitan Bldg., Milwaukee, Wis. |
| | | 100 | Louis Peterson, St. Francis Hotel, St. Paul, Minn. |
| Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America..... | 6 | 109 | Harry C. Bates, 815-23 15th St., Washington 5, D. C. |
| | | 109 | John J. Murphy, 815-23 15th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C. |
| | | 108 | A. J. Cleland, 815-23 15th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C. |
| | | 108 | William Connors, 815-23 15th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C. |
| | | 108 | Thomas H. O'Donnell, 910 W. Monroe St., Chicago, Ill. |
| | | 108 | Fraser L. Holzlochner, 915 Chestnut St., Union, N. J. |
| Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United..... | 2 | 115 | Harold R. Flegal, 1550 W. 95th St., Chicago, Ill. |
| | | 115 | Wm. Tracy, 1550 W. 95th St., Chicago, Ill. |

*Earl Ashbrook substituted for O. W. Mursener, October 3, First Day

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-EIGHTH CONVENTION

| ORGANIZATIONS | No. of Delegates | No. of votes of each Delegate | NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Association | 6 | 176 176 176 176 175 175 | J. H. Lyons, 1624 Syndicate Trust Bldg., St. Louis 1, Mo. Jos. F. Boyen, 265 W. 14th St., New York 11, N. Y. C. F. Strickland, 3842 Bakers Ferry Road, S. W., Atlanta, Ga. E. M. Woods, 200 Guerrero St., San Francisco, Calif. Leslie L. Myers, Hamilton Hotel, Washington 5, D. C. Stanley Rounds, 1624 Syndicate Trust Bldg., St. Louis 1, Mo. |
| Building Service Employees' International Union | 6 | 272 272 271 271 271 271 | William L. McFetridge, 130 N. Wells St., Chicago 6, Ill. Wm. H. Cooper, 749 N. 2nd St., Milwaukee 3, Wis. David Sullivan, 1 E. 35th St., New York 16, N. Y. George Hardy, 109 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco 2, Calif. George W. Matthews, 3648 44th Ave., S., Minneapolis 6, Minn. Joseph L. McCarthy, 294 Washington St., Room 831, Boston, Mass. |
| Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway | 4 | 279 279 279 279 | Irvin Barney, 4929 Main Street, Kansas City, Mo. A. J. Bernhardt, 4929 Main Street, Kansas City, Mo. G. M. Webster, 621 Swanston Drive, Sacramento 18, Calif. Samuel Shearer, 2450 Nelson Ave., Hollyburn, B. C., Can. |
| Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of | 8 | 750 750 750 750 750 750 750 750 | Wm. L. Hutcheson, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind. M. A. Hutcheson, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind. Frank Duffy, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind. Wm. J. Kelly, 243 Fourth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. Charles W. Hanson, 130 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. M. J. Sexton, 12 E. Erie St., Chicago, Ill. John H. Bakken, 1951 University Ave., St. Paul, Minn. Walter L. Thomas, 1800 McGowen, Houston, Tex. |
| Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers' International Union, United | 4 | 80 80 80 79 | William Schoenberg, 3329 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago 24, Ill. Reuben Roe, Box 191, Buffalo, Iowa. Samuel R. Diakan, 5419 W. Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa. Toney Gallo, 3329 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago 24, Ill. |
| Chemical Workers' Union, International | 3 | 204 204 203 | H. A. Bradley, 1659 W. Market St., Akron 3, Ohio. R. E. Tomlinson, 1659 W. Market St., Akron 3, Ohio. Sidney Garfield, 1118 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago 5, Ill. |

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-EIGHTH CONVENTION

| ORGANIZATIONS | No. of Delegates | No. of votes of each Delegate | NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Cigar Makers' International Union of America | 3 | 34 | Mario Azpeitia, 1003 K Street, N. W., Room 604, Washington 1, D. C. |
| | | 33 | A. P. Bower, 642 North Third St., Reading, Pa. |
| | | 33 | S. F. Lopez, Box 5046, Ybor City Station, Tampa 5, Fla. |
| Cleaning and Dye House Workers, International Association of..... | 3 | 62 | W. S. Gross, 1 West Linwood Blvd., Kansas City, Mo. |
| | | 61 | John Zitello, 1771 E. 12th St., Room 202, Cleveland 14, Ohio. |
| | | 61 | Mike J. Minaden, 1771 E. 12th St., Room 202, Cleveland 14, Ohio. |
| Clerks, National Federation of Post Office | 5 | 158 | Leo E. George, 4121 31st St., Mt. Rainier, Md. |
| | | 158 | E. C. Hallbeck, 5303 Dorsett Place, Washington, D. C. |
| | | 158 | Foree Kurtz, 3211 Robin Road, Louisville, Ky. |
| | | 158 | Alvin W. Tschirley, 1505 Highland Parkway, St. Paul, Minn. |
| | | 158 | Donald E. Dunn, 2607 Dace St., Sioux City, Iowa. |
| Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway..... | 7 | 358 | Geo. M. Harrison, Room 701, 1015 Vine St., Cincinnati 2, Ohio. |
| | | 357 | Phil E. Ziegler, Room 706, 1015 Vine St., Cincinnati 2, Ohio. |
| | | 357 | J. H. Sylvester, 1808 Consumers Bldg., 220 S. State St., Chicago 4, Ill. |
| | | 357 | J. P. Jesse, care, Room 701, 1015 Vine St., Cincinnati 2, Ohio. |
| | | 357 | H. R. Lyons, Room 818, 105 North 7th St., St. Louis 1, Mo. |
| | | 357 | L. B. Snedden, 318 31st Ave., McKeesport, Pa. |
| | | 357 | G. B. Goble, Room 812, 9 S. Clinton St., Chicago, Ill. |
| Clerks' International Association, Retail | 7 | 290 | Vernon A. Housewright, Levering Bldg., Lafayette, Ind. |
| | | 290 | James A. Suffridge, Levering Bldg., Lafayette, Ind. |
| | | 289 | G. A. Sackett, 418 E. 22nd St., Pittsburg, Kans. |
| | | 289 | Peter Formica, 2424 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 15, Ohio. |
| | | 289 | Frank C. Shea, 125 W. Granite St., Butte, Mont. |
| | | 289 | Phillip F. Koerner, 82 West Montcalm Ave., Room 611, Detroit, Mich. |
| | | 289 | Nathan Wertheimer, 250 W. 57th St., Rooms 2523-27, New York 19, N. Y. |
| Coopers' International Union of North America | 2 | 30 | James J. Doyle, Park Square Bldg., Room 946, Boston 16, Mass. |
| | | 30 | Joseph Kunz, 1133 Harford Ave., Baltimore 2, Md. |
| Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers' International Union..... | 3 | 84 | Joseph O'Neil, 320 South Ashland Blvd., Chicago 7, Ill. |
| | | 83 | Sol Cilento, 707 Summit Avenue, Union City, N. J. |
| | | 83 | James Dever, 320 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago 7, Ill. |

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-EIGHTH CONVENTION, vii

| ORGANIZATIONS | No. of Delegates | No. of votes of each Delegate | NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and | 1 | 59 | Stanley W. Oliver, 900 F Street, N. W., Washington 4, D. C. |
| Electrical Workers, International Brotherhood of | 6 | 550 | D. W. Tracy, 1200 15th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C. |
| | | 550 | J. Scott Milne, 1200 15th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C. |
| | | 550 | Frank C. Riley, 55 Adelaide St., Detroit 1, Mich. |
| | | 550 | Roy Tindall, 1591 Cross Roads of the World, Hollywood 28, Calif. |
| | | 550 | Thomas J. O'Connell, 116 Beach St., Wollaston, Mass. |
| Elevator Constructors, International Union of | 3 | 34 | John C. MacDonald, 48 Stockton St., Dorchester, Mass. |
| | | 34 | Edward A. Smith, 208 E. 54th St., New York 22, N. Y. |
| | | 34 | Francis B. Comfort, 20 W. Queen Lane, Philadelphia 44, Pa. |
| Engineers, International Union of Operating | 7 | 215 | Wm. E. Maloney, 1003 K Street, N. W., Washington 1, D. C. |
| | | 215 | F. A. Fitzgerald, 1003 K Street, N. W., Washington 1, D. C. |
| | | 214 | Joseph J. Delaney, Suite 1526, 111 8th Ave., New York 11, N. Y. |
| | | 214 | Chas. B. Gramling, Bolton, Ga. |
| | | 214 | John I. Lynch, Suite 732, 327 S. La Salle St., Chicago 4, Ill. |
| Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo- | 3 | 43 | Edward J. Volz, Room 1110, 292 Madison Ave., New York 17, N. Y. |
| | | 43 | Matthew Woll, 570 Lexington Ave., New York 22, N. Y. |
| | | 42 | Henry F. Schmal, 3605 Potomac St., St. Louis 16, Mo. |
| Farm Labor Union, National..... | 2 | 36 | H. L. Mitchell, 602 Victor Bldg., Washington 1, D. C. |
| | | 35 | Arthur C. Churchill, Box 443, Memphis, Tenn. |
| Fire Fighters, International Association of | 5 | 110 | John P. Redmond, 206-208 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington 1, D. C. |
| | | 110 | George J. Richardson, 206-208 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington 1, D. C. |
| | | 110 | John P. Crane, 407 World Bldg., New York 7, N. Y. |
| | | 109 | James Deach, 1984 Sanford Avenue, St. Paul, Minn. |
| | | 109 | Glenn Thom, 16668 Freeland Ave., Detroit, Mich. |

| ORGANIZATIONS | No. of Delegates | No. of votes of each Delegate | NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of | 5 | 5 | 116 Anthony E. Matz, 330 S. Wells St., Suite 1410, Chicago 6, Ill. 116 Joseph P. Clark, 330 S. Wells St., Suite 1410, Chicago 6, Ill. 116 Robert J. Torney, 100 N. La Salle St., Room 1510, Chicago, Ill. 116 James M. Kennedy, 100 N. La Salle St., Room 1510, Chicago, Ill. 116 George Wright, 330 S. Wells St., Room 1410, Chicago 6, Ill. |
| Garment Workers of America, United.. | 5 | 5 | 80 Joseph P. McCurdy, Room 621, 45 Astor Place, New York, N. Y. 80 Albert Adamski, 547 Doat St., Buffalo, N. Y. 80 W. R. Brooks, 1822 Main St., Kansas City, Mo. 80 Harry R. Williams, 2173 Kellett Ave., Springfield, Mo. 80 Madge King, Room 621, 45 Astor Place, New York 3, N. Y. |
| Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies | 8 | 8 | 438 David Dubinsky, 1710 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y. 438 Luigi Antonini, 218 W. 40th St., New York, N. Y. 438 Israel Feinberg, 22 W. 38th St., New York, N. Y. 438 Charles S. Zimmerman, 218 W. 40th St., New York, N. Y. 437 Isidore Nagler, 218 W. 40th St., New York, N. Y. 437 Louis Stulberg, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 437 David Gingold, 1710 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y. 437 George Rubin, 1710 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y. |
| Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada..... | 5 | 5 | 72 Lee W. Minton, Philadelphia Savings Fund Bldg., 12 S. 12th St., Room 1531, Philadelphia, Pa. 72 Raymond H. Dalton, Box 272, Marienville, Pa. 72 J. Belton Warren, 1032 South Harper Street, Laurens, S. C. 72 John H. Mullen, 2219 State St., Alton, Ill. 72 Herman P. McGee, 520 Pine St., Zanesville, Ohio. |
| Glass Cutters' League of America, Window | 1 | 1 | 16 Lester L. Theibert, 1078 S. High St., Columbus, Ohio. |
| Glass Workers' Union, American Flint | 5 | 5 | 57 Harry H. Cook, 1508 Sabra Road, Toledo, Ohio. 56 Joseph F. Brown, 6 Cuyler Ave., Jeanette, Pa. 56 Ralph O. Harper, 226 Penning Ave., Wood River, Ill. 56 Roy W. Niles, 184 Hamilton Circle, Painted Post, N. Y. 56 Fred Hawkins, 219 Avalon Place, Toledo, Ohio. |

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| ORGANIZATIONS | No. of Delegates | No. of votes of each Delegate | NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Glove Workers' Union of America. International | 2 | 16 | Thomas Durian, 5328 N. 39th St., Milwaukee 9, Wis. |
| | | 15 | John W. Quimby, Room 214, Crystal Palace Bldg., San Diego, Calif. |
| Government Employes, American Federation of | 3 | 144 | James G. Yaden, Room 716, 900 F St., N. W., Washington 4, D. C. |
| | | 144 | Berniece B. Heffner, Room 716, 900 F St., N. W., Washington 4, D. C. |
| | | 144 | A. E. Eisenmenger, Room 716, 900 F St., N. W., Washington 4, D. C. |
| Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The..... | 1 | 40 | Laurence Foley, 25 School Street, Quincy 69, Mass. |
| Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union, International..... | 4 | 55 | Jack Wieselberg, 265 W. 14th St., New York, N. Y. |
| | | 54 | Norman Zukowsky, 255 W. 14th St., New York, N. Y. |
| | | 54 | Herbert Otto, 397 Sawyer Ave., Oshkosh, Wis. |
| | | 54 | Edward Friss, 265 W. 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y. |
| Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, United..... | 5 | 64 | Max Zaritsky, 245 Fifth Ave., New York 16, N. Y. |
| | | 64 | Dennis M. Carroll, care M. Zaritsky, 245 5th Ave., New York 16, N. Y. |
| | | 64 | Percy Ginsburg, 412 Title Guaranty Bldg., St. Louis 1, Mo. |
| | | 64 | Bernard McDonnell, care M. Zaritsky, 245 5th Ave., New York 16, N. Y. |
| | | 64 | Miss Carmen Lucia, 970 Parkway Drive, N. E., Atlanta, Ga. |
| Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International | 8 | 335 | Joseph V. Moreschi, 821 15th St., N. W., 5th Floor, Washington 5, D. C. |
| | | 335 | Joseph Marshall, 25 Taylor St., 201 Golden Gate Bldg., San Francisco 2, Calif. |
| | | 335 | Herbert Rivers, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington 1, D. C. |
| | | 334 | John W. Garvey, 821 15th St., N. W., 5th Floor, Washington 5, D. C. |
| | | 334 | A. C. D'Andrea, 814 W. Harrison St., Chicago, Ill. |
| | | 334 | Charles Sullivan, 731 Bryant Park Bldg., 55 W. 42nd St., New York 18, N. Y. |
| | | 334 | Arthur P. Kistemaker, 8 E. Long St., 415 Atlas Bldg., Columbus 15, Ohio. |
| | | 334 | Charles Rawlings, 920 Burr St., St. Paul, Minn. |
| Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Bartenders' International Union..... | 8 | 477 | Hugo Ernst, 528 Walnut St., Cincinnati, Ohio |
| | | 477 | Ed. S. Miller, 528 Walnut St., Cincinnati, Ohio. |
| | | 477 | Emanuel Koveleski, 27 Clinton Ave., S., Room 402, Rochester 4, N. Y. |
| | | 477 | Louis Koenig, 1442 Griswold St., Detroit 26, Mich. |
| | | 477 | Dave Siegel, 752 8th Ave., New York 19, N. Y. |
| | | 476 | Larry Sarricks, Room 1212, Keehan Bldg., Liberty Ave. and 7th St., Pittsburgh 22, Pa. |
| | | 476 | George Hobert, 104 East 51st St., care Local 444, Chicago 15, Ill. |
| | | 476 | Anna Rimington, 400 N. Jefferson St., Peoria 3, Ill. |

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-EIGHTH CONVENTION

| ORGANIZATIONS | No. of Delegates | No. of votes each Delegate | NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Jewelry Workers' Union, International. | 3 | 42 | Joseph Morris, 551 Fifth Ave., New York 17, N. Y. |
| | | 42 | Hyman J. Powell, 551 Fifth Ave., New York 17, N. Y. |
| | | 41 | Frank Woodfill, Box 98, Medford, Minn. |
| Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal..... | 3 | 33 | William J. McSorley, 2605 Detroit Ave., Cleveland 13, Ohio. |
| | | 33 | Harry J. Hagen, 4750 Highland Ave., St. Louis 13, Mo. |
| | | 33 | Walter M. Matthews, 1322 Third Ave., New York, N. Y. |
| Laundry Workers' International Union | 5 | 120 | Sam J. Byers, 115 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis, Ind. |
| | | 120 | Charles T. Lindgren, 115 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis, Ind. |
| | | 120 | Tillie Clifford, 2940 16th St., San Francisco, Calif. |
| | | 120 | W. Chasmar, 591 Summit, Jersey City, N. J. |
| | | 120 | L. Polacios, 2940 16th Street, San Francisco, Calif. |
| Leather Workers, International Union, United | 1 | 33 | Bernard G. Quinn, 916 Lafayette Bldg., Philadelphia 6, Pa. |
| Letter Carriers, National Association of | 6 | 121 | William C. Doherty, 1525 H St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C. |
| | | 121 | Jerome J. Keating, 1525 H St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C. |
| | | 121 | Charles S. Fleming, 2820 Clifton Park Terrace, Baltimore, Md. |
| | | 121 | John J. Nolan, 94 Conventry Road, Kenmore, N. Y. |
| | | 121 | James C. Stocker, 1216 N. 8th St., St. Louis, Mo. |
| | | 120 | Edward F. Benning, 1214 Bond St., Springfield, Ill. |
| Longshoremen's Association, International | 3 | 191 | Joseph P. Ryan, 265 W. 14th St., New York 11, N. Y. |
| | | 190 | John R. Owens, 265 W. 14th St., New York 11, N. Y. |
| | | 190 | E. L. Slaughter, Labor Temple, Duluth, Minn. |
| Maintenance of Way Employes, Brotherhood of | 7 | 231 | T. C. Carroll, 61 Putnam Avenue, Detroit 2, Mich. |
| | | 231 | F. H. Fljozdal, 61 Putnam Ave., Detroit 2, Mich. |
| | | 231 | A. Shoemake, 61 Putnam Ave., Detroit 2, Mich. |
| | | 230 | Thomas F. Holleran, 61 Putnam Ave., Detroit 2, Mich. |
| | | 230 | Louis Vorland, 61 Putnam Ave., Detroit 2, Mich. |
| | | 230 | J. P. Wilson, 61 Putnam Ave., Detroit 2, Mich. |
| | | 230 | E. J. Plondke, 61 Putnam Ave., Detroit 2, Mich. |
| Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters Helpers and Terrazzo Helpers, International Association of..... | 2 | 23 | William McCarthy, 815 15th St., Room 306, Washington 5, D. C. |
| | | 22 | John J. Conway, 1105 Ridge Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. |
| Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization | 1 | 77 | C. F. May, (Captain), 209 California St., San Francisco, Calif. |

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-EIGHTH CONVENTION

| ORGANIZATIONS | No. of Delegates | No. of votes for each Delegate | NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated..... 7 | 236 | } | Earl W. Jimerson, 201 N. Wells St., Chicago, Ill. |
| | 236 | } | Patrick E. Gorman, 201 N. Wells St., Chicago, Ill. |
| | 236 | } | Milton S. Maxwell, 3012 16th St., San Francisco 3, Calif. |
| | 236 | } | T. J. Lloyd, 831 14th St., Denver 2, Colo. |
| | 236 | } | Joseph Belsky, 37 Union Square, West, New York 3, N. Y. |
| | 236 | } | R. Emmett Kelly, 128 N. Wells St., Chicago 6, Ill. |
| | 236 | } | Marvin Hook, 1558 S. Vandeventer Ave., St. Louis 10, Mo. *Ray Wentz |
| Metal Workers' International Association, Sheet..... 5 | 64 | } | Robert Byron, 642 Transportation Bldg., Washington 6, D. C. |
| | 64 | } | James J. Ryan, 113 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill. |
| | 64 | } | James T. Moriarty, 351 Tremont St., Boston 16, Mass. |
| | 64 | } | A. H. Cronin, 620 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago 7, Ill. |
| | 64 | } | L. M. Wicklein, 642 Transportation Bldg., Washington 6, D. C. *Edward Carlough, 642 Transportation Bldg., Washington 6, D. C. |
| Millers, American Federation of Grain.. 4 | 70 | } | S. P. Ming, 7033 Tulane Ave., St. Louis, Mo. |
| | 70 | } | H. A. Schneider, 918 Metropolitan Bldg., Minneapolis, Minn. |
| | 70 | } | Peter J. Rybka, 506 White Bldg., Buffalo, N. Y. |
| | 69 | } | George A. Zipoy, 918 Metropolitan Bldg., Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Molders and Foundry Workers' Union of North America, International..... 6 | 109 | } | Chester A. Sample, Lock Box 688, Cincinnati, Ohio. |
| | 109 | } | Henry Rosendale, 2035 Locust St., Quincy, Ill. |
| | 108 | } | Joseph Trentman, Room 304, 1015 Vine St., Cincinnati, Ohio. |
| | 108 | } | Justin F. Robbins, 718 Columbia St., Burlington, Iowa. |
| | 108 | } | Robert F. Bailey, 210 E. Maple St., Kalamazoo 33, Mich. |
| Musicians, American Federation of..... 7 | 337 | } | James C. Petrillo, 570 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y. |
| | 337 | } | Joseph N. Weber, 621 Alta Drive, Beverly Hills, Calif. |
| | 336 | } | Roy W. Singer, 542 North Miami Ave., Miami, Fla. |
| | 336 | } | Vincent J. Castronovo, 123 Sutton St., Providence, R. I. |
| | 336 | } | Charles L. Bagley, 900 Continental Bldg., 408 S. Spring St., Los Angeles 13, Calif. |
| 336 | } | Frank B. Field, 76 King St., "Brooklawn," Bridgeport 4, Conn. | |
| 336 | } | Edw. P. Ringius, 436 Wabasha St., St. Paul, Minn. | |

*Ray Wentz substituted for R. Emmett Kelly, October 7, Fifth Day.

*Edward Carlough substituted for L. M. Wicklein, October 3, First Day.

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-EIGHTH CONVENTION

| ORGANIZATIONS | No. of Delegates | No. of votes of each Delegate | NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Office Employees' International Union... | 3 | 88 87 87 | Paul R. Hutchings, 625 Bond Bldg., Washington 5, D. C. J. Howard Hicks, 625 Bond Bldg., Washington 5, D. C. L. G. Nygren, 625 Bond Bldg., Washington 5, D. C. |
| Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of..... | 6 | 293 293 293 293 293 292 | L. P. Lindelof, Painters and Decorators Bldg., Lafayette, Ind. L. M. Raftery, Painters and Decorators Bldg., Lafayette, Ind. Christian Madsen, 3209 W. Evergreen Ave., Chicago, Ill. Frank Owens, P. O. Box 361, Houston, Tex. Peter Yablonsky, 14 Yates St., Newark, N. J. Wm. A. Curtis, 142 Margin St., Lawrence, Mass. |
| Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of | 5 | 80 80 80 80 80 | Paul L. Phillips, North Pearl and Wolfert Ave., Albany, N. Y. Joseph Addy, North Pearl and Wolfert Ave., Albany, N. Y. John R. Jones, North Pearl and Wolfert Ave., Albany, N. Y. Frank P. Barry, 114-116 Kempf Bldg., Utica, N. Y. John W. Bailey, 204-205 Capitol Theatre Bldg., Kalamazoo, Mich. |
| Pattern Makers' League of North America | 1 | 110 | George Q. Lynch, 304 Ring Building, Washington 6, D. C. |
| Plasterers and Cement Finishers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative..... | 5 | 60 60 59 59 59 | John E. Rooney, 200 Fidelity Bldg., Cleveland 14, Ohio. John J. Hauck, 3409 St. Vincent St., Philadelphia 24, Pa. Walter A. Redmond, 200 Fidelity Bldg., Cleveland 14, Ohio. Michael B. Gallagher, 4860 206th Street, Bayside, N. Y. Edward J. Leonard, 4729 Stanton Courts, Pittsburgh, Pa. |
| Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the..... | 7 | 215 215 214 214 214 214 214 | Martin P. Durkin, Suite 502 Ring Bldg., Washington 6, D. C. Edward J. Hillock, Suite 502, Ring Bldg., Washington 6, D. C. George Meany, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington 1, D. C. Charles M. Rau, 408 S. Leavitt St., Chicago, Ill. Peter T. Schoemann, 1713 N. 12th St., Milwaukee, Wis. Robert Lynch, 28 Patterson St., Jersey City 7, N. J. G. J. O'Donnell, Labor Temple, St. Paul 2, Minn. |
| Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers' International Union, Metal..... | 3 | 54 53 53 | Ray Muehlfloffer, 1008 Ingalls Bldg., Cincinnati 2, Ohio. Dennis J. Oates, 1008 Ingalls Bldg., Cincinnati 2, Ohio. Hugh R. McDermott, 1008 Ingalls Bldg., Cincinnati 2, Ohio. |

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| ORGANIZATIONS | No. of Delegates | No. of votes of each Delegate | NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES |
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| Porters, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car... | 3 | 34 33 33 | A. Philip Randolph, Suite 301, 217 W. 125th St., New York 27, N. Y. Milton P. Webster, 3456 S. State St., Chicago, Ill. Frank Boyd, 443 MacKubin St., St. Paul, Minn. |
| Postal Supervisors, The National Association of | 3 | 36 35 35 | John A. McMahon, 171 Milton St., Dorchester Center, Boston 24, Mass. Enoch Nelson, care Main Post Office Minneapolis, Minn. John D. Ryan, care Main Post Office, St. Paul, Minn. |
| Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative | 4 | 56 55 55 55 | James M. Duffy, Box 752, East Liverpool, Ohio. Joseph P. Brown, 2044 Nottingham Way, Trenton, N. J. Hazel Brown, R. D. No. 4, Alliance, Ohio. T. J. Desmond, 623 E. Lincoln Way, Minerva, Ohio. |
| Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers' Union of North America, International Plate | 1 | 11 | Leo B. Kistler, 1429 E. Capitol St., Washington 3, D. C. |
| Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America, International | 6 | 126 126 126 125 125 125 | J. H. de la Rosa, Pressmen's Home, Tenn. George L. Googe, 11½ Forsyth St., N. W., Atlanta, Ga. Clarence Lofquist, 238-B Hamm Bldg., St. Paul 2, Minn. Joseph Smutny, 300 Sexton Bldg., Minneapolis 15, Minn. Miss Dorothy Reed, care Wm. F. Brus-sow, Jr., 1007 E. Johnston St., Madison 3, Wis. Herman J. Hammerbeck, 1703 N. 24th St., Superior, Wis. |
| Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of | 6 | 191 191 190 190 190 190 | John P. Burke, 118 Broadway, Fort Edward, N. Y. James S. Killen, ECA Mission to U. K., care American Embassy, London W. 1, England. Elmer P. Meinz, 343 Cooper Ave., N., St. Cloud, Minn. Raymond A. Richards, 130 13th St., North, Wisconsin Rapids, Wis. Carl B. Gear, 1603 University Ave., St. Paul, Minn. John Shank, Jr., Sartell, Minn. |
| Railway Employes of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric | 6 | 200 200 200 200 200 200 | A. L. Spradling, 1214 Griswold St., Detroit, Mich. Joseph J. Kehoe, 1608 W. Van Buren St., Chicago, Ill. Allen Noel, 1412 24th Ave., Seattle 22, Wash. Samuel F. Curry, 185 Church St., New Haven, Conn. W. O. Frazier, 1421 N. E. 132nd Road, Miami, Fla. John J. Burke, 573 East End Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. |

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-EIGHTH CONVENTION

| ORGANIZATIONS | No. of Delegates | No. of votes of each Delegate | NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Railway Mail Association..... | 3 | 89 | R. A. Rice, 1525 H St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C. |
| | | 89 | J. L. Reilly, 1525 H St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C. |
| | | 89 | Joel J. J. Lundeen, 3555 37th Ave., S., Minneapolis 6, Minn. |
| Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers Association, United Slate Tile and Composition | 3 | 40 | Charles D. Aquadro, 130 N. Wells St., Chicago 6, Ill. |
| | | 40 | Homer J. Myers, 130 N. Wells St., Chicago 6, Ill. |
| | | 40 | Ben D. Vetter, Rural Route No. 1, Muncie, Kans. |
| Seafarers' International Union of North America | 5 | 90 | Harry Lundeberg, 105 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. |
| | | 90 | Paul Hall, 51 Beaver St., New York, N. Y. |
| | | 90 | Morris Weisberger, 105 Broad St., New York, N. Y. |
| | | 90 | James Waugh, 450 Seaside Ave., Terminal Island, Calif. |
| | | 90 | Patrick McHugh, 206 Essex St., Boston, Mass. |
| | | | *Duke Dushane |
| Signalmen, Brotherhood of Railroad..... | 1 | 128 | I. M. Fisher, 1607 11th Avenue, Belle Plaine, Iowa. |
| Special Delivery Messengers, The National Association of..... | 1 | 20 | George L. Warfel, 112 C Street, N. W., Washington 1, D. C. |
| Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical..... | 5 | 84 | Richard F. Walsh, 630 Fifth Ave., Room 803, New York, N. Y. |
| | | 84 | William P. Raoul, 630 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. |
| | | 84 | Thomas V. Green, 210 Richelieu Terrace, Newark, N. J. |
| | | 84 | James McNabb, 124 Labor Temple, Seattle, Wash. |
| | | 84 | Michael J. Mungovan, 334 University Ave., Rochester, N. Y. |
| State, County and Municipal Employes, American Federation of..... | 5 | 150 | Arnold S. Zander, Federation Bldg., Madison 1, Wis. |
| | | 150 | Gordon W. Chapman, Federation Bldg., Madison 1, Wis. |
| | | 150 | Elling Munkeby, 1503 Eighth Ave., East, Duluth, Minn. |
| | | 150 | Edward N. Doan, Federation Bldg., Madison, Wis. |
| | | 150 | John C. Petersen, 111 Minnesota Ave., East, Willmar, Minn. |
| Stereotypers and Electrotypers, Union of North America, International..... | 2 | 53 | Leo J. Buckley, 475 Fifth Ave., Room 1206, New York 17, N. Y. |
| | | 53 | Frank R. Adams, 1846 Transportation Bldg., 608 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill. |

*Duke Dushane substituted for Seafarers' delegation, October 7, Fifth Day.

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-EIGHTH CONVENTION

| ORGANIZATIONS | No. of Delegates | No. of votes of each Delegate | NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen | 1 | 19 | Paul A. Givens, 324 Insurance Bldg., 8 E. Market St., Indianapolis 4, Ind. |
| Stove Mounters' International Union | 3 | 29 | Joseph Lewis, 1710 N. Grand Blvd., St. Louis 6, Mo. 29 Raymond Levingston, Route 5, Newark, Ohio. 29 Leo F. Lucas, 2401 West Main St., Louisville, Ky. |
| Teachers, American Federation of | 5 | 72 | John M. Eklund, 314 Denham Bldg., Denver 2, Colo. 72 Irvin R. Kuenzli, 28 E. Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Ill. 72 Selma M. Borchardt, Homer Bldg., Washington, D. C. 71 Arthur A. Elder, 2712 Lawrence, Detroit 6, Mich. 71 Mary R. Wheeler, 634 S. Lombard Ave., Oak Park, Ill. |
| Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of | 8 | 782 | Daniel J. Tobin, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis 4, Ind. 782 John F. English, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis 4, Ind. 781 Frank Brewster, 552 Denny Way, Seattle 9, Wash. 781 John O'Rourke, 265 W. 14th St., New York 11, N. Y. 781 Robert Lester, 720 5th St., N. W., Washington 1, D. C. 781 Ted Merrill, 1314 Elm Avenue, Long Beach 6, Calif. 781 Daniel J. Colucio, Room 214, 740 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. 781 Dave Beck, 552 Denny Way, Seattle, Wash. |
| Telegraphers, The Order of Railroad | 2 | 150 | G. E. Leighty, 3860 Lindell Blvd., St. Louis 8, Mo. 150 E. J. Manion, 106 Palisades Ave., Santa Monica, Calif. |
| Telegraphers' Union of North America, The Commercial | 1 | 367 | W. L. Allen, 5913 Georgia Ave., Washington 11, D. C. |
| Textile Workers of America, United | 5 | 120 | Anthony Valente, 818 13th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C. 120 Lloyd Klener, 818 13th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C. 120 Francis Schaufenbil, 575-A Essex St., Lawrence, Mass. 120 Burton Hyman, Curran Road, Whitesboro, N. Y. 120 Joseph Jacobs, 722 William-Oliver Bldg., Atlanta, Ga. |
| Tobacco Workers' International Union | 2 | 110 | John O'Hare, 801 Carpenters Bldg., Washington 1, D. C. 110 R. J. Petree, 801 Carpenters Bldg., Washington 1, D. C. |

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| ORGANIZATIONS | No. of Delegates | No. of votes of each Delegate | NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Typographical Union, International.... | 6 | } | 107 Woodruff Randolph, Box 428, Indianapolis 6, Ind. 107 John W. Austin, 2315 Valdez St., Rooms 109-110, Oakland 12, Calif. 107 Bernard M. Egan, 5302 Carrolton St., Houston 3, Tex. 107 Horace L. Imeson, 143 E. 61st St., Seattle, Wash. 106 Lewis M. Herrmann, 624 Sanford Ave., Newark 6, N. J. 106 J. Arthur Moriarty, 711 Exchange Bldg., 53 State St., Boston 9, Mass. | |
| Upholsterers' International Union of North America | 5 | | } | 96 Sal B. Hoffmann, 1500 N. Broad St., Philadelphia 21, Pa. 96 Alfred R. Rota, 729 S. Western Ave., Chicago 12, Ill. 96 Tony Remshardt, 1558-A South Vandeventer Ave., St. Louis 10, Mo. 96 George Bucher, 1630 Arch St., Third Floor, Philadelphia 3, Pa. 96 James M. Bishop, 406 E. Hennepin Ave., Room 16, Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America, United..... | 1 | | | 29 Rudolph Heintz, 710 E. 84th St., Chicago 19, Ill. |
| Yardmasters of America, Railroad..... | 1 | | | 35 J. D. McDonnell, care D. W. Dickeson, 537 S. Dearborn St., Chicago 5, Ill. |

DEPARTMENTS

| | | |
|---------------------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Building and Construction Trades Department | 1 | 1 Richard J. Gray, 501 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington 1, D. C. |
| Metal Trades Department..... | 1 | 1 John P. Frey, Room 402, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington 1, D. C. |
| Railroad Employes' Department..... | 1 | 1 Fred N. Aten, Room 1309, 608 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill. |
| Union Label Trades Department..... | 1 | 1 I. M. Ornburn, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington 1, D. C. |

STATE BRANCHES

| ORGANIZATIONS | No. of Delegates | No. of votes of each Delegate | NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Alabama State Federation of Labor... | 1 | 1 | J. R. Holland, 269 Magnolia Drive, Mobile, Ala. |
| Alaska State Federation of Labor..... | 1 | 1 | Theodore B. Eriksen, Box 2601, AFL Hall, Juneau, Alaska |
| Arizona State Federation of Labor..... | 1 | 1 | Elmer F. Vickers, Sr., 112 North 5th Avenue, Room 8, Phoenix, Ariz. |
| Arkansas State Federation of Labor.... | 1 | 1 | S. V. Zinn, 1243 Donaghey Bldg., Little Rock, Ark. |
| California State Federation of Labor... 1 | 1 | 1 | C. J. Haggerty, 402 Flood Bldg., San Francisco, Calif. |
| Colorado State Federation of Labor..... | 1 | 1 | George W. Brayfield, Box 377, Route 1, Golden, Colo. |
| Connecticut State Federation of Labor.. | 1 | 1 | Joseph M. O'Rourke, 65 Spring St., New Haven, Conn. |
| Florida State Federation of Labor..... | 1 | 1 | James A. Harper, 516 Twenty-Eighth Street, West Palm Beach, Fla. |
| Georgia State Federation of Labor..... | 1 | 1 | William A. Cetti, 2800 Sewell Road, S. W., Atlanta, Ga. |
| Idaho State Federation of Labor..... | 1 | 1 | Elmer F. McIntire, 613 Idaho St., Boise, Ida. |
| Illinois State Federation of Labor..... | 1 | 1 | Reuben G. Soderstrom, Security Bldg., Springfield, Ill. |
| Indiana State Federation of Labor..... | 1 | 1 | Carl H. Mullen, 701 Peoples Bank Bldg., Indianapolis 4, Ind. |
| Iowa State Federation of Labor..... | 1 | 1 | A. A. Couch, 412 Paramount Bldg., Des Moines 9, Iowa. |
| Kansas State Federation of Labor..... | 1 | 1 | F. M. Crump, 6123 Clark Street, Turner, Kans. |
| Louisiana State Federation of Labor... 1 | 1 | 1 | E. H. Williams, 223 Ward Bldg., Shreveport, La. |
| Maine State Federation of Labor..... | 1 | 1 | J. B. Dorsky, 44 Pier Street, Bangor, Me. |
| Maryland-District of Columbia State Federation of Labor | 1 | 1 | Frank J. Coleman, 414 Washington Loan and Trust Bldg., Washington 4, D. C. |
| Massachusetts State Federation of Labor | 1 | 1 | Kenneth J. Kelley, 95 Prescott Street, Cambridge, Mass. |
| Michigan State Federation of Labor.... | 1 | 1 | J. M. O'Laughlin, 4625 Second, Detroit 1, Mich. |
| Minnesota State Federation of Labor.. | 1 | 1 | Robert A. Olson, Labor Temple, St. Paul 2, Minn. |
| Mississippi State Federation of Labor.. | 1 | 1 | Holt Ross, 537 5th Street, Laurel, Miss. |
| Missouri State Federation of Labor.... | 1 | 1 | Emmet Sullivan, 1105 West 3rd Street, Sedalia, Mo. |
| Montana State Federation of Labor..... | 1 | 1 | James D. Graham, 419 Breckenridge St., Helena, Mont. |

| ORGANIZATIONS | No. of Delegates | No. of votes of each Delegate | NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES |
|----------------------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Nebraska State Federation of Labor.... | 1 | 1 | Gordon C. Preble, 318 W.O.W. Bldg., Omaha 2, Nebr. |
| Nevada State Federation of Labor.... | 1 | 1 | William H. Rowe, P. O. Box 194, Ruth, Nev. |
| New Jersey State Federation of Labor.. | 1 | 1 | Vincent J. Murphy, 790 Broad St., Newark, N. J. |
| New Yqrk State Federation of Labor.. | 1 | 1 | Thomas A. Murray, 265 West 14th Street, Room 902, New York 11, N. Y. |
| North Carolina State Federation of Labor | 1 | 1 | C. A. Fink, Box 1546, Salisbury, N. C. |
| North Dakota State Federation of Labor | 1 | 1 | W. W. Murrey, 10 16th Street, South Fargo, N. Dak. |
| Ohio State Federation of Labor..... | 1 | 1 | Phil Hannah, 273 East State Street, Columbus, Ohio. |
| Oklahoma State Federation of Labor... 1 | 1 | 1 | J. Cline House, 703-4 Wright Bldg., Oklahoma City, Okla. |
| Oregon State Federation of Labor..... 1 | 1 | 1 | J. T. Marr, 506 Labor Temple, Portland 4, Oreg. |
| Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor 1 | 1 | 1 | James L. McDevitt, Front and Pine Street, Harrisburg, Pa. |
| Puerto Rico, Free Federation of Work- ingmen | 1 | 1 | Nicolas Noguera Rivera, 173 Taft Street (Santurce) San Juan, Puerto Rico. |
| South Carolina State Federation of Labor | 1 | 1 | Andrew Boyter, R. F. D. 3, Winnsboro, S. C. |
| South Dakota State Federation of Labor 1 | 1 | 1 | Francis K. McDonald, 409 North Jessica Avenue, Sioux Falls, S. Dak. |
| Tennessee State Federation of Labor... 1 | 1 | 1 | Robert A. Tillman, 81 Madison Bldg., Memphis, Tenn. |
| Texas State Federation of Labor..... 1 | 1 | 1 | Paul C. Sparks, 703 Littlefield Bldg., Austin, Tex. |
| Utah State Federation of Labor..... 1 | 1 | 1 | Fullmer H. Latter, 59 South State Street, Salt Lake City, Utah. |
| Vermont State Federation of Labor... 1 | 1 | 1 | Max Wexler, 500 Charlotte St., Utica 2, N. Y. |
| Virginia State Federation of Labor.... 1 | 1 | 1 | A. E. Wilson, P. O. Box 922, Roanoke, Va. |
| Washington State Federation of Labor.. 1 | 1 | 1 | E. M. Weston, 2800 First Avenue, Seattle 1, Wash. |
| West Virginia State Federation of Labor 1 | 1 | 1 | Volney Andrews, 5624 Staunton Avenue, Charleston 4, W. Va. |
| Wisconsin State Federation of Labor... 1 | 1 | 1 | George A. Haberman, 1012 North 3rd Street, Milwaukee 3, Wis. |
| Wyoming State Federation of Labor.... 1 | 1 | 1 | Martin Cahill, P. O. Box 892, Cheyenne, Wyo. |

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-EIGHTH CONVENTION *xix*

CENTRAL BODIES

| ORGANIZATIONS | No. of Delegates | No. of votes of each Delegate | NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Akron, Ohio, Summit County Trades and Labor Assembly..... | 1 | 1 | A. J. Frecka, 942 N. Main St., Akron, Ohio. |
| Alexandria, Va., Central Labor Union.. | 1 | 1 | Eugene R. Hubbard, 4239 15th Street, North, Arlington, Va. |
| Alton, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly | 1 | 1 | Walter R. Smith, 228 S. 13th Street, Wood River, Ill. |
| Ann Arbor, Mich., Trades Council..... | 1 | 1 | Redmond M. Burr, 320 S. 5th Avenue, Ann Arbor, Mich. |
| Appleton, Wis., Trades Council..... | 1 | 1 | George Behling, 418 N. Outagamie Street, Appleton, Wis. |
| Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades..... | 1 | 1 | Henry W. Chandler, P. O. Box 1207, Atlanta 1, Ga. |
| Balboa, Canal Zone, Central Labor Union | 1 | 1 | Walter J. Jones, C/o E. W. Hatchett, Sec., Box 471, Balboa Heights, C. Z. |
| Baltimore, Md., Federation of Labor.... | 1 | 1 | Thomas J. Healy, 600 Washington Blvd., Baltimore 30, Md. |
| Barberton, Ohio, Central Labor Union.. | 1 | 1 | Charles Karam, 1169 Mercer Avenue, Akron, Ohio. |
| Bergen County, N. J., Trades and Labor Council | 1 | 1 | John McEntee, 620 Main Avenue, Clifton, N. J. |
| Binghamton, N. Y., Central Labor Union | 1 | 1 | Maurice Quain, 183 Robinson Street, Binghamton, N. Y. |
| Birmingham, Ala., Federation of Labor | 1 | 1 | Ted Williams, P. O. Box 1426, Birmingham, Ala. |
| Blue Island, Ill., Central Labor Union... | 1 | 1 | Wilson Frankland, 8819 Harper Avenue, Chicago, Ill. |
| Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union.... | 1 | 1 | Ernest A. Johnson, 108 Massachusetts Avenue, Boston, Mass. |
| Brockton, Mass., Central Labor Union.. | 1 | 1 | Henry J. Brides, 375 N. Warren Avenue, Brockton, Mass. |
| Buffalo, N. Y., Federation of Labor..... | 1 | 1 | Robert A. Smith, 310 White Bldg., Buffalo 2, N. Y. |
| Calumet, Ill., Joint Labor Council..... | 1 | 1 | Jeff O. Johnson, 11014 Lowe Avenue, Chicago 28, Ill. |
| Camden, N. J., Central Labor Union.... | 1 | 1 | Leon B. Schachter, 224 Federal St., Camden, N. J. |
| Canton, Ohio, Federation of Labor..... | 1 | 1 | John W. Swartz, 1214 Homedale Court, N. W., Canton 8, Ohio. |
| Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Federation of Labor | 1 | 1 | J. C. Blodgett, 2053 Linn Blvd., S. E., Cedar Rapids, Iowa. |
| Centralia, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly | 1 | 1 | J. L. Matthews, 318 North Elm, Centralia, Ill. |
| Charleston and Vic., S. C., Central Labor Union | 1 | 1 | E. R. Czaplewski, P. O. Box 434, Naval Base, S. C. |

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-EIGHTH CONVENTION

| ORGANIZATIONS | No. of Delegates | No. of votes of each Delegate | NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES |
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| Charleston, W. Va., Kanawha Valley Central Labor Union..... | 1 | 1 | 1 Frank W. Snyder, 362 Fairview Drive, Charleston, W. Va. |
| Charlotte, N. C., Central Labor Union... | 1 | 1 | 1 W. P. Hooker, 920 W. Trade St., Charlotte, N. C. |
| Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor..... | 1 | 1 | 1 Morris Bialis, 15 S. Market St., Chicago, Ill. |
| Cincinnati, Ohio, Central Labor Union.. | 1 | 1 | 1 Jack Hurst, Room 526, 1015 Vine Street, Cincinnati 2, Ohio. |
| Clark, Skamania and West Klickitat Counties, Wash., Central Labor Council | 1 | 1 | 1 William R. Smith, 205 East 11th, Vancouver, Wash. |
| Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor... | 1 | 1 | 1 William Finegan, 1248 Walnut Avenue, Cleveland 14, Ohio. |
| Clinton County, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Union | 1 | 1 | 1 Edgar F. Smith, 75 South Cherry Street, Breese, Ill. |
| Dallas, Tex., Central Labor Council.... | 1 | 1 | 1 Wallace C. Reilly, 1727 Young Street, Dallas, Tex. |
| Dayton, Ohio, Central Labor Union.... | 1 | 1 | 1 J. E. Breidenbach, 202 South Ludlow Street, Dayton 2, Ohio. |
| Denver, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly | 1 | 1 | 1 George A. Cavender, 312 Insurance Bldg., Denver, Colo. |
| Des Moines, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly | 1 | 1 | 1 Jas. W. Soutter, 1367 East 14th Street, Des Moines, Iowa. |
| Detroit and Wayne County, Mich., Federation of Labor..... | 1 | 1 | 1 Frank X. Martel, 82 West Montcalm, Detroit 1, Mich. |
| Duluth, Minn., Federated Trades Assembly | 1 | 1 | 1 Elmer Schaffer, 320 West First Street, Duluth, Minn. |
| East Liverpool, Ohio, Trades and Labor Council | 1 | 1 | 1 James B. Moss, 508 W. 9th Street, East Liverpool, Ohio. |
| Easton, Pa., Central Labor Union..... | 1 | 1 | 1 Stewart A. Seifert, 1322 Washington Street, Easton, Pa. |
| Eau Claire, Wis., Trades and Labor Council | 1 | 1 | 1 James S. Voll, Labor Temple, Eau Claire, Wis. |
| El Centro, Calif., Imperial Valley Central Labor Union..... | 1 | 1 | 1 Max J. Osslo, 227 "E" Street, San Diego, Calif. |
| Elgin, Ill., Trades Council..... | 1 | 1 | 1 Howard A. Floyd, 19 North Spring Street, Elgin, Ill. |
| Elizabeth, N. J., Union County Central Labor Union | 1 | 1 | 1 George Cushing, 639 Salem Ave., Elizabeth, N. J. |
| Everett, Wash., Trades Council..... | 1 | 1 | 1 Ed Halvard, Labor Temple, 2810 Lombard Avenue, Everett, Wash. |
| Fresno, Calif., Federated Trades and Labor Council | 1 | 1 | 1 C. H. Cary, 323 Angelo Bank Bldg., Fresno, Calif. |
| Galesburg, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly | 1 | 1 | 1 Wm. Moon, 1138 North Seminary St., Galesburg, Ill. |
| Grand Forks, N. Dak., Trades and Labor Assembly | 1 | 1 | 1 Dan Olsen, 420 First Avenue, South Grand Forks, N. Dak. |

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-EIGHTH CONVENTION

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| ORGANIZATIONS | No. of Delegates | No. of votes of each Delegate | NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Grand Rapids, Mich., Trades and Labor Council | 1 | 1 | Louis Feringa, 415 Ottawa Ave., N. W., Grand Rapids, Mich. |
| Hagerstown, Md., Central Labor Union | 1 | 1 | Harry Cohen, 39 South Street, Baltimore 2, Md. |
| Harrisburg, Pa., Central Labor Union... | 1 | 1 | Edward H. Miller, 341 Reilly Street, Harrisburg, Pa. |
| Hibbing, Minn., Central Labor Union... | 1 | 1 | Peter A. Stark, 2811 4th Avenue W., Hibbing, Minn. |
| Honolulu, T. H., Central Labor Council. | 1 | 1 | A. S. Reile, 211 McCandless Bldg., Honolulu 13, Territory of Hawaii. |
| Hudson County, N. J., Central Labor Union | 1 | 1 | Joseph G. Quinn, 682 Newark Avenue, Jersey City 6, N. J. |
| Johnson City, Tenn., Central Labor Union | 1 | 1 | Charles M. Houk, P. O. Box 533, Johnson City, Tenn. |
| Joliet, Ill., Will County Central Trades and Labor Council..... | 1 | 1 | S. P. Miller, Crystal Drive, Joliet, Ill. |
| Kalamazoo, Mich., Trades and Labor Council | 1 | 1 | Florence H. Bailey, 206 Capitol Theatre Bldg., Kalamazoo, Mich. |
| Klamath Falls, Oreg., Central Labor Union | 1 | 1 | Alma B. Sweetman, Box 708, Klamath Falls, Oreg. |
| Knoxville, Tenn., Central Labor Union.. | 1 | 1 | Lucills Thornburg, 1944 Cecil Avenue, Knoxville, Tenn. |
| La Crosse, Wis., Trades and Labor Council | 1 | 1 | George W. Hall, 423 King Street, La Crosse, Wis. |
| Lake County, Ind., Central Labor Council | 1 | 1 | Steven Toth, 1085 Broadway, Gary, Ind. |
| Long Beach, Calif., Central Labor Union | 1 | 1 | Jack Arnold, 324 East Fourth Street, Long Beach 12, Calif. |
| Los Angeles County, Calif., Central Labor Council | 1 | 1 | W. J. Bassett, 536 Maple Ave., Los Angeles 13, Calif. |
| Louisville, Ky., Central Labor Union.... | 1 | 1 | R. A. Du Vall, 1401 Highland Ave., Louisville, Ky. |
| Lowell, Mass., Central Labor Union..... | 1 | 1 | Sidney E. Le Bow, 38 Highland Avenue, Lowell, Mass. |
| Lynchburg, Va., Central Labor Union... | 1 | 1 | Sallie D. Clinebell, 4400 Hilltop Drive, Lynchburg, Va. |
| Macon, Ga., Federation of Trades..... | 1 | 1 | J. B. Pate, 12 Hardeman Bldg., Macon, Ga. |
| Madison, Wis., Federation of Labor.... | 1 | 1 | Jerome B. White, 727 Clark Court, Madison 5, Wis. |
| Marion and Grant County, Ind., Central Labor Union | 1 | 1 | Victor Hood, 511 South Race St., Marion, Ind. |
| Marshalltown, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly | 1 | 1 | Chas. W. Pickering, 504 East Church Street, Marshalltown, Iowa. |

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-EIGHTH CONVENTION

| ORGANIZATIONS | No. of Delegates | No. of votes for each Delegate | NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Memphis, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council | 1 | 1 | Baxter Turnage, 321 Sterick Bldg., Memphis, Tenn. |
| Miami, Fla., Central Labor Union..... | 1 | 1 | Angelo Sands, 111 N. W. 24th Ave., Miami, Fla. |
| Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council | 1 | 1 | Frank H. Ranney, 1012 North Third Street, Milwaukee 3, Wis. |
| Minneapolis and Hennepin County, Minn., Central Labor Union..... | 1 | 1 | William V. Sinnott, 115 Fourth Street, S. E., Minneapolis 14, Minn. |
| Minot, N. Dak., Central Labor Union... | 1 | 1 | H. C. Kiehn, Minot, N. Dak. |
| Muncie, Ind., Central Labor Union..... | 1 | 1 | George McMahan, 308 W. Washington Street, Muncie, Ind. |
| Nassau and Suffolk Counties, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council.... | 1 | 1 | William C. De Koning, Labor Lyceum, Front Street, Uniondale, Hempstead, N. Y. |
| Neenah and Manasha, Wis., Central Labor Union | 1 | 1 | John Arnold, R. 1, Neenah, Wis. |
| Newark, N. J., Essex Trades Council... | 1 | 1 | John J. Vohden, Jr., 1875 Berkshire Drive, Union, N. J. |
| New Bedford, Mass., Central Labor Union | 1 | 1 | S. P. Jason, 129 Union Street, New Bedford, Mass. |
| New Orleans, La., Trades and Labor Council | 1 | 1 | Robert L. Soule, 627 North Street, New Orleans 12, La. |
| New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity | 1 | 1 | James C. Quinn, 265 W. 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y. |
| Niagara Falls, N. Y., Federation of Labor | 1 | 1 | Harry S. Jordan, 1103 Main Street, Niagara Falls, N. Y. |
| Oklahoma City, Okla., Central Trades and Labor Council..... | 1 | 1 | Jack Wood, P. O. Box 562, Oklahoma City, Okla. |
| Olympia, Wash., Trades Council..... | 1 | 1 | Nell Clark, Labor Temple, Olympia, Wash. |
| Omaha, Nebr., Central Labor Union.... | 1 | 1 | Albert M. Witzling, Labor Temple, Omaha 2, Nebr. |
| Orange County, Calif., Central Labor Council | 1 | 1 | Kathryn Arnold, 324 East Fourth Street, Long Beach, Calif. |
| Owatonna, Minn., Central Labor Union | 1 | 1 | Ralph Distad, East School Street, Owatonna, Minn. |
| Parkersburg, W. Va., Central Trades and Labor Council..... | 1 | 1 | Charles D. Uhl, 715 Ann St., Parkersburg, W. Va. |
| Pasadena-San Gabriel Valley, Calif., Central Labor Council..... | 1 | 1 | Joseph T. De Silva, 223 North Vermont, Los Angeles, Calif. |
| Passaic County, N. J., Central Labor Union | 1 | 1 | Sal Maso, 45 East 21st Street, Paterson 4, N. J. |
| Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union | 1 | 1 | Joseph A. McDonough, 1008 City Centre Bldg., 121 North Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pa. |

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-EIGHTH CONVENTION xxiii

| ORGANIZATIONS | No. of Delegates | No. of votes of each Delegate | NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Portland, Me., Central Labor Union | 1 | 1 | Frank X. Smith, 97 Belfort St., Portland, Me. |
| Portland and Vic., Oreg., Central Labor Council | 1 | 1 | Gust Anderson, 101 Labor Temple, Portland, Oreg. |
| Providence, R. I., Central Federated Union | 1 | 1 | Arthur P. Patt, 53 Third St., Providence, R. I. |
| Racine, Wis., Trades and Labor Council | 1 | 1 | Anthony Rosso, 3504 Kinzie Ave., Racine, Wis. |
| Rapid City, S. Dak., Central Labor Union | 1 | 1 | Carl H. Muehl, 811 Wood Avenue, Rapid City, S. Dak. |
| Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council | 1 | 1 | George M. Rhodes, 505 Brighton Avenue, Mt. Penn, Reading, Pa. |
| St. Cloud, Minn., Central Labor Union | 1 | 1 | Ovid E. C. Moran, 806 Ninth Avenue, North St. Cloud, Minn. |
| St. Joseph, Mo., Central Labor Council | 1 | 1 | Warren S. Welsh, Labor Temple, 5th and Edmond Streets, St. Joseph, Mo. |
| St. Louis, Mo., Trades and Labor Union | 1 | 1 | Inez Bruno, Room 1216, 211 North 7th St., St. Louis 1, Mo. |
| St. Paul, Minn., Trades and Labor Assembly | 1 | 1 | Joseph R. Okoneski, Labor Temple, 418 Auditorium St., St. Paul 2, Minn. |
| Salinas, Monterey County, Calif., Central Labor Union | 1 | 1 | William G. Kenyon, 274 E. Alisal Street, Salinas, Calif. |
| Salt Lake City, Utah, Federation of Labor | 1 | 1 | Don R. Evans, 1194 Lake Street, Salt Lake City, Utah. |
| San Antonio, Tex., Trades Council | 1 | 1 | William B. Arnold, 923 St. Anthony St., San Antonio, Tex. |
| San Bernardino, Calif., Central Labor Council | 1 | 1 | Harry E. Griffin, 568 4th St., San Bernardino, Calif. |
| San Diego, Calif., Federated Trades and Labor Council | 1 | 1 | John W. Quimby, Room 214, Crystal Palace Bldg., San Diego, Calif. |
| San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council | 1 | 1 | Jack Goldberger, 266 30th St., San Francisco, Calif. |
| San Pedro and Wilmington, Calif., Central Labor Council | 1 | 1 | Richard J. Seltzer, 1239 Locust Avenue, Long Beach, Calif. |
| Schenectady, N. Y., Federation of Labor | 1 | 1 | R. J. Carmichael, 1568 Kingston Avenue, Schenectady 8, N. Y. |
| Scranton, Pa., Central Labor Union | 1 | 1 | Joseph L. Downes, 1911 Electric Street, Dunmore 12, Pa. |
| Seattle and Vic., Wash., Central Labor Council | 1 | 1 | Claude O'Reilly, 7912 Fremont Avenue, Seattle, Wash. |
| Sheridan (Sheridan County), Wyo., Trades and Labor Council | 1 | 1 | R. C. Bentzen, 203 Wyoming Avenue, Sheridan, Wyo. |
| Sioux City, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly | 1 | 1 | John Schoen, 2359 Dacotah St., Sioux City 20, Iowa. |
| Sioux Falls, S. Dak., Trades and Labor Assembly | 1 | 1 | Clifford W. Shrader, 121 North Euclid Avenue, Sioux Falls, S. Dak. |

| ORGANIZATIONS | No. of Delegates | No. of votes of each Delegate | NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly | 1 | 1 | Frank E. Doyle, 7325 Coles Ave., Chicago, Ill. |
| South Norwalk, Conn., Central Labor Union | 1 | 1 | Walter J. Arndt, 26 Ambler Drive, Norwalk, Conn. |
| Southwestern Oregon, Oreg., Central Labor Trades Council | 1 | 1 | T. J. Cruickshank, Labor Temple, Coos Bay, Oreg. |
| Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor... | 1 | 1 | Samuel N. Bonansinga, Elks Club, Springfield, Ill. |
| Springfield, Mo., Central Labor Union.. | 1 | 1 | Otto Bowles, 321 S. Dollison, Springfield, Mo. |
| Springfield, Ohio, Trades and Labor Assembly | 1 | 1 | Joseph Mullahy, 105 South Freeman St., Springfield, Ohio. |
| Superior, Wis., Trades and Labor Assembly | 1 | 1 | Al Bernacki, 710 Hughitt, Superior, Wis. |
| Terre Haute, Ind., Central Labor Union | 1 | 1 | O. B. Soucie, 210 Odd Fellows Bldg., Terre Haute, Ind. |
| The Dalles, Oreg., Central Labor Council | 1 | 1 | Henry Wendt, General Delivery, The Dalles, Oreg. |
| Toledo, Ohio, Central Labor Union..... | 1 | 1 | Frank Fischer, 2525 Foraker St., Toledo, Ohio. |
| Trenton, N. J., Central Labor Union... 1 | 1 | 1 | Joseph G. Landgraf, 309 Chestnut Avenue, Trenton 3, N. J. |
| Tri-City Federation of Labor, Davenport, Iowa, Rock Island and Moline, Ill. | 1 | 1 | John H. De Young, 311 21st Street, Rock Island, Ill. |
| Tulsa, Okla., Trades Council..... 1 | 1 | 1 | Terry H. Beam, 803 South Rockford, Tulsa, Okla. |
| Vallejo, Calif., Trades and Labor Council | 1 | 1 | Thomas Rotell, 728 Eye St., Sacramento, Calif. |
| Ventura, Calif., Central Labor Union.. 1 | 1 | 1 | Mel Anderson, Route 3, Box 155 B. Ojai, Calif. |
| Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union | 1 | 1 | Clem F. Preller, 1745 K Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. |
| Waukegan, Ill., Lake County Central Trades and Labor Council..... 1 | 1 | 1 | Percy G. Snow, 730 North Milwaukee Avenue, Libertyville, Ill. |
| Waukesha, Wis., Trades and Labor Council | 1 | 1 | John R. Davis, 303 North St., Waukesha, Wis. |
| Willmar, Minn., Central Labor Union.. 1 | 1 | 1 | Ernest Lee, C.L.U. Hall, Willmar, Minn. |
| Zanesville, Ohio, Central Labor Union.. 1 | 1 | 1 | Wm. J. Lewis, 463 Van Horn St., Zanesville, Ohio. |

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-EIGHTH CONVENTION 220

LOCAL UNIONS

| ORGANIZATIONS | No. of Delegates | No. of votes of each Delegate | NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Advertising, Publicity and Newspaper Representatives' Union, No. 20711, St. Louis, Mo..... | 1 | 1 | Maury E. Rubin, 3733 Lindell Blvd., St. Louis 8, Mo. |
| Advertising, Publicity and Newspaper Representatives' Union No. 22519, Mobile, Ala. | 1 | 1 | Stanton Dann, P. O. Box 949, Mobile, Ala. |
| Aluminum Workers' Union No. 19256, Massena, N. Y..... | 1 | 27 | Eddie R. Stahl, care, David McDonald, Secy., 24 Woodland Ave., Massena, N. Y. |
| Aluminum and Tin Foil Workers' Union United, No. 19388, Louisville, Ky.... | 1 | 15 | Matthew W. Davis, 1310 Washington Bldg., Louisville, Ky. |
| Aluminum Workers' Union No. 22724, Lister, Ala. | 1 | 10 | Claude R. Mitchell, 12 Winston Square, Tuscumbia, Ala. |
| Blast Furnace and Coke Oven Workers' Union No. 20572, Toledo, Ohio..... | 1 | 6 | James M. Flynn, 2354 Tremainsville Road, Toledo 12, Ohio. |
| Brushmakers' Union No. 16303, New York, N. Y..... | 1 | 7 | Anthony Varrone, 1335 85th St., Brooklyn, N. Y. |
| Can Workers' Union No. 22623, Philadelphia, Pa. | 1 | 19 | Charles Naddeo, N. E. Cor. 13th and Spring Garden Streets, Philadelphia 23, Pa. |
| Coke and Gas Workers' Union No. 19657, Duluth, Minn..... | 1 | 3 | John S. Farmer, 607 North 60th Avenue, West, Duluth, Minn. |
| Editorial Association No. 23773, Dayton, Ohio | 1 | 1 | Clem F. Hackman, P. O. Box 23, Dayton, Ohio. |
| Embalmers' Union, Professional, No. 9049 San Francisco, Calif..... | 1 | 1 | Wm. J. Williams, 258 Parker Ave., San Francisco 18, Calif. |
| Enamel Workers' Union No. 22614, Moundsville, W. Va..... | 1 | 3 | Charles Mills, 10 Ash Avenue, Moundsville, W. Va. |
| Federal Labor Union No. 12985, Butte, Mont. | 1 | 1 | John H. Driscoll, 522 West Granite St., Butte, Mont. |
| Federal Labor Union No. 17983, San Juan, P. R..... | 1 | 1 | Berta C. Noguera, 173 Taft Street, (Santurce) San Juan, Puerto Rico. |
| Federal Labor Union No. 18456 (28 votes); Federal Labor Union No. 19322 (9 votes); Brass Employes' Union, Specialty No. 19788 (1 vote); Kenosha, Wis..... | 1 | 38 | Gregory Wallig, 6230 33rd Avenue, Kenosha, Wis. |
| Federal Labor Union No. 18887, Philadelphia, Pa. | 1 | 15 | Alex I. Dever, 28 Melrose Avenue, East Lansdowne, Pa. |
| Federal Labor Union No. 18907, Cleveland, Ohio | 1 | 1 | Esther Schueller, 3496 West 120th Street, Cleveland 11, Ohio. |
| Federal Labor Union No. 19119, East St. Louis, Ill..... | 1 | 4 | George T. Sinn, 459 Eichelberger, St. Louis, Mo. |
| Federal Labor Union No. 19635, Muskegon, Mich..... | 1 | 5 | D. F. Hartman, 183½ Cherry St., Muskegon Heights, Mich. |

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-EIGHTH CONVENTION

| ORGANIZATIONS | No. of Delegates | No. of votes of each Delegate | NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Federal Labor Union No. 19806, Milwaukee, Wis. | 1 | 51 | Clarence A. Seefeld, 3956 N. 28 Street, Milwaukee, Wis. |
| Federal Labor Union No. 19897, Jersey City, N. J. | 1 | 1 | George J. Kane, 777 Bergen Ave., Jersey City, N. J. |
| Federal Labor Union No. 20186, Barberton, Ohio | 1 | 34 | Paul E. George, 660 W. Tuscarawas Avenue, Barberton, Ohio. |
| Federal Labor Union No. 20459, St. Paul, Minn. | 1 | 12 | Marvin Lewis, 1608 Hillside Avenue, North, Minneapolis, Minn. |
| Federal Labor Union No. 20810, Battle Creek, Mich. | 1 | 7 | Clair Almond, 1007 W. Highland Blvd., Battle Creek, Mich. |
| Federal Labor Union No. 20897, Saginaw, Mich. | 1 | 8 | Wellington Knights, 1719 Wood Street, Saginaw, Mich. |
| Federal Labor Union No. 21626, Manville, N. J. | 1 | 23 | Edward Macko, 10 Doughty St., Raritan, N. J. |
| Federal Labor Union No. 22177, Detroit, Mich. | 1 | 15 | Howard Cameron, 19407 Omira, Detroit 3, Mich. |
| Federal Labor Union No. 22454, New Orleans, La. | 1 | 1 | Claude P. Babin, 4421 Iberville Street, New Orleans 19, La. |
| Federal Labor Union No. 22631, Milwaukee, Wis. | 1 | 30 | John E. Cudahy, 2658 N. Bremen Street, Milwaukee 12, Wis. |
| Federal Labor Union No. 23006, Hastings, Minn. | 1 | 1 | R. J. Frost, care K. B. Voelker, 903 W. 4th St., Hastings, Minn. |
| Federal Labor Union No. 23422, Latonia, Ky. | 1 | 2 | V. O. Cottengim, 4312 Church Street, Covington, Ky. |
| Federal Labor Union No. 23823, Newark, Ohio | 1 | 3 | Darrell C. Johnson, R. D. No. 4, Newark, Ohio. |
| Federal Labor Union No. 23843, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn. | 1 | 1 | L. E. Groner, Labor Temple, St. Paul 2, Minn. |
| Federal Labor Union No. 24044, Detroit, Mich. | 1 | 1 | Mike Nicoletti, 3900 Berkshire Ave., Van Dyke, Mich. |
| Federal Labor Union No. 24280, Detroit, Mich. | 1 | 1 | Verna O. Corrigan, 19170 Greeley, Detroit, Mich. |
| Federal Labor Union No. 24411, Bridgeport, Conn. | 1 | 16 | John T. Nowell, 199 Woodside Avenue, Bridgeport, Conn. |
| Fur Workers' Union No. 21479 (3 votes); Fur Workers' Union No. 21480 (2 votes); Fur Workers' Union No. 21481 (1 vote); Toronto, Ontario, Canada | 1 | 6 | Max Federman, 169 Robert Street, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. |
| Gas Workers' Union No. 18007, Chicago, Ill. | 1 | 22 | James E. Fitzpatrick, 8151 S. Anthony Avenue, Chicago 17, Ill. |
| Gas Workers' Union No. 20490, Minneapolis, Minn. | 1 | 7 | Roland F. De Tunca, 425 21st Avenue, North, Minneapolis 11, Minn. |
| Match Workers' Union United, No. 18565, Wadsworth, Ohio | 1 | 13 | Raymond Barnett, 68 Fairview Avenue, Wadsworth, Ohio. |

DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-EIGHTH CONVENTION *xxvii*

| ORGANIZATIONS | No. of Delegates | No. of votes of each Delegate | NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Newsboys' Union No. 15834, Seattle, Wash. | 1 | 1 | Frank Turco, Third and Pike, Seattle, Wash. |
| Newspaper Workers' Union, Labor and Community, No. 21877, Chicago, Ill. | 1 | 1 | Jesse Albritton, 834 East 64th Place, Chicago 37, Ill. |
| Optical Workers' Union No. 18820, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 1 | 2 | Ervine Rump, 86 Glenby Street, Pittsburgh, Pa. |
| Packers and Preserve Workers' Union No. 20989, San Francisco, Calif. | 1 | 2 | Lawrence T. Bregante, 31 Jansen Street, San Francisco 11, Calif. |
| Quarry Workers' Union No. 21993, Alpena, Mich. | 1 | 2 | Walter G. Robinson, 201 W. Clark Street, Alpena, Mich. |
| Rubber Workers' Union No. 22408, Wabash, Ind. | 1 | 9 | Paul H. Wakefield, 644 Sivey Street, Wabash, Ind. |
| Rubber Workers' Union No. 24043, Logansport, Ind. | 1 | 2 | Donald Felker, 1600 North Street, Logansport, Ind. |
| Seltzer Workers' Union No. 23181, New York, N. Y. | 1 | 1 | William Wolpert, 175 E. Broadway, New York 2, N. Y. |
| Smelter Workers' Union No. 21538, Blackwell, Okla. | 1 | 9 | O. C. Campbell, 222 West Kansas Avenue, Blackwell, Okla. |
| Sugar Refinery Employes' Union, Beet, No. 21767, Brighton, Colo. | 1 | 1 | R. E. James, 200 Home State Bank Bldg., Kansas City, Kans. |
| Textile Examiners and Finishers' Union No. 18205, New York, N. Y. | 1 | 1 | Louis Lufrano, 41 Union Square, New York 3, N. Y. |
| Theatrical Agents and Managers, Association of, No. 18032, New York, N. Y. | 1 | 5 | Milton Weintraub, 25 West 45th Street, New York, N. Y. |
| Waste Material Handlers' Union No. 20467, Chicago, Ill. | 1 | 1 | Paul J. Dorfman, 3159 West Roosevelt Road, Chicago 12, Ill. |
| Wire Finishers' Union No. 23866, Cleveland, Ohio | 1 | 3 | James Hadlock, 2000 Eglindale Avenue, Cleveland 13, Ohio. |

xxviii DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-EIGHTH CONVENTION

FRATERNAL DELEGATES

| ORGANIZATIONS | No. of Delegates | No. of votes of each Delegate | NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES |
|----------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| British Trades Union Congress..... | 2 | 1 | Lincoln Evans, Swinton House, 324 Gray's Inn Road, London, W. C. 1, England. |
| | | 1 | T. Williamson, 5 Endsleigh Gardens, London, W. C. 1, England. |
| Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.. | 1 | 1 | R. P. Rintoul, care J. W. Buckley, 172 McLaren St., Ottawa, Ont., Canada. |
| International Labor Press of America.. | | — | Frank B. Powers, Commercial Telegraphers Journal, Washington, D. C. |

| Number of Unions | Name | Number of Delegates | Number of Votes |
|------------------|--------------------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| 93 | National and International Unions | 385 | 70,207 |
| 4 | Departments | 4 | 4 |
| 45 | State Branches | 45 | 45 |
| 132 | Central Labor Unions | 132 | 132 |
| 58 | Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions | 54 | 461 |
| 3 | Fraternal Organizations | 4 | 3 |
| — | | — | — |
| 335 | | 624 | 70,852 |

DELEGATES AND FRATERNAL DELEGATES

Delegates from the American Federation of Labor to the International Federation of Trade Unions

| 1909 Samuel Gompers. | 1911 James Duncan. 1913 George W. Perkins. | *1915 *1917 |
|------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| To British Trades Union Congress | | |
| 1895 { Samuel Gompers. P. J. McGuire. | 1913 { Charles L. Baine. Louis Kemper. | 1931 { Joseph P. Ryan. Joseph V. Moreschi. |
| 1896 { J. W. Sullivan. Adolph Strasser. | *1914 { W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll. | 1932 { Joseph A. Franklin. E. E. Millman. |
| 1897 { Martin Fox. Geo. E. McNeill. | †1915 { W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll. | 1933 { Thomas E. Burke. Christian M. Madsen. |
| 1898 { James Duncan. Harry Lloyd. | 1916 { W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll. | 1934 { Michael J. Colleran. Edward Flore. |
| 1899 { James O'Connell. Thomas F. Tracy. | 1917 { John Golden. James Lord. | 1935 { Henry F. Schmal. Dennis Lane. |
| 1900 { J. M. Hunter. Sidney J. Kent. | 1918 { J. A. Franklin. Wm. J. Bowen. | 1936 { William J. McSorley. Edward Canavan. |
| 1901 { Daniel J. Keefe. Eugene F. O'Rourke. | 1919 { Wm. L. Hutcheson. John J. Hynes. | 1937 { William C. BIRTHRIGHT. John B. Haggerty. |
| 1902 { Patrick Dolan. Henry Blackmore. | 1920 { Timothy Healy. Mrs. Sarah Conboy. | 1938 { P. J. Morrin. Daniel J. Tobin. |
| 1903 { Max S. Hayes. Martin Lawlor. | 1921 { Wm. J. Spencer. James J. Forrester. | 1939 { Felix H. Knight. James Maloney |
| 1904 { W. D. Ryan. D. D. Driscoll. | 1922 { Benjamin Schlesinger. E. J. McGivern. | **1940 { |
| 1905 { John A. Moffitt. James Wood. | 1923 { Peter Shaughnessy. Anthony J. Chlopek. | **1941 { |
| 1906 { Frank K. Foster. James Wilson. | 1924 { Peter J. Brady. Edward J. Gainor. | 1942 { Daniel J. Tobin. |
| 1907 { John T. Dempsey. W. E. Klapsetzky. | 1925 { A. Adamski. Edw. J. Evans. | 1943 { Isidore Nagler. Harold D. Ulrich. |
| 1908 { Andrew Furuseth. James J. Creamer. | 1926 { Frank Farrington. Wm. L. Hutcheson. | 1944 { Hugo Ernst. Elokt Ross. |
| 1909 { John P. Frey. B. A. Larger. | 1927 { John Coefield. Michael Casey. | 1945 { W. C. Doherty. George Meany. |
| 1910 { W. B. Wilson. T. V. O'Connor. | 1928 { Michael F. Greene. William B. Fitzgerald. | 1946 { Ed. J. Brown. Thos. Kennedy. |
| 1911 { Wm. B. Macfarlane. Daniel J. Tobin. | 1929 { William J. Rooney. William P. Clarke. | 1947 { George Richardson. Arnold S. Zander. |
| 1912 { George L. Berry. John H. Walker. | 1930 { John J. Manning. Thomas E. Maloy. | 1948 { Edward J. Volz. Patrick E. Gorman. |
| | | 1949 { H. C. Bates. Dave Beck. |
| From British Trades Union Congress | | |
| 1894 { John Burns. David Holmes. | 1910 { W. Brace. Ben Turner. | 1926 { J. Bromley. G. Hicks. |
| 1895 { Edward Cowey. James Mawdsley. | 1911 { G. H. Roberts. J. Crinion. | 1927 { Arthur Pugh. W. Sherwood. |
| 1896 { Sam Woods. John Mallinson. | 1912 { J. A. Seddon. R. Smillie. | 1928 { John Marchbank. E. Edwards. |
| 1897 { Edward Harford. J. Havelock Wilson. | 1913 { I. H. Gwynne. T. Greenall. | 1929 { J. T. Brownlie. J. Bell. |
| 1898 { William Inskip. William Thorne. | **1914 { | 1930 { A. A. Findlay. A. Shaw. |
| 1899 { James Haslam. Alexander Wilkie. | 1915 { C. G. Ammon. E. Bevin. | 1931 { F. Wolstencroft. J. Beard. |
| 1900 { John Weir. Pete Curran. | 1916 { H. Gosling. W. Whitefield. | 1932 { W. Holmes. Charles Duke. |
| 1901 { Frank Chandler. Ben Tillett. | 1917 { John Hill. Arthur Hayday. | 1933 { James Rowan. J. A. Hall. |
| 1902 { M. Arrandale. E. Edwards. | 1918 { F. Hall. Miss Margaret Bondfield | 1934 { A. G. Walkden. John Stokes. |
| 1903 { William Mullin. James O'Grady. | 1919 { S. Finney. Miss Margaret Bondfield | 1935 { Andrew Conley. Andrew Naesmith. |
| 1904 { William Abraham. James Gignall. | 1920 { J. W. Ogden. J. Jones. | 1936 { William Kean. George Gibson. |
| 1905 { William Mosses. David Gilmour. | 1921 { J. H. Thomas. James Walker. | 1937 { William R. Townley. John C. Little. |
| 1906 { Allen Gee. J. N. Bell. | 1922 { E. L. Poulton. H. Smith. | 1938 { Joseph Jones. J. W. Stephenson. |
| 1907 { David J. Shackleton. John Hodge. | 1923 { R. B. Walker. W. C. Robinson. | 1939 { Herbert Henry Elvin. John Brown. |
| 1908 { John Wadsworth. H. Skinner. | 1924 { C. T. Cramp. A. B. Swales. | 1940 { Rt. Hon. Sir Walter Citrine. |
| 1909 { A. H. Gill. J. R. Clynes. | 1925 { Ben Smith. A. A. Purcell. | 1941 { George W. Thomson. Edward Hough. |

DELEGATES AND FRATERNAL DELEGATES

From British Trades Union Congress (Continued)

| | | | | | |
|------|----------------------------------------|-------|--------------------------------------|------|------------------------------------|
| 1942 | { Jack Tanner. Arthur Bryn Roberts. | *1945 | | 1948 | { H. L. Bullock. W. Hutchinson. |
| 1943 | { Harry N. Harrison. W. Bayliss. | 1946 | { Tom O'Brien. Sam Watson. | 1949 | { Lincoln Evans T. Williamson. |
| 1944 | { John Brown. Arthur Horner. | 1947 | { Arthur Deakin. Robert Openshaw. | | |

To Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

| | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1898 Thomas I. Kidd. | 1916 Harry P. Corcoran. | 1933 James C. Quinn. |
| 1899 James H. Sullivan. | 1917 Emanuel Koveleski. | 1934 Joseph P. McCurdy. |
| 1900 W. D. Mahon. | 1918 Stuart H. Hayward. | 1935 James Maloney. |
| 1901 John R. O'Brien. | 1919 Sam Griggs. | 1936 M. J. Gillooly. |
| 1902 D. D. Driscoll. | 1920 W. G. Shea. | 1937 R. A. Henning. |
| 1903 John Coleman. | 1921 John O'Hara. | 1938 Joseph J. Kehoe. |
| 1904 John H. Richards. | 1922 William E. Hulbeck. | 1939 E. L. Wheatley. |
| 1905 Frank Feeney. | 1923 Walter N. Reddick. | 1940 Claude O'Reilly. |
| 1906 Thomas A. Rickert. | 1924 Walter W. Britton. | 1941 Harry Stevenson. |
| 1907 Robert S. Maloney. | 1925 James Duncan. | 1942 Thomas J. Lyons. |
| 1908 Hugh Frayne. | 1926 James B. Connors. | 1943 Arnold S. Zander. |
| 1909 Jerome Jones. | 1927 Thos. J. McQuade. | 1944 Anthony Valente. |
| 1910 John J. Manning. | 1928 Joseph W. Morton. | *1945 |
| 1911 Wm. J. Tracy. | 1929 John D. Haggerty. | 1946 Matthew Wolf. |
| 1912 John T. Smith. | 1930 Adolph Kummer. | 1947 Leo George. |
| 1913 Wm. J. McSorley. | 1931 Charles J. Case. | 1948 Richard Walsh. |
| 1914 M. M. Donoghue. | 1932 Frank B. Powers. | 1949 H. A. Bradley. |
| 1915 H. J. Conway. | | |

From Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

| | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1898 David A. Carey. | 1916 Thomas A. Stevenson. | 1933 Fred J. White. |
| 1899 David A. Carey. | 1917 Wm. Lodge. | 1934 William Dunn. |
| 1900 David A. Carey. | 1918 Thos. Moore. | 1935 J. A. P. Haydon, M. C. |
| 1901 P. M. Draper. | 1919 J. M. Walsh. | 1936 George R. Brunet. |
| 1902 John H. Kennedy. | 1920 J. A. McClellan. | 1937 Rod Plant. |
| 1903 James Simpson. | 1921 M. U. F. Bush. | 1938 W. G. Russell. |
| 1904 John A. Flett. | 1922 Ernest Robinson. | 1939 D. W. Kennedy. |
| 1905 William V. Todd. | 1923 James A. Sullivan. | 1940 E. A. Jamieson. |
| 1906 Samuel L. Landers. | 1924 John Colbert. | 1941 H. C. Simpson. |
| 1907 W. R. Trotter. | 1925 Donald Dear. | 1942 Donovan Swailes. |
| 1908 P. M. Draper. | 1926 Richard Lynch. | 1943 Joseph Matte. |
| 1909 F. Bancroft. | 1927 Alfred Farmilo. | 1944 A. R. Johnstone. |
| 1910 R. P. Plattipiece. | 1928 Wm. Varley. | *1945 |
| 1911 Wm. Glockling. | 1929 James A. Whitebone. | 1946 Percy Bengough. |
| 1912 John W. Bruce. | 1930 William E. Stephenson. | 1947 Robert H. Brown. |
| 1913 Gus Francq. | 1931 Colin McDonald. | 1948 Hugh J. Sedgwick. |
| 1914 R. A. Rigg. | 1932 W. V. Turnbull. | 1949 R. P. Rintoul. |
| 1915 Fred Bancroft. | | |

From German Federation of Labor

1924 Peter Grassman.

From Mexican Federation of Labor

| | | | | | |
|------|---------------------------------------|------|------------------------------------------|------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1924 | { Jose W. Kelly. Roberto Haberman. | 1925 | { Canuto A. Vargas. Roberto Haberman. | 1926 | { Ricardo Trevino. Jose F. Gutierrez. Salustrio Hernandez. |
| | | 1941 | { Luis N. Morones. Roberto Haberman. | | |

* No convention.

**No delegates.

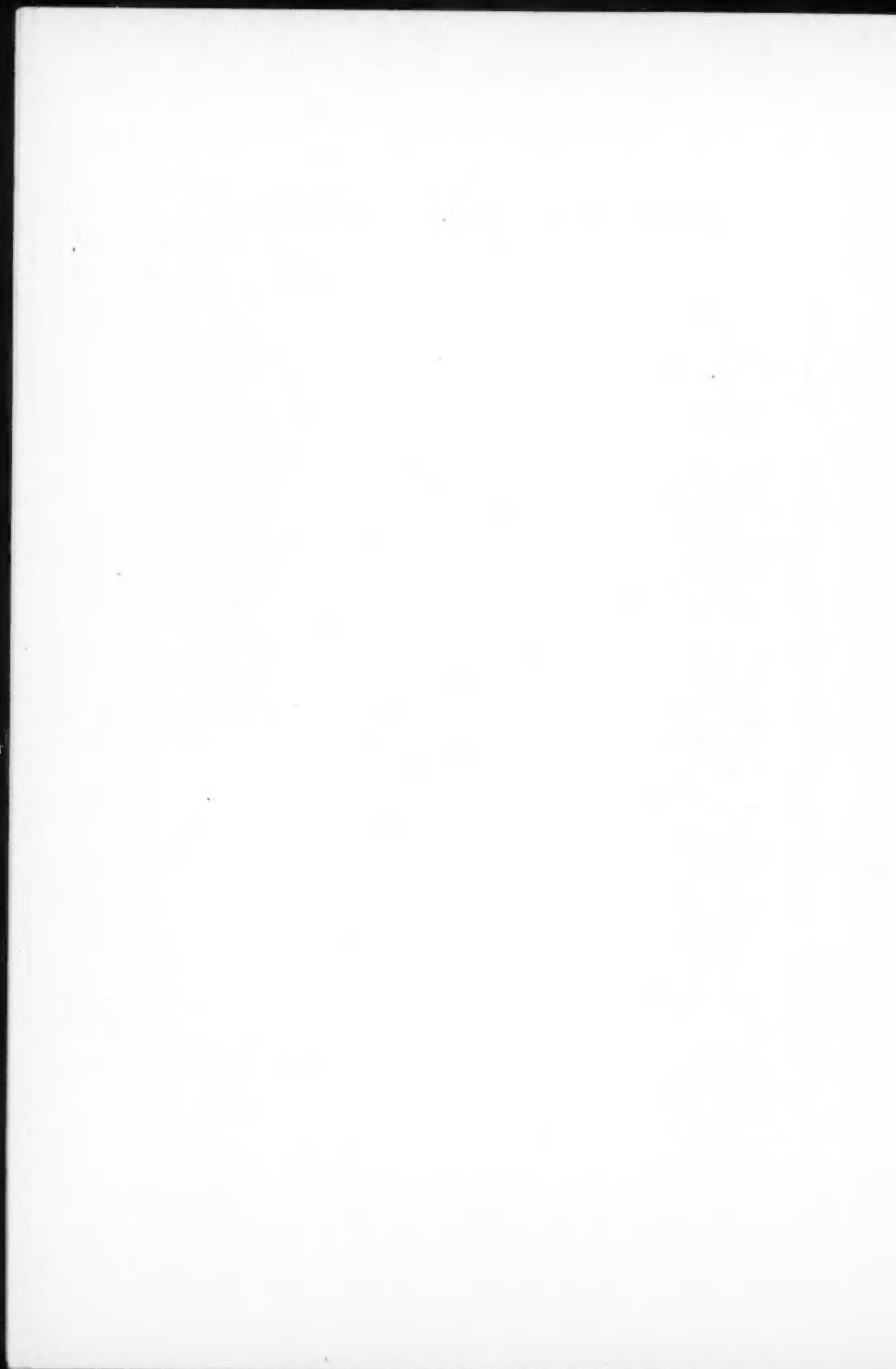
†Did not attend.

Conventions

of the

American Federation of Labor

| Year | City and State | Date |
|------|----------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| 1881 | Pittsburgh, Pa. | December 15-18 |
| 1882 | Cleveland, Ohio | November 21-24 |
| 1883 | New York, N. Y. | August 21-24 |
| 1884 | Chicago, Ill. | October 7-10 |
| 1885 | Washington, D. C. | December 8-11 |
| 1886 | Columbus, Ohio | December 8-12 |
| 1887 | Baltimore, Md. | December 13-17 |
| 1888 | St. Louis, Mo. | December 11-15 |
| 1889 | Boston, Mass. | December 10-14 |
| 1890 | Detroit, Mich. | December 8-13 |
| 1891 | Birmingham, Ala. | December 14-19 |
| 1892 | Philadelphia, Pa. | December 12-17 |
| 1893 | Chicago, Ill. | December 11-19 |
| 1894 | Denver, Colo. | December 10-18 |
| 1895 | New York, N. Y. | December 9-17 |
| 1896 | Cincinnati, Ohio | December 14-21 |
| 1897 | Nashville, Tenn. | December 13-21 |
| 1898 | Kansas City, Mo. | December 12-20 |
| 1899 | Detroit, Mich. | December 11-20 |
| 1900 | Louisville, Ky. | December 6-15 |
| 1901 | Scranton, Pa. | December 5-14 |
| 1902 | New Orleans, La. | November 13-22 |
| 1903 | Boston, Mass. | November 9-23 |
| 1904 | San Francisco, Calif. | November 14-26 |
| 1905 | Pittsburgh, Pa. | November 13-25 |
| 1906 | Minneapolis, Minn. | November 12-24 |
| 1907 | Norfolk, Va. | November 11-23 |
| 1908 | Denver, Colo. | November 9-21 |
| 1909 | Toronto, Ontario, Canada | November 8-20 |
| 1910 | St. Louis, Mo. | November 14-26 |
| 1911 | Atlanta, Ga. | November 13-25 |
| 1912 | Rochester, N. Y. | November 11-23 |
| 1913 | Seattle, Wash. | November 10-22 |
| 1914 | Philadelphia, Pa. | November 9-21 |
| 1915 | San Francisco, Calif. | November 8-22 |
| 1916 | Baltimore, Md. | November 13-25 |
| 1917 | Buffalo, N. Y. | November 12-24 |
| 1918 | St. Paul, Minn. | June 10-20 |
| 1919 | Atlantic City, N. J. | June 9-23 |
| 1920 | Montreal, Quebec, Canada | June 7-19 |
| 1921 | Denver, Colo. | June 13-25 |
| 1922 | Cincinnati, Ohio | June 12-24 |
| 1923 | Portland, Oreg. | October 1-12 |
| 1924 | El Paso, Texas | November 17-25 |
| 1925 | Atlantic City, N. J. | October 5-16 |
| 1926 | Detroit, Mich. | October 4-14 |
| 1927 | Los Angeles, Calif. | October 3-14 |
| 1928 | New Orleans, La. | November 19-28 |
| 1929 | Toronto, Ontario, Canada | October 7-18 |
| 1930 | Boston, Mass. | October 6-17 |
| 1931 | Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada | October 5-15 |
| 1932 | Cincinnati, Ohio | Nov. 21-Dec. 2 |
| 1933 | Washington, D. C. | October 2-13 |
| 1934 | San Francisco, Calif. | October 1-12 |
| 1935 | Atlantic City, N. J. | October 7-19 |
| 1936 | Tampa, Fla. | November 16-27 |
| 1937 | Denver, Colo. | October 4-15 |
| 1938 | Houston, Texas | October 3-13 |
| 1939 | Cincinnati, Ohio | October 2-13 |
| 1940 | New Orleans, La. | November 18-29 |
| 1941 | Seattle, Wash. | October 6-16 |
| 1942 | Toronto, Ontario, Canada | October 5-14 |
| 1943 | Boston, Mass. | October 4-14 |
| 1944 | New Orleans, La. | November 20-30 |
| 1945 | Convention canceled because of wartime conditions. | |
| 1946 | Chicago, Ill. | October 7-17 |
| 1947 | San Francisco, Calif. | October 6-16 |
| 1948 | Cincinnati, Ohio | November 15-22 |
| 1949 | St. Paul, Minn. | October 3-10 |



CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1950

PREAMBLE

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit.

It, therefore, behooves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the Trade Union system.

CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I.—NAME

This Association shall be known as THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS

SECTION 1. The object of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial, or Provincial organizations to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

SEC. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

SEC. 3. The establishment of Departments composed of National or International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of the same industry, and which Departments shall be governed in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to aid and assist each other; to aid, and encourage the sale of union label goods, and to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

SEC. 5. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION

SECTION 1. The convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 A. M., on the third Monday in September at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding convention. If the proper convention arrangements or reasonable hotel accommodations can not be secured in that city, the Executive Council may change the place of meeting.

SEC. 2 A. Special conventions may be called by direction of a regular convention, by order of the Executive Council, or on request of National and International Unions representing a majority of the total membership of the American Federation of Labor, as evidenced by the records of the Secretary-Treasurer to the last regular convention.

B. Special conventions shall not be called unless at least 30 days' notice of such special convention, together with statement of particular subject or subjects to be considered, has been given to all affiliated organizations.

C. Representation to special conventions shall be on the same basis and subject to like qualifications and procedure governing regular conventions.

D. Special conventions shall be clothed with like authority and power conferred upon regular conventions, its decisions shall be equally binding and it shall be governed by the same procedure applicable to regular conventions; however, such special conventions shall be limited solely to the subject or subjects specifically and definitely indicated in the call for such special convention.

SEC. 3. At the opening of the convention the President shall take the chair and call the convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

SEC. 4. The following committees, consisting of 15 members each, shall be appointed by the President; First, Rules and Order of Business; second, Report of Executive Council; third, Resolutions; fourth, Laws; fifth, Organization; sixth, Labels; seventh, Adjustment; eighth, Local and Federated Bodies; ninth, Education; tenth, State Organization; eleventh, Industrial Relations; twelfth, Building Trades (to which shall be referred all grievances and other matters pertaining exclusively to the building trades); thirteenth, Legislation.

SEC. 5. The President shall direct the chief executive officers of three National or International Unions, at least 10 days previous to the holding of the annual convention, to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations-elect, who shall compose an Auditing Committee. The committee shall meet at such place as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct, and at such time prior to the convention as the President may determine is necessary for the proper performance of their duty; and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for

the preceding 12 months, and report upon credentials immediately upon the opening of the convention. The expense of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

SEC. 6.—All resolutions, petitions, memorials and/or appeals to be considered by any subsequent convention of the American Federation of Labor must be received by the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor at headquarters in Washington, D. C., 30 days immediately preceding the opening of the convention; except in instances where such resolutions, petitions, memorials, appeals, etc., have been acted upon and approved at a regular convention of a National or International Union or State Federation of Labor, held during this 30-day period, in which event such proposals shall be received up to five days prior to the convening date of the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

2 All resolutions, petitions, memorials and/or appeals received or submitted after the time hereinbefore stipulated or during the convention shall be referred to the Executive Council and the Executive Council shall refer all such proposal or proposals to the convention with the understanding that acceptance of such proposal or proposals is dependent upon the unanimous consent of the convention.

3 Any or all proposals emanating from directly affiliated local and federal labor unions shall be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and disposition. The Executive Council shall in turn advise the convention of the American Federation of Labor of the disposition made of such proposal or proposals.

4 Proposals emanating from state federations of labor to receive consideration of a convention of the American Federation of Labor must first have received the approval of the previous convention of the state federation of labor involved.

In the case of city central labor unions any proposal or proposals to be considered must have first received the approval of such central labor union at a regularly constituted meeting of such organization.

5 All resolutions, memorials, petitions and/or appeals received shall, immediately upon the expiration of the time for introduction hereinbefore indicated, be grouped as to nature of contents, character of subjects embraced, and committees to which they are to be referred, and all such proposals in such allocated form shall be prepared for distribution at the opening session of the convention.

6 The President shall be authorized in the interest of helpful consideration and expediency to appoint the contemplated chairman and secretary of the Committee on Resolutions and/or of any other committee to be appointed and as the number and character of proposals may indicate, and to require such chairman and secretary to meet either at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, or at the convention city previous to the opening of the convention, to consider proposals to be referred to such committee or committees and in order to enable them to more speedily and effectually report thereon to the convention itself.

SEC. 7. The convention shall have power to order an executive session at any time.

SEC. 8. None other than members of a bona fide Trade Union shall be permitted to address the convention or to read papers

therein, except by a two-thirds vote of the convention.

SEC. 9. Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialist, Populist, Prohibition, or any other, shall have no place in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 10. The rules and order of business governing the preceding convention shall be in force from the opening of any convention of the American Federation of Labor until new rules have been adopted by action of the convention.

SEC. 11. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of not less than one-fourth of the delegates attending a convention.

SEC. 12. No grievance shall be considered by any convention that has been decided by a previous convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves.

ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION

SECTION 1. The basis of representation in the convention shall be: From National and International Unions, for less than 4,000 members, one delegate; 4,000 or more, two delegates; 8,000 or more, three delegates; 16,000 or more, four delegates; 32,000 or more, five delegates; and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, National Departments, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that Local Unions and Federal Labor Unions herein referred to, located in one city, shall have the right to unite in sending a delegate to represent them unitedly. Only bona fide wage workers who are not members of, or eligible to membership in other Trade Unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor Unions. Only those persons whose Local Unions are affiliated with Central Bodies, or with State Branches and who are delegates to said Central Bodies or State Branches shall be eligible to represent City Central Bodies or State Branches in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 2. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer of this body immediately after their election.

SEC. 3. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every 100 members or major fraction thereof which he represents, provided that the delegate's union has been affiliated with the Federation for the full fiscal year preceding the convention. When affiliated for a period of less than one year, each delegate shall cast one-twelfth of one vote for each 100 members or major fraction thereof which he represents for each month for which per capita tax has been paid upon the members of his union. No City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

SEC. 4. The Secretary-Treasurer shall prepare for the use of the convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year, from reports

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made to the office of the Federation not later than August 31, preceding the annual convention.

SEC. 5. No organization or person that has seceded or has been suspended, or expelled by the American Federation of Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section. No organization officered or controlled by Communists, or any person espousing Communism or advocating the violent overthrow of our institutions, shall be allowed representation or recognition in any Central Body or State Federation of Labor.

SEC. 6. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

SECTION 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, 13 Vice Presidents and a Secretary-Treasurer, to be elected by the convention on the last day of the session unless otherwise determined by the convention and these officers shall be the Executive Council.

SEC. 2. The President and Secretary-Treasurer shall be members of the succeeding convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

SEC. 3. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the 31st day of December in the year succeeding the convention.

SEC. 5. The President and Secretary-Treasurer shall engage suitable offices in the same building at Washington, D. C., for the transaction of the business of the organization.

SEC. 6. All books and financial accounts shall at all times be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF PRESIDENT

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the regular and special conventions; to exercise supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to sign all official documents, and to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 2. The President shall submit to the Secretary-Treasurer at the end of each month an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and shall report to the annual convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council.

SEC. 3. The President, if not a delegate, shall have the casting vote in case of a tie, but shall not vote at other times. He shall be required to devote all his time to the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 4. The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when necessary; and shall preside over their deliberations, and shall

receive for his services \$25,000 per annum, payable weekly.

SEC. 5. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resignation, or other cause, the Secretary-Treasurer shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In that event it shall be the duty of the Secretary-Treasurer to issue, within six days from the date of vacancy a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at headquarters for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

SEC. 6. The President shall be authorized and empowered to discipline State Federations of Labor, City Central Labor Unions, and Local and Federal Labor Unions, including authority to suspend and/or expel any officer or member thereof, and/or to suspend and/or revoke their charter subject first to an appeal to the Executive Council and thereafter to the next regular convention immediately following. The President, with the approval of the Executive Council, shall likewise have authority and be empowered to safeguard and protect and if necessary take immediate charge of all equities and properties, tangible or intangible, acquired and/or possessed by State Federations of Labor, City Central Labor Unions and Local and Federal Labor Unions or their subsidiaries or agents, whenever or however such equities and/or properties may be jeopardized through disobedience to the Constitution, laws, rules and requirements of the American Federation of Labor or for any other reason or cause deemed imperative by the President and the Executive Council, and shall hold same in trust as provided by the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

Disciplinary action by the President shall consist of "emergency action" and "decisions," the latter being subject to the appeal to the Executive Council hereinbefore provided. "Emergency action" shall be taken when in the opinion of the President it is necessary to preserve the rights of the American Federation of Labor, or of any affiliate mentioned in this section, or of any officers or members thereof, and for the purpose of preserving the status quo. Emergency action shall be effective only for 45 days unless within such 45 days written charges are caused to be served on the affiliate involved, or on the officers or members involved if they are individually charged. If such charges are served them the emergency action shall stand until a trial is had before the President or a representative designated by him to hear them. Such trial shall commence within 45 days after the charges have been served. If the trial is before a representative designated by the President he shall report his findings orally or in writing to the President, who shall, within 15 days, render a decision in the matter. Such decision shall consist of a dismissal of the charges if found untrue or that they, or part of them, are sustained, whereupon the President shall take such disciplinary action as hereinbefore authorized. Such action shall constitute the President's "decision," but shall be subject to change or modification by him before an appeal to the Executive Council is acted upon. An appeal to the Executive Council shall be in writing and mailed to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor within 15 days after the President has rendered his decision. Pending an appeal, the decision of the President shall remain in full force and effect.

ARTICLE VII.—DUTIES OF SECRETARY-TREASURER

SECTION 1. The duties of the Secretary-Treasurer shall be to take charge of all moneys, property, securities and other evidence of investment, books, papers and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the regular and special conventions, and to furnish the Committee on Credentials at the convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body; to forward on March 1st and September 1st of each year to the secretaries of all affiliated organizations a list of the names and addresses of all secretaries and organizers.

SEC. 2. The Secretary-Treasurer shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the regular and special conventions may direct; he shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation which shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

SEC. 3. The Secretary-Treasurer shall collect the interest on all interest-bearing securities or other deposits at the expiration of each interest period. The Secretary-Treasurer shall deposit in open account in bank or banks in the name of the American Federation of Labor and as Secretary-Treasurer all amounts in his possession not in certificates of deposit or invested interest-bearing securities, and before any money thus deposited can be withdrawn each check shall be signed by him as Secretary-Treasurer. A copy of this section shall be forwarded by the President of the Federation to each bank upon which the Federation holds certificates of deposit.

SEC. 4. The Secretary-Treasurer shall pay all warrants regularly drawn when signed by the President or his authorized agent as required by this Constitution, and none others.

SEC. 5. The Secretary-Treasurer shall issue stamps to Local and Federal Labor Unions, which shall be used by such unions with which to receipt for members' dues.

SEC. 6. It shall be the duty of each International, National, Local Trade and Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations containing a statement of their membership in good standing and to furnish such additional statistical data as may be called for by the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor as may be in the possession of the respective unions.

SEC. 7. The Secretary-Treasurer shall give a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such amount as may be determined by the Executive Council, and shall report to the annual convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive \$23,000 per annum payable weekly.

SEC. 8. The Secretary-Treasurer shall submit to the Auditing Committee for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended; close all accounts of the Federation on August 31 of each year and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing convention. He shall print the financial statement quarterly as a separate document and

forward copy to all affiliated National and International Unions, State Federations of Labor, City Central Bodies and directly affiliated Local Unions.

ARTICLE VIII.—DUTIES OF FINANCE COMMITTEE

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall appoint three of its members as a Finance Committee, of which the President shall be one. This Finance Committee, with the Secretary-Treasurer, shall be clothed with authority to invest the surplus funds of the Federation in sound securities, or to deposit same in bank or banks in interest-bearing certificates of deposit. Surplus funds of the American Federation of Labor shall be invested in sound securities or shall be deposited by the Secretary-Treasurer in bank or banks in interest-bearing certificates of deposit in the name of the American Federation of Labor as directed by the Finance Committee, and in order to be cashed shall require the signatures of the Secretary-Treasurer or his authorized agent, and the President or his authorized agent.

SEC. 2. All securities and other evidence of investment shall be placed in a safe deposit box in the name of the American Federation of Labor in a bank selected by the Finance Committee, and access to said box shall only be had jointly by the Secretary-Treasurer and the President or the Secretary-Treasurer and at least one member of the Finance Committee designated by the President.

ARTICLE IX.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall consist of the President, 13 Vice Presidents and the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor. All Executive Council members shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor. All Executive Council members shall function as such until December 31st in the year succeeding the convention.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the convention may direct.

SEC. 3. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions, and to organize Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and connect them with the Federation until such time as there is a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

SEC. 4. When a National or International Union has been formed, the President shall notify all Local Unions of that trade to affiliate with such National or International Union; and unless said notification be complied with within three months, their charter shall be revoked.

SEC. 5. The Executive Council shall also prepare and present to the convention, in printed form, a concise statement of the details leading up to approved and pending boycotts (and all matters of interest to the convention), and no indorsement for a boycott shall be considered by the convention except it has been so reported by the Executive Council.

SEC. 6. While we recognize the right of

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each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

SEC. 7. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers from place to place in the interests of the Federation.

SEC. 8. The salaries of organizers of the American Federation of Labor shall be determined by the Executive Council, in addition to which they shall receive railroad fare and hotel expenses when traveling away from the city in which they reside. The remuneration for services of members of the Executive Council, fraternal delegates, interpreters and speakers or other persons temporarily employed by the American Federation of Labor shall be determined by the Executive Council.

SEC. 9. The Executive Council shall have power to make the rules to govern matters not in conflict with this Constitution, or the Constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

SEC. 10. In the event of a vacancy of any member of the Executive Council other than that of the President, by reason of death, resignation or other cause the President shall make such vacancy known to the Executive Council, and shall call for nominations. The names of all nominees shall be submitted to the Executive Council, and it shall require a majority vote of the Executive Council to elect. Upon each unsuccessful balloting the name of the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes shall be dropped.

SEC. 11. All Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions holding charters direct from the American Federation of Labor, desiring the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in trade disputes, shall submit to the President of the American Federation of Labor for approval by the Executive Council the full statement of the grievance, and shall receive within twenty (20) days from the President an answer as to whether they will be sustained or not, and no benefits shall be paid where a strike takes place before the Local Union has received the approval of the Executive Council.

SEC. 12. No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdictions of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions; no affiliated International, National or Local Union shall be permitted to change its title or name, if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization, without having first obtained the consent and approval of a convention of the American Federation of Labor; and it is further provided that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade or Federal Labor Union work at any other vocation, trade, or profession, they shall join the union of such vocation, trade or profession provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 13. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have

power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular or special convention of the American Federation of Labor by a roll-call vote.

A National or International Union chartered by and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor can be suspended from membership in the American Federation of Labor only by a majority vote of the duly accredited delegates in attendance at any session of a convention, voting in accordance with the provisions of Section 3 of Article IV of this constitution, except in cases where two (2) or more National or International Unions unite and conspire to launch, create or maintain an organization dual and rival to the American Federation of Labor. In that event, charges may be filed against said organization or organizations, a hearing shall be held upon said charges by the Executive Council and, if found guilty by it, said organization or organizations may be suspended from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor by the Executive Council with the right of appealing to the next succeeding annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. If appeal is taken, the suspended union, or unions, will have the right of appearing before the convention committees and the convention itself, but without the right to vote.

SEC. 14. The Executive Council shall be authorized and empowered to take such actions and render such decisions as may be necessary to carry out fully and adequately all provisions contained in the constitution and general laws, as well as declarations and decisions of the conventions, and it shall be authorized and empowered to take such further actions and render such further decisions during the interim of conventions as may become necessary to safeguard and promote the best interest of the Federation and of all its affiliated unions.

ARTICLE X.—REVENUE

SECTION 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of three (3) cents per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, thirty-seven (37) cents per member per month, eight and one-half (8½) cents of which must be set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lockout unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by the local union from the individual, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than one dollar; from Central and State Bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly. Revenue may also be derived from assessments when and as ordered by a majority vote of a regular or special convention or when derived in accordance with the provisions of Sec. 1, Art. XII.

SEC. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the regular or special conventions unless the tax and assessments of their organization, as provided for in Section 1, Article X, and assessments as provided in

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Article XII, Sections 1 and 2, have been paid in full to the second month preceding the regular or special convention.

SEC. 3. Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month, and assessment or assessments when due and payable, shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the convention when such arrearages are paid in full, as provided in Section 2 of this Article.

ARTICLE XI.—LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES

SECTION 1. No Central Labor Union or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated; nor are delegates to be seated from Locals of National or International organizations which are not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter by the President or the Executive Council, subject to appeal to the next convention.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor bodies, Departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instruction shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction.

SEC. 3. Where there are five or more Local Unions in any city belonging to any National or International Union affiliated with this Federation they may organize a Central Labor Union, or shall join such body if already in existence.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council and Local Central Labor Unions shall use all possible means to organize and connect as Local Unions to National or International Unions the organizations in their vicinity; to aid the formation of National or International Unions where none exist, and to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen precludes any other form of organization.

SEC. 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, to strike, or to take a strike vote, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such National or International organization have been consulted and agreed to such action. A violation of this law shall be sufficient cause for the President or Executive Council to revoke the charter.

SEC. 6. Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Labor Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where in the judgment of the Executive Council, it appears advisable and to the best interest of the Trade Union movement to do so.

SEC. 7. No Central Labor Union or other

Central Body of delegates shall have power or authority to originate a boycott, nor shall such bodies endorse and order the placing of the name of any person, firm or corporation on an unfair list that has agreements with any International or National Union or Local Unions until the National or International Unions or Local Unions having such agreements are informed of the request made upon the Central Body of delegates and such International, National or Local Unions working under agreements that may be affected have had reasonable time to intercede and until the Local Union desiring such action by the Central Body has, before declaring the boycott, submitted the matter in dispute to the Central Body for investigation and the best endeavors on its part to effect an amicable settlement.

Failure to reach an understanding between the unions involved, the entire matter shall be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, which shall be empowered to grant or refuse such request.

SEC. 8. No Central Body or Department affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a Local Union chartered by a National or an International Union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; provided, however, that upon written charges, signed by at least three delegates, any delegate of an affiliated union may, upon conviction after a fair trial, be expelled or suspended. Action of the Central Body under this section shall be subject to appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and no delegation representing Local Unions affiliated, as herein described, shall be suspended or expelled until like action is taken.

SEC. 9. No Central Body shall take part in the adjustment of wage contracts, wage disputes or working rules of Local Unions affiliated with a National or International Union, unless the laws of the National or International Union permit, except upon the request or consent of the executive officer of the National or International Union affected.

SEC. 10. Local Unions of National or International Unions affiliated with the Departments attached to the American Federation of Labor, in any city where a Local Department exists, shall not be eligible to membership in any Local Department unless they are connected with the chartered Central Body, nor shall they be eligible to membership in the Central Body unless they are affiliated with the Local Department.

SEC. 11. The representation of Local Unions entitled to affiliation in Central Labor Unions shall be as follows: Local Unions having 50 members or less, 2 delegates; from 51 to 100 members, 3 delegates; 101 to 250 members, 4 delegates; 251 to 500 members, 5 delegates; one additional delegate to be allowed for each additional 500 members or majority fraction thereof.

ARTICLE XII.—ASSESSMENTS

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall have power to declare a levy of one cent per member per week on all affiliated unions for a period not exceeding twenty-six weeks in any one year when the interests of the American Federation of Labor require and when funds available from per capita tax are insufficient to meet the needs of the American Federation of Labor.

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SEC. 2. Any Union, International, National, or Local, failing to pay within 60 days the levies declared in accordance with Section 1 shall be deprived of representation in convention of the American Federation of Labor and in City Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

ARTICLE XIII.—DEFENSE FUND FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

SECTION 1. Unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council, the moneys of the Defense Fund shall be drawn only to sustain strikes or lockouts of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions when such strikes or lockouts are authorized, endorsed and conducted in conformity with the following provisions of this Article.

SEC. 2. In the event of a disagreement between a Local Union and an employer, which, in the opinion of the Local Union, may result in a strike, such union shall notify the President of the American Federation of Labor, who shall investigate, or cause an investigation to be made of the disagreement, and endeavor to adjust the difficulty. If his efforts should prove futile, he shall take such steps as he may deem necessary in notifying the Executive Council, and if the majority of said Council shall decide that a strike is necessary such union shall be authorized to order a strike, but that under no circumstances shall a strike or lockout be deemed legal, or moneys expended from the Defense Fund on that account unless the strike or lockout shall have been first authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council.

SEC. 3. When a strike has been authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council, the president of the Local Union interested shall within 24 hours, call a meeting of said union, of which every member shall be regularly notified, to take action thereon, and no member shall vote on such question unless he is in good standing. Should three-fourths of the members present decide, by secret ballot, on a strike, the president of the Local Union shall immediately notify the President of the American Federation of Labor of the cause of the matter in dispute, what the wages, hours and conditions of labor then are; what advances, if any, are sought; what reductions are offered, if any; state the number employed and unemployed; the state of trade generally in the locality, and the number of persons involved, union and non-union; also the number of members who would become entitled to the benefits herein provided should the application be authorized and approved.

SEC. 4. No Local shall be entitled to benefit from the Defense Fund unless it has been in continuous good standing for one year; and no member shall be entitled to benefit from said Defense Fund unless he has been a member in good standing in the American Federation of Labor for at least one year.

SEC. 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Section 2 and 3, the American Federation of Labor shall pay to the bonded officer of the union involved, or his order, for a period of ten weeks, an amount equal to ten (\$10.00) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safekeeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No benefit shall be paid

for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period.

SEC. 6. No member of a Local Union on strike shall be entitled to weekly benefits unless he reports daily to the proper officer of the Local Union while the strike continues, and no member who shall receive a week's work, three days to be a week, shall receive benefits. Any member refusing other work while on strike (provided said work is not in conflict with labor's interests) shall not be entitled to any benefits.

SEC. 7. Any union inaugurating a strike without the approval of the Executive Council shall not receive benefits on account of said strike.

SEC. 8. In case of lockout or the victimization of members, the Executive Council shall have power to pay benefits if, upon investigation, it is found that the Local Union whose members are involved did not by their actions or demands provoke the lockout by their employer.

SEC. 9. During the continuance of a strike the executive board of the Local Union shall make weekly reports to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, showing the amount of money distributed for benefits and to whom paid, furnishing individual receipts to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor from all members to whom such benefits have been paid, and all other facts that may be required.

SEC. 10. Before a strike shall be declared off a special meeting of the union shall be called for that purpose, and it shall require a majority vote of all members present to decide the question either way.

SEC. 11. In the event of the Defense Fund becoming dangerously low through protracted strike or lockout, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall have the power to levy an assessment of 10 cents on each member of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, assessments to be restricted to not more than five per year; and further, that there shall always be a surplus of five thousand dollars (\$5,000) in the Defense Fund.

SEC. 12. No Local shall be entitled to any of the benefits of the Defense Fund unless it requires its members to pay not less than one dollar (\$1.00) per month. The financial secretaries and the treasurers of each Local Trade or Federal Labor Union directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor shall, through the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, bond said financial officers in such sum as shall be adequate to protect its funds.

SEC. 13. Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall set aside for the maintenance of a local defense fund not less than 5 cents a month from each member.

SEC. 14. That initiation fees charged by directly affiliated Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall not be less than \$2.00 nor more than \$15.00, and that 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by such Local Trade or Federal Labor Union from each individual shall be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than one dollar (\$1.00), together with the per capita tax, accompanied by a monthly report giving the number of members paid for, and names of those initiated, reinstated, suspended

and expelled, and number of members upon whom back per capita tax is being paid and months paid for, on blanks to be furnished by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation. When dues are paid, the financial secretary of the Local Union shall place a per capita tax stamp in the member's due book. These stamps must be used. Suspended members can be reinstated only by the payment of three month's back per capita tax in addition to the tax for the current month, and a fee of one dollar (\$1.00) for reinstatement stamps.

SEC. 15. That traveling cards issued to members by Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall admit members presenting the same to membership in Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 16. That Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall be prohibited from assessing their members or appropriating their funds for any purpose other than union or American Federation of Labor purposes. That each directly affiliated union shall forward monthly to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor a complete statement of all funds received and expended.

SEC. 17. No Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, or Central Body or State Branch, shall disband so long as seven members or five Local Unions desire to retain the charter. Upon the dissolution, the suspension or the revocation of the charter of any Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, or Central Body or State Branch, all funds and property of any character shall revert to the American Federation of Labor, to be held in trust until such time that the suspended or defunct organization may be reorganized and ready to confine its activities and actions to conform with recognized enforceable laws of the American Federation of Labor. It shall further be the duty of the officers of the Local Trade or Federal Labor Union or Central Body or State Branch, which has been dissolved or whose charter has been suspended or revoked, to deliver all funds and property to the President of the American Federation of Labor or a representative whom he may designate for that purpose.

ARTICLE XIV.—MISCELLANEOUS

SECTION 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies, affiliated with this Federation.

SEC. 2. The Executive Council is authorized and empowered to charter Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions to determine their respective jurisdictions not in conflict with National and International Unions, to determine the minimum number of members required, qualifications for membership, and to make rules and regulations relating to their conduct, activities and affairs from time to time and as in its judgment is warranted or deemed advisable.

SEC. 3. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be five dollars (\$5.00), payable to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, and the fee shall accompany the application.

SEC. 4. The American Federation of Labor shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation from Local Unions or Federal Labor Unions from a vicinity where a chartered

Central Labor Union exists to that body for investigation and approval.

SEC. 5. Certificates of affiliations shall not be granted by State Federations of Labor. That power is vested solely in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the executive officers of National and International Unions affiliated therewith.

SEC. 6. Fraternal delegates attending the convention of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates from Central Bodies.

ARTICLE XV.—GENERAL RULES GOVERNING DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

SECTION 1. For the greater development of the labor movement, departments, subordinate to the American Federation of Labor are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the American Federation of Labor, or its Executive Council, may be deemed advisable. Each department is to manage and finance its own affairs.

SEC. 2. To be entitled to representation in any department, organizations eligible to join it must first be and remain in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 3. To be entitled to representation in local councils, or railway system federations of departments, Local Unions are required to be part of affiliated National or International Unions affiliated to departments or directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. Said Local Unions shall first be and remain in affiliation to Central Labor Unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The fundamental laws and procedure of each department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the American Federation of Labor. No Department, Local Council or Railway System Federation of same shall enact laws, rules or regulations in conflict with the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor, and in the event of change of laws and procedure of the latter, Department, Local Councils, and Railway System Federations are to change their laws and procedure to conform thereto.

SEC. 5. Each Department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the Department, in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the convention of the American Federation of Labor. When an organization has interests in departments other than the one of its principal affiliation, in which it shall pay per capita tax upon its entire membership, it is to be represented in and pay per capita tax to the other departments upon the number of members whose occupations come under such other departments, but this, in no instance, shall be less than 20 per cent of the membership upon which it pays per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 6. Departments of the American Federation of Labor are to have their headquarters located in the city of Washington, D. C., and if possible in the same building with the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, unless there are reasons to the contrary satisfactory to the Executive

Council of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 7. Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions immediately before or after the convention of the American Federation of Labor and in the same city where the convention of the American Federation of Labor is held at which time and place their laws and procedure shall be made to conform to the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor and to go into effect the first day of January immediately following, to conform to the date when the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor go into effect. For reasons of transportation, expediency and the methods of representation the Railway, Metal Trades and Mining Departments may hold conventions at other dates and places, and in that event said departments shall authorize their executive boards to have said departments' laws conform to the preceding portion of this section.

SEC. 8. The executive council of each department shall consist of not more than nine members, including the executive officer or officers thereof. This not to apply to or interfere with the procedure on this subject found to be essential in the Railway Department.

SEC. 9. The officers of each Department shall report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that the Department has conformed to the laws, procedure and actions of the American Federation of Labor as they affect each Department.

SEC. 10. In the Building and Construction Trades Department (on the basis of its law of 1913), organizations having seven or more delegates, each such delegate shall, on roll call, be entitled to two votes. A roll call shall be held upon the demand of one-fourth of all delegates whose credentials have been accepted and who have been seated in the conventions.

SEC. 11. The officers of the various Departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor of the work done by their Department, and its general conditions.

SEC. 12. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor there shall be present, during some period of the Council meeting, the executive officer or officers of each Department to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

SEC. 13. A page of each issue of the *American Federationist* to be available to and to be used by each Department for official report or for publication of some subject identified with the Department, each Department to designate its officer to submit the report.

ARTICLE XVI.—AMENDMENTS

This constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the convention and to do so it shall require a two-thirds vote.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

UPON RESOLUTION DULY MADE, SECONDED AND PASSED, THE FOLLOWING RULES WERE ADOPTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, PURSUANT TO THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY, A SET FORTH IN SECTION 8, OF ARTICLE 9, OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR IN SESSION IN WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 5-20, 1936, AND AMENDED BY CONVENTION ACTION, NEW ORLEANS, LA., NOVEMBER 26, 1940.

"1. State Federations of Labor chartered by the American Federation of Labor shall adapt their policies—legislative, political, civic and organizational—to the policies adopted by the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and if any State Federation of Labor purposely deviates from the policies of the American Federation of Labor, or if any State Federation of Labor violates any of the laws or provisions of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor or any order of its Executive Council pursuant thereto, such State Federation of Labor shall be dealt with by the Executive Council. In the event the Executive Council finds a State Federation of Labor guilty after hearing of charges filed, the Executive Council may take any of the following steps: (a) Forgive said breach with or without condition to be fulfilled by said State Federation of Labor; (b) suspend said State Federation from the American Federation of Labor and from enjoying the benefits from said membership for a definite or for an indefinite time; (c) penalize said State Federation for said breach in any other way; or (d) if the actions of said State Federation of Labor have been so serious that all relations between it and the American Federation of Labor shall be severed, revoke its charter subject to appeal to the next succeeding convention of the American Federation of Labor.

"2. The President of the American Federation of Labor, under authority vested in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, is hereby authorized to discipline any Central Labor Union or any Federal or Local Labor Union and where

the President of the American Federation of Labor in pursuance of this authority, has disciplined any Central Labor Union, or Federal or Local Labor Union, and has suspended or expelled its officials, or has suspended its charter, an appeal may be taken by the aggrieved party to the Executive Council, and if the said appeal presents a *prima facie* case of error on the part of the President, the Executive Council may hear and determine the appeal.

"3. The Executive Council shall investigate the affairs and audit the books of Federal and Local Labor Unions periodically, and if said audit and investigation shows that said Federal or Local Labor Union has more members than it is paying a per capita tax on, the Executive Council shall take steps to collect in full the per capita tax due the American Federation of Labor.

Approved by 1936 convention, held in Tampa, Fla. (page 497 official proceedings).

THE FOLLOWING RULE WAS ADOPTED AT A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR HELD AT THE COSMOPOLITAN HOTEL, DENVER, COLORADO, OCTOBER 14, 1937.

EXPENSES INCURRED IN RECOVERING PROPERTY AND FUNDS ARE CHARGEABLE TO FUNDS OR PROPERTY RECOVERED.

"Whenever a directly chartered Trade or Federal Labor Union or State or City Central Body affiliated with the American Federation of Labor secedes or its charter is suspended organization or its officers to deliver to the or revoked, and demand is made upon such President of the American Federation of Labor, or his authorized representative, the records, property and funds of such organization, and such demand is refused, then all expenses, of whatever nature, incurred by the American Federation of Labor in recovering such records, property and funds shall be a lawful charge upon the property and funds involved and on recovery thereof the American Federation of Labor shall reimburse itself from the property and funds recovered."

Sixty-Eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor 1949 Proceedings

Saint Paul, Minnesota, October 3, 1949



Report of

FIRST DAY—MONDAY MORNING SESSION

Pursuant to law the Sixty-Eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor convened in the St. Paul Auditorium, Mr. Gerald O'Donnell, President of the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly presiding as Temporary Chairman.

CHAIRMAN O'DONNELL: President Green, Secretary-Treasurer Meany, Most Reverend Bishop Byrnes, officers, delegates and friends: In behalf of the local labor movement represented by the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly I bid you a warm welcome to our city. We hope that your visit here will be a pleasant one and that the convention will be a profitable and strong venture in the field of trade unionism.

The St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly and the local movement were happy to be designated as the convention city. We are happy to have such an organization as the American Federation of Labor choose our

city in which to hold its Sixty-Eighth Convention.

Our Assembly was organized in 1886. We are all in the trade union movement and we have been active in all the affairs that we think labor should participate in. Many years ago we saw the necessity for being active in the field of politics, and we have pursued that venture. Many years ago we saw the necessity of being active in civic affairs and accepting our civic responsibility as citizens of our city to participate in all the civic affairs of our community.

We have arranged a program of entertainment. Our entertainment chairman will give you that a little later on.

At this time I would like to call on the Most Reverend James Byrnes, Auxiliary Bishop of the Diocese of St. Paul, to pronounce the invocation.

INVOCATION

(Most Reverend James Byrnes,
Auxiliary Bishop of St. Paul)

O God, bless the sessions of this convention. Grant that its labor may be guided by Thy divine light. Grant that its delegates may be animated by the desire to benefit their country in these times of danger.

May all, seeking Thy powerful help, pray in the words of Thy son:

Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name, Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us, and lead us not into temptation but deliver us from evil, Amen.

CHAIRMAN O'DONNELL: We will have the singing of the National Anthem, and Mr. W. C. Doherty, a member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, will lead in the singing.

Vice-President Doherty sang the National Anthem.

CHAIRMAN O'DONNELL: In my opening remarks I mentioned the fact that labor in St. Paul many years ago saw the necessity of being active in the field of politics, as well as on the economic field.

At this time I would like to introduce a man who was endorsed and backed by the labor movement and elected Mayor of the City of St. Paul—The Honorable Edward K. Delaney.

EDWARD K. DELANEY

(Mayor of St. Paul)

Mr. O'Donnell, Your Excellency, Bishop Byrnes, Your Honor, President Green, officers, delegates, ladies and gentlemen of the American Federation of Labor:

The City of Saint Paul bids you welcome and wishes you success in your sixty-eighth annual convention.

Thirty-one years ago, in the midst of a world conflict, you convened in this city. You informed the world, in unequivocal terms, of your intention to preserve democracy, and to establish within its framework justice for those who labor.

Democracy has been preserved. Justice for labor will be achieved!

In the years which have followed your last meeting here, the people of all the world have witnessed the industrial growth of a great nation. At the same time, they have watched an advancement of labor which has par-

alleled that of industry. They have learned to know that the social reforms of an increased standard of living, with its better wages, job insurance, social security, pensions, and other benefits have been brought about, by the advice and advance of organized labor.

We, and the people of the world, know that these advances have not penalized or retarded industry. These advances have aided industry in expanding as a partner of organized labor.

With this increased development the social reforms of organized labor have created a new class which typifies our twentieth-century America, the man who labors in dignity and reaps his reward in a fair share of the fruits of his effort so that he may rear his family, in an environment of decency, so that he may provide for their present needs, and prepare for the education and future needs of his children.

In this way the truths of sacred scripture are exemplified: "it is better that two should be together than one, for they have the advantage of their society. If one fall he shall be supported by the other. Woe to him that is alone, for when he falleth he hath none to lift him up."

Man has found new strength in union, and industry finds new promise in that strength.

We know that there will always be areas of difference between labor and management, but to succeed under this good system which America exemplifies we must realize that such differences can exist without great harm, if labor and management mutually recognize honesty and decency, a sense of fair play, and if they acknowledge man's God-given rights, his personal dignity, and his individual responsibilities.

Now, thirty-one years later than your other convention in Saint Paul, your position and your objectives are changed only in their size and application.

Again, the preservation of democracy and justice for those who labor are paramount in your discussions.

You will emphasize the fact that religion and labor are the two great bulwarks against totalitarianism in this country. The American labor movement, along with religion, is the first line of defense against a totalitarian America.

You must retain the achievements of organized labor. You must repulse vigorously the efforts of those who refuse to recognize labor's rightful place. You must resist the efforts of those people to strangle legitimate unionism by unfair and anti-labor legislation.

The task is one of magnitude, but you are equal to it. May the seat of all wisdom inspire you and attend all your deliberations.

Thank you.

CHAIRMAN O'DONNELL: Thank you, Mayor Delaney.

At this time, delegates and friends, I would like to introduce a gentleman of the judiciary who has been fair and liberal in his attitude to all of the citizens of our community. I give you at this time Judge Gustavus Loevinger.

JUDGE GUSTAVUS LOEVINGER

Mr. Chairman, President Green, Bishop Byrnes, distinguished leaders of the labor movement, officers, delegates, members of the American Federation of Labor, friends—and in order not to seem inhospitable, all others in this audience, even those who may be unfriendly, if there are any: It is a high honor, a pleasant privilege and I deem it an agreeable duty to welcome you into my jurisdiction.

I was a little surprised that the Mayor didn't tell you just what he was going to do for you while you are staying in St. Paul. You know, of course, already from what has been said that I am a public employee the same as the Mayor. It is customary on such occasions as this for the public employee to tell his employer, the public, of which you are a part, what he intends to do for his employer. I expected the Mayor to say that he would see that every door in St. Paul would be opened to you except possibly the doors of the vaults where the banks keep their cash.

If the Chief of Police were here I am quite sure that he would promise you that, assuming you know nothing about local ordinances and usages, he would assume that you were ignorant of them and that in this case ignorance excuses everything, at least for the duration of this convention.

I presume you will have some legislator address you before your meeting is over and no doubt he will promise you that at the next legislative session he will see to it that all words and phrases in the laws that are objectionable to you will be erased. And if the Governor were here today I would expect him to impress you with the fact that you are the most favored object of his deepest solicitude.

But what can a judge promise you? The judge is very apt to lean backwards and say, "I can't promise anything. I have to maintain my independence. I can't even promise you that I won't issue an injunction in a labor dispute or that I won't punish you for contempt if you violate it."

Nevertheless, a judge can promise you something and as a judge in welcoming you to my jurisdiction I can promise you that if you come into any of our courts, in mine you will get justice.

Perhaps you misunderstood me. I don't say that you would get satisfactory treatment. I said you would get justice. Well, that is a rather harsh term, and we judges know from experience that out of all the people who come into court they all come in demanding justice, and when they get it, fully half and sometimes even more than half walk out of the judicial halls grumblingly dissatisfied.

Let me paint for you a perhaps slightly different picture since you have elected to come to Minnesota. We are celebrating this year the 100th anniversary of the organization of the territory of Minnesota, and I believe I can say with a clear conscience that from the very first day of its organization the judiciary of this commonwealth has been in the forefront of the improvement and liberalization of our courts and court procedure. That I am sure is, or should be a matter of great interest to you. I doubt if there is any State in the Union in which a litigant can get justice at less cost and in quicker time and with less technicality than in the State of Minnesota.

We pride ourselves upon what your Chairman said in presenting me to you, that every litigant who comes into court in the State of Minnesota will feel that he will get fair treatment from its judges—and by fair treatment we mean that every litigant will have his matter decided on its merits, without considerations of race or color, creed or class, national origin or political pressure or popular feeling or economic status.

I am sure you would feel that if I made any promises to you as a consideration for your coming into the State of Minnesota of favoring you, you would resent it as being something disloyal to the obligations of the office into which you, as a part of the public, have placed me.

I can make one more representation, and that is that in the courts of Minnesota the invaluable and monumental services which your Federation has rendered to American labor is judicially noticed. When a judge says something is judicially noticed that is the highest compliment that he can pay, for that means that it is so well established that it requires no evidence to substantiate, that in his opinion it is beyond challenge.

We are very happy that you have chosen the State of Minnesota for this convention. We appreciate the great services that you have rendered to American labor and other labor, to the American people, and through the American people to democracy in times of war and in times of peace.

Again I thank you.

CHAIRMAN O'DONNELL: Thank you, Judge Loevinger.

At this time I would like to introduce the President of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor, Robert Olson.

MR. ROBERT A. OLSON (President, Minnesota State Federation of Labor)

Mr. Chairman, President Green, Secretary Mealey, distinguished Vice-Presidents, delegates and friends: You have been pretty well welcomed to the City of St. Paul. It is my pleasure at this time to extend a welcome on behalf of the entire labor movement of Minne-

sota. Before this convention is over, what time you have on your hands I hope you will spend in exploring territories outside the City of St. Paul, because we have a lot of interesting points that I would like to have you visit. The month of October is supposed to be and generally is the most pleasant and the most beautiful season of the year in this section of the country, and if it should happen to turn too cold or rain or you get stuck in a snow storm, I assure you it will be an exceptional condition.

It's been a long time since a convention of the American Federation of Labor has been held in Minnesota. The last one was in 1918, when our country was engaged in its first World War. Much has happened in Minnesota since then.

Labor and industry were a minor part of Minnesota's boasts then. We prided ourselves then on being the breadbasket of the world. It was our wheat and other foodstuffs that won that war. No one depended upon us for anything else. True, there was some iron ore dug in northern Minnesota, but the world at large looked to our farmers for the sinews that would win that war.

The picture was considerably changed in World War II. Then, not only did our farmers produce mountains of food and northern Minnesota produce the bulk of the iron that went into war materials, but huge plants, spreading over acres and miles of our well-known prairies, produced equipment—bullets, plane parts, battleship pieces and numerous intricate little gadgets that were a part of every fighting unit's equipment.

From a war-time state, Minnesota quickly changed over to peace time pursuits. We are a peaceable people and we want to progress through peace rather than force our way through war.

This attitude, common with both labor and the farmers of Minnesota, is working toward an era of cooperation that soon will see us working together for the promotion of our joint welfare. It started last year, when labor, distressed at the unbelievable antics in Washington of one of the men it had supported, appealed to the farmers of Minnesota to help take him from the political scene. The farmers responded with an enthusiasm greater than we could have hoped for.

Just in case you've forgotten him, let me remind you that the politician was Senator Joe Ball.

And I want to publicly go a little farther, I want to apologize to the people of the country for the mistake we made on the part we played in putting him in there in the first place.

There was another nationally-known anti-labor politician who took the count through a union of labor and the farmer in last year's election in Minnesota. He was Congressman Harold Knutson, whom the farmers of the sixth congressional district of this state had sent to Congress repeatedly in 14 successive elections. But when they learned his record—his anti-farmer record from labor—they turned him out as overwhelmingly as they previously had elected him.

I believe we are making progress in this state. I believe we are going to send some more fair-minded men to Congress next year to replace some of the lesser rock-ribbed gentlemen who still are there.

As I started out to say, I am here to welcome you to Minnesota. I am proud to welcome you to our state, because I believe that both in and outside the ranks of organized labor we have here a fair-minded people who believe that the laborer is worthy of his hire, and more than that, is worthy of the confidence of his fellow men. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN O'DONNELL: Thank you, President Olson.

The next gentleman of labor needs no introduction, because he is known to most of you. He has been the Secretary of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor for about 35 or 36 years.

I present to you at this time Mr. George Lawson, Secretary of the Minnesota Federation of Labor.

MR. GEORGE LAWSON (Secretary, Minnesota State Federation of Labor)

Mr. Chairman, Your Excellency, officers, delegates and visitors to the convention: There is an old French proverb that says everything comes to him that knows how to wait. Well, I look back 31 years. You were in this same building. I had the honor and pleasure and privilege of being Chairman of the Committee that welcomed you at that time, and I was interested yesterday in looking over a few names. You know, you think a little bit when you recognize that you are talking, after 31 years, to an almost complete new list of delegates. There are two or three of them on the platform, however, who were with us in 1918 and a few of you down front.

Seriously, President Olson has welcomed you on behalf of the Federation. I will take just a few minutes to tell you something about it. I have lived with it for a long time.

We will never be as big in the Federation numerically as many others in the United States because we are an agricultural state. However, we just completed a state convention two weeks ago where we had 952 accredited delegates from the Canadian border to the Iowa line and from the Wisconsin line to the Dakotas. They came from three large cities, but the bulk of them came from the small communities, which is an indication of the growth of the Federation.

Next year the Minnesota Federation will celebrate its 60th year. It was chartered in July 1890 by the American Federation of Labor. I lived with it long enough to see a very definite growth in the Federation, not only numerically but in influence and prestige, and those of us in the Federation

of Minnesota are proud of another fact. During the 59 years of its existence as a part of the American Federation of Labor the Minnesota Federation has never at any time deviated from the policies, the laws, and the principles laid by the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. We are proud of that fact. If I am any judge of the Minnesota Federation—and I should be—I think it will continue to be just that—proud of the fact that it is a part of the American Federation of Labor and recognizing the fact that it is a subordinate part of the American Federation of Labor. I think by and large we have done a pretty good job in Minnesota in the legislative field.

The President touched on the political campaign. We have always done a pretty good job in the organization field and in serving the members of the organizations that you ladies and gentlemen represent. I know we are going to continue to do that.

I want to say to you, as I said to you 31 years ago, you are welcome to St. Paul and the State of Minnesota, and I hope you enjoy it as much as some of you told me years ago you enjoyed it in 1918, in spite of the fact that soldiers were marching past this hotel and being sped on their way by President Gompers.

Thank you.

CHAIRMAN O'DONNELL: Thank you, Secretary Lawson.

The Local Committee is about to conclude their preliminary opening. At this time I would like to introduce the Local Committee here. If there is anything you need that we can be helpful with, I am sure we will do everything in our power to take care of the matter.

At this time I would like to introduce Joe Okoneski of the General Drivers who is also Mr. Meany's assistant secretary during this convention, and he is our entertainment chairman for this convention.

MR. JOSEPH R. OKONESKI (Chairman of Entertainment Committee)

Welcome, President Green, the Executive Council, honored guests and delegates: We have arranged on Thursday afternoon a tour of one of St. Paul's largest industries. Transportation will be furnished from the Auditorium. Dutch lunch will be served at this establishment. You will get a chance to view one of the most modern industries in the city of St. Paul.

On Friday, October 7th at 8:30 o'clock p.m. at St. Paul Hotel we will have the convention ball. All delegates and guests are invited to attend both functions.

(At this time Chairman O'Donnell introduced the members of the Local Committee who were present on the platform.)

CHAIRMAN O'DONNELL: All of the members of the Committee mentioned are members of the Executive Board of the Trades and Labor Assembly.

It affords me a great deal of pleasure at this time, in concluding our opening arrangements, to turn the gavel over to our President of this great organization, President William Green.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM GREEN

The Chairman of the Committee representing the St. Paul Central Trades and Labor Council, the Honorable Mayor of this great city, representative of the Church, representative of the judiciary, my colleagues on the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, our distinguished guests from abroad who are sitting with us here on the platform, other distinguished visitors, fellow delegates in attendance at this historic convention, visitors and friends: I am certain that all of you who have traveled from far and wide to attend this important convention of the American Federation of Labor have been deeply touched and made happy by the cordiality and warmth of the welcome extended us this morning by the representatives of these organizations, and of the city government here in the City of St. Paul. I am confident that after listening to this warm welcome you are conscious of the fact that we will carry on our work here under the most auspicious circumstances in a friendly atmosphere and in a most happy environment.

We feel sure that we will meet with a full measure of success in the transaction of our business in this great city of the Northwest. I want to thank each and every one of those who spoke to us this morning, who touched us so deeply by the sincere, warm welcome extended us. We thank them from the bottom of our hearts for the warmth of the welcome, its cordiality, and for the assurance they have given us that we will hold our convention in a friendly city.

We have thought much of this great Northwestern country. When an invitation was extended to us at the last convention of the American Federation of Labor held in the City of Cincinnati in 1948 we developed a mental picture of this great Northwest and of this beautiful city. We were aware of its reputation as a city of hospitality and kindness. Now we are here. At that time I know I can truthfully say that we classified this city, as a matter of history, as the garden of the gods, the homeland of the Indians, a rich agricultural section to which the farmers of the East turned their eyes in hope and expectation. And now it is a great pulsating city, populated by a people who are devoted to the preservation and protection of the American form of government. So we are not disappointed. We are happy. Our expectations are being fully realized, and I know, as I have repeatedly said, that we will be devoted to our work, conscious

of the fact that we are meeting in a city friendly to organized labor, believing in its philosophy, upholding its principles, and devoted in its support of the great American Federation of Labor.

It seems appropriate and fitting for me to emphasize the importance of this 66th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. All of the conventions we have held have been of tremendous importance, and as we review the record we become satisfied. While it is human to err, there were very few mistakes made by the delegates in attendance at these conventions in the formation, the origination and the shaping of policies that have proven to be sound, unassailable and indestructible.

But now we are battling a reactionary Congress, fighting for the workers of the nation to preserve the basic elements of freedom conferred upon us as a common heritage. And if those who are attempting to prevent us from exercising that freedom that we value so highly may not know, it is a fixed, uncompromising determination in the hearts and minds of the workers of the nation that even if we have to sacrifice the material things and benefits and blessings of life, the workers of this nation will never willingly sacrifice the freedom that belongs to them.

There are many here who participated in the formation of our movement when it was established in the early days. They know the difficulties encountered then, the indifference that was manifested even by the workers of the nation. Many of them assumed that because of the paternalistic attitude manifested toward them by those who tried to classify themselves as generous employers, it had to be overcome and there had to be developed and encouraged in the minds and hearts of the working people of this nation a genuine desire for the realization of a higher standard of living. Just as we developed that desire and that became a moving force in the individual and collective life of the workers of the nation, our movement grew and expanded.

Many of you remember when we were denied the right to engage in collective bargaining. Instead the employers posted notices of the wage scales that would be in operation for certain lengths of time. That was the wage standard established for the workers by the employer. Then through the strength and influence of our Unions we developed collective bargaining. Then we sat around a conference table with the employers and negotiated with them for the sale of our labor under the most favorable circumstances obtainable, and under the best circumstances and conditions of employment that could be secured.

Like the oak tree that grew from an acorn, we have grown also and developed as we have grown, and collective bargaining has grown and expanded and developed until it is now a fixed part of the economic and industrial life of the nation.

Now the Congress of the United States, through the enactment of a reprehensible, notorious piece of legislation has declared through legislative enactment that if the workers of the nation and the employers sit around the conference table and negotiate an

agreement acceptable to them, similar to agreements that have been negotiated for half a century, we are criminals and subject to prosecution under this notorious Act. Well, that is a new idea developed by the reactionary forces of the nation for the specific and express purpose of weakening organized labor, of destroying it, of making it ineffective, of taking from us what we have fought a century to gain—free collective bargaining.

We of labor always regarded every thread woven and interwoven into our fabric of freedom as a fixed guarantee that the liberties transmitted to us by our forefathers, the justice they fought for, the democracy they established and the freedom they gained should be preserved and protected for all the life of the United States of America.

And so it is our purpose now to fight to regain that part of freedom that has been taken from us by this reprehensible piece of legislation. We maintain that we have just the same right to sell our labor across the conference table under the most favorable circumstances possible, just the same as the employer may exercise the right to sell the product of the factory to the customer under the most favorable circumstances possible. Why should freedom be protected for him to engage in the sale of the products of labor unrestricted but labor be denied the right to sell its labor across the table—all it has to sell—under the most favorable circumstances possible?

So, my friends, this convention will again, as did the convention in Cincinnati, declare in the most positive and definite terms that it is the purpose of our great organization, the American Federation of Labor, to mobilize every ounce of strength it possesses, all its power, and center it as we have in days gone by to bring about the defeat of those candidates who voted for that notorious piece of legislation and to elect our friends to the Congress of the United States and bring about an early repeal of that reprehensible piece of legislation. There can be no doubt of our ability to do it. We have demonstrated the fact that we can, for here in the great state of Minnesota, the workers, conscious of the great wrong perpetrated upon them, marched to the polls in November of 1948, voted as one, and when the votes were cast the record showed that the working people, the farmers of this commonwealth and our friends everywhere, stood together and elected a great Senator to the United States Senate and defeated a reactionary, the reactionary Senator Ball, and the great Senator was Senator Humphrey.

We did the same thing in three other commonwealths, in West Virginia, in Illinois, and in the great Southern State of Tennessee. But it seemed that those in Congress who were conscious of what had happened overlooked that happening, they failed to learn a lesson. And now we have to go into a 1950 campaign, united as never before. That will be one of the problems of this convention, to determine how our Labor's League for Political Education can develop strength and administrative ability, so that we can go into the other states and defeat those who voted for this notorious piece of legis-

lation, and re-elect our friends who stood with us.

It is my opinion that, conscious of our responsibilities and our duties, and of the power we do possess, the votes of the workers of the nation can be mobilized, united, and cast in the ballot box, and freedom again restored to the workers of the nation to engage in collective bargaining without legislative restrictions of any kind whatsoever.

What is the meaning of freedom of contract? Well, Webster's Dictionary defines it, and here it is: "Freedom or liberty of contract—United States Constitutional law—the power of freely contracting and freely determining the provisions of contracts without arbitrary or unreasonable legal restrictions guaranteed as a natural right by Federal and state constitutions."

There it is—freedom of contract. If our Government means anything it means that the people of the nation must be protected in the exercise of the freedom of contract. We believe in the four freedoms—freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of religion, and freedom of the press. Those are freedoms that are regarded as vital to the success of our American form of government. And the workers of the nation will add to those four freedoms, freedom of contract to sell across the table all we have to sell, and that is our labor, under the most advantageous circumstances and the best conditions obtainable. So I wanted to emphasize that situation here this morning, for I cannot help thinking that you, too, are thinking about it, planning to act in this convention in such a way as to make it possible for us to regain our freedom.

Now, my friends, there are other objectives that we will seek to obtain. First of all, we want to protect, strengthen, and make clear to the workers of our own country as well as to the workers of the world, the real meaning, the kernel—if I may put it that way—of the economic philosophy of the American Federation of Labor, and it is this freedom to which I have referred that is so closely related and inter-related with that economic philosophy. We believe in freedom of action, individual freedom, and collective freedom as well. We believe in our free democratic form of government. We believe in the philosophy of that Government. We of the American Federation of Labor stand as an uncompromising force, around, behind, and beside this Government, defending it as laboring people, organized together in a great organized labor movement. And in these days when we are threatened at home and abroad with these ideological experimentations that are being made, we become conscious of the value of this great form of Government that means individual freedom and liberty.

And so in the preachings of isms, let it be Fascism, Nazism, Communism, or any other kind of "ism," we have explored the situation sufficiently to know that it is in the heart and the mind of American working men to remain devoted to only one "ism," and that is Americanism. And so we shall, I know, reaffirm our former position of standing steadfastly and immovably against

the invasion and infiltration of those who represent these "isms" that mean governmental control and governmental domination of the lives of the individual. What we want is less of Government, freedom from Government control, freedom to act, freedom to organize, the right to enjoy the liberties to which we are entitled. And so I am sure that that is going to be a subject that will be acted upon at this convention.

Then, my friends, we want to assure our friends from abroad and the workers abroad that it is our purpose to work with them and to serve with them in the formation of a great new international trade union movement that has embodied within it these same principles to which I have referred in the brief remarks I have made. Now we want to perfect what we have already started to do, and that is to establish this movement upon a sound basis, free from governmental control and governmental domination, and with the assurance that it will not be an arm or the agency of any government, no matter what kind of a government it may be anywhere or in any nation throughout the world.

I want to assure our representatives that we will serve with them, we will work with them, we will sacrifice with them if necessary, we will place at the disposal of that great organization our financial help and all we can give them in order to establish a great new international trade union movement upon a sound, free democratic trade union basis.

In the development of organization activities we are going forward. It seems appropriate for me to remind you that since the convention of the American Federation of Labor was held in the City of St. Paul, more than 30 years ago, our great movement has grown, not over night or over the week-end, but in its growth and development the laws of growth and progress have applied, it has been steady growth, until today the membership of the American Federation of Labor has reached a high peak.

When we met here some 30 years ago our membership was less than 2,000,000—about 2,000,000. The figures are in the record. We meet now today in this historic city with a paid-up membership of 8,000,000 members in the American Federation of Labor. That is deeply significant. It proves that we have a movement that grows and expands in strength and influence, and that it will continue to grow and expand as we increase the desire in the hearts of the working men and women that they want to enjoy a higher standard of life and living.

There is social security legislation that we are fighting for. I am happy to tell you that we secured the passage of the housing bill that we had sponsored for many years. It will be of tremendous benefit to all the workers of the nation.

Our Fair Labor Standards Act was amended so as to substitute a 75-cent-an-hour minimum for a 40-cent-an-hour minimum, so that we have made some definite progress in that direction.

We are going to shape our policies again so as to bring about the realization of our hopes, our plans, and our expectations perhaps, I hope, in the next session of Congress. We are going to mobilize our strength; we are going to unite; we are going to stand united as we are now in our fight for the workers of the nation.

Let me point out to you that we are meeting in this great City of St. Paul, united as we have never been before. There is no division in the ranks of the American Federation of Labor. There is no Left Wing and Right Wing. We think as one, we walk as one, and we act as one. We will not be called upon to consider internal dissension or the elimination of the Left Wing from membership or the fight between the Right and the Left Wing. What we do is speak as one, united as one, fighting as one, standing as one, and then going out from here back home as one, to fight together for the workers of the nation.

We have never in any official statement said that we have reached the point where we will waive our right to demand increases in wages for the workers of the nation, and we are not going to do that. Only a few weeks ago when great issues were before the working people of the nation the press carried the story that more than 20,000 Teamsters in Northern New York had secured an increase in wages amounting to over 15 cents an hour. Our workers are securing increases in wages constantly, for we have determined through an examination of the financial standing of employing interests that many of them can grant increases in wages without increasing the selling price of their products.

Labor must share in the earnings of these corporations and share equitably, and it is a vital principle with us that we are not going to give up the right to demand equitable sharing in the earnings of corporations.

Then again we ask for no interference on the part of governmental agencies. We don't want Government boards. We don't ask for Government boards. We are opposed to Government boards setting our wage standards anywhere or anyplace. This is a very fundamental principle with our great American Federation of Labor.

Now I have spoken to you in this earnest way, referring to some of these principal, outstanding matters that are occupying our time and our attention, and that you will consider at this convention. I have confidence in your ability to act wisely to maintain the high standard of action set by 67 annual conventions held prior to this one. We are going to measure up to the high standard set by them. Then when we go out we are going out united again, defending our philosophy, standing shoulder to shoulder, in an effort to win more and more for the workers of the nation.

I thank you for this opportunity of presenting these matters to you. I am deeply impressed by the way you have listened to these remarks. I want to join with you in this convention in rendering the best service possible in order to make it a profound success.

I hope and trust your visit here to this great Northwest city, peopled by those who

are progressive, sympathetic and friendly, will be a happy and a delightful one — one you will long remember and that you will carry away with you in your memories when you return from St. Paul to your homes throughout the nation.

Thank you, and good luck.

CONVENTION OFFICERS

Secretary Meany announced the following convention officers:

Assistant Secretary, Joe Okoneski

Sergeant-at-Arms, Frank Thill

Messengers — Joseph Wagner and Paul Ornburn.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Now we will have the report of the Credentials Committee, and while we are waiting for that committee to come forward I might acquaint you with the fact that we have sitting on the platform here on my left the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress and the fraternal delegate from the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, with their wives. I want you to become acquainted with them, so that when you meet them in the hall, on the street, at the hotel or outside you will know them. Later on they will submit to the convention their fraternal messages.

We are happy because they are here, and so I want you to know them. First I will ask Brother Tom Williamson, fraternal delegate from Great Britain to arise.

Then we have Brother Lincoln Evans, his associate fraternal delegate.

Then we have Brother R. P. Rintoul, representing the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

You see their wives sitting here with them, and I will ask each of them to rise—Mrs. Williamson, Mrs. Evans and Mrs. Rintoul.

Now you are acquainted. We are happy because they are here. They are among the best friends they have ever visited in all their lives, and we are determined that their stay here shall be made most happy indeed.

The Chair now recognizes Brother Lynch, Chairman of the Credentials Committee.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN LYNCH: Toney Gallo, the Secretary of the Committee, will make a partial report on the credentials received up to and including 10:00 o'clock this morning.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

St. Paul, Minnesota
October 3, 1949

To President Green, Officers and Delegates of the Sixty-Eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Your Committee on Credentials, who, in accordance with our laws, were appointed by their respective International Presidents at the request of President Green, herewith submit the following report:

We have examined the credentials of 619 Delegates, representing 93 National and International Unions, 4 Departments, 44 State Branches, 130 Central Bodies, 57 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and 3 Fraternal Delegates, and recommend that the following be seated.

Actors and Artistes of America, Associated—Paul Dulzell, George Heller, Reuben Guskin, Dewey Barto, Pat Somerset, 392 votes.

Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and—Joseph A. Mullaney, C. W. Sickles, 67 votes.

Automobile Workers of America, International Union United—Lester Washburn, George Grisham, Anthony Doria, Earl Heaton, Frank Evans, 543 votes.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America—Herman Winter, Wm. F. Schatzler, James G. Cross, Curtis R. Sims, Wm. McGuern, Seb Ollinger, Peter H. Olson, 1,326 votes.

Barbers, Hairdressers and Cosmetologists' International Union of America, The Journey-men—William C. Birthright, Patrick H. Reagan, John B. Robinson, Alvin L. Holt, Fred Scafid, 600 votes.

Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of—Leo Abernathy, 16 votes.

Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of—John Pelkofer, A. J. Eberhardy, George Edgerton, 100 votes.

Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—Charles J. MacGowan, William J. Buckley, J. N. Davis, Harry Nacey, George Nolan, Russell Berg, O. W. Mursener, 1,500 votes.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of—John B. Haggerty, Robert E. Haskin, Mary G. Morley, Joseph Denny, 475 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—John J. Mara, Frank W. Anderson, George W. Lawson, Hartley B. Hutchison, Louis Peterson, 500 votes.

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America—Harry C. Bates, John J. Murphy, A. J. Cleland, William Connors, Thomas H. O'Donnell, Fraser L. Holzlohner, 650 votes.

Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United—Harold R. Flegal, Wm. Tracy, 230 votes.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association—J. H. Lyons, Jos. F.

Boyen, C. F. Strickland, E. M. Woods, Leslie L. Myers, Stanley Rounds, 1,054 votes.

Building Service Employees' International Union—William L. McFetridge, Wm. H. Cooper, David Sullivan, George Hardy, George W. Matthews, Joseph L. McCarthy, 1,625 votes.

Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway—Irvin Barney, A. J. Bernhardt, G. M. Webster, Samuel Shearer, 1,116 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of—Wm. L. Hutcheson, M. A. Hutcheson, Frank Duffy, Wm. J. Kelly, Charles W. Hanson, M. J. Sexton, John H. Bakken, Walter L. Thomas, 6,000 votes.

Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers' International Union, United—William Schoenberg, Reuben Roe, Samuel R. Diskan, Toney Gallo, 319 votes.

Chemical Workers' Union, International—H. A. Bradley, R. E. Tomlinson, Sidney Garfield, 611 votes.

Cigar Makers' International Union of America—Mario Azpetia, A. P. Bower, S. F. Lopez, 100 votes.

Cleaning and Dye House Workers, International Association of—W. S. Gross, John Zitello, Mike J. Minaden, 184 votes.

Clerks, National Federation of (Post Office)—Leo E. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Fore Kurtz, Alvin W. Tschirley, Donald E. Dunn, 790 votes.

Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway—Geo. M. Harrison, Phil E. Ziegler, J. H. Sylvester, J. P. Jesse, H. R. Lyons, L. B. Snedden, G. B. Goble, 2,500 votes.

Clerks' International Association, Retail—Vernon A. Housewright, James A. Suf-fridge, G. A. Sackett, Peter Formica, Frank C. Shea, Phillip F. Koerner, Nathan Wertheimer, 2,025 votes.

Coopers' International Union of North America—James J. Doyle, Joseph Kunz, 60 votes.

Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers' International Union—Joseph O'Neill, Sol Cilento, James Dever, 250 votes.

Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and—Stanley W. Oliver, 59 votes.

Electrical Workers, International Brotherhood of—D. W. Tracy, J. Scott Milne, Frank C. Riley, Roy Tindall, Thomas J. O'Connell, Charles W. Mason, 3,300 votes.

Elevator Constructors, International Union of—John C. MacDonald, Edward A. Smith, Francis B. Comfort, 102 votes.

Engineers, International Union of Operating—Wm. E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. Delaney, Chas. B. Gramling, John I. Lynch, 1,500 votes.

Engravers Union of North America, International Photo—Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, 129 votes.

Fire Fighters, International Association of—John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, John P. Crane, James Deach, Glen Thom, 548 votes.

Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of—Anthony E. Matz, Joseph P. Clark, Robert J. Tormey, James M. Kennedy, George Wright, 580 votes.

Garment Workers of America, United — Joseph P. McCurdy, Albert Adamski, W. R. Brooks, Harry R. Williams, Madge King, 490 votes.

Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies — David Dubinsky, Luigi Antonini, Israel Feinberg, Charles S. Zimmerman, Isidore Nagler, Louis Stulberg, David Gingold, George Rubin, 3,500 votes.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada — Lee W. Minton, Raymond H. Dalton, J. Belton Warren, John H. Mullen, Herman P. McGee, 360 votes.

Glass Cutters League of America, Window — Lester L. Theibert, 16 votes.

Glass Workers' Union, American Flint — Harry H. Cook, Joseph F. Brown, Ralph O. Harper, Roy W. Niles, Fred Hawkins, 281 votes.

Glove Workers' Union of America, International — Thomas Dorian, John W. Quimby, 31 votes.

Government Employees, American Federation of — James G. Yaden, Berniece B. Heffner, A. E. Eisenmenger, 432 votes.

Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The — Laurence Foley, 40 votes.

Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union, International — Jack Wieselberg, Norman Zukowski, Herbert Otto, Edward Friss, 217 votes.

Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, United — Max Zaritsky, Dennis M. Carroll, Percy Ginsburg, Bernard McDonnell, Carmen Lucia, 320 votes.

Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International — Joseph V. Moreschi, Joseph Marshall, Herbert Rivers, John W. Garvey, A. C. D'Andrea, Charles Sullivan, Arthur P. Kistemaker, Charles Rawlings, 2,675 votes.

Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Bartenders' International Union — Hugo Ernst, Ed. S. Miller, Emanuel Koveleski, Louis Koenig, Dave Siegel, Larry Sarricks, George Holbert, Anna Rimington, 3,813 votes.

Jewelry Workers' Union, International — Joseph Morris, Hyman J. Powell, Frank Woodfill, 125 votes.

Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal — William J. McSorley, Harry J. Hagen, Walter M. Matthews, 99 votes.

Laundry Workers' International Union — Sam J. Byers, Charles T. Lindgren, Tillie Clifford, W. Chasmar, L. Palacios, 600 votes.

Leather Workers' International Union, United — Bernard G. Quinn, 33 votes.

Letter Carriers, National Association of — William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, Charles S. Fleming, John J. Nolan, James C. Stocker, Edward F. Benning, 725 votes.

Longshoremen's Association, International — Joseph P. Ryan, John R. Owens, E. L. Slaughter, 571 votes.

Maintenance of Way Employes, Brotherhood of — T. C. Carroll, F. H. Fljozdal, A. Shoemake, Thomas F. Holleran, Louis Vogland, J. P. Wilson, E. J. Plondke, 1,613 votes.

Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters' Helpers and Terrazzo Helpers, International Associa-

tion of — William McCarthy, John J. Conway, 45 votes.

Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization — C. F. May, 77 votes.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated — Earl W. Jimerson, Patrick E. Gorman, Milton S. Maxwell, T. J. Lloyd, Joseph Belsky, R. Emmett Kelly, Marvin Hook, 1,652 votes.

Metal Workers' International Association, Sheet — Robert Byron, James J. Ryan, James T. Moriarty, A. H. Cronin, L. M. Wicklein, 320 votes.

Millers, American Federation of Grain — S. P. Ming, H. A. Schneider, Peter J. Rybka, George A. Zipoy, 279 votes.

Molders and Foundry Workers' Union of North America, International — Chester A. Sample, Henry Rosendale, Joseph Trentman, Justin P. Robbins, Robert F. Bailey, Tony Madaloni, 650 votes.

Musicians, American Federation of — James C. Petrillo, Joseph N. Weber, Roy W. Singer, Vincent J. Castronovo, Charles L. Bagley, Frank B. Field, Edw. P. Ringius, 2,354 votes.

Office Employes' International Union — Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, L. G. Nygren, 262 votes.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of — L. P. Lindehof, L. M. Raftery, Christian Madsen, Frank Owens, Peter Yablonsky, Wm. A. Curtis, 1,757 votes.

Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of — Paul L. Phillips, Joseph Addy, John R. Jones, Frank P. Barry, John W. Bailey, 400 votes.

Pattern Makers' League of North America — George Q. Lynch, 110 votes.

Plasterers and Cement Finishers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative — John E. Rooney, John J. Hauck, Walter A. Redmond, Michael B. Gallagher, Edward J. Leonard, 297 votes.

Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the — Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Peter T. Schoemann, Robert Lynch, G. J. O'Donnell, 1,500 votes.

Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers' International Union, Metal — Ray Muelhofer, Dennis J. Oates, Hugh R. McDermott, 160 votes.

Porters, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car — A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Frank Boyd, 100 votes.

Postal Supervisors, The National Association of — John A. McMahon, Enoch Nelson, John D. Ryan, 106 votes.

Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America, International Plate — Lee B. Kistler, 11 votes.

Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, International — J. H. de la Rosa, George L. Googe, Clarence Loquist, Joseph Smutny, Dorothy Reed, Herman J. Hammerbeck, 753 votes.

Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International

Brotherhood of — John P. Burke, James S. Killen, Elmer P. Meinz, Raymond A. Richards, Carl B. Gear, John Shank, 1,142 votes.

Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric — A. L. Spradling, Joseph J. Kehoe, Allen Noel, Samuel F. Curry, W. O. Frazier, John J. Burke, 1,200 votes.

Railway Mail Association—R. A. Rice, J. L. Reilly, Joel J. J. Lundeen, 267 votes.

Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United Slate, Tile and Composition — Charles D. Aquadro, Homer J. Meyers, Ben D. Vetter, 120 votes.

Seafarers' International Union of North America — Harry Lundeborg, Paul Hall, Morris Weisberger, James Waugh, Patrick McHugh, 450 votes.

Signalmen, Brotherhood of Railroad—I. M. Fisher, 128 votes.

Special Delivery Messengers, The National Association of—George L. Warfel, 20 votes.

Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical — Richard F. Walsh, William P. Raoul, Thomas V. Green, James McNabb, Michael J. Mungovan, 420 votes.

State, County and Municipal Employes, American Federation of—Arnold S. Zander, Gordon W. Chapman, Eling Munkby, Edward N. Doan, John C. Petersen, 750 votes.

Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International — Leo J. Buckley, Frank R. Adams, 106 votes.

Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen — Paul A. Givens, 19 votes.

Stove Mounters' International Union — Joseph Lewis, Raymond Livingston, Leo F. Lucas, 87 votes.

Teachers, American Federation of — John M. Eklund, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Selma M. Borchardt, Arthur A. Elder, Mary R. Wheeler, 358 votes.

Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—Daniel J. Tobin, John F. English, Frank Brewster, John O'Rourke, Robert Lester, Ted Merrill, Daniel J. Colucio, 6,250 votes.

Telegraphers, The Order of Railroad—G. E. Leighty, E. J. Manion, 300 votes.

Telegraphers' Union of North America, The Commercial — W. L. Allen, 367 votes.

Textile Workers of America, United — Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, Francis Schauf-enbil, Burton Hyman, Joseph Jacobs, 600 votes.

Tobacco Workers', International Union — John O'Hare, R. J. Petree, 220 votes.

Typographical Union, International—Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Bernard M. Egan, Horace L. Imeson, Lewis M. Herrmann, J. Arthur Moriarty, 640 votes.

Upholsterers' International Union of North America — Sal B. Hoffmann, Alfred R. Rota, Tony Remshardt, George Bucher, James M. Bishop, 480 votes.

Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America, United — Rudolph Heini, 29 votes.

Yardmasters of America, Railroad — J. D. McDonnell, 35 votes.

DEPARTMENTS

Building and Construction Trades Department—Richard J. Gray, 1 vote.

Metal Trades Department—John P. Frey, 1 vote.

Railroad Employes Department — Fred N. Aten, 1 vote.

Union Label Trades Department — I. M. Ornburn, 1 vote.

STATE BRANCHES

Alabama State Federation of Labor—J. R. Holland, 1 vote.

Alaska State Federation of Labor—Theodore B. Ericksen, 1 vote.

Arizona State Federation of Labor—Elmer F. Vickers, 1 vote.

Arkansas State Federation of Labor— S. V. Zinn, 1 vote.

California State Federation of Labor—C. J. Haggerty, 1 vote.

Colorado State Federation of Labor—George W. Brayfield, 1 vote.

Connecticut State Federation of Labor — Joseph M. Rourke, 1 vote.

Florida State Federation of Labor—James A. Harper, 1 vote.

Georgia State Federation of Labor—William A. Cetti, 1 vote.

Idaho State Federation of Labor—Elmer F. Miltire, 1 vote.

Illinois State Federation of Labor—Reuben G. Soderstrom, 1 vote.

Indiana State Federation of Labor—Carl H. Mullen, 1 vote.

Iowa State Federation of Labor — A. A. Couch, 1 vote.

Kansas State Federation of Labor — F. M. Crump, 1 vote.

Louisiana State Federation of Labor—E. H. Williams, 1 vote.

Maine State Federation of Labor — B. J. Dorsky, 1 vote.

Maryland—District of Columbia State Federation of Labor—Frank J. Coleman, 1 vote.

Massachusetts State Federation of Labor—Kenneth J. Kelley, 1 vote.

Michigan State Federation of Labor—J. M. O'Laughlin, 1 vote.

Minnesota State Federation of Labor—Robert A. Olson, 1 vote.

Mississippi State Federation of Labor—Holt Ross, 1 vote.

Missouri State Federation of Labor—Emmet Sullivan, 1 vote.

Montana State Federation of Labor—James D. Graham, 1 vote.

Nebraska State Federation of Labor—Gordon C. Preble, 1 vote.

Nevada State Federation of Labor—William H. Rowe, 1 vote.

- New Jersey State Federation of Labor — Vincent J. Murphy, 1 vote.
- New York State Federation of Labor — Thomas A. Murray, 1 vote.
- North Carolina State Federation of Labor—C. A. Fink, 1 vote.
- North Dakota State Federation of Labor — W. W. Murrey, 1 vote.
- Ohio State Federation of Labor — Phil Hannah, 1 vote.
- Oklahoma State Federation of Labor — J. Cline House, 1 vote.
- Oregon State Federation of Labor — J. T. Marr, 1 vote.
- Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor — James L. McDevitt, 1 vote.
- Puerto Rico, Free Federation of Workingmen—Nicolas Nogueras Rivera, 1 vote.
- South Carolina State Federation of Labor — Andrew Boyter, 1 vote.
- South Dakota State Federation of Labor—Francis K. McDonald, 1 vote.
- Tennessee State Federation of Labor—Robert A. Tillman, 1 vote.
- Texas State Federation of Labor — Paul C. Sparks, 1 vote.
- Utah State Federation of Labor — Fullmer H. Latter, 1 vote.
- Vermont State Federation of Labor—Max Wexler, 1 vote.
- Virginia State Federation of Labor—A. E. Wilson, 1 vote.
- Washington State Federation of Labor—E. M. Weston, 1 vote.
- West Virginia State Federation of Labor—Volney Andrews, 1 vote.
- Wisconsin State Federation of Labor—George A. Haberman, 1 vote.
- Wyoming State Federation of Labor—Martin Cahill, 1 vote.
- Blue Island, Ill., Central Labor Union—Wilson Frankland, 1 vote.
- Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union — Ernest A. Johnson, 1 vote.
- Buffalo, N. Y., Federation of Labor—Robert A. Smith, 1 vote.
- Calumet, Ill., Joint Labor Council—Jeff O. Johnson, 1 vote.
- Camden, N. J., Central Labor Union—Leon B. Schachter, 1 vote.
- Canton, Ohio, Federation of Labor—John W. Swartz, 1 vote.
- Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Federation of Labor—J. C. Blodgett, 1 vote.
- Centralia, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly —J. L. Matthews, 1 vote.
- Charleston and Vic., S. C. Central Labor Union—E. R. Czaplewski, 1 vote.
- Charleston, West Va., Kanawha Valley Central Labor Union—Frank W. Snyder, 1 vote.
- Charlotte, N. C., Central Labor Union—W. P. Hooker, 1 vote.
- Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor—Morris Bialis, 1 vote.
- Cincinnati, Ohio, Central Labor Union—Jack Hurst, 1 vote.
- Clark, Skamania and West Klickitat Counties, Wash., Central Labor Council—William R. Smith, 1 vote.
- Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor—William Finegan, 1 vote.
- Clinton County, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Union—Edgar F. Smith, 1 vote.
- Dallas, Tex., Central Labor Council—Wallace C. Reilly, 1 vote.
- Dayton, Ohio, Central Labor Union—J. E. Breidenbach, 1 vote.
- Denver, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly—George A. Cavender, 1 vote.
- Des Moines, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly—Jas. W. Soutter, 1 vote.
- Detroit and Wayne County, Michigan, Federation of Labor—Frank X. Martel, 1 vote.
- Duluth, Minn., Federated Trades Assembly —Elmer Schaffer, 1 vote.
- East Liverpool, Ohio, Trades and Labor Council—James B. Moss, 1 vote.
- Easton, Pa., Central Labor Union—Stewart A. Seifert, 1 vote.
- El Centro, Calif., Imperial Valley Central Labor Union—Max J. Osslo, 1 vote.
- Elgin, Ill., Trades Council — Howard A. Floyd, 1 vote.
- Elizabeth, N. J., Union County Central Labor Union—George Cushing, 1 vote.
- Everett, Wash., Trades Council—Ed Harvard, 1 vote.
- Fresno, Calif., Federated Trades and Labor Council—C. H. Cary, 1 vote.
- Galesburg, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly —Wm. Moon, 1 vote.
- Grand Forks, N. D., Trades and Labor Assembly—Dan Olsen, 1 vote.
- Grand Rapids, Mich., Trades and Labor Council—Louis Feringa, 1 vote.
- Harrisburg, Pa., Central Labor Union—Edward H. Miller, 1 vote.

CITY CENTRAL BODIES

- Akron, Ohio, Summit County, Trades and Labor Assembly—A. J. Frecka, 1 vote.
- Alexandria, Va., Central Labor Union—Eugene R. Hubbard, 1 vote.
- Alton, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Walter R. Smith, 1 vote.
- Ann Arbor, Mich., Trades Council—Redmond M. Burr, 1 vote.
- Appleton, Wis., Trades Council—George Behling, 1 vote.
- Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades—Henry W. Chandler, 1 vote.
- Balboa, Canal Zone, Central Labor Union —Walter J. Jones, 1 vote.
- Baltimore, Md., Federation of Labor — Thomas J. Healy, 1 vote.
- Barberton, Ohio, Central Labor Union—Charles Karam, 1 vote.
- Bergen County, N. J. Trades and Labor Council—John McEntee, 1 vote.
- Binghamton, N. Y., Central Labor Union—Maurice Quain, 1 vote.
- Birmingham, Ala., Federation of Labor—Ted Williams, 1 vote.

- Hibbing, Minn., Central Labor Union — Peter A. Stark, 1 vote.
- Honolulu, T. H., Central Labor Council — A. S. Reile, 1 vote.
- Hudson County, N. J., Central Labor Union — Joseph G. Quinn, 1 vote.
- Johnson City, Tenn., Central Labor Union — Charles M. Houk, 1 vote.
- Joliet, Ill., Will County Central Trades and Labor Council — S. P. Miller, 1 vote.
- Kalamazoo, Mich., Trades and Labor Council — Florence H. Bailey, 1 vote.
- Klamath Falls, Oregon, Central Labor Union — Alma B. Sweetman, 1 vote.
- Knoxville, Tenn., Central Labor Union — Lucille Thornburg, 1 vote.
- La Crosse, Wis., Trades and Labor Council — George W. Hall, 1 vote.
- Lake County, Ind., Central Labor Union — Steven Toth, 1 vote.
- Long Beach, Calif., Central Labor Union — Jack Arnold, 1 vote.
- Los Angeles County, Calif., Central Labor Council — W. J. Bassett, 1 vote.
- Louisville, Ky., Central Labor Union — R. A. DuVall, 1 vote.
- Lowell, Mass., Central Labor Union — Sidney E. Le Bow, 1 vote.
- Lynchburg, Va., Central Labor Union — Sallie D. Clinebell, 1 vote.
- Macon, Ga., Federation of Trades — J. B. Pate, 1 vote.
- Madison, Wis., Federation of Labor — Jerome B. White, 1 vote.
- Marion and Grant County, Ind., Central Labor Union — Victor Hood, 1 vote.
- Marshalltown, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly — Chas. W. Pickering, 1 vote.
- Memphis, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council — Baxter Turnage, 1 vote.
- Miami, Florida, Central Labor Union — Angelo Sands, 1 vote.
- Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council — Frank H. Ranney, 1 vote.
- Minneapolis and Hennepin County, Minn., Central Labor Union — William V. Sinnott, 1 vote.
- Minot, N. Dak., Central Labor Union — H. C. Kiehn, 1 vote.
- Muncie, Ind., Central Labor Union — George McMahan, 1 vote.
- Nassau and Suffolk Counties, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council — William C. De Koning, 1 vote.
- Neenah and Menasha, Wis., Central Labor Union — John Arnold, 1 vote.
- Newark, N. J., Essex Trades Council — John J. Vohden, Jr., 1 vote.
- New Bedford, Mass., Central Labor Union — S. P. Jason, 1 vote.
- New Orleans, La., Trades and Labor Council — Robert L. Soule, 1 vote.
- New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity — James C. Quinn, 1 vote.
- Niagara Falls, N. Y., Federation of Labor — Harry S. Jordan, 1 vote.
- Oklahoma City, Okla., Central Trades and Labor Council — Jack Wood, 1 vote.
- Olympia, Wash., Trades Council — Nell Clark, 1 vote.
- Omaha, Nebr., Central Labor Union — Albert M. Witzling, 1 vote.
- Orange County, Calif., Central Labor Council — Kathryn Arnold, 1 vote.
- Owatonna, Minn., Central Labor Union — Ralph Distad, 1 vote.
- Parkersburg, West Va., Central Trades and Labor Council — Charles D. Uhl, 1 vote.
- Pasadena-San Gabriel Valley, Calif., Central Labor Council — Joseph T. De Silva, 1 vote.
- Passaic County, N. J., Central Labor Union — Sal Maso, 1 vote.
- Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union — Joseph A. McDonough, 1 vote.
- Portland, Maine, Central Labor Union — Frank X. Smith, 1 vote.
- Portland and Vic., Oregon Central Labor Council — Gust Anderson, 1 vote.
- Providence, R. I., Central Federated Union — Arthur P. Patt, 1 vote.
- Racine, Wis., Trades and Labor Council — Anthony Rosso, 1 vote.
- Rapid City, S. D., Central Labor Union — Carl H. Muehl, 1 vote.
- Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council — George M. Rhodes, 1 vote.
- Sacramento, Calif., Federated Trades Council — Thomas Roteil, 1 vote.
- St. Cloud, Minn., Central Labor Union — Ovid E. C. Moran, 1 vote.
- St. Joseph, Mo., Central Labor Council — Warren S. Welsh, 1 vote.
- St. Louis, Mo., Trades and Labor Union — Inez Bruno, 1 vote.
- St. Paul, Minn., Trades and Labor Assembly — Joseph R. Okoneski, 1 vote.
- Salinas, Monterey County, Calif., Central Labor Union — William G. Kenyon, 1 vote.
- Salt Lake City, Utah, Federation of Labor — Don R. Evans, 1 vote.
- San Antonio, Texas, Trades Council — William B. Arnold, 1 vote.
- San Bernardino, Calif., Central Labor Council — Harry E. Griffin, 1 vote.
- San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council — Jack Goldberger, 1 vote.
- San Pedro and Wilmington, Calif., Central Labor Council — Richard J. Seltzer, 1 vote.
- Schenectady, N. Y., Federation of Labor — R. J. Carmichael, 1 vote.
- Scranton, Pa., Central Labor Union — Joseph L. Downes, 1 vote.
- Seattle and Vic., Wash., Central Labor Council — Claude O'Reilly, 1 vote.
- Sheridan, (Sheridan County,) Wyo., Trades and Labor Council — R. C. Bentzen, 1 vote.
- Sioux City, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly — John Schoen, 1 vote.
- Sioux Falls, S. D., Trades and Labor Assembly — Clifford W. Shrader, 1 vote.
- South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly — Frank E. Doyle, 1 vote.

South Norwalk, Conn., Central Labor Union—Walter J. Arndt, 1 vote.

Southwestern Oregon, Ore., Central Trades Council—T. J. Cruickshank, 1 vote.

Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor—Samuel N. Bonansing, 1 vote.

Springfield, Mo., Central Labor Union—Otto Bowles, 1 vote.

Springfield, Ohio, Trades and Labor Assembly—Joseph Mullahy, 1 vote.

Superior, Wis., Trades and Labor Assembly—Al Bernacki, 1 vote.

Terre Haute, Ind., Central Labor Union—O. B. Soucie, 1 vote.

The Dalles, Oregon, Central Labor Council—Henry Wendt, 1 vote.

Toledo, Ohio, Central Labor Union—Frank Fischer, 1 vote.

Trenton, N. J., Central Labor Union—Joseph G. Landgraf, 1 vote.

Tri-City Federation of Labor, Davenport, Ia., Rock Island and Moline, Ill.—John H. De Young, 1 vote.

Tulsa, Okla., Trades Council—Terry H. Beam, 1 vote.

Ventura, Calif., Central Labor Union—Mel Anderson, 1 vote.

Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union—Clem F. Preller, 1 vote.

Waukegan, Ill., Lake County Central Trades and Labor Council—Percy G. Snow, 1 vote.

Waukesha, Wis., Trades and Labor Council—John R. Davis, 1 vote.

Willmar, Minn., Central Labor Union—Ernest Lee, 1 vote.

Zanesville, Ohio, Central Labor Union—Wm. J. Lewis, 1 vote.

LOCAL UNIONS

Advertising, Publicity and Newspaper Representatives' Union No. 20711, St. Louis, Mo.—Maury E. Rubin, 1 vote.

Advertising, Publicity and Newspaper Representatives' Union No. 22519, Mobile, Ala.—Stanton Dann, 1 vote.

Aluminum Workers' Union No. 19256, Massena, N. Y.—Eddie R. Stahl, 27 votes.

Aluminum Workers' Union No. 22724, Lister, Ala.—Claude R. Mitchell, 10 votes.

Blast Furnace and Coke Oven Workers' Union No. 20572, Toledo, Ohio—James M. Flynn, 6 votes.

Brushmakers' Union No. 16303, New York, N. Y.—Anthony Varrone, 7 votes.

Can Workers' Union No. 22623, Philadelphia, Pa.—Charles Naddeo, 19 votes.

Coke and Gas Workers' Union No. 19657, Duluth, Minn.—John S. Farmer, 3 votes.

Embalmers' Union No. 9049, San Francisco, Calif.—Wm. J. Williams, 1 vote.

Enamel Workers' Union No. 22614, Moundsville, West Va.—Charles Mills, 3 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 12985, Butte, Mont.—John H. Driscoll, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 17983, San Juan, P. R.—Berta C. Noguera, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 18456, Kenosha, Wis.—Gregory Wallig, 28 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 18887, Philadelphia, Pa.—Alex I. Dever, 15 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 18907, Cleveland, Ohio—Esther Schueller, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 19119, East St. Louis, Ill.—George T. Sinn, 4 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 19635, Muskegon, Mich.—D. F. Hartman, 5 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 19806, Milwaukee, Wis.—Clarence A. Seefeld, 51 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 19897, Jersey City, N. J.—George J. Kane, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 20186, Barberton, Ohio—Paul E. George, 34 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 20459, St. Paul, Minn.—Marvin Lewis, 12 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 20810, Battle Creek, Mich.—Clair Almond, 7 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 20897, Saginaw, Mich.—Wellington Knights, 8 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 21626, Manville, N. J.—Edward Macko, 23 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 22177, Detroit, Mich.—Howard Cameron, 15 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 22454, New Orleans, La.—Claude P. Babin, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 22631, Milwaukee, Wis.—John E. Cudahy, 30 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 23006, Hastings, Minn.—R. J. Frost, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 23422, Latonia, Ky.—V. O. Cottengim, 2 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 23823, Newark, Ohio—Darrell C. Johnson, 3 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 23843, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn.—L. E. Groner, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 24044, Detroit, Mich.—Mike Nicoletti, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 24280, Detroit, Mich.—Verna O. Corrigan, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 24411, Bridgeport, Conn.—John T. Nowell, 16 votes.

Fur Workers' Union No. 21479 (3 votes), Fur Workers' Union No. 21480 (2 votes),

Fur Workers' Union No. 21481 (1 vote), Toronto, Ont., Canada — Max Federman, 6 votes.

Gas Workers' Union No. 18007, Chicago, Ill.—James E. Fitzpatrick, 22 votes.

Gas Workers' Union No. 20490, Minneapolis, Minn.—Roland F. De Tunco, 7 votes.

Match Workers' Union, United No. 18565, Wadsworth, Ohio — Raymond Barnett, 13 votes.

Newsboys' Union No. 15834, Seattle, Wash.—Frank Turco, 1 vote.

Newspaper Workers' Union, Labor and Community, No. 21877, Chicago, Ill.—Jesse Albritton, 1 vote.

Optical Workers' Union No. 18820, Pittsburgh, Pa.—Ervine Rump, 2 votes.

Quarry Workers' Union No. 21993, Alpena, Mich.—Walter G. Robinson, 2 votes.

Rubber Workers' Union No. 22408, Wabash, Ind.—Paul H. Wakefield, 9 votes.

Rubber Workers' Union No. 24043, Logansport, Ind.—Donald Felker, 2 votes.

Seltzer Workers' Union No. 23181, New York, N. Y.—William Wolpert, 1 vote.

Smelter Workers' Union No. 21538, Blackwell, Okla.—O. C. Campbell, 9 votes.

Textile Examiners and Finishers' Union No. 18205, Greater New York, N. Y. — Louis Lufrano, 4 votes.

Theatrical Agents and Managers, Association of No. 18032, New York, N. Y.—Milton Weintraub, 5 votes.

Waste Material Handlers' Union No. 20467, Chicago, Ill.—Paul J. Dorfman, 5 votes.

Wire Finishers' Union No. 23866, Cleveland, Ohio—James Hadlock, 8 votes.

FRATERNAL DELEGATES

British Trades Union Congress — Lincoln Evans, T. Williamson, 2 votes.

Canadian Trades and Labor Congress — R. P. Rintoul, 1 vote.

Respectfully submitted,

ROBERT F. LYNCH, Chairman

L. B. SNEDDEN

TONEY GALLO, Secretary

COMMITTEE SECRETARY GALLO: Your committee moves adoption of this partial report.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The delegates whose names have just been submitted to this convention by Brother Gallo of the Credentials Committee will be seated as delegates in

this convention, and the Credentials Committee will continue to work, and anyone who has credentials that have not yet been presented will please present them to the Credentials Committee.

The Chair wishes to announce that this afternoon we will have two interesting and distinguished speakers, Senator Malone, from the State of Nevada, who will address the convention immediately after we reconvene this afternoon. Following his address Senator Humphrey of Minnesota will be present and deliver an address.

ESCORT COMMITTEES

President Green appointed the following committees to escort Senators Malone and Humphrey:

For Senator Malone: Brother William C. Doherty, member of the Executive Council; Brother William H. Rowe of the Nevada State Federation of Labor, and Brother Hugo Ernst of the Hotel and Restaurant Employes International Union.

For Senator Humphrey: Vice-President Daniel J. Tobin; Brother Robert Olson of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor, and Brother Lindelof, of the Painters' International Union.

PRESIDENT GREEN: It now seems that the work of our morning session has been completed, and in view of that fact the convention will stand adjourned until 2:00 o'clock, this afternoon.

At 12:15 o'clock, p.m. the convention stood recessed until 2:00 o'clock, p.m.

FIRST DAY—MONDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order by President Green at 2:30 o'clock, p.m.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair recognizes Secretary Gallo, of the Committee on Credentials, for an additional report.

**SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE
ON CREDENTIALS**

Committee Secretary Gallo submitted the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials has examined credentials and recommend that the following be seated:

Clem F. Hackman, representing the Editorial Association No. 23773, Dayton, Ohio, with 1 vote.

In accordance with request of Delegate Thomas Rotell, who has been reported as representing the Sacramento, California, Federated Trades Council, we recommend his representing the Vallejo, California, Trades and Labor Council, with one vote, in lieu of the Sacramento, California, Federated Trades Council.

In accordance with request of President Byron of the Sheet Metal Workers' Association, we recommend the seating of Edward Carrough in place of L. M. Wicklein, previously reported.

We have been requested by President Charles J. MacGowan of the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America to substitute the name of Earl Ashbrook for O. W. Mursner, who was previously reported as a delegate to represent that organization, with 214 votes.

On motion of Committee Secretary Gallo the report of the Committee was adopted.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair desires to announce the appointment of Delegate Bernice Heffner, of the American Federation of Government Employees, as an addition to the Escort Committee to Senator Malone.

I also wish to announce the appointment of Delegate John M. Ecklund, President of the American Federation of Teachers, as an addition to the committee to escort Senator Humphrey to the platform this afternoon.

Now I know you are all anticipating the pleasure of listening to a distinguished and outstanding member of the United States Senate. I am pleased to announce to you that our speaker for this hour and on this occasion comes from the great state of Nevada, and he

has made a record for himself in the Senate of the United States.

You are all familiar, I know, with our nonpartisan political policy. We are not associated with or connected with any political party, and we have never yet agreed to be partisan or connected with a political party. We support candidates for the United States Senate and for Congress who are friendly to labor, regardless of their political affiliations.

And that is just how it is in this case. Our good friend, Senator Malone, comes from Nevada and is a Republican Senator. Senator Humphrey, who as you know will address us later on, is a Democratic Senator. Senator Malone stood with us and voted with us in opposition to the notorious Taft-Hartley law, so we are for him because he is for us.

I present to you Senator Malone, from the State of Nevada.

HONORABLE GEORGE W. MALONE

(United States Senator, Nevada)

President Green and Executive Committee of your great organization, Miss Heffner, and Bill Rowe, the only man from Nevada who is a former State Senator—I told Bill if you fellows lobbied for me 12 months a year I ought to be able to lobby for you for one day. Out in Nevada we do things in a big way. We have the Boulder Dam there that was formerly called the Hoover Dam, higher from the surface of the water than the Washington Monument. I went to an A. F. of L. meeting in Las Vegas, and knowing both Las Vegas and the Federation I knew it would be a combination hard to beat. I could not leave, and I had to watch these Democrats, you know.

I was in the same position as a poker player who got into a buckaroo game on Saturday afternoon, and when his friend came back next morning about 9:00 o'clock he was still in it. He had a beard that reached down to here and the tobacco juice was dripping from the beard, and his friend said to him, "For God's sake, why don't you turn your head and spit?" He said, "I did that once last night and it cost me \$100."

In a recent issue of Time magazine I was rather contemptuously quoted as saying that due to the reciprocal trade treaties which the President has the power to enact, America was importing unemployment. That quotation was accurate, my friends. I did say it and I mean every word of it. I am glad for this opportunity to spell out exactly what

I mean and why I am correct. It is particularly fitting that ~~this speech should be made on this occasion before the most important labor group in the entire world.~~ I want to talk to you about your own future and the future of your families and of your children.

When I say that your standard of living has been put in jeopardy by the State Department policies, I ask that you not make up minds that I am wrong until you have heard my reasons. How do you and your members make a living? You do it by producing things that other workers are willing and able to buy. These other workers exchange their hours of labor for your production, and you in turn exchange your hours of labor for the things they produce. You are each other's customers and you give each other employment and if there are no other workers willing and able to employ you, there is nothing on God's green earth that can prevent your being out of a job. The corporations for which you work cannot do anything about it. Their only source of money in which to meet your payroll is the customer—no customer, no payroll.

Now, whether or not these customers will continue to buy depends upon two things: Whether they have that much money and whether the thing you produce is the best bargain in the market. Any group of workers in a given business is in competition with every other group of workers in the same business. Chevrolet workers are in competition with Ford workers. Swift workers are in competition with Cudahy workers. That is a good, healthy competition, and even if Ford can't compete, as he was unable to do when he proceeded in stringing along with the Model T Ford, the workers could go across the street and make the Chevrolets that the various customers have decided to buy until he designs a car that brings the customers back.

But even when things like this are not happening competition doesn't hurt the country, because no one company can undersell any other company and drag away large groups of customers, for the reason that all of the workers involved make about the same wages, which means that the prices asked for the customer is about the same for an equivalent product, because wage rates are the overwhelming factor of the cost. As long as wages of competing workers are about the same, their standard of living is not in danger.

Now, let's see what happens when we get into foreign trade. Let's take Joe America who is making watches in Massachusetts. He gets \$1.25 an hour or more and he can compete with every other watchmaker who gets \$1.25 an hour. But what happens when he gets in competition with Joe Switzerland, who is a watchmaker in Geneva and is getting 50 cents an hour or less? The answer to that is what actually happened: Joe America up in Waltham found his plant shut down and 75 percent of the watch movements sold through other American companies are also coming from Switzerland. This is just an example, my friends, that I am using.

Now, what can Joe America do? He has two choices — go to work for 50 cents an hour and compete with Joe Switzerland, or he can learn a new trade. Neither is a good choice. He is simply out of luck because the low tariff or import fee on foreign watch movements pulled the rug out from under him.

Now, let's go back for a minute and see why men join unions. First of all, they want to be sure of a wage that is in line with the wages of the other workers to make the things they have to buy. Second, they want job security. The unions and the management can give the men both of these things as far as the domestic situation is concerned, but what happens when cheap foreign-made products cascade into the American markets? The answer is quick and simple. The floor that it has taken 50 years to build under the American workers' standard of living and job security collapses. The customers find better values in foreign-made goods, and they would not be human if they did not take advantage of them, and the American workers who would have made those products are out of a job. That is why I said, and I will keep on saying it as long as I have breath in my body—when we import cheap competitive goods we import unemployment.

Why is it that some politicians who would not dream of voting for restriction of immigration of cheap labor go right ahead and vote for unrestricted importation of the products labor makes? There are no essential differences between the two policies. Think that one over!

The State Department and the Executive Department said they were not going to allow that to happen, even though they have the power to make it happen. Well, it has already happened under the emergency legislation, which emergency, by the way, has been kept alive for 15 years, and it can happen again and much more seriously.

Already the Pottery Workers, the Glass Workers, the Bicycle Workers, Carpet Workers, Woolen Workers, workers who produce silver, zinc, lead, mercury, tungsten, aluminum, paper, chemicals, and textiles are feeling the pinch that has already squeezed the watchmakers.

As I said, the State Department promised that this would never be allowed to become serious, but when my group in the Senate wanted them to give up the power to make it serious they put the heat on the majority and we were snowed under.

One of the excuses given by the Administration for hamstringing American workers is that the foreign workers are in distress. Let's look at this argument not through the confused eyes of our foreign-policy makers, but just plain common sense. My proposal, known as the flexible import fee, would, for example, put enough tariff on Swiss watch movements to make them competitive with American parts of equal quality. Nobody wants to squeeze all foreign products from our markets. We just want them to be fair competition. The bleeding hearts in the State Department believe that this import fee on

Swiss parts would have been bad for the Swiss watchmakers. Let's see if it would.

At present his employers are sweating him to get cheap watches into America. Suppose his employer could no longer get away with that because the import fee raised his American prices to conform to American wages. Here is what would happen: under those conditions there would no longer be any incentive for employers to sweat the Swiss worker, and his wages would be raised painlessly because as the cost of the parts went up due to wages, the equalizing import fee would go down. The only loser would be the United States Customs. That point is very important, and I want to explain it in detail.

Suppose a Swiss watch movement now enters the country for \$5—and that is about what it enters for—and sells for \$7.50, while an equivalent American watch has to sell for \$10—it is nearer \$12. The flexible import fee on this watch would be about \$2.50, and each of the two watches would then sell to the public for \$10. The largest factor in this differential of cost, of course, is that difference in the wages of \$1.25 per hour for the American worker and the 50 cents per hour for the Swiss workers.

The Swiss employer would soon see that there was no sense in giving \$2.50 to the United States Customs when he could just as easily give most of it to his own workers and keep a little extra for himself.

That is the best way I know to really help the Swiss worker raise his standard of living, and if his employer raised the price and tried to keep the entire \$5 the Swiss Watchmakers' Union would have a perfect setup for a strike that would get results.

It is supposed to be treason nowadays to oppose the pouring out of America's heart blood to the war-torn world, but I can't help but wish there were some court that could forget about getting out injunctions against give-away radio programs and worry about our give-away foreign policy program.

I am just a freshman Senator in Nevada and I have worked like blazes for everything I ever got, and I am old-fashioned enough to believe that charity begins at home. Of one thing I am sure, if our program to help the world involves weakening America and destroying the standard of living of the American worker, that program is bad for the entire world, including the people getting the help, because without a strong America the free nations of the world are headed for the kind of slavery government that they are trying desperately to avoid.

I claim that we can be intelligent, honest internationalists, without subscribing to the crippling of America's strength and vitality. In fact, it is to my mind the essence of constructive internationalism.

Make no mistake, we face in Moscow a fanatical enemy that would rather have its millions of people perish in the blast of the atomic bomb than give up their dream of conquest. It is only the health and the pro-

ductivity of American industrial production that stands between them and the realization of that dream. I would not say and I do not believe that the Administration in Washington would deliberately do anything to aid Moscow, but when you lie on your deathbed it doesn't make you feel any better to know that the doctor honestly did not know that he was giving you the wrong medicine.

The reciprocal trade act title is really a slogan and a phoney one to sell free trade to the American worker. The other day I looked up the word "reciprocal" in the dictionary. It means mutual, shared alike by both sides. Now, if there is anything reciprocal about most of the deals made under the so-called Reciprocal Trade Act I would like to know what it is. The truth is that since 1934 America's tariff policy has been a political football to bolster up half-baked diplomatic schemes, to reward or punish different governments who have or have not acted as our State Department wanted them to act, and to curry favor with governments who needed a little sweetening up. The principal purpose for tariffs in the United States, namely, to put a floor under the workers' standard of living, has been largely ignored.

I have often said that America's tariff policy should return to the traditional purposes for which it was intended. What are these purposes? The actual revenue that we collect on imports is not particularly important. What is this primary purpose? I will give it to you right out of the political platforms of the times when America developed to a big league nation.

Here is 1860—"While providing revenue for the support of the general government, by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment on tariffs as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country."

Here is 1872—"Tariffs should be adjusted as to aid in securing the remunerative wages to labor."

Here is 1876—"Duties on imports should as far as possible be adjusted to promote the interests of American labor and advance the prosperity of the whole country."

Here is 1880—"We reaffirm the belief that duties levied for the purpose of revenues should so discriminate as to favor American labor."

Here is 1884—"Tariffs shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industry, and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer."

In 1888 the country was dabbling with free trade and Benjamin Harrison was elected with the following plank—"We are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection and we protest its destruction by the President and his Party. They serve the interests of Europe. We will support the interests of America.

"The abandonment of the protective system has always been followed by general disaster

to all interests except those of the money lender and the sheriff."

In 1892 came first mention of the flexible import fee principle — the flexible import fee principle — the principle of a bill that I have introduced in 1948 and 1949 and offered as a substitute for the 1934 trade agreement as extended — this is 1892—"We believe that all articles which cannot be produced in the United States should be admitted free of duty and that on all imports coming into competition with products of American labor there should be levied duties equal to the difference between wages abroad and at home."

I still believe that. That is a traditional tariff principle that built America into the world's greatest nation and made American labor the aristocracy of the world workers. That is the traditional principle that has been abandoned and without which as sure as sunrise the American worker cannot maintain his standard of living.

It makes no difference under the Administration's free trade program whether a worker lives in China, Africa, Europe, or South America, he is in direct competition with the American worker.

Between 1918 and 1921 America had a taste of what happens without our protective tariffs, and in the two years of 1918 and 1919 protective tariffs were reduced 33 percent, and domestic prices and employment fell off so sharply that on May 28, 1921 an emergency tariff was rushed through the Senate.

It is true that the farmer was the chief beneficiary of this emergency tariff, but in our closely inter-related economy no one group can be affected without affecting all the groups. When the farmers are unable to buy their share of the factory output, some of the factory workers must stop work. That was the last time America monkeyed with the tariff machinery until 1934.

At that time emergency powers were given to the President to call the signals as he saw them. This Act authorized him to lower any tariff up to 50 percent. It was supposed to last for three years, but it has been extended and extended, and if the recent vote of the Senate is any clue we will have it for a long time to come unless the American worker sees his interests in their true light.

As matters now stand your future as it is affected by tariffs is no longer in the hands of your elected representatives. It has been delegated by Congress to the State Department without any reservations whatsoever.

And it is my conviction that if something isn't done about it the administration will abolish all tariffs, and change to a system of quotas based on strictly political situations.

And where will that leave the American worker?

In closing I would like to point out the fallacy of putting the fate of the working man and the investments of America into the hands of a State Department which per-

mits our foreign competitors a voice in determining our own living standards.

There is no effective difference between importing the products of foreign low-wage living standard labor and in importing the labor itself. In either case we are importing unemployment. It would be very difficult to justify a vote against free immigration if we vote for importing the products of the low-cost foreign labor.

I quote from your own American Federation of Labor, monthly survey: "Also we can only lift our tariff barriers when production of other countries is of high quality and made under similar high labor standards."

That is a sound conclusion and I favor it 100 percent. The greatest service that the American Federation of Labor can render the foreign low-trade worker is to support the flexible import fee principle, so that the incentive would no longer exist for foreign governments to hold the workers' pay down, in order to enter the American markets by circumventing our tariff rates. This nation is in dire need of an American policy for the American worker. But before any policy can be effective we must abolish this Trade Agreements Act which is used solely to flood this country with the products of cheap, foreign labor. This importation of unemployment must stop.

Then Congress can lay down a principle to encourage legitimate foreign trade by establishing a definite market for the products of all nations, but on a fair and reasonable competitive basis with our own products. I do not think it is unreasonable to demand that American products be protected from unfair slave labor, foreign competition in our own markets. The flexible import fee principle would guarantee fair and reasonable competition, since import fees would be fixed on that basis, in the same manner as the Interstate Commerce Commission fixes freight rates for carriers, namely, on a basis of a reasonable return on investment. Under the flexible import fee principle there would be no consideration of a high or a low tariff or import fee, but the import fee would at all times correctly represent the differential in labor standards between here and abroad.

The greatest factor in the cost of almost any important product is labor. Well, this flexible import fee would continually measure the difference between the cheap, foreign labor rates and our own. It would prevent the foreign product from gaining an unfair price advantage over the American product in our own market. The flexible import fee principle would accept and welcome all competition on our wage living standards, but it would automatically reject all unfair competition with American labor standards.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I want to thank the Senator, in your name and in your behalf for his visit with us, for his attendance at this session of the convention and for the interesting and educational address which he has

delivered. We are happy because he came, and I know we are benefited, I know our thinking will be stimulated and we will be able to give the subject matter he dealt with in his address better thought and better consideration because of the facts and information which he submitted.

I hope you will have a nice visit here in St. Paul, Senator, and a delightful return home to Washington.

Now I have the privilege of presenting to you a representative of a trade union organization who is visiting the United States under the auspices of the ECA. He is a member of the Danish delegation. We met the members of this delegation in Washington and we met them here in this city, and they are here now visiting with us at this session of our convention.

I am happy to present to you the speaker for the delegation, one who has made a splendid record in trade union matters and is also a member of the Danish Parliament.

I am happy to present to you Brother Eiler Jensen, President of the Danish Trade Unions, born in 1894, original occupation, general laborer. From 1925 to 1936 he was President of the Warehousemen's Union, later a member of the Governing Council of the Danish General Workers' Union. In 1936 he was Secretary of the Danish Congress of Trade Unions and from 1943 President of the same, a member of the Landsting, Advisor to the Danish delegation to the United Nations, member of the ERP Committee of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the Long-Term Committee concerning the ERP.

I present him now to speak for the Danish delegation—Brother Eiler Jensen.

MR. EILER JENSEN

(President Danish Congress of Trade Unions)

President Green, Secretary Meany, Mr. Matthew Woll, members of the Executive Council and distinguished guests: First, I want to convey to you the warm fraternal greetings of the workers of Denmark. We deeply appreciate the opportunity to be present here at the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor.

I wish to take this opportunity to tell you something about the trade union movement in

Denmark and the problems which we have in the Danish trade unions.

At the end of 1948 the Danish Trade Union Congress consisted of 72 unions with an approximate membership of 625,000. Practically speaking, every seventh person, from babies to old men, or every fourth person between the ages of 18 and 60, belongs to the T. U. C.

We have been fortunate in never having been divided on religious or national lines.

We feel that this was one of the reasons why the Germans during the occupation of Denmark 1940-1945 did not resort to violence against the Danish trade union movement, but tried trickery and infiltration, which failed utterly. This did not happen in Norway, because the trade union leaders were forced to flee, owing to the hostilities in the country, and the Nazis made violent attacks on the trade union movement. This question has not been important in Sweden.

Can it be said that the Danish trade union movement has gained power and influence? Has trade unionism brought changes in the economic conditions of the working class? Is it true that, while formerly we spoke, or sang, of having only our chains to lose, we have today, or had in 1939, won substantial betterment for ourselves?

The former Danish Labour Prime Minister Th. Stauning said at the Trade Union Congress in 1937:

You might be interested in a comparison of the living standards of organized workers in Denmark as they relate to hourly earnings. For example, a suit of clothes in Denmark represents about 70 hours work; monthly rental of a home, about 40 hours; a pound of butter, about one hour; a pound of sugar, about four minutes; and a pair of shoes about 10 hours.

"What we today can buy of butter or bread for one hour's work, cost four hours in 1872. To this should be added the shorter working hours, the social legislation such as accident insurance, old-age pensions, social insurance, unemployment insurance, child welfare, support for widows' children, legislation for support of the blind, the deaf and dumb, etc."

An improvement in the economic and cultural position of the working class entails an improvement for the entire Danish nation.

The Danish trades unions have indeed discharged a great social and national task.

Joint production committees have been established both in craftsmanship and industries and to some extent also in commerce and transport trade.

Our Scandinavian cooperation has been very valuable. We are in continuous close contact with the Norwegian, Swedish and Finnish Trade Union centers and maintain connections with the Icelandic National Centre.

We are also closely associated with the International Labour Office and its industrial committees, and have a representative on the

Danish delegation to the annual assembly of the United Nations.

As you know, we are facing an important step in the International Trade Union cooperation in November this year. At the meeting in London there will be started a new International trade union movement in which trade unions from all the democratic countries will be represented.

The trade unions in the Scandinavian countries and also in the other democratic countries in Europe think and feel the same way as you do over here. We are therefore very glad that we in this new International organization can be united with all the important trade unions from this country.

The Danish trade unions have always pursued the wage policy of improving wages without tying themselves to a price level. We have maintained that we would have our share of the good things of society and their increase. When technical progress gave new benefits, materially or culturally, be it bicycles, streetcars, automobiles, telephones, radio, green parks, public baths, swimming pools and improved housing with modern accommodations, schools, books, newspapers, etc., we feel entitled to our share of them. For that reason we must have higher wages.

Both the companies and the workers in Denmark realize, that piecework to some extent is preferable and half the work in Denmark today is on a piecework basis. The worker can through his personal effort increase his income. But this is not enough. Tools, equipment and work shop organization must be up to date. The Danish trade union movement has always regarded this as very important.

We have always been aware of the close relationship between wages and prices. We are therefore on the lookout for price increases. We would prefer to have a fixed price level—or one which is falling; wages must rise in relation to increasing productivity. We have two representatives in a Price Index Council, which deals with the principles of consumption and the principles concerning the calculation of the price index.

It is one of the purposes of the trade union movement to see that the benefits are distributed. Therefore we are strongly interested that the community, under our influence, should make social-political regulations in other classes.

The trade union movement cannot solve its problems alone, but must cooperate with the government. We have to realize the necessity of taxation subsidies to certain industries in need of them, and special distribution of benefits to heads of families, etc.

Many trade unionists are members of the Danish Parliament and influence legislation for the benefit of the workers.

We are very proud that the Danish social legislation was studied by your late President Franklin Roosevelt and other statesmen in the critical early thirties, and that many of our Danish principles have been transferred to the social legislation of your country.

The Danish workers are fully aware of the fact that increasing productivity is of vital importance for higher and better standards of living. We have worked hard in order to recover from the war and the production per man per hour has since the war ended in 1945 increased more than twenty percent, so that it now, in spite of many difficulties, is at the same level as before the war.

Our recovery has been greatly expedited through the generous support which we have received from U. S. A. in form of the Marshall Plan. During five years of occupation, our supplies dwindled, and worn out machinery could not be replaced. Through the Marshall Plan we have been able to refill the supplies and replace machinery.

The main purpose of our visit is to learn from you how you plan production, and make use of all technical possibilities. We also want to find out how the human factor fits in the picture of the high American productivity.

The Danish labor movement participates in all sides of the effective use of the Marshall-aid. We have members in all the different committees and boards in Copenhagen, as well as in Paris, and our collaboration with the Danish Labor Government is the closest possible.

The government has a very broad support from the common man in Denmark, and I might add that today the Communists are no problem in Denmark. If full employment can be maintained we feel that this will also be the case in the future, and only if unemployment should come, Communism may become a problem.

It is important for the future that we may feel assured that the Marshall-aid is continued, to a reasonable extent, during the next few years. The cut, which we understand is to be the result of discussions in Congress, will be felt in our country, as well as in the other participating countries; but perhaps even more important is the problem of the development during the periods following up to 1952. We have been very happy to read the statements given by the responsible labor movement leaders in this country, which fully show the American workers support of the Marshall-aid and full understanding of our problems.

Our little group is here to learn and to exchange views with our American friends, and we are thankful that this has been made possible through your help and hospitality.

We are also thankful that we have this occasion to thank you for what you have done and are doing for the whole of Europe, and especially for our own country. This is a very important step towards the common understanding between all free people. The Danish labor movement has always put a particular stress on this understanding.

Allow me to conclude this speech by thanking you once again for giving us the opportunity to attend this convention and to ex-

tend our best wishes for the success of your future work.

We are glad to see the influence the American Labor movement has already had, and we hope that you will continue in the same way in the future.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I thank Mr. Jensen, in your behalf, for the address he has just delivered, in which he has given us most interesting information regarding the trade union movement of the country from which he comes. We are glad that he came to speak to us this afternoon.

Now I am happy to present to you another distinguished Senator who has laid aside his duties in Washington, as did Senator Malone, to come here and speak to us on this occasion. I know that all of you know of the Senator I am going to present to you now. He has made a record for himself ever since he went to Washington. He is an outstanding and influential man, one who has made a great contribution to the consideration of legislative problems. It is unnecessary for me to review his past, his history and his record, because you are familiar with it.

Now I am happy to present him to you—Senator Hubert Humphrey, of Minnesota.

HONORABLE HUBERT HUMPHREY

(United States Senator, Minnesota)

Thank you, very good friend, Mr. Green, and officers of the great American Federation of Labor, that distinguished escort committee that brought me into this Auditorium, headed by none other than that great man of labor, Dan Tobin, and our own State President, Robert Olson, and our representatives from the Trades and Labor Assembly: It is sort of nice to welcome the American Federation of Labor into the greatest State in the Union. You New Yorkers can loosen up on that and just clap a little, see!

I know that by the time you have spent a few days in this pleasant commonwealth of ours there will be a general exodus from other parts of the country. I might say that our building trades are perfectly capable of providing all the housing you may desire as you move into these lovely Minnesota communities, and our merchants will supply you with all of the necessities of life.

While you are here in this great capital city of St. Paul I know you are going to be as broad-minded, as socially conscious, as desirous of finding out all the wonders of life as the St. Paulites are, and that you will go out and visit that neighboring city of Minneapolis. It takes a lot of courage to say that

in St. Paul. Then after you have done that and have visited the wonders of this metropolitan area of the Twin Cities, you will travel into the Northern section of our state, into that great, beautiful tourist land, into that timber land, the area of the 11,000, not 10,000 lakes, and after you have properly taken care of your spiritual life you will go down into that great bread-basket of America, Southern and mid-Minnesota, this great central part of this wonderful state, and see what farms really are, and see those grand people that manage, own and operate those farms. I want you to do that, because the purpose of a great convention such as this is to broaden one's perspective, to increase one's area of understanding, and we kind of think we have a little something to offer in this State of 3,000,000 wonderful people, industrious people, enlightened people, hard-hitting, aggressive people, but a very understanding people.

I never thought it would be my pleasure to sort of belatedly welcome the American Federation of Labor to Minnesota. But after all, you have been good to Minnesota. You have given us some grand Unions. Besides that, you have been good to me. Why, the American Federation of Labor in this state was very, very good to me and I want to again express my thanks as I have on other occasions. You see, the first people that told me from a platform such as this that I ought to be a candidate for the United States Senate were the officers and membership of the A. F. of L. I remember when Mr. Green introduced me at a great convention out in San Francisco. The first thing I knew, he tossed my hat into the political ring and always being one of those persons who hates to lose a hat, I charged right after it and I chased that hat all around the State of Minnesota, and when I came back I looked inside the hat and there we had about 750,000 votes. In fact, we had about 250,000 more votes than the other guy that was chasing the hat.

Now, that hat went from factory to shop to farm to drug store to filling station. It went into the iron range and the timber land and out into the farm lands, and I might tell you that the hat still fits, and that is the way it is going to be.

You have much to do in this convention. You are going to hear many speakers. You have heard my friend and colleague from the Senate, Senator Malone of Nevada. I know that he has given you a pointed address. I know that he has given you one that will make you sit up and think, because I have had the privilege of what we might call oratorical combat with my distinguished friend from Nevada on the floor of the Senate, and he is no mean competitor. He is one of those Midwesterners who learned how to fight at an early age, to abide by the rules of the game, but not to stand around for any sissies, asking for rugged competition.

Senator Malone, I want to welcome you to Minnesota, and I am going to take care of you today. I want you to see this great State. Once in awhile we have somebody from Minnesota that goes to Nevada, but just long enough to come back to Minnesota. Very seldom do we have Nevadans come to Minne-

sota. So the welcome I give to this Senator is one that is very heartfelt.

Now, I came to you today to talk about the kind of business in which I am engaged. I want to talk to you about the political democracy of this nation and the threat to the political democracy of this nation and of this world. I come to talk about politics. A surprise, isn't it? The other times I have talked to you it has been about politics, too. I come to talk to you about the kind of politics in which you are interested, because your kind is my kind, and because we have had a common understanding as we have worked together throughout these many years. I come to talk to you about the relationship of our political economy, our political life, let me say, to the economy of America.

I come to talk to you again about a job that still needs to be done, which this 81st Congress has not been willing to do, and a job which you know must be done before you can feel secure as free trade unions.

Let's make it clear, friends, labor's rights are no longer secure merely through the process of collective bargaining. The rules of collective bargaining and the rights and privileges of organized labor are now the subject of legislation and the subject of political determination. Politics, effective political participation must go hand in hand with the growth and the development and the maintenance of a strong labor movement in America. No one is asking anyone any longer in this country of ours "Are you interested in politics?" The simple fact is you are either interested in it or somebody is going to take the very interest out of you by political action. Labor can never gain its objectives when the rules of collective bargaining are stacked against them and the umpire and the referee is already bought off and paid off. The Taft-Hartley Act has destroyed the neutrality of government in labor-management relationship. The Taft-Hartley Act says to every American worker that no matter how you may fight, no matter how just is your cause, the orders are stacked against you and you haven't got a chance to ultimately win.

There is a volume of evidence coming to Washington these days demonstrating that the Taft-Hartley Act is crippling the growth of the union movement, particularly in the South and in some of the other areas of this country where Union membership is not as strong as it is in the industrial East and in the industrial centers of the Midwest and Far West.

I say this without fear of any successful contradiction, there will not be any labor-management peace in this country until this grossly unfair anti-labor legislation is removed from the statute books. There can be no labor-management peace until the economic relationships between labor and management are no longer settled by the General Counsel of the National Labor Relations Board, but are settled around the conference table between employers and employees.

Now, let's move along to this other part of the labor movement program. We need—when I say "we" I mean every American—needs

and welcomes an aggressive, constructive political action program on the part of organized labor. To hear some people talk and to read the writings of some editorial commentators, one would think it was against the law for a man that carries a union card to even be interested in politics. For years and years in this country the molders of public opinion, the powers that be and that managed the political machines and the major political parties have told the folks in labor, "You just kind of keep out of our way. We will run this whole thing for you."

They have operated it pretty well, but not for you. They have operated it in behalf of management, of their political organizations. They have too often been what is called the "political bosses."

Now, I say we need a constructive and an aggressive political action policy on the part of labor. But I want to make my position quite clear, because all too often we think of these political policies at top level strategy. Make it crystal clear in your own minds that elections are not won in Washington, D. C. They are lost there, but they are not won there.

Elections are not won by top strategy. If that had been the case there would have been a lot of difference in the last election. There was lots of top brass strategy. Unfortunately not enough hard work, for some people at least, where it needed to be done.

Elections are won by hard work and by active participation in every voting precinct in this country. The essentials of a successful political campaign—and I know my friend Joseph Keenan is interested in this—the essentials as I see them are the following: a program—and I put program first—a program that meets the needs of the people. Secondly, candidates that are willing to fight for the people. We have got too many candidates where you have to fight for them. We need candidates who are willing to go out and fight for you, to fight for the American people.

Thirdly, there is a need of political organization that belongs to and is controlled by and managed by the rank and file of the people.

Finally, a clear-cut statement of the issues in language, in the simple language that is understandable by all of the people.

Now, my friends, if you have those ingredients, if you have a program that meets the needs of the people, candidates that are willing to fight for the people, if you have a political organization that belongs to the people and they are a part of it, and if you have a clear-cut statement of the issues in language that is understandable by the people, I submit to you no one can beat you, no one. There is the essence of success.

Now, this is a job which the American Federation of Labor and the Political Educational League have undertaken, and I want to commend Mr. Keenan and his organization. I want to commend those political leaders and directors in the local bodies, in the city central bodies. I want to commend those at the state level who have been in there on the

firing line doing their job. The program of political education—and that is good emphasis—political education—has advanced with amazing strides. But, my friends, the acid test of the effectiveness insofar as you are concerned, insofar as the vast majority of the American people are concerned, the acid test will be in the election year of 1950. That will be the pay-dirt year right there.

Now, I say there are some disturbing signs. Liberal organizations and labor groups have not always set themselves down to the job of effective political action. In some areas there is a tendency on the part of labor to remain aloof from other groups who have similar objectives, and in some areas there is an outright refusal to join hands with other sections of the labor movement and the liberal, democratic forces. Now, if the Fair Deal program is to be passed—and by the way, that is what I am interested in—if the Taft-Hartley Act is to be repealed, if the people of this country are to get legislation that they were promised and that you worked for, it is going to be a responsibility of the labor movement and of every liberal and democratic organization to forget personal pride, petty differences and to unite behind candidates and around a program between now and 1950.

Yes, the election year of 1950 is the crucial political battleground in the struggle to see whether or not this country of ours is going to go forward in the pattern of the New Deal or whether or not it is going to go backward into the confusion and desperation and disillusionment of the Old Deal. That is what it amounts to.

I submit to you that the Fair Deal has made significant gains in the 81st Congress. Not enough to please me, not enough to please Mr. Green, not enough to please the officers, Mr. Keenan, not enough to please many people in America—millions and millions of them. Some of those gains can be quickly listed—housing and slum clearance, the greatest program in the history of this country—a program that is going to mean to the city of St. Paul 2,000 low-cost public housing units for the people that desperately need them; a program that is going to mean to my own city of Minneapolis 1,000 low-cost public housing units within the next year for the people that desperately need them; a program that is going to mean 810,000 decent home units for workers in America, for workers and their families that have never had a decent place in which to live for the past 25 years. I submit that is legislation of significance and of great consequence.

Yes, there is something else that has happened. It doesn't mean so terribly much these days to the people of organized labor, but the members of organized labor are interested in the members and the people that are unorganized. A minimum wage of 75 cents an hour has been established. To be sure, the bill was emasculated and cut down and watered down. You would think, to hear those that did that job, that they could live on less than 75 cents an hour. I have often wanted to pose the question to those who thought the coverage of the minimum wage ought not be extended, I have often wanted to ask them how they get along on 40 cents

an hour. I would like to have that answered, because if I get it I am going right back to see Mrs. Humphrey and see what she does with all the money I give her.

Something else has happened. The TVA plant was built as a stand-by in that great regional valley development. Transmission lines for hydroelectric power have been authorized. REA, the very life of the farm belt of this country, has been extended. Rural telephone legislation is now passed. You are going to be able to call up your relatives on the farm; rural telephones so that the peoples of the farms in America can have the phones as we have them in the cities; grain storage for this great and tremendous productive agriculture of ours; expanded crop insurance for the farmer, if you please, who has to face all of these conditions of the weather. Expanded conservation of our soil.

These are some of the acts of our Congress. The Labor Department has been strengthened for the first time in a long time. Both political parties year after year have been pledging to strengthen the Labor Department, and the more they have promised to strengthen it the more they have weakened it. At long last a miracle has happened. We actually transferred some agencies to the Labor Department and gave to the Secretary of Labor and gave to this one office in the Government whose purpose it is to work in and cooperate with labor, we actually gave it some machinery of Government to help the working people of this country.

Yes, we have expanded rivers and harbors, flood control. We have expanded irrigation and reclamation, and every bit of this, my good friends, is good for America, every bit of it.

Now, I say, however, if this program that we have pledged ourselves to, that your resolutions have pledged you to, if the Taft-Hartley Act is to be repealed, if the people of this country are to get the legislation that they were promised, I say again that it is the responsibility of the labor movement and of every liberal and democratic movement to get busy now on a local level in your own local communities where you know your own people and to get behind a program and behind the office-seekers that will carry out that program.

Now, there is a dangerous coalition in this country. I think you have been reading the papers, haven't you? There has never in the history of America been a greater propaganda barrage against the American worker than there has been in the last seven, eight or nine months. Ever since the miracle of November 2nd the soothsayers have been concocting some kind of a new witches' brew to pour out on the American people to stuff down their throats. Why, when this great, magnificent victory of the defeated people who have been, let me say, your arch enemies—when this great victory came about what happened? Oh, when that happened we jumped up with jubilation. We said, "This is marvelous, this is a miracle. A new day has come to America." And while we were celebrating and while we were patting each other

on the back the old rear-guard was in there plotting and planning every day of the week, getting their machinery ready again for the onslaught.

Now, I say there is a dangerous coalition, a coalition that distorts public opinion, a coalition that defies the truth, a coalition that is not interested in the presentation of the truth, and it is a coalition of the reactionary element of the press of America that talks about free press—and yet it is impossible literally today to start a new newspaper unless you happen to be one that can capitalize yourself or your investment to the tune of five or six million dollars, and then they talk about freedom, free enterprise and free press.

That coalition is made up of the reactionary element of the press, the post-war isolationists, the politically bankrupt leadership—and I must say this even in the presence of my colleague—I say the politically bankrupt leadership of the GOP, and a handful of determined Dixiecrats and the soft-headed, confused pinks, along with the outright Communists. Now, that is the coalition that faces America.

My friends, if I didn't like my Irish friends and relatives so much I would say that was some kind of a cheap political mulligan stew, but that would degrade mulligan stew. I won't say that. What a conglomeration! The extremes of both sides of the street. And those who are unwilling to recognize that they are living in the 20th Century, people who will somehow or other maintain their political power by their special privilege or their prejudice, and those who are just unwilling to face the facts.

Now, I submit to this splendid audience of delegates to this convention that the group that I have mentioned, those who editorialize you half to death, those who give you their profound reactionary statements through the commentaries, that handful of leaders that hasn't quite learned that we have had a series of elections since 1932, that handful of Dixiecrats and the soft-headed parlor pinks and the outright Communists—this group represents those who have lost faith in America. They don't believe in themselves; they don't believe in this country, and if I can interpret my own religious feelings enough, I doubt if they are seeking divine guidance.

They are the ones who have lost faith in this country and whose vision has not gone beyond yesterday, who are incapable of facing the problems of today and who shudder and shake at the thought of tomorrow. This frustration of political malcontents have set themselves up as a holding company for all and sundry purposes, for all and sundry ideologies. No matter what you are or what you believe, if you are just against the Fair Deal, if you are just against labor, if you are against these things then you hear the old song, "Join up with us," and they join in a common family against a liberal program in domestic affairs and in international affairs. The only qualification for membership in the Fraternal Order of Frustrated Politicians is to be against labor, to be against price supports for the farmers, to be against pensions

for the aged, to be against the good life, and, God bless you, to be against the Welfare State. God bless you, that's what you have to be. The Fraternal Order of Frustrated Politicians, condemns our policy at home and abroad in the same wild, irresponsible charges. At home it is the Welfare State they are against, and abroad it is our aid to Great Britain and Western Europe. Their policy is isolationism abroad and confusion and despair at home, and they have seized upon the concept of one of the most noble, one of the most decent, one of the most worthwhile and blessed words in the English language—they have seized upon the word "welfare," and they have added to it the word "state," and they have tried to make the American people believe that the Welfare State is equivalent to Purgatory or Hell or is a manifestation of all the human evil that it is possible to conjure.

As one of the men on the other side I accept that challenge. As one young man I am prepared to do battle with them on any issue. I am prepared to argue the issues of the Welfare State, I am prepared to argue the issues of the Welfare State just as it is going on in New York at this very hour, where, in that great State, the issue is being brought to the sharp attention of the American people, where one man is going up and down the State talking about statism and another man, a former Governor of that State—may God bless his soul—is going up and down the State talking about people. And mark my words, unless the American people have in some way or another lost their way and lost their reason, that grand and noble man who served for years as Governor of that great State—and I speak of Former Governor Herbert Lehman—will be joining with Malone and Humphrey in Washington after next November.

I know somebody is going to say, "Yes, sure, that's a lot of politics." That's right, we are playing for keeps these days, boys—none of these marble games where you choose up sides and divvy the marbles afterwards. If this is just a game I want no part of it, because there are other games which are more enjoyable and at which you don't lose much money.

Those who are screaming today against the Welfare State tell you that you are losing your liberty, that you are being collectivized, that the omnipotent hand of the state is upon you. Have you ever thought that those who cry out the most about the Welfare State today, who are saying that the Welfare State will make you lose your liberty are the very people that robbed you of your liberty with the Taft-Hartley Act? They are the very ones. They are opposed to this, they say. Didn't you feel enslaved under the Wagner Act, or did you feel a little bit freer under that Act than you do under the Taft-Hartley law? I have a sneaking idea you felt a little bit freer under the Wagner Act.

Let's go along and take a look at this subject and see who is on the right side. I like to believe in the American Constitution, a great immortal document, and yet those who are opposed to the Welfare State are registering their opposition, despite the mandate of the Constitution of the United States of

America, where it places upon the Government of this country the responsibility to promote the general welfare. And those words are written out in the commerce clause of the Constitution, Article I, Section 9.

These opponents of the Welfare State identify the New Deal and the Fair Deal as the fabric and substance of the Welfare State, and then with a flourish of their political pen they have recently called it statism. Doesn't that sound bad? That word cost somebody a lot of money. That is a product of some Louis XIV brain in American politics. We call it statism. I think it is about time that the American people realized just what these frustrated political malcontents are talking about. By their logic the Welfare State is the Fair Deal. Then by their own words they are telling the American people that they oppose the program of social security, because that is the New Deal. By their own words they are telling you they oppose the elimination of child labor, because that is the New Deal. By their own words they are telling you that they oppose free collective bargaining, because that was the New Deal. By their own words they are telling you that they oppose the Fair Labor Standards Act and a minimum wage, and that was the New Deal. By their own words and by their own criticism of the Welfare State and its identity with the New Deal they are telling every farmer in America that they do not believe in price supports for agricultural commodities. They are telling every farmer they do not believe in grain storage, that they do not believe in soil conservation, that they do not believe in REA, that they do not believe in cheap farm credit for farm expansion, that they do not believe in agricultural research.

They are telling the American people, in their irresponsible charges against the so-called Welfare State that they want no regulation of the stock market, they want the burglars to be free to do as they see fit. They are opposed to the development of our rivers and our valleys. They favor the growth of monopoly and the liquidation of small business. They deplore the action of the Government of the United States in the field of heart and cancer and mental health research, because that is the New Deal, the Fair Deal.

Yes, these frustrated political malcontents are seeking the confidence and the support of the American people on the basis of a program which repudiates the express desire and policy and wish of the vast majority of the American people. If they think they are going to be elected on that program they are just plain "nuts." Why, they are going up and down this country telling the American electorate, telling our own intelligent citizenry that they, these frustrated politicians of the past, these soothsayers of yesterday, these special-privilege pleaders of the present, that they should be entrusted with political power in this critical hour. May God Bless America!

This sort of political leadership reminds me of the old French kings of whom it was said that they never seemed to learn anything and they never seemed to forget anything. This reactionary leadership apparently has not learned that the American people are through with a do-nothing, backward-moving policy

of government, that they are through with union-busting, labor-hating employer organizations.

This type of leadership has not found out that the American people look upon their Government as a partner in promoting the security and prosperity and freedom of our country. Two world wars and a major world-wide depression have not demonstrated to these die-hard apostles of the past that we are living in a changed world. And believe me, we are living in a changed world, as the fraternal delegates who are here from the Western democracies of Europe will tell you—not only a changed world, but one that was almost destroyed.

My friends in the labor movement, I urge a re-dedication on the part of the American Federation of Labor to the fulfillment of our responsibility for international leadership. I repeat, I urge a re-dedication on the part of every delegate in this great assembled convention, on the part of every member of the American Federation of Labor and every one of its affiliated unions to the fulfillment of our responsibility for international leadership. If this world is going to be a better world we are going to help make it that way. If this world is going to collapse in its own evil, in its own misdoings, we are going to be a part of it. We are not the America of 1800, we are not even the America of 1900; we are the America of 1949 and 1950. We are the America that is the greatest financial power the world has ever known, and believe me, we have to act with a sense of great social responsibility when we hold the money bags of the world. I don't want my country getting the reputation of pinching the last ounce of blood and the last pound of flesh. We are the greatest industrial power in the world. Our industrial know-how goes on beyond any possible comparison in this world, and with that tremendous productivity that is ours, the trick that we have, we cannot just live unto ourselves.

I submit to these men and women in this great assembled convention that the very ethics of our religious faith, whether we be Jew, Gentile, Protestant or Catholic, every moral tenet of our religious faith tells us that we are our brother's keeper, and he who would deny it will destroy himself.

I submit to you also that it is a privilege to help other people. Nothing that we should go around boasting about, but something about which we should be humble. Isn't it wonderful that out of this terrible destruction of World War II God-Almighty spared one nation to help its fellowmen? Isn't it wonderful that out of the terrible cost and the torture and the suffering of millions and millions of people one great economy of this world was spared to lift up the level of mankind?

That is our mission. We have a destiny to fulfill, and that destiny is one which should make every American proud—proud that you are an American, proud that you can do something for those who have done so much for us, because every one of us in this room at one time or another was a DP, every one of us at some time or another in the years

gone by in our family were immigrants. Now it is our opportunity to offer the advice and counsel of a great democracy, of a great, free people—not only to offer it, but to share the fruits of our labor, to share our productivity, to be the good Samaritan—and believe me, friends, no one hates a good Samaritan. But some people hate bill collectors, double-entry bookkeeping artists. So I call upon this labor movement to accept the responsibility for international leadership. The liberal, social, democratic forces of Europe—and by the way, friends, the only hope in Europe are the liberal democratic forces—are looking to us. The hope in Europe does not lie in the reactionary Communist Left. That is the black pit of disillusionment and despair. The peoples of Europe will only turn to that when there is no other place to turn. The hope of Europe does not rest in the economic or political leadership of the extreme Right, and it does not rest in the molly-coddle leadership of those who want to be in power. It rests with those great forces of the free labor movement, it rests with the forces of the free cooperative movement, it rests with those intellectual leaders of Europe who are attracted to the proposition of human freedom. And may I say the American Federation of Labor, God bless you, may you join with those forces as you are doing in saving Western Europe and western civilization?

There is no room in the ranks of labor, in the house of labor for a selfish isolationist policy. The labor movement is one of brotherhood, it is one of sharing, it is one of fraternity. There is no room in the ranks of labor for a political policy that sets labor off from the rest of the community. The political fact of this decade is the recognition of our interdependence, not only our independence, but our interdependence—the interdependence of the nations of the world on trade between the nations and world commerce. The political fact of America is the interdependence of the worker and the farmer. These two great producers of real wealth are the lifeblood of our free, economic system. The economic wellbeing of both the worker and the farmer is the only hope for a prosperous America.

I wish I had every member of the Chamber of Commerce, every businessman, every merchant in Minnesota in this hall today. The only hope of prosperity along Main Street is the prosperity of the farmer, the producer, and the worker in the factory. That is the only place they have any hope. Unemployment in the ranks of labor, or partial unemployment, depressed prices in the agricultural economy would be more destructive to the American way of life than any atomic bomb in the hands of any foreign aggressor. Oh, we get the headlines every time Uncle Joe or somebody gets hold of a bomb. We all get the jitters and the goose-pimples, and right away the pseudo-statesmen say, "What are we going to do, what are we going to do?"

My good friends, an economic breakdown in America as to its effect upon the world situation and the future peace and security of this world would make the atomic bomb that Russia may have look like a firecracker. An economic breakdown in America would destroy the productivity and the prosperity of

the greatest nation in the world, of the only nation that many other nations are leaning upon and looking to for help.

The greatest contribution that this nation can give to the rest of the world today is a strong, prosperous, enlightened, humanitarian America. That is the greatest contribution we can give, and those who would seek to destroy us are patiently waiting for us, the American people, to create our own mistakes and our own troubles. The aggressor, or the potential aggressor, the foe and the enemy of free America is a reactionary policy at work that does not recognize the needs of the American people, a reactionary, isolationist policy abroad which fails to recognize the basic needs and legitimate rights of their people. That is the major weakness and the major foe of this country, and I want my friends in the trade union movement to remember it.

I want you to remember that even as we are in our hours of adversity we have to keep a broad vision. We must keep our eyes set on the higher goals. To be quite frank with you, conventions like this may come to an end unless we do. To be very, very frank with you, World War III may well bring the end of what we call the free way of life.

It is our job, as responsible American citizens, as responsible citizens of the world to figure out to the best of our ability how we can best prevent the catastrophe and calamity of a World War III. It is our job to remember that no matter what may be the cost of peace, it is better than the cost of a catastrophic war.

And I want to say to my budget-balancing friends, to those who cry out for economy, that peace is not cheap, nor is war. But no matter how much we may spend in our crusade for peace, put this down in your memo notebook: It won't be one-tenth of 1 percent of what we have to spend in a do-or-die effort if we should ever be engulfed in World War III. The expenditures for peace are expenditures for the good of the spirit, for the good of the soul and body. The expenditures for peace are expenditures for the good life, for better men and better women, for healthier and more enlightened children, and I want to see the same determination in our eyes and in our minds and bodies, to win this struggle for a free Europe, to win this struggle for a free Asia, for a free world. I want every American to dedicate his life and to dedicate his treasure and to dedicate his ability to the crusade for a just and enduring peace, which we can obtain if we but will it, so help me God.

I thank you.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I want to thank Senator Humphrey, in your name and in your behalf for the wonderful address that he has delivered this afternoon. You have expressed your appreciation in a most convincing way. And in thanking him for coming to this hall and speaking to us in such a sincere and earnest way it seems fitting for me to refer

to the fact that he addressed a convention of the American Federation of Labor before he was United States Senator, while he was serving as Mayor of Minneapolis, and at the conclusion of his address during that convention I recall that I nominated him for election to the United States Senate. And here he is—nominated and elected United States Senator.

What a wonderful power and influence he has been in Washington! He measured up to the high standard we set for him. His address this afternoon, now as United States Senator, is evidence of the devotion, the sincerity, and the determination to carry on with us this great fight labor is making for the promotion of human values and human welfare. We are proud of him, and may he stay in the Senate of the United States for a long, long time.

I might remind you that there was a real test of strength here in Minnesota between labor and the friends of labor and the reactionary forces to which he referred, and which he properly classified in his inspiring address. He defeated one of the worst reactionaries in the nation, a man who was the echo, the spokesman for the one who was the author of the Taft-Hartley law. He laughed at us, he didn't believe we could defeat him, but we defeated Senator Ball in Minnesota and elected Senator Humphrey.

Thank you, Senator. Stay with us as long as you can.

Now we have a delegate in attendance at this convention who was elected to Congress from a district in Pennsylvania in which the city of Reading is located. He is a member of organized labor, a devoted member, active in the Central Body and in the local organization in that city. We won a great victory in that section of Pennsylvania when he was elected to Congress, and now he is measuring up, working hard, serving well, giving of his strength, his energy and his labor to the cause of labor. He is going away this evening or tomorrow morning. I want you all to know him and I want you to listen to the message he is now prepared to submit to you as a member of the Congress and a delegate to this historic convention. I present to you Delegate George M. Rhodes, of Pennsylvania.

HONORABLE GEORGE M. RHODES

(United States Congressman, Reading, Pennsylvania)

Thank you, Brother Green. I want to say to the members of the American Federation of Labor and the delegates to this convention that I come here as a delegate, but I will not be able to see this convention through. For quite a number of years I have been coming to conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and for many long years to the conventions of the State Federation in Pennsylvania. I have been President of the Central Labor Union in the city of Reading for 22 years. I am going back tomorrow because I understand that the Social Security Bill is likely to come up in the House of Representatives. I am going back to vote on that bill, not because my vote is going to be needed. I think it is going to be an overwhelming vote for social security. I don't know whether it is going to come tomorrow or not, but I feel certain it is going to come.

I mention this because of something that Senator Humphrey mentioned about the Welfare State. The social security program is actually the core of the so-called Welfare State program which the reactionaries are hitting at, and it is going to be interesting when that vote comes to see just how they are going to stand up and be counted. You won't be able to tell, when you look over the record vote, who really was a friend of social security and who was not. That battle is pretty nearly over, so far as the fight in this session of the House is concerned. The first important part of that battle was last year in November, when you made a big turnover in the House of Representatives and in the United States Senate. You will recall that the 80th Congress took out from social security three-quarters of a million people. This time a new bill proposes to cover eleven million additional workers and people throughout the nation. That fight has been going on all year to bring about a good Social Security Bill.

The American Federation of Labor played a big part in that fight, and one of the key figures in that contest was Mr. Cruikshank, who was in the center of this fight when it was in committee. That is where most of the battles are fought. Not many weeks ago the House Ways and Means Committee, by a vote of 22 to 3, voted out the administration Social Security Bill—not quite as good as we would like it to be, but it is a great step forward, it is still a good bill. But something happened after that. After the vote of 22 to 3 the minority report came. Some of the Republican members reversed themselves and are now bringing in a minority report. But I predict that social security is going to go over by a big vote, and I don't believe that you are fooled when you look over the list and see who voted for that bill. A lot of people who are going up and down this country campaigning against the so-called Welfare State are going to vote for the Social Security Bill. They still remember what happened last November. They like to talk about the Welfare State, but they don't like to mention just what they mean by the Welfare State.

That sort of a test is going on not only in social security but elsewhere as well. Something interesting happened just last week. The Postal Pay Bill passed the House by a vote of 332 to 2. You would think everybody was for it, but there was a bitter fight on that bill, and that, too, lasted for long months, and in the thick of that fight were people who are here representing organizations in the American Federation of Labor. Mr. Doherty knows well about that fight, and so does Mr. George, of the Postal Employees. They were right in the middle of that battle and they know it wasn't just a mild affair, it was a pretty bitter fight. But when the chips were down the vote was 332 to 2. Much the same thing happened on the Housing Bill. You can't look at the record and believe that all those who voted for the Housing Bill on final passage were friends of Public Housing. The real fight there, too, was behind the scenes in the committees. Before the bill passed there was a so-called Reese amendment, which failed by only five votes. That was the real test on housing.

So it is rather difficult to look at the records and see who your friends really are. The real test, when you come to look over the record of the vote on the Taft-Hartley Act—and I say Taft-Hartley is the core of this whole program—the proponents of Taft-Hartley are not only seeking to tie the hands of labor economically but politically as well, and if they can weaken and destroy the effectiveness of labor unions it means that they undermine the whole social program of the Fair Deal and the program that labor has endorsed.

There is a psychological war going on today, and I know that organized labor is on the march today politically. They have gone a long way in a few years, and I predict they are going a whole lot further. I can see a political realignment shaping up in this country, and the thing that is responsible for it is the fact that the workers are taking an interest in politics, they are united on the political field. I see it in the switching of registration in my district, Republicans switching to the Democratic Party and Democrats switching to the Republican Party, and it is all because of the efforts that the people are making in this legislative program and the part that the organized workers are playing.

In reference to this psychological war Senator Humphrey mentioned the Welfare State and the scare words that are being used, how these things will destroy the initiative of people, how it will destroy our way of life. When I think of our way of life I think of the way of life that came down from our forefathers, a way of life that gave us the right at any time to make whatever change the majority deemed necessary. I know if we go back in our history we will see quite a few changes in our way of life. There was a time when we knew chattel slavery in the United States. That part of our way of life has been changed. We don't have to go very far back to 1933, when bread lines and soup kitchens and shanty towns in the dumps of our big cities were a part of our way of life. And today that way of life has been changed. Now we have social security laws, unemployment insurance and other legislation like public housing. Of course, the campaign is on to

destroy our way of life, because of legislation which they say is taking us down the road of the Welfare State. They hit at our British brothers by talking about Utopia on the rocks, but that is part of the psychological war, not only against the British labor government, but against the people of the United States, against social security, against public housing and some of the other things Senator Humphrey mentioned. It is part of that psychological war.

Let me say I think it is necessary that we recognize the fact that our enemies have great strength. We cannot underestimate their ability to carry on a vicious propaganda campaign. It never ceases. They want to restrict the political offending of workers, but every day we see these full-page ads. We hear these biased radio commentators sponsored by enemies of labor. That is just as much political spending as the contributions of a labor union to a candidate in a political contest.

Last week in Congress a committee behind the scene killed an appropriation for the investigation of lobbies. They don't want the American people to know what such lobbies like the Committee for Constitutional Government is doing, who pays them and what their objectives are. So they simply killed the appropriation. You don't hear a Fulton Lewis, or the editorial writers of the nation finding fault about that lobby appropriation being killed. That kind of news they don't want you to know.

So again I say we cannot underestimate the political strength of the enemies of organized labor.

I just want to say one word more in reference to what I believe is the political realignment shaping up in this nation. Those of you who have read the article in the New York Times Magazine by Senator Kefauver, perhaps will remember what he talked about the line-up in Congress, how it is that people can vote for a program and find that program blocked. You remember on the third of November last year many of the papers already heralded Mr. Dewey as the next President of the United States. In fact, the Wall Street Journal on that date said the election of Mr. Dewey was the approval of the Taft-Hartley Act. But ever since that time after the commentators and the editorial writers took a little time out to go through the Act of what they call "eating crow," they were back playing the same old game and they haven't stopped, and it goes right on.

And that campaign is on today. There is only one way that that can be overcome, and it depends on the organization of groups like yours on the political field bringing to the people the message that they cannot get through the great channels of information of this nation that are controlled by the enemies of labor.

I want to pay my respects to this great State of Minnesota. I want to give them full credit for the delegation that they sent to Congress and for sending a man like Senator Humphrey to the United States Senate. It isn't only the brilliance of Senator Humphrey, but it is his practical idealism, his faith

in a cause, a cause of the people. He has a sound program, the kind of a program that has promise for the future.

There are only a few people in Congress that really come from the leadership and the ranks of organized labor. I know that that is a question. There are not many communities in this country perhaps at this time that are ready to support labor officials. I can understand that, but the time is coming when you are going to take the same sort of an interest and the same participation as the people in Great Britain are taking in the government of that great country.

I am sorry that I won't be here tomorrow to hear the address of the British delegates. I know that they are going to have a story that we need to know in this country. We can't read the truth about Britain in our daily press, but I know that what happened in Britain is going to be done in a way that the people are going to think the thing out.

I have faith in the leadership of the workers in Britain. I don't think that they are going to be fooled. I know that if the British Labor Government goes down it will be lost as part of the psychological war against our program here at home. I know that every political contest is used in that same way. Just last year in the City of Youngstown, where there was a reactionary elected to Congress, they are telling us now that it is a mandate of the people, the people of the nation against a Welfare State, against the very thing that they said the people didn't vote for last year.

Let me say that the 1949 election is going to be used in this psychological war to say what the people want, and what happened at the polls in 1949 of this year will have a reflection not only in the elections of 1950 but what is going to happen in the next Congress that opens in 1950. For that reason I know and you know that we must recognize politics as a job day in and day out throughout the year. It isn't only a job for a few weeks before election day.

I want to take this opportunity to thank you for the opportunity to be with you and speak to you this afternoon.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Thank you, Congressman Rhodes, for the message you delivered to us. We are proud to have you in Congress. We rely upon you and others like you to make the fight for labor on the floor of Congress. Be assured of our continued cooperation and support, and good luck to you.

Now we want to become acquainted with each individual member of the Danish delegation who is visiting this convention as our guest, so Vice-President Woll will introduce each one of them to you, give you his name and his standing in the labor movement in the country from where he comes.

I will call on Vice-President Woll to discharge that pleasant duty and introduce to you each one of the members of the Danish delegation.

DANISH TRADE UNION LEADERS

Vice-President Woll introduced the following representatives of the Danish labor movement, and submitted the following biographical data:

Jensen, Eiler

President of Danish Congress of Trade Unions. Original occupation: General laborer. From 1925-1936, president of warehousemen's union, later member of the governing council of the Danish General Workers' Union. From 1936, Secretary of the Danish Congress of Trade Unions, from 1943, President of same. Member of the Landsting. Advisor to the Danish Delegation to the United Nations. Member of the ERP Committee of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the Long-Term Committee concerning the ERP.

Lindberg, Kaj

Secretary in the Danish Congress of Trade Unions. Original occupation: Shipwright. President of the Smiths' and Machine Workers' Union in Elsinore from 1931-1941, member of the governing council of the Danish Smiths' and Machine Workers' Union. From 1941, Secretary of the Danish Congress of Trade Unions. Member of the Folketing.

Jensen, Carl P.

Secretary in the Danish Congress of Trade Unions. Original occupation: Plumber. Secretary of the Plumbers' Union from 1936-1943. Secretary of the Congress of Trade Unions from 1943. Member of a number of committees under the Ministry for Housing.

Paldam, Jorgen

Manager of the Economic Council of the Danish Labor Movement. Cand. polit., 1944. With the Economic Council since 1946. Manager of same since 1947. Member of the Price Control Board, member of the ERP-Committee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of the Long-Term Committee concerning the ERP.

Larsen, Chr.

President of the Danish General Laborers' Union. Original occupation: Agricultural laborer. President of the General Laborers' Union in Aalborg, 1923-1929. Secretary in the Danish General Laborers' Union 1929, President of same since 1947.

Knudsen, Peter

President of the Danish Shoe Workers' Union. Original occupation: Shoe worker. President of the Union since 1934. Member of the Folketing.

Nak, Dirk

President of the Tobacco Workers' Union. Original occupation: Cigar worker. Member of the governing council of the union since 1922. President of the union since 1938. Member of the Copenhagen Board of Supervisors.

COMMITTEE APPOINTMENTS

Secretary Meany announced the following committee appointments:

RULES AND ORDER OF**BUSINESS**

John B. Robinson, Barbers; Harry R. Williams, United Garment Workers; R. J. Petree, Tobacco Workers; John C. MacDonald, Elevator Constructors; Percy Ginsburg, Hatters; Charles Aquadro, Roofers; Frank B. Field, Musicians; Joseph Lewis, Stove Mounters; Mike J. Minaden, Cleaning and Dye House Workers; James Deach, Fire Fighters; Allen Noel, Street Railway Employees; Joseph P. Clark, Firemen and Oilers; George Holbert, Hotel and Restaurant Employees; Lester L. Theibert, Window Glass Cutters; George Edgerton, Blacksmiths; George Nolan, Boilermakers; Al. J. Cleland, Bricklayers; J. P. Jesse, Railway Clerks; Norman Zukowsky, Handbag Workers; J. D. McDonnell, Railroad Yardmasters; Robert Soule, Louisiana State Federation; Thos. F. Holleran, Maintenance of Way; R. Emmet Kelly, Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

David Dubinsky, Ladies Garment Workers; Harry C. Bates, Bricklayers; Robert Byron, Sheet Metal Workers; F. A. Fitzgerald, Engineers; Henry F. Schmal, Photo-Engravers; Leo J. Buckley, Stereotypers; George Q. Lynch, Pattern Makers; Charles M. Rau, Plumbers; Herman P. McGee, Glass Bottle Blowers; Frank J. Coleman, Md.-D. C. State Federation of Labor; Irvin Barney, Railway Carmen; Paul L. Phillips, Paper Makers; A. C. D'Andrea, Hod Carriers; Thomas J. O'Connell, Electrical Workers; Selma M. Borchardt, Teachers; M. J. Sexton, Carpenters; Joseph E. Brown, Flint Glass Workers; Harry R. Lyons, Railway Clerks; Milton S. Maxwell, Meat Cutters; Leslie L. Myers, Bridge & Structural Iron Workers; Leo Abernathy, Bill Posters; Chester A. Sample, Molders; Bernard M. Egan, Typographical Union; John O'Hare, Tobacco Workers; William Schoenberg, Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers.

RESOLUTIONS

Matthew Woll, Photo Engravers; John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department; John F. English, Teamsters; William E. Maloney, Engineers; William F. Schnitzler, Bakery Workers; John B. Haggerty, Bookbinders; L. P. Lindelof, Painters; R. G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor; Thomas H. O'Donnell, Bricklayers; John J. Mara, Boot and Shoe Workers; John L. Reilly, Railway Mail Association; M. A. Hutcheson, Carpenters; Arnold S. Zander, State, County & Municipal Employees; John E. Rooney, Plasterers; Joseph P. Ryan, Longshoremen; Richard F. Walsh, Theatrical Stage Employees; Max Zaritsky, Hatters; Hugo Ernst, Hotel and Restaurant Employees; J. H. de la Rosa, Printing Pressmen; Woodruff Randolph, Typographical Union; Charles S. Zimmerman, Ladies Garment Workers; Robert J. Tormey, Firemen and Oilers; William L. McFetridge, Building Service Employees; William J. Buckley, Boilermakers; Sam P. Ming, Grain Millers.

LAWS

Daniel J. Tobin, Teamsters; Joseph N. Weber, Musicians; Patrick E. Gorman, Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen; G. J. O'Donnell, Plumbers; T. C. Carroll, Maintenance of Way Employees; Hazel Brown, Potters; James Killen, Pulp and Sulphite Workers; William Tracy, Brick and Clay Workers; Jerome J. Keating, Letter Carriers; Edward J. Volz, Photo-Engravers; E. C. Hallbeck, Post Office Clerks; Herbert Rivers, Hod Carriers; Jasper N. Davis, Boilermakers; W. R. Brooks, United Garment Workers; William McCarthy, Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers; Anthony Matz, Firemen and Oilers; Sol Cilento, Distillery Workers; Anthony Valente, Textile Workers; John P. Redmond, Fire Fighters; Sam J. Byers, Laundry Workers; Walter L. Thomas, Carpenters; Sebastian Ollinger, Bakery Workers; Luigi Antonini, Ladies Garment Workers; David Sullivan, Building Service Employees; Reuben Guskin, Actors & Artists.

ORGANIZATION

William C. Doherty, Letter Carriers; John H. Bakken, Carpenters; G. E. Leighty, Railroad Telegraphers; John P. Burke, Pulp and Sulphite Workers; Paul Dullzell, Actors; Patrick H. Reagan, Barbers; Vincent Castronova, Musicians; John W. Garvey, Hod Carriers; Hyman Powell, Jewelry Workers; Earl W. Jimerson, Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen; A. Phillip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters; Curtis Sims, Bakery Workers; W. J. Bassett, Los Angeles Central Labor Council; J. Belton Warren, Glass Bottle Blowers; A. Shoemaker, Maintenance of Way Employees; Arthur A. Elder, Teachers; Charles T. Lindgren, Laundry Workers; Lester Washburn, Automobile Workers; Glen Thom, Fire Fighters; Lewis M. Herrmann, Typographical; Thomas Durian, Glove Workers; C. F. May, Masters, Mates and Pilots; Louis Stulberg, Ladies Garment Workers; I. M. Fisher, Railroad Signalmen; H. A. Schneider, Grain Millers.

LABELS

I. M. Ornburn, Union Label Trades Department; Charles Hanson, Carpenters; Alvin L. Holt, Barbers; Joseph Belsky, Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen; Carmen Lucia, Hatters; Madge King, United Garment Workers; James G. Cross, Bakery and Confectionery Workers; Joseph Addy, Paper Makers; E. M. Weston, Washington State Federation of Labor; Joseph Smutny, Printing Pressmen; Joseph P. Brown, Potters; John Zitello, Cleaning & Dye House Workers; Mary G. Morley, Bookbinders; John H. Mullen, Glass Bottle Blowers; Mario Aspetite, Cigarmakers; Robert Lester, Teamsters; James A. Suffridge, Retail Clerks; Francis Schaufenbil, Textile Workers; Joseph Kunz, Coopers; Frank W. Anderson, Boot and Shoe Workers; Horace L. Imeson, Typographical Union; Tillie Clifford, Laundry Workers; R. E. Tomlinson, Chemical Workers; J. Howard Hicks, Office Employees; George Rubin, Ladies Garment Workers.

ADJUSTMENT

Herman Winter, Bakery Workers; Raymond H. Dalton, Glass Bottle Blowers; George Wright, Firemen and Oilers; Arthur P. Kistemaker, Hod Carriers; Charles L. Bagley, Musicians; F. H. Fljoldal, Maintenance of Way Employees; Frank Brewster, Teamsters; Charles W. Mason, Electrical Workers; E. J. Manion, Railroad Telegraphers; Joseph Trentman, Molders; George W. Lawson, Boot and Shoe Workers; William H. Cooper, Building Service Employees; L. M. Bafters, Painters; Harry Nacey, Boilermakers; Joseph J. Delaney, Engineers; Joseph O'Neill, Distillery Workers; Samuel R. Diakan, Cement, Lime & Gypsum Workers; Wm. P. Raoul, Theatrical Stage Employees; Gordon Chapman, State, County & Municipal Employees; George Grisham, Automobile Workers; John H. Sylvester, Railway Clerks; A. J. Bernhardt, Railway Carmen; Morris Weisberger, Seafarers; Peter Formica, Retail Clerks; Samuel F. Curry, Street Railway Employees; George Bucher, Upholsterers.

LOCAL AND FEDERATED BODIES

W. C. Birthright, Barbers; Vernon A. Housewright, Retail Clerks; Joseph Marshall, Hod Carriers; A. Adamski, United Garment Workers; James C. Quinn, N. Y. Central Labor Union; Sam Bonansinga, Springfield (Ill.) Central Labor Union; John J. Nolan, Letter Carriers; Alfred Rota, Upholsterers; Wm. McGuern, Bakery Workers; Larry Sarriks, Hotel and Restaurant Employees; Lloyd Klencert, Textile Workers; Reuben Roe, Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers; Dennis M. Carroll, Hatters; Michael J. Mungovan, Theatrical Stage Employees; Paul Hall, Seafarers; Raymond Livingston, Stove Mounters; John E. Briedenbach, Dayton (Ohio) Central Labor Union; Peter T. Schoemann, Plumbers; Russell Berg, Boilermakers; John P. Crane, Fire Fighters; Arthur Churchill, Farm Labor Union; Roy W. Singer, Musicians; Ray Muehlkoffer, Metal Polishers.

EDUCATION

George M. Harrison, Railway Clerks; Louis Vogland, Maintenance of Way Employees;

Carl H. Mullen, Indiana State Federation; Edward J. Hillcock, Plumbers; Charles S. Fleming, Letter Carriers; Foree Kurtz, Post Office Clerks; Kenneth J. Kelley, Massachusetts State Federation; James Petrillo, Musicians; A. L. Spradling, Street Railway Employees; C. F. Strickland, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; Harry H. Cook, Flint Glass Workers; David Gingold, Ladies Garment Workers; Irvin Kuenzli, Teachers; Harry Lundeberg, Seafarers; James J. Doyle, Coopers; W. L. Allen, Commercial Telegraphers; Anthony Doria, Automobile Workers; A. P. Bower, Cigarmakers; H. A. Bradley, Chemical Workers; H. L. Mitchell, Farm Labor Union; G. A. Sackett, Retail Clerks; Frank P. Barry, Paper Makers; Pat Somerset, Actors; Anna Rimington, Hotel and Restaurant Employees; Joseph Morris, Jewelry Workers.

STATE ORGANIZATIONS

Charles J. MacGowan, Boilermakers; Raymond A. Richards, Pulp and Sulphite Workers; George L. Googe, Printing Pressmen; Joseph A. Mullaney, Asbestos Workers; Berniece B. Heffner, Government Employees; Phil Hannah, Ohio State Federation of Labor; Fred Scaffdi, Barbers; C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor; W. S. Gross, Cleaners and Dyers; Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor; Phil E. Ziegler, Railway Clerks; Gust Anderson, Portland (Oregon) Central Labor Union; Louis Koenig, Hotel and Restaurant Employees; A. E. Wilson, Virginia State Federation of Labor; Bernard G. Quinn, Leather Workers; James D. Graham, Montana State Federation of Labor; Claude O'Reilly, Seattle Central Labor Union; John J. Hauck, Plasterers; Volney Andrews, West Virginia State Federation of Labor; Alvin W. Tschirley, Post Office Clerks; Justin F. Robbins, Molders; Paul R. Hutchings, Office Employees; J. Scott Milne, Electrical Workers; George W. Matthews, Building Service Employees; Paul C. Sparks, Texas State Federation of Labor.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Joseph P. McCurdy, United Garment Workers; James C. Stocker, Letter Carriers; Walter M. Matthews, Lathers; Edw. A. Smith, Elevator Constructors; John O'Rourke, Teamsters; Joseph J. Kehoe, Street Railway Employees; John R. Owens, Longshoremen; H. R. Flegal, Brick and Clay Workers; Jack Wieselberg, Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers; George L. Warfel, Special Delivery Messengers; James McNabb, Theatrical Stage Employees; Edward Carrough, Sheet Metal Workers; James M. Kennedy, Firemen and Oilers; Charles Sullivan, Hod Carriers; E. J. Plondke, Maintenance of Way Employees; Wm. A. Curtis, Painters; A. J. Eberhardy, Blacksmiths; John W. Bailey, Paper Makers; Patrick McHugh, Seafarers; Dave Siegal, Hotel and Restaurant Employees; T. J. Desmond, Potters; Leo F. Lucas, Stove Mounters; Joseph F. Boyen, Bridge & Structural Iron Workers.

BUILDING TRADES

Richard J. Gray, Building Trades Department; William J. McSorley, Wood, Wire and

Metal Lathers; Joseph V. Moreschi, Hod Carriers; F. B. Comfort, Elevator Constructors; Charles B. Gramling, Engineers; John H. Lyons, Bridge & Structural Iron Workers; Martin P. Durkin, Plumbers; John J. Murphy, Bricklayers; C. W. Sickles, Asbestos Workers; Pete Yablonski, Painters; Frank C. Riley, Electrical Workers; Homer J. Meyers, Roofers; Walter A. Redmond, Plasterers; John J. Conway, Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers; Ted Merrill, Teamsters; James L. McDevitt, Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor; William J. Kelly, Carpenters; Laurence Foley, Granite Cutters; James J. Ryan, Sheet Metal Workers; Paul A. Givens, Stone Cutters; Joseph Bourke, Connecticut State Federation of Labor; C. A. Fink, North Carolina State Federation.

SHORTER WORKDAY

Lee W. Minton, Glass Bottle Blowers; Samuel Shearer, Railway Carmen; Frank Owens, Painters; Ed. S. Miller, Hotel and Restaurant Employees; John Pelkofer, Blacksmiths; Sal B. Hoffmann, Upholsterers; Stanley Rounds, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; Milton P. Webster, Sleeping Car Porters; Harry J. Hagen, Lathers; Elmer P. Meinz, Pulp and Sulphite Workers; T. J. Lloyd, Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen; George Haberman, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor; George W. Brayfield, Colorado State Federation of Labor; Hugh McDermott, Metal Polishers; W. O. Frazier, Street Railway Employees; Elling Munkeby, State, County and Municipal Employees; John W. Austin, Typographical Union; Frank Evans, Automobile Workers; Frank C. Shea, Retail Clerks; John A. McMahon, Postal Supervisors; Clarence Lofquist, Printing Pressmen; Henry Rosendale, Molders; A. H. Cronin, Sheet Metal Workers; Roy W. Niles, Flint Glass Workers; Vincent J. Murphy, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

LEGISLATION

Leo E. George, Post Office Clerks; Emanuel Kovaleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees; Fred N. Aten, Railway Employees Department; Stanley W. Oliver, Draftsmen; James M. Duffy, Potters; James T. Moriarty, Sheet Metal Workers; James G. Yaden, Government Employees; John M. Eklund, Teachers; Nathan Wertheimer, Retail Clerks; Thomas V. Green, Stage Employees; Christian Madsen, Painters; Robert F. Bailey, Molders; Lee B. Kistler, Plate Printers; Edward P. Ringins, Musicians; Ralph O. Harper, Flint Glass Workers; Frank X. Martel, Detroit Central Labor Union; Robert A. Rice, Railway Mail Association; Carl B. Gear, Pulp and Sulphite Workers; Israel Feinberg, Ladies Garment Workers; Sidney Garfield, Chemical Workers; George Heller, Actors; Edward F. Benning, Letter Carriers; Michael J. Gallagher, Plasterers; George Hardy, Building Service Employees; Edward N. Doan, State, County and Municipal.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

Wm. J. McSorley, Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers; Matthew Woll, Photo Engravers;

D. J. Tobin, Teamsters; Wm. L. Hutcheson, Carpenters; Albert Adamski, United Garment Workers; Joseph V. Moreschi, Hod Carriers; Joseph P. Ryan, Longshoremen; John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department; Christian M. Madsen, Painters; Henry F. Schmal, Photo Engravers; W. C. Birthwright, Barbers; John B. Haggerty, Bookbinders; Isidore Nagler, Ladies Garment Workers; Hugo Ernst, Hotel and Restaurant Employees; George Meany, Plumbers; W. C. Doherty, Letter Carriers; Arnold S. Zander, State, County and Municipal Employees; George J. Richardson, Fire Fighters; Patrick E. Gorman, Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen; Edward J. Volz, Photo Engravers Union; Harry C. Bates, Bricklayers; Dave Beck, Teamsters.

DELEGATE KOVALESKI, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: Mr. President, I now move that the name of William Green be added to the Committee on International Relations.

The motion was seconded, and carried unanimously.

RESOLUTIONS RECEIVED WITHIN TIME LIMIT

SECRETARY MEANY: I wish to announce the receipt of the following resolutions which have been received within the time limit specified in the Constitution, and therefore, do not require unanimous consent.

From the Illinois State Federation of Labor: Extending Coverage and Increased Benefits Under Social Security; Protection of American Workers in Lowering Tariff; Department of Welfare; Legislative Program of Post Office Clerks.

From the Minnesota State Federation of Labor: Restoration of Minneapolis Wage and Hour Regional Office; State Federation and Central Labor Union Affiliation.

From the Metal Trades Department: Bureau of Labor Standards; Bureau of Apprenticeship; Labor-Management Apprenticeship Committee; Bureau of Labor Statistics; Appropriation for Bureau of Labor Statistics; Department of Labor; Safety Conferences; Excise Tax Removal; Standard Work Week for Navy Personnel; Shorter Work Week.

From the Nebraska State Federation of Labor: U. S. Foreign Policy.

From the Arizona State Federation of Labor: Colorado River System.

From the Connecticut State Federation of Labor: State Federation and Central Labor Union Affiliation.

From the Union Label Trades Department:
Union Label Week.

From the Building and Construction Trades Department: Jurisdiction and Control over Construction Work on Dams, River and Harbor Improvement.

These resolutions will appear at the end of today's proceedings.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Tomorrow the Honorable Secretary of Labor Maurice J. Tobin, will address the convention, and shortly afterwards Mr. Bert M. Jewell, the Labor Adviser of the Economic Cooperation Administration will address the delegates in attendance at the convention. These are the two speakers we have listed for tomorrow.

ESCORT COMMITTEES

President Green announced the following escort committees:

For Secretary of Labor Tobin: Vice-President Daniel W. Tracy, Kenneth Kelley, and John Mara.

For Mr. Bert M. Jewell: Charles MacGowan, President Carroll of the Maintenance of Way Organization, and President Barney of the Carmen's Union.

PRESIDENT GREEN: It now seems that the work of this session has been completed. I am sure you will agree with me that we have had an interesting opening convention day.

If there is no one who cares to make announcements the convention will stand adjourned until tomorrow morning at 9:30 o'clock.

(At 5:00 o'clock, p.m., the convention adjourned to reconvene tomorrow, Tuesday, October 4, 1949, at 9:30 o'clock, a.m.)

RESOLUTIONS

Under the provisions of the A. F. of L. Constitution, Article III, Section 6, all resolutions must be received 30 days prior to the opening of the convention, EXCEPTING resolutions adopted after the expiration of the 30-day period, by a convention of a national or international union or of a state federation of labor. Such resolutions shall be received up to five days prior to the convening date of the convention.

Any resolutions or proposals received after the expiration of the time limits shall be referred to the Executive Council and the Executive Council shall refer all such proposals to the convention with the understanding that acceptance thereof is dependent upon the unanimous consent of the convention.

Resolutions of state federations of labor must first have received the approval of the previous convention of the state federation of labor involved.

Resolutions of city central labor unions must first have received the approval of such central labor union at a regular constituted meeting of the organization.

Resolutions received from directly affiliated local trade and federal labor unions are to be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and disposition. The Executive Council in turn to report to the convention as to the disposition made of these resolutions.

The following resolutions were received within the prescribed time limits and conform to constitutional requirements:

EXTEND COVERAGE OF SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

Resolution No. 1—By Delegate Elmer F. McIntire, Idaho State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Great numbers of workers have and many are still working for various political subdivisions, not covered by the Social Security Act, and

WHEREAS, Many of them have already lost credits earned prior to this work, and many more will in the future, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the sixty-eighth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor convening on October 3, 1949 in St. Paul, Minnesota go on record as requesting its officers to work for an amendment to the Social Security Act, whereby those workers penalized at the present time for having worked for a political subdivision of the government not covered by the Act, shall have credit allowed the same as though they had worked for a covered employer.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CONDEMNING REQUIREMENT OF CERTIFICATE OF TERMINATION OF SERVICE

Resolution No. 2—By Delegate George A. Haberman, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, During the last year it has become a widespread practice among Wisconsin employers (and perhaps employers in other states as well) to refuse to hire workers for jobs for which they are otherwise qualified unless they first produce a certificate of termination of service from the last previous employer, and

WHEREAS, This vicious practice prevents a worker who is laid off because of no work in his regular place of employment, or who is on strike, or who is locked out, from obtaining employment unless he first terminates his service with his regular employer, and

WHEREAS, The termination of such service by the worker, in most cases, means giving up accrued benefits; such as, vacation rights, pension right, life insurance, medical benefits, etc., which accrue to him only by reason of continuous employment with his regular employer, and

WHEREAS, The continuation of this practice by employers would nullify the entire theory of seniority and would allow these employers to circumvent all of their contractual obligations through the medium of laying off workers because of no work, and

WHEREAS, This practice can be utilized as a vicious strikebreaking weapon in cases of legitimate strikes or as a weapon to force capitulation of workers in case of lockouts, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 68th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in the city of St. Paul, Minnesota

instruct its officers to: 1. Take the necessary steps to bring about the introduction of legislation to outlaw this or similar vicious practice. 2. Alert every affiliated local union, city central body and council to the dangers of this practice.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

LOWER AGE REQUIREMENTS AND INCREASE BENEFITS UNDER SOCIAL SECURITY

Resolution No. 3—By Delegate George A. Haberman, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The physical demands on employees in present day mass production industries is such that continued employment in these industries beyond the age of fifty-five years is a definite physical hazard and almost a physical impossibility, and

WHEREAS, The continuation of the present retirement age of sixty-five years to be eligible for social security benefits will build up a surplus labor supply which will have an adverse effect on the bargaining strength of organized labor as well as causing hardship and privation by wide spread unemployment, and

WHEREAS, The average worker retiring at the present required age, sixty-five years, has put into the industrial machine of our country approximately forty-five years of his life and is entitled to at least a subsistence income at retirement age, and

WHEREAS, The present social security benefits paid to eligible workers after age sixty-five are not pensions in any sense of the word but are in reality doles, and

WHEREAS, It is in the public interest that social security benefits be increased and that the retirement age be reduced considerably, and

WHEREAS, The worker and the employer presently each contribute a sum equal to one per cent of the employee's earnings into the social security fund, and

WHEREAS, The Social Security Act as originally enacted provided for graduated increases in contributions from both employee and employer up to a maximum of three per cent of the employee's earnings, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 68th convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record favoring the immediate lowering of the retirement age under the Social Security Act from sixty-five to fifty-five years, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a minimum retirement of \$100 per month at age fifty-five be provided with retirements graduated from that figure upward, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That beginning immediately, contribution be required from both the employee and the employer of a sum from each of not to exceed three per cent of the employee's earnings.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

EXTEND COVERAGE OF SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

Resolution No. 4—By Delegate George A. Haberman, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Factory workers as well as millions of other wage earners are included and protected under the Social Security Act, and

WHEREAS, The Act, as now in effect, does not include millions of workers of various employments and occupations, such as self-employed barbers, beauticians and working barber and beautician proprietors, employees of certain non-profit organizations operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific or educational purposes, including hospitals, and all other workers not now covered by the Act, and

WHEREAS, These workers have no opportunity to accumulate retirement funds and in old age become burdens upon their families or upon charity, and

WHEREAS, Such denial is discriminatory and not in keeping with our American traditions of equality and justice, and

WHEREAS, These workers should obtain these benefits and are willing to pay their just share for this future security, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 68th convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its Legislative Representatives at Washington, D. C. to seek amendments to the Federal Social Security Act to provide benefits for the aforementioned workers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF WHITE COLLAR WORKERS

Resolution No. 5—By Delegate George A. Haberman, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The economic position of the white collar workers has shown less improvement than any other section of our working population and continues to remain beneath the level of the average industrial worker, and

WHEREAS, The existence of millions of white collar workers working at lower standards and rates tends to depress the rates and

conditions of all industrial workers; thus creating a special problem for all workers, and

WHEREAS, The material and human resources of the international unions having jurisdiction of the white collar workers are in no way sufficient or adequate to deal with this special problem that concerns all workers, and cannot in the foreseeable future become adequate or sufficient, and

WHEREAS, A comparable special problem is the southern worker whose rates and conditions of work likewise tend to depress the standards of all workers, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor having recognized the uniqueness of the situation of the southern workers and called a Southern Organizing Conference in May, 1946, and has continued to pool the resources of all AFofL unions in the south towards the goal of organizing the southern workers, a goal which has already achieved some material measure of success, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 68th convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the officers of the AFofL to call a national organizing conference of white collar workers, the purpose of which shall be the development of material and human facilities for the institution of a nationwide organizing campaign amongst white collar workers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

INCREASE IN DISTRIBUTION OF LITERATURE

Resolution No. 6—By Delegate George A. Haberman, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is very essential that all members of the American Federation of Labor be informed of all economic and political issues affecting the country, and

WHEREAS, There is a need for disseminating truthful information to the general public with a view to bringing labor and the farmer closer together, and

WHEREAS, Other organizations are spending large sums of money to influence public opinion, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 68th convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to consider the advisability of investing considerably more money in the field of education, and primarily in printing and distributing large amounts of material suitable for rank and file members and the general public.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

COUNCIL OF FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

Resolution No. 7—By Delegate George A. Haberman, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The federal labor unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are not afforded, under its constitution, any opportunity to form a national organization of any kind, and

WHEREAS, These federal labor unions have performed an outstanding service to the American Federation of Labor by providing industrial type organization to thousands of workers who might not otherwise be members of organized labor or who might otherwise be members of the dual (CIO) organization, and

WHEREAS, By providing industrial type organization to these thousands of workers the federal labor unions have enrolled them as loyal members of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, It is only through the diligent and untiring efforts of the local leadership of the federal labor unions that the workers organized into these unions have remained loyal to the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The burden of keeping these workers as loyal members of the American Federation of Labor in view of restrictions placed upon the federal labor unions insofar as the formation of any kind of a national organization is concerned, and in view of the discrimination against federal labor unions in regard to representation and the introduction of resolutions to the national conventions of the American Federation of Labor has proven tremendous and poses some very complex problems, and

WHEREAS, The workers organized into federal labor unions and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor pay almost one-half of the per capita income of the federation, and

WHEREAS, The present status of the federal labor unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor is certainly taxation without representation, and

WHEREAS, These federal labor unions have demonstrated their maturity and responsibility and have achieved a considerable degree of permanency within the labor movement, and

WHEREAS, The time has come for the American Federation of Labor to recognize the permanence that has been achieved by the federal labor unions within the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The permanence achieved by the federal labor unions has posed many complex problems that could be better handled through the establishment of a permanent national organization of federal labor unions within the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The establishment of such a national organization would lead to better coordination of and a more unified execution of the policies and programs of the American Federation of Labor by the federal labor unions, and

WHEREAS, The establishment of a national organization of federal labor unions within the American Federation of Labor would provide a means whereby these federal labor unions could achieve a greater degree of coordination and unity of purpose and action which would allow them to provide better service to their membership thereby maintaining and strengthening the prestige of the American Federation of Labor in the field of industrial type labor organization, and

WHEREAS, It is time the American Federation of Labor face this problem squarely by giving due and serious consideration to these questions and elevating the membership of federal labor unions to first-class citizenship in the labor movement by the establishment of a national organization of federal labor unions within the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The 57th annual convention of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor went on record favoring the establishment of a national council or department of federal labor unions within the American Federation of Labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 68th convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in the city of St. Paul, Minnesota go on record instructing the officers of the American Federation of Labor to call a meeting of representatives of all federal labor unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor within ninety (90) days following the close of the 1949 national convention of the American Federation of Labor to consider the entire question of the establishment of a national council or department of federal labor unions, such meeting to be held in a central location within the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

WAGNER ACT AMENDMENTS AGAINST CIO RAIDING

Resolution No. 8 — By Delegates Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, Francis Schaufenbil, Burton Hyman, Joseph Jacobs, United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, When the original National Labor Relations Act was enacted, no one anticipated the use of its election machinery by rapacious dual CIO unions for raiding expeditions against duly certified AFL unions; unfortunately, however, this pernicious practice has developed, contrary to the original intent of the Act, affecting to very serious degree many AFL unions, and

WHEREAS, The cost of unwarranted, unnecessary NLRB elections, initiated only for raiding purposes, are borne by the government and ultimately by the taxpayers—without value received in peaceful labor relations, but on the contrary, stimulating increasing strife, and such election raids tend to disrupt production in the plants affected for weeks on end and are a menace to the national economy; an un-

fair charge upon the employer; and a disruption of normal labor relations, and

WHEREAS, The CIO unions use the machinery of the NLRB election system to destroy AFL local unions and their bargaining rights and to corral the organized AFL workers into CIO unions; even where they do not hope to accomplish the actual seizure or control of AFL plants and locals, they use this means to deplete AFL unions' funds in self-defense, as well as to prevent them from using their resources for normal, healthy union administration and organizing unorganized workers, and at the same time, they are able to disrupt normal collective bargaining in AFL plants, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in view of this situation, and the dangerous consequences arising from such raiding attacks against legally certified AFL unions, the American Federation of Labor recommends the following amendments to the Wagner Act, when re-enacted by Congress, to remedy these existing evils:

1. Require valid proof of a 51% majority by a petitioner against an existing certified union, before allowing NLRB to call an election at an organized mill, through:

(a) A showing of representation of 51% of the workers in the mill through valid signed membership cards; and

(b) Rigid examination by the Board of proof presented by the petitioning union, through checks of cards against the payrolls of the company and signatures of the workers, before the Board is permitted to call an election.

2. Require the union petitioning for an election in an organized mill, on a claim of 51% representation, to put up a bond that it represents a majority; which bond shall be forfeited, if it fails to win the election, and be split in a fair ratio between the government and the raided union.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING

Resolution No. 9 — By Delegates Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, Francis Schaufenbil, Burton Hyman, Joseph Jacobs, United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The tension in international relations, which developed immediately after the war ended, was largely a result of the unilateral disbanding of its armies all over the world by the United States of America, in its attempt at cooperation and conciliation in the face of an aggressive expanding, imperialist Soviet Russian regime, and fortunately, strong, positive action by the United States, in reaction to Soviet conquest and terror, has reduced somewhat this tension through the creation of a growing structure of security via the Truman program, the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic Pact and the Military Aid Program, and

WHEREAS, Judging from its past behavior, Soviet Russia will soon move ahead again, after reconsolidation of its position, and this is, therefore, the time for us to push ahead with positive action for American and world security, and

WHEREAS, An important gap in our national security program has been the failure to create a system of universal military training for all young men in the United States, despite the fact that all experts on military defense, the President's Commission on Universal Military Training and all former Secretaries of State, have agreed that there is no other way to assure ourselves of the manpower required to fulfill all the necessary services of a nation at war, and the United States today is the only major power without any system of universal military training for its citizens, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Congress recognize the importance of this gap in our structure of defense and create such a system without further delay.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

MINIMUM WAGE

Resolution No. 10 — By Delegates Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, Francis Schaufenbil, Burton Hyman, Joseph Jacobs, United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The 40¢ an hour minimum wage, required by the Fair Labor Standards Act since the '30's, has been completely outdated by the drastic changes in prices, wages and cost-of-living during the war and post-war periods, (even in 1935, the minimum subsistence budget of the WFA required 75¢ and the U. S. Department of Labor minimum subsistence standard was set at 85¢ an hour) however, every time this subject has come up before Congress, it has failed to act favorably on the necessary upward revision in the minimum, and

WHEREAS, Substandard firms are still paying minimum wages, far below decent standards of living and far below prevailing union minimum standards, to millions of workers, and Congress has treated this matter like a political football although the proposed 75¢ minimum is already outdated by the march of economic events, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 68th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, urge Congress to take immediate steps for revision of the minimum upward and goes on record in favor of an increase to a minimum of \$1.00 an hour.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

STATEHOOD FOR ALASKA

Resolution No. 11—By Delegate Theodore B. Eriksen, Alaska Territorial Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Territory of Alaska in the past has voted overwhelmingly for Statehood and the people have made it plain to all concerned that Statehood is their desire, and

WHEREAS, The Alaska Territorial Federation of Labor at its last convention voted to further the movement for Statehood by every means within their power, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention support this movement.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

FOREIGN POLICY FOR ASIA

Resolution No. 12 — By Delegates Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, Francis Schaufenbil, Burton Hyman, Joseph Jacobs, United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, After four years of attempted cooperation, which has failed in face of Soviet Russia's imperialistic expansionism, the United States has, at long last, developed a fully-rounded program for defense of freedom-loving and democratic, independent states in the Atlantic area, and our program for Europe now runs the gamut from military alliance to economic assistance, ideological support and military aid, and

WHEREAS, On the other hand, our policy for the Pacific nations of Asia is still a policy of negativism, do-nothing, waiting for things to crystalize, and we seem to be waiting for the collapse of these independent states and the triumphant march of Communism across that continent and the adjoining islands, and

WHEREAS, This floundering lack-of-policy threatens to open the Asiatic back door of our national security while we are closing the front door in Europe, and such an approach can only result in a ruinous loss of vital American security interests in the Far East, a loss that might be all but irretrievable, except at the expense of a vast and costly Pacific war later, and

WHEREAS, The independent governments of China, the Philippines and Korea have recently taken the initiative in moving toward a Pacific pact uniting those countries against Communist threats to their peace and independence, and thus far, the United States has taken the role of a coldly disinterested observer, instead of giving aid and encouragement to them, and while we watch and wait, China is being smothered to death by Communist armies; Korea is imminently threatened; the Philippines, India, Indo-China, Burma, Siam and the Malay States are subject to fifth column penetration for Communist coup d'etat or revolts, and

WHEREAS, Our do-nothing policy must end, since we have a real stake in the peace and independence of all Asia, and especially of those countries adjoining the Pacific area, and we must devise means, just as we did in Europe, to give such aid and comfort as is necessary to bolster the independence of free nations and to resist, contain and push back

the march of Soviet imperialism in that part of the world, and

WHEREAS, In Asia, as in Europe, the minions of Soviet power must be given no chance of misunderstanding our intention to go to the aid of those peoples willing to defend themselves when attacked, directly or indirectly, from without or within, by the Soviet armies or their native collaborators, and at this stage of history it is essential that the rulers of Communist Russia and its stooges in Asia be made to understand that there will be no appeasement and that we will defend liberty and peace — by arms if necessary, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That a positive policy toward Asia must be made the next item on the foreign policy agenda of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

REAFFILIATION OF MACHINISTS

Resolution No. 13—By Delegate Elmer F. McIntire, Idaho State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The trade labor movement is constantly under attack by the anti-labor forces of this country, making the need for unity greater than at any other time, and

WHEREAS, In order to combat these attacks and safeguard the hard-won gains of labor, we must continue to grow in strength, and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Machinists have been one of the oldest and largest organizations within the American Federation of Labor, and has for its goal the same accomplishments as the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, This organization has been separated from the American Federation of Labor, thus weakening both the American Federation of Labor and themselves, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the sixty-eighth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor convening on October 3, 1949 in St. Paul, Minnesota go on record as requesting its Executive Council to take steps to invite the International Association of Machinists back to the House of Labor, with a request that the president of the American Federation of Labor will be permitted by the Executive Council to answer any and all inquiries pertaining to the rights of the International Association of Machinists.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

EQUAL PAY FOR WOMEN WORKERS

Resolution No. 14—By Delegates George M. Harrison, Phil E. Ziegler, G. B. Goble, L. B. Snedden, J. H. Sylvester, H. R. Lyons, Robert Morgan, Brotherhood of Railway and Steam-

ship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees.

WHEREAS, Women have become an increasingly important segment of the labor force (nearly 30 per cent) and have proven, during and since the war, their ability to hold many jobs identical with or comparable to those held by men, and

WHEREAS, Discrimination against women in rate of pay because of sex is contrary to our democratic principles and an injustice to women, and

WHEREAS, Payment of a lesser rate to women than to men for comparable work actually is a threat to men's wage levels and men's jobs, and therefore impairs the job security of all workers, and the welfare of their families, and reduces general consumer purchasing power, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor recommend that all collective bargaining agreements of affiliated unions include equal pay clauses to insure that women be paid the same rates as men for work of the same or comparable character, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention recommend: 1. The enactment of appropriate Federal legislation in the broad area of interstate commerce to safeguard the principles of equal pay for equal work, and 2. The enactment of similar State legislation and measures to strengthen existing State equal pay laws.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

POLITICAL CANDIDATES

Resolution No. 15—By Park County Trades and Labor Council, Livingston, Montana.

WHEREAS, At every election of national and state officers of any political organization, there is a duplication of advertising speakers and radio addresses for, or against, the same candidates by the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the Railroad Brotherhoods and independent unions, and

WHEREAS, Greater results could be obtained by closer cooperation, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That a meeting be called of the presidents of the American Federation of Labor, the CIO, Railroad Brotherhoods, farm organizations and other independent unions for joint political action in agreeing upon the candidates for political office which they will jointly support or oppose.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

INCREASED BENEFITS UNDER SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

Resolution No. 16—By Delegate Elmer F. McIntire, Idaho State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Social Security Act having been in operation now for more than ten years, and the contributions to the Act have been frozen at the original 1%, instead of the proposed 3% in the original Act, and

WHEREAS, The benefits being paid by the Social Security Act, due to the low contributions to the fund by the workers and the employers, are very small and inadequate making it impossible for anyone to live on, and

WHEREAS, By increasing the contribution by the employer and the workers to 5% instead of the present 1% now being collected, an adequate and just and livable benefit would be paid, and

WHEREAS, Many of our members never reach the retirement age of 65 and if they do they are too old to enjoy retirement, and

WHEREAS, A great number of our members do not come under the Act due to the nature of their work, and

WHEREAS, If everyone were covered under the Act at a 5% contribution, labor would not have to negotiate pension plans in their collective bargaining agreements, but instead could get the cost of such plans included in the wage scales, and

WHEREAS, Under this liberalization of the Social Security Act, many now on city, county and state welfare would find such relief unnecessary, thereby relieving the tax-payers of heavy tax burden, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the sixty-eighth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor convening on October 3, 1949 in St. Paul, Minnesota go on record advocating the following amendments to the Social Security Act:

1. Increasing the present 1% contribution to 5% for both the employer and the worker, and the benefits increased in accordance to the increased contributions.
2. Include all workers under the Act, regardless of whether they are workers, state, county or city employees or whatever other category they may come under.
3. That the age for eligibility be lowered from 65 to 60 for both male and female workers.
4. That the minimum benefits under the Act be not less than \$75 per month, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct its Executive Council to exert every possible effort to assist in bringing about the enactment of these proposed amendments into the Social Security Act.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME

Resolution No. 17 — By Delegate E. M. Weston, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Daylight saving time is favored by practically all cities and states, and

WHEREAS, Effective dates are not uniform, thereby causing general confusion in the operation of same, and

WHEREAS, We feel that if daylight saving time is to be generally adopted, effective dates should be uniform in all communities, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we favor uniform effective dates for daylight saving time on a national basis.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

MOTION PICTURE BASED ON HISTORY OF A. F. OF L.

Resolution No. 18 — By Delegates Lester Washburn, George Gisham, Anthony Doria, Earl Heaton, Frank Evans, International Union United Automobile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor possesses a long and glorious history and is the oldest, as well as the largest, group of organized workers in America, and

WHEREAS, This great organization boasts an enviable record of initiating beneficial worker legislation, improving interracial relations, preserving civil liberties and securing adequate social legislation, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor occupies a unique and vital position in the overall history of America, and

WHEREAS, The year 1950 will mark the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Samuel Gompers, the founder of the Federation and a great American, and

WHEREAS, There are scores of elder statesmen and leaders of the AFL whose names and inspiring lives should be permanently recorded, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to make arrangements for the production of a full length motion picture which will embody the best professional technique, utilizing able actors and script writers, to dramatically recount the story of the American Federation of Labor and its leaders, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this film should cover such important points as: The early organization of labor unions in the Revolutionary War period; the founding of the American Federation of Labor; the story of Samuel Gompers, Peter McGuire and other leaders, past and present, in the American Federation of Labor; the growth of craft and industrial unions; outstanding strikes and organizing campaigns; trade union accomplishments on the legislative front; contributions to the nation as a whole; contributions toward a world order through the fight for a free world federation of trade unions; organized labor's stake in the future, and be it further

RESOLVED, That such a film, when completed, shall be made available for showing at no charge to all elementary and primary schools, colleges, universities, and civic groups, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the film be publicized in every possible means as an authoritative living record of the accomplishments and achievements of the American Federation of Labor, and be it finally

RESOLVED, That a voluntary committee of international union representatives be formed to collaborate and give every possible assistance in the production of the film.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

COMMUNITY CHEST CAMPAIGNS

Resolution No. 19 — By Delegates Lester Washburn, George Grisham, Anthony Doria, Earl Heaton, Frank Evans, International Union United Automobile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, Organized labor has long cooperated with the Community Chest Fund in the interest of giving aid and comfort to the needy and unfortunate, and

WHEREAS, President William Green of the American Federation of Labor has heartily endorsed the 1949 drive, and

WHEREAS, The Community Chest Fund has annually been successful in impressing the American public with the necessity for contributing to help lessen suffering of the needy and unfortunate, and

WHEREAS, The present approach to these social problems has a tendency to perpetuate the need for charity, without necessarily bringing to light the reasons why such conditions exist or how they could be corrected, and

WHEREAS, The American public would give more liberally and more willingly if it was cognizant that the organization through which it is contributing is not only helping the unfortunate at the moment, but is also trying to eliminate some of the causes for the existing social evils, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this sixty-eighth convention of the American Federation of Labor urge the Community Chest organization to sponsor a companion program of legislation in city councils, state legislatures and the United States Congress, designed to correct the detrimental social conditions that exist, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor call upon the Community Chest organization to expend similar efforts in this program of seeking corrective legislation as it does in soliciting funds for alleviation of hardships, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the international unions, city central bodies, state federations of labor, and federal labor unions of the American

Federation of Labor cooperate with the Community Chest Fund in an effort to accomplish the maximum results through this program, and be it finally

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent by the Executive Council to all affiliates of the American Federation of Labor and to officers of the National Community Fund Organization.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR LABOR FILMS

Resolution No. 20—By Delegate C. J. Hagerty, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The unions and guilds of the Hollywood Film Council, upon demand of the labor movement, prepared a motion picture script, entitled "You're The Jury" last fall on the history and background of the forces that fostered, promoted and passed the Taft-Hartley Act, and

WHEREAS, Production was scheduled for mid-November after the national elections, and

WHEREAS, The election of President Truman and a Democratic Congress caused many prominent labor leaders to believe that the Taft-Hartley Act would be immediately repealed, and

WHEREAS, Because of this belief, production plans on "You're The Jury" were tabled, and

WHEREAS, Subsequent events in our national capital have proved that there is still no sign of a strong repeal movement with enough votes to defeat the Taft-Hartley bill, and

WHEREAS, It is more apparent than ever before that labor must tell its story to all members of organized labor and the general public through all mediums at its command, and

WHEREAS, Documentary films already produced by the Hollywood Film Council, i. e., "Poverty In The Valley of Plenty" and "The Magic State," have proved beyond all doubt the value of documentary educational films, and

WHEREAS, The Hollywood studio unions and guilds are contributing \$500 per organization to help produce "You're The Jury," and

WHEREAS, "You're The Jury" is being produced for the entire labor movement in its fight against the Taft-Hartley Act, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 68th convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as urging financial support for the production of "You're The Jury" from all local unions, councils, central bodies, and state

federations in the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

INCREASE RECREATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

Resolution No. 21—By Delegate C. J. Hagerty, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The present mechanized age and its increased leisure time demands comprehensive planning for recreation, and

WHEREAS, Organized recreation opportunities are essential to the individual and to society in the modern community, as services in the health, education, welfare and related fields, and

WHEREAS, Recreational facilities, public and private, should be planned and distributed on a neighborhood, district, regional, state and nation-wide basis to provide maximum recreational opportunities and services for all age groups without discrimination, and

WHEREAS, Adequate staffs of qualified personnel should be employed by each agency, organization or group responsible for recreation services so as to get maximum use of existing facilities, and

WHEREAS, The federal, state, county and city governments should enact appropriate legislation to make it possible for every community to plan, finance and administer an adequate public recreation program, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 68th convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as urging the federal, state, county and city governments to expand their recreation programs by enacting legislation which will provide for the financing and carrying out of extensive planning; establishment of necessary commissions and departments; the training of personnel, and the coordination of all public and voluntary agencies and groups having recreation interests, resources or responsibilities.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

Resolution No. 22—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Frank Boyd, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Persons of strong convictions of conscience against military conscription are currently victims of prosecution and imprisonment under the Selective Service Acts of 1948 and 1940, resulting in the loss of their civil rights, which is a violation of basic Christian and democratic principles of religious liberty and freedom of conscience and smacks of the dangerous trend toward state control of religious beliefs in other lands, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the sixty-eighth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in St. Paul, Minnesota, October, 1949, go on record as opposing the imprisonment of conscientious objectors and call upon President Harry S. Truman to halt the prosecution of persons solely because of their compulsion of conscience against war, give release to the conscientious objectors now behind prison bars on parole, and grant amnesty to all conscientious objectors convicted for violations of the Selective Service Acts of 1940 and 1948.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Resolution No. 23—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Frank Boyd, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Lynching and mob violence are violations of the dignity and sacredness of the human personality—all men, regardless of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry, being children of one God, and

WHEREAS, The poll tax denies to white and black workers the opportunity to exercise their sovereign right of free citizenship in the American democracy, and

WHEREAS, Federal fair employment practice legislation will help the elimination of discrimination in industry and labor unions based upon race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry, and

WHEREAS, Discrimination and segregation in the armed forces because of race, color or religion, denies the sacred right to an American citizen to fight and die for his country as a free man, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the sixty-eighth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in St. Paul, Minnesota, October, 1949, go on record as supporting legislation which seeks to abolish lynch-law, the vicious poll tax, the elimination of discrimination and segregation in industry, labor unions and the armed forces, and, herewith, expresses its support and approval of President Truman's Civil Rights Committee Report and his Civil Rights Program, submitted to the 81st Congress, and pledge to fight for the enactment of legislation sought in the President's Civil Rights Report and Program.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

FIRE FIGHTERS UNDER SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

Resolution No. 24—By Delegates John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, John P. Crane, James Deach, Glen Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, There was introduced in the United States Congress a bill, H.R. 2891 to extend Social Security, and

WHEREAS, Many representatives of the American Federation of Labor and organized labor in general appeared before the House Committee and expressed approval of the bill as written, and

WHEREAS, The firemen were excluded from the provisions of Social Security under H.R. 2893 in accordance with their wishes, and

WHEREAS, The new bill H.R. 6000, sponsored by the Administration, does not exclude firemen, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled instruct its legislative representatives to urge that the provisions of H.R. 2893 which excluded firemen, be restored to H.R. 6000 before final passage.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

"BUY AMERICA"

Resolution No. 25—By Delegate James B. Moss, Trades and Labor Council, East Liverpool, Ohio.

WHEREAS, The job opportunities of our countrymen are slowly and surely being sent abroad by the purchase of foreign made products, and

WHEREAS, This reduces our standard of living and creates unemployment with the usual miseries that accompany such conditions, and

WHEREAS, The best method for a happy and prosperous America is to keep the wheels of industry turning, our mines, mills and factories running, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, adopt measures to induce the buyers of the Nation to insist upon American Made products, and that we set up a program to educate the Nation of the need of the "BUY AMERICAN" movement.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

TAFT-HARTLEY ACT

Resolution No. 26—By Delegate James L. McDevitt, Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Taft-Hartley Act and the Labor Relations Act of the 80th Congress in 1947 has weakened and partly destroyed the functions of the Department of Labor and its services to both management and labor, and

WHEREAS, There has been widespread disorder and dissatisfaction throughout the land since the enactment of these Acts, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation

of Labor in convention assembled demand the repeal of the Labor Management Relations Act of 1947, the re-enactment of the Wagner Labor Relations Act; the passage of the amendment of the Fair Labor Standards Act as proposed in Committee Print of January 20, 1949, House Committee on Education and Labor, and in S. 563, introduced by Senator Thomas; and the return of the Conciliations Service and all other Federal agencies which deal with labor to the United States Department of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

AMENDMENT TO SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate J. T. Marr, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Great numbers of workers have been and many are still, working for various political subdivisions, which are not covered by the Social Security Act, and

WHEREAS, Many of these workers already have lost credits earned prior to this work, and many more will in the future, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor work for an amendment to the Social Security Act, whereby those workers penalized at the present time for having worked for a political subdivision of the government not covered by the Act, shall have credit allowed the same as though they had worked for a covered employer, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all congressmen and senators be asked to work for such an amendment, as well as various state federation of labor organizations of other states.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

GOVT. EMPLOYEES COUNCIL EXTENDS THANKS TO A. F. OF L.

Resolution No. 28—By Delegates James G. Yaden, Berniece B. Heffner, A. E. Eisenmenger, American Federation of Government Employes; Lee B. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers' Union of N. A.; R. A. Rice, J. L. Reilly, Jerald McDermott, Railway Mail Association; John B. Haggerty, Robert E. Hafkin, Mary G. Morley, Joseph Denny, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, John J. Nolan, Charles S. Fleming, James Stocker, Edward Benning, National Association of Letter Carriers; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, L. G. Nygren, Office Employes International Union; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, James Deach, Glen

Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters; William L. McFetridge, William H. Cooper, David Sullivan, George Hardy, George W. Matthews, Building Service Employees' International Union; J. H. Lyons, Joseph F. Boyen, C. F. Strickland, E. M. Woods, Leslie L. Myers, Stanley Rounds, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Peter T. Schoenmann, Robert Lynch, G. J. O'Donnell, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry; Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Bernard M. Egan, Horace L. Imeson, Lewis M. Herrmann, J. Arthur Moriarty, International Typographical Union; Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo-Engravers' Union of N. A.; Leo E. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Charles Ryan, Force Kurtz, Alvin Tschirley, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Stanley W. Oliver, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. Delaney, Charles B. Gramling, International Union of Operating Engineers; John A. McMahon, Enoch Nelson, John D. Ryan, National Association of Postal Supervisors; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers Union; Delegates, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; Delegate, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; Delegates, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Delegates, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The organizations of the Government Employees' Council, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, have been successful in improving standards of employment in the government service, and

WHEREAS, These notable gains would not have been possible except for the wholehearted support and cooperation of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates and officers, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates representing unions in the Government Employees' Council of the American Federation of Labor in this sixty-eight convention of the American Federation of Labor and whose names are hereon inscribed do hereby express the gratitude of themselves and their fellow members to the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PRINCIPLE OF FEDERAL UNION

Resolution No. 29—By Delegate Robert A. Tillman, Tennessee State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is now pending before Congress the following resolution: (Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 57; House Concurrent Resolutions No. 107 to 111.)

"Whereas the parties to the North Atlantic Treaty have declared themselves 'determined to safeguard the freedom, common heritage, and civilization of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty,

and the rule of law', and 'resolved to unite their efforts for collective defense and for the preservation of peace and security'; and

"Whereas they have agreed in article 2 of that treaty to 'contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being' and to 'seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies' and to 'encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them'; and

"Whereas the principles on which our American freedom is founded are those of federal union which were applied for the first time in history in the United States Constitution; and

"Whereas our Federal Convention of 1787 worked out these principles of union as a means of safeguarding the individual liberty and common heritage of the people of thirteen sovereign States, strengthening their free institutions, uniting their defensive efforts, encouraging their economic collaboration, and severally attaining the aims that the democracies of the North Atlantic have set for themselves in the aforesaid treaty; and

"Whereas these federal union principles have succeeded impressively in advancing such aims in the United States, Canada, Switzerland, and wherever other free peoples have applied them; and

"Whereas the United States, together with the other signatories to the treaty, has promised to bring about a better understanding of these federal principles and has, as their most extensive practitioner and greatest beneficiary, a unique moral obligation to make this contribution to peace; and

"Whereas the United States and the other six democracies which sponsored the treaty have, by their success in drafting it and extending it to others, established a precedent for united action toward the attainment of these aims, and the creation of a free and lasting union: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the President is requested to invite the democracies which sponsored the North Atlantic Treaty to name delegates, representing their principal political parties, to meet this year with delegates of the United States in a Federal Convention to explore how far their peoples, and the peoples of such other democracies as the convention may invite to send delegates, can apply among them, within the framework of the United Nations, the principle of free federal union," and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor for more than half a century has aggressively espoused those causes which promote liberty and happiness for working men and women throughout the world, and

WHEREAS, War always brings misery and suffering, weighing heaviest upon those in the lower strata of society, and

WHEREAS, The workers of the world are yearning for successe from war and a just and lasting peace, and are looking to America to assume dominant leadership in its attainment, and

WHEREAS, Alliances such as the North Atlantic Treaty recently ratified by Congress have never achieved lasting peace, and at best are nothing more than interim measures that may gain time to explore means of achieving lasting peace, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the sixty-eighth convention of the American Federation of Labor records its indorsement of the resolution pending in Congress and urges its immediate passage.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

L. L. P. E.

Resolution No. 30—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Bernard M. Egan, Horace L. Imeson, Lewis M. Herrmann, J. Arthur Moriarty, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, It is of vital interest to the entire trade union movement and to the public as a whole, that our democratic form of government be preserved for the benefit of all the people, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the AFL Executive Council be instructed to make its League for Political Education more representative and much more active in political campaigns.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

ASSISTANCE TO I. T. U.

Resolution No. 31—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Bernard M. Egan, Horace L. Imeson, Lewis M. Herrmann, J. Arthur Moriarty, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, The International Typographical Union has borne the brunt of anti-labor Taft-Hartley venom in its fight to preserve craft unionism, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the AFL Executive Council authorize and actively direct and promote more substantial assistance to the International Typographical Union in support of this defensive fight, against tremendous odds, which the ITU has waged in the preservation of the fundamentals of craft unionism as it has been known in this country.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

F. E. P. C.

Resolution No. 32—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Frank Boyd, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor have gone on record in support of legislation for a Fair Employment Practice Commission to eliminate discrimination in employment relations in industry, government and labor unions, and the various officials including President William Green, have testified before government committees in behalf of FEPC legislation before the 80th and 81st Congresses, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the sixty-eighth convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in St. Paul, Minnesota, in October, 1949, go on record as endorsing and supporting pending legislation in the 81st Congress for a Fair Employment Practice Commission, and go on record to call upon various Senators and Congressmen, through letters by President Green and the legislative lobby of the AFL to support the bills for a Fair Employment Practice Commission that have been presented by the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, which has the backing of the AFof L, CIO, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish organizations.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

INCREASED BENEFITS UNDER SOCIAL SECURITY

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate Robert P. Scott, Michigan State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The social security retirement payments are grossly inadequate and far below subsistence level, and

WHEREAS, Those obliged to retire on such payment must either find part time employment or resort to local welfare agencies for supplementary aid, and

WHEREAS, There has been no change in the retirement age limit and only a very small increase in benefits paid, the social security program falls far short of its first intent and purpose, and

WHEREAS, There is an approximate surplus of nine billion dollars in the social security treasury, and that the said agency buys large blocks of bonds to take up this huge surplus, rather than to increase the benefits to the aged and the dependent, and

WHEREAS, The payroll tax should be increased to 3% as was the first intent of the Social Security Act, plus the accumulated surplus, and a program of much wider scope could be supported including such as farm labor, domestic employees or others not now covered, but this is being stifled from time to time by old fashioned thinking members of the United States Congress, and

WHEREAS, The age limit of 65 is too far advanced for a full enjoyment of life and the continued employment of our older people is depriving our youth of job opportunity and practical training at an early age, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, go on record favoring that the age limit for voluntary retirement be set at 60 years of age, with a minimum of monthly payments of one hundred dollars (\$100.00) and an additional twenty-five dollars (\$25.00) per month for his wife upon her attaining the age of 55, and benefits for dependents also be increased to meet a decent subsistence level.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

JAMES WOODRUFF DAM

Resolution No. 34—By Delegates Paul Dullzell, George Heller, Reuben Guskin, Dewey Barta, Pat Somerset, Associated Actors and Artists of America.

WHEREAS, The people of the United States are spending millions of dollars to construct the Jim Woodruff Dam on the Chattahoochee River, near a point where the borders of the States of Georgia, Alabama and Florida converge, and

WHEREAS, This dam will stand for all times as a monument in the minds and memories of the citizens of the United States, and

WHEREAS, James W. Woodruff, Sr., of Columbus, Georgia, for whom this dam is named, has proved himself to be a chronic and consistent enemy of labor and a vicious union-buster; to wit,

Judged guilty by the National Labor Relations Board of having fired an employee for union activity, Woodruff defied the Government by refusing to offer reinstatement and back pay, forcing the NLRB, after nine months of such defiance, to go to the Circuit Court of Appeals to enforce its order against him.

For more than a year, Woodruff has refused to bargain collectively with two unions of his employees at Radio Station WATL in Atlanta, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the American Federation of Radio Artists. His tactics forced the American Federation of Radio Artists, Atlanta Local, to strike the station, and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Broadcast Engineers Local 1193, respected the picket lines. This strike is in its tenth month, since this arch-enemy of labor would rather fold up his station than deal with these recognized unions.

On the sworn statement of his former Station Manager, and on other evidence proved before the NLRB, Woodruff ordered his manager repeatedly to hire only non-union employees in an effort to break the unions, and to promise prospective employees that they would do better if they kept out of unions.

WHEREAS, By these and other acts, Woodruff has proved himself to be an outstanding enemy of all this Federation and its member unions stand for and strive for, and

WHEREAS, The Georgia State Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Macon, Georgia, in May, 1949 — and the American Federation of Radio Artists in convention assembled in San Francisco, California, in August 1949 — and the Associated Actors and Artists of America International Board meeting in September, 1949, in New York City have all unanimously adopted resolutions similar to this one, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor looks with abhorrence upon the naming of a great public project, which would not be possible were it not for the progress and achievement of American labor unions, in honor of one of labor's most despised adversaries, and that this Federation considers such honor to J. W. Woodruff Sr. as an insult to labor and a dishonor to the people of the United States, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor petition the Congress of the United States to change the name of this dam, so that this honor by the people of the United States may not be a permanent shame and offense to members of the American Federation of Labor and its constituent unions, and, that this Federation call upon appropriate Senators and Representatives to introduce legislation striking the dishonored name of J. W. Woodruff from this great project.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

U. S. COAST GUARD

Resolution No. 35—By Delegates Harry Lundeborg, Paul Hall, Morris Weisberger, James Waugh, Patrick McHugh, Seafarers' International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The United States Merchant Marine is a civilian institution which has ever since the inception of the American Merchant Marine been operated and manned by civilian Merchant Seamen, and

WHEREAS, The United States Congress on June 25, 1894, established a law which created the United States Shipping Commissioner whose duties were to protect the American Seamen when signing ships' Articles with the employers and whose other duties were to interpret the shipping articles in the event of a dispute between the Master and the Seamen, and to protect the American Seamen against any abuse from the shipowners; and further to protect the Seamen against crimping and shanghaiing which were prevalent in the industry at that time, and further to penalize the Seamen in the event they broke any maritime laws, and

WHEREAS, When Congress established the United States Shipping Commissioner, it placed that bureau under the control of the Department of Commerce, and

WHEREAS, The American Merchant Seamen ever since then have been under the jurisdiction of the Department of Commerce up to and including February 28, 1942, when President Roosevelt issued an Executive Or-

der transferring the functions of the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation and all other functions of the Secretary of Commerce pertaining to shipping, including the United States Shipping Commissioner, his office and functions, from the Department of Commerce to the Commandant of the United States Coast Guard to be exercised by him under the direction and supervision of the Secretary of the Navy, and

WHEREAS, This was done by the President only as a wartime measure and on December 29, 1945 he issued another Executive Order directing the return of the Coast Guard to the Treasury Department in accordance with the policy of returning the nation to peace-time status, and

WHEREAS, This should also have immediately transferred the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation, together with the functions of the Secretary of Commerce pertaining to shipping, and the United States Shipping Commissioner and his office and functions, from the Coast Guard back to the Department of Commerce where it belonged and has belonged throughout the history of the American Merchant Marine, and

WHEREAS, On May 16, 1946 President Truman under the power of the Reorganization Act of 1945 recommended under Plan No. 3, Section No. 1, that all functions and duties of the United States Shipping Commissioner be transferred permanently under the control of the United States Coast Guard over the vigorous objection of all American Merchant Seamen who at that time were not given an opportunity to appear before Congress to state their views against this move of placing civilian sailors under the control of a semi-military organization, such as the United States Coast Guard, and

WHEREAS, Since the control of the United States Shipping Commissioner's Office, its functions and duties under the law dealing with the American Seamen were transferred to the United States Coast Guard, the American Seamen have found themselves up against an impossible situation wherein they are forced to deal with a bureau which is biased against civilians to begin with, and which has through its action shown total disregard for the welfare and rights of the American Seamen, and

WHEREAS, Many bona-fide Seamen have lost their right to go to sea through the discriminatory practices of the United States Coast Guard of railroading American Seamen with practically no regard for the law whatsoever, and

WHEREAS, It is obvious that a civilian sailor can have no protection under this set-up where a semi-military bureau functions as investigators, prosecutors and judges of Merchant Seamen and even functions as an appeal court in cases of appeal, and

WHEREAS, Nowhere under the American jurisdictional system are any other citizens subject to this type of legal procedure, or illegal procedure, and

WHEREAS, The American Merchant Seamen are the only civilian workers in the United States who are judged and prosecuted by a semi-military setup, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we hereby officially go on record to institute a campaign in Congress to introduce laws that will take the functions of the Shipping Commissioner and the dealings with the American Merchant Seamen out of the hands of the United States Coast Guard and replace them where they rightfully belong and where they have been since 1884, namely in the hands of the United States Department of Commerce, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the wishes of the American Seamen on this subject be put before President Truman and legislators favorable to the American Federation of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be forwarded to all Congressmen and Senators at the proper time and also that all Labor Councils and friendly organizations throughout the country be requested to aid the American Seamen in this just fight.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

INCREASE FEDERAL MINIMUM WAGE

Resolution No. 36—By Delegate C. J. Hagerty, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Under the present Wage and Hour Law, the minimum wage is set at 40 cents per hour, and

WHEREAS, The cost of living has and is continuing to increase, and

WHEREAS, Such a minimum wage is wholly inadequate to provide an American standard of living and such a minimum wage makes for and accelerates the deepening economic crisis, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 68th convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as demanding that a new minimum wage of \$1.00 per hour be enacted into state and into Federal law.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

FREE TRANSPORTATION FOR CANAL ZONE SCHOOL CHILDREN

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate Walter J. Jones, Central Labor Union, Balboa, Canal Zone.

WHEREAS, General practice in the United States is to transport school children to and from their homes by bus without charge, and

WHEREAS, This particularly applies to rural areas for children traveling from 5 to 15 miles to and from schools, and

WHEREAS, A number of school children in the Canal Zone travel from 7 to 15 miles to school with the parents paying for such transportation, and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal Central Labor Union and Metal Trades Council have tried for years to relieve this situation, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, support any movement by the American Federation of Labor of the Canal Zone with a view to inaugurating such transportation on the basis of being furnished by the United States Government.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

FULL SUBSISTENCE FOR VETERANS IN ON-THE-JOB TRAINING

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate C. J. Hagerty, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Mr. Carl Raymond Gray, the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs in Washington, D. C., is empowered by law with the administration of, among other things, the on-the-job training program for veterans, and specifically the number of hours per week which the trainee is required to devote to training, and

WHEREAS, The V. A. Ruling, R&PR 10104 B (1) provides the maximum payment of subsistence allowance to be on the following basis:

- (a) Full time—36 or more hours per week.
- (b) $\frac{3}{4}$ time—less than 36, but not less than 27 hours per week.
- (c) $\frac{1}{2}$ time—less than 27 but not less than 18 hours per week.
- (d) $\frac{1}{4}$ time—less than 18 but not less than 9 hours per week, and

WHEREAS, This arbitrary determination of subsistence allowance due a trainee does not take into consideration the fact that in many industries management and labor have agreed to, and established work weeks of less than 36 hours per week, which determination should also serve as a measurement of a trainee's full work week, and

WHEREAS, It is obvious that the only fair computation of subsistence allowance would require a full time allowance be paid to a trainee who is in training the full number of hours established in that particular industry with the approval of the employer, union and the governmental agency involved, and

WHEREAS, The Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, despite many requests to mitigate this wrong, has consistently refused to change this arbitrary rule to the detriment of many most deserving veterans, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 68th convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record requesting necessary action on the part of Congress to initiate legislation allowing the payment of full subsistence where a standard work week of less than thirty-six hours per week has been established as a result of bona-fide collective bargaining between employers and employees.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

BACON-DAVIS ACT

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate Walter J. Jones, Central Labor Union, Balboa, Canal Zone.

WHEREAS, The Army, Navy, Panama Canal and Panama Railroad civilian employees receive overtime pay for all time worked in excess of forty hours per week, and double time for holidays, and

WHEREAS, All Federal employees receive overtime pay for all time worked in excess of forty hours per week, and double time for holidays, and

WHEREAS, Contracts now in force between the United States Government and contractors in the Caribbean area specify that overtime will be paid for time worked in excess of eight hours per day, and not for time worked in excess of forty hours per week, or on holidays, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, make every effort to amend the Bacon-Davis Act, so that this law will apply to all future Government contracts in the Caribbean area.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

EQUAL TREATMENT FEDERAL EMPLOYEES ON CANAL ZONE

Resolution No. 40—By Delegate Walter J. Jones, Central Labor Union, Balboa, Canal Zone.

WHEREAS, It is the policy of the United States Government to standardize treatment of employees throughout its various departments both within the continental United States and its overseas establishments, and

WHEREAS, Navy Civilian workers on the Panama Canal Zone are required to pay higher rates for the same medical services as paid by Army Civilian, Panama Canal and Panama Railroad employees, and

WHEREAS, This condition exists because no monies have been set aside for this purpose in the annual Appropriation Bills, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled request their legal department to draft such legislation as is needed to include an item in future Appropriation Bills to cover medical treatment for Navy Civilian employees on the Panama Canal Zone.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

EX-SERVICEMEN'S RATES IN GOVERNMENT HOSPITALS APPLIED TO EMPLOYEES AND RETIRED EMPLOYEES OF PANAMA CANAL AND PANAMA RAILROAD AND THEIR DEPENDENTS

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate Walter J. Jones, Central Labor Union, Balboa, Canal Zone.

WHEREAS, Employees of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad Company become ill from time to time while on vacation in the United States as is also true of dependent members of their families, and have been required to go to the expense of entering private hospitals for treatment, and

WHEREAS, Retired employees are receiving a pension sufficient to pay nothing except living expenses but have had to meet large hospital bills, and

WHEREAS, All personnel of the military and naval services in the United States have the privilege of enjoying hospitalization in the United States Government hospitals at greatly reduced rates, and

WHEREAS, Employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company are engaged in service similar to that of the military and naval forces of the United States, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to secure proper legislation which will give employees and retired employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company and their dependents the same rates in Government hospitals in the United States as are enjoyed by military and naval personnel.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

RECOGNITION FOR MARINE EMPLOYEES OF PANAMA CANAL AND PANAMA RAILROAD

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate Walter J. Jones, Central Labor Union, Balboa, Canal Zone.

WHEREAS, Employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad employed on vessels of the United States Government do not come under the Seamen's Act known as the Marine G. I. Bill of Rights, and

WHEREAS, These employees also are not eligible for the Seamen's War Service certificate, although many were exposed to the hazards of mine fields during the war, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor attempt to have all licensed U. S. citizens employees of the Panama Canal, U. S. Merchant Marine recognized on the same basis as the Maritime Commission Seamen, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That action be taken to amend Public Law No. 87 to provide that Panama Canal Pilots, Masters and Engineers be eligible for Seamen's War Service certificates.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

COMPENSATION FOR DEATH OR INJURY IN LINE OF DUTY

Resolution No. 43—By Delegate Walter J. Jones, Central Labor Union, Balboa, Canal Zone.

WHEREAS, The President of the United States vetoed H.R. 1712 (A bill to provide relief of families of two Government employees killed in line of duty because of the war effort), and

WHEREAS, The President in his veto message stated: "If it should be the feeling of Congress that additional benefits beyond those provided by the present Employees Compensation Act should be made available to civilian employees of the Federal Government who during the war were engaged in the performance of unusually hazardous duties, it would appear that these benefits should be provided by way of general legislation which would accord uniform treatment in this respect to all civilian employees," and

WHEREAS, It is to be expected that during the 81st session of Congress some legislation will be considered providing for the relief of families of Government employees killed under unusually hazardous conditions

in line of duty due to the war effort, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to take the necessary steps so that such legislation as may be enacted covers the families of Government employees on the Isthmus of Panama.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

RECOGNITION OF MARITIME SERVICE FOR RETIREMENT PURPOSES

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate Walter J. Jones, Central Labor Union, Balboa, Canal Zone.

WHEREAS, Many employees in the United States Government service resigned their positions during the last World War for the purpose of serving in the United States Maritime Commission, and

WHEREAS, The United States Maritime service was just as essential in winning the war as other military service, and

WHEREAS, These employees have returned to their former positions with the United States Government, and have suffered the loss of the time that they served in the United States Maritime service from their retirement, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to make every effort to secure the enactment of legislation to allow employees who resigned from employment with the United States Government, for the purpose of entering the United States Maritime Commission, upon being returned to duty to be eligible to purchase credits for the lapsed time towards retirement.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

TEN PERCENT NIGHT DIFFERENTIAL

Resolution No. 45—By Delegate Walter J. Jones, Central Labor Union, Balboa, Canal Zone.

WHEREAS, Section 10 of the Downey Pay Acts of 1945 and 1946 providing for a ten percent night differential for Government employees does not apply to Wage Board employees on an annual basis, and

WHEREAS, This has affected all the operating and maintenance monthly and annually paid employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, request their legal department to draft an amendment to Section 10, of the 1945 and 1946 Downey Pay Acts, so as to definitely apply this provision to monthly operating and maintenance employees.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

SAFETY CODE PANAMA CANAL

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate Walter J. Jones, Central Labor Union, Balboa, Canal Zone.

WHEREAS, There is a set of Codes for Safety, Fire, Building and Electrical Construction, etc., published by The American Standards Association, and

WHEREAS, Most State and City governments incorporate parts or all of these codes into their local codes, and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal and Panama Railroad are in need of such regulations, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, request their legal department to draft such legislation as is needed to amend the Canal Zone Code so as to include the Codes published by the American Standards Association.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

PANAMA CANAL EMPLOYEES SUBSTITUTING IN SUPERVISORY POSITIONS SHOULD RECEIVE STANDARD WAGE RATES

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate Walter J. Jones, Central Labor Union, Balboa, Canal Zone.

WHEREAS, Existing law prohibits mechanics employed in the Government Navy yards, arsenals, and on the Panama Canal from receiving the proper rate of pay when substituting temporarily in supervisory positions, and

WHEREAS, This law is particularly objectionable to employees on the Panama Canal because of the long period of time some employees must substitute as supervisors without receiving the proper salary for the responsibility taken, and

WHEREAS, In all fairness, an employee assigned to a supervisory position should be given the standard wage of the position occupied, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to make every effort to amend existing law so that employees substituting in higher supervisory positions will receive the wage rates of such position regardless of the length of time occupied.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

JONES ACT

Resolution No. 48—By Delegate Theodore B. Erickson, Alaska Territorial Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is generally recognized that water transportation to Alaska is in great need of improvement, and

WHEREAS, Many people have advocated a change in the Jones Act to permit the entrance of Canadian ships into the Alaska trade, and

WHEREAS, If such competition should be permitted in future legislation, and

WHEREAS, It would drive the American flag out of the Alaska trade within a matter of months, and thus put many American sailors permanently out of work, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates in convention assembled urge the officers of the American Federation of Labor to use their good offices in bringing about unrestricted free competition between American flagline ships, which is the American way of progress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

REMOVAL OF FISH TRAPS IN TERRITORY OF ALASKA

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate Theodore B. Erickson, Alaska Territorial Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The voters of Alaska and organized labor especially, voted overwhelmingly for removal of fish traps in the Territory, and

WHEREAS, It is vitally necessary for the livelihood of many people that this be accomplished, and

WHEREAS, The Alaska Territorial Federation of Labor in convention assembled, petitioned the Alaska Territorial Legislature that the will of the people be carried out as quickly as possible, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Delegate Bartlett from the Territory of Alaska be petitioned to request the Congress of the United States to take like action.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

LIABILITY COVERAGE FOR DRIVERS OF GOVERNMENT OWNED VEHICLES

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate E. M. Weston, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The drivers of Government owned vehicles are not adequately protected against personal suits arising from accidents, and

WHEREAS, The Federal Government does not accept full responsibility for the actions of its employees, by securing adequate insurance such as may be purchased by drivers of privately owned trucks, and

WHEREAS, A citizen, sustaining injuries involving a Government owned vehicle driven by a Government employee, may elect to file suit against the employee personally, and

WHEREAS, There is no legal authority for the Department to reimburse an employee if he is required to settle a claim, except by a special Act of Congress, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates, in convention assembled, urge the officers of the A. F. of L. to do all in their power toward the enactment of legislation providing a practical liability coverage for drivers of Government owned vehicles.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

ACCUMULATED SICK LEAVE FOR VETERANS

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate E. M. Weston, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Many Postal and Federal employees were called to active duty with the Armed Forces of the United States during World War II, and

WHEREAS, No provision has been made granting accumulative sick leave for the time spent in the Armed Forces, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring granting accumulative sick leave to all Federal employees for the period of time spent in the Armed Forces during World War II and in any future national emergency equal to that which they would have been entitled to, had they remained in continuous service in the Federal Civil Service, and that we urge the officers of the A. F. of L. to do all in their power to secure the enactment of legislation designed for this purpose.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

WORKING HOURS FOR POSTAL EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 52—By Delegate E. M. Weston, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The present 8-in-10 hour law results in a hardship on Letter Carriers without necessarily providing the public with a better Postal Service, and

WHEREAS, It is a general rule in most industries to provide no longer than a one-hour lunch period, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, do urge the officers of the A. F. of L. to give their full support to legislation designed to replace the present 8-in-10 hour law for Postal employees with an 8-in-9 hour law.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

PROTECTION OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 53—By Delegates James G. Yaden, Berniece B. Heffner, A. E. Eisenmenger, American Federation of Government Employees; Lee B. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers' Union of N. A.; R. A. Rice, J. L. Reilly, Jerauld McDermott, Railway Mail Association; John B. Haggerty, Robert E. Hafkin, Mary G. Morley, Joseph Denny, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, John J. Nolan, Charles S. Fleming, James Stocker, Edward Benning, National Association of Letter Carriers; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, L. G. Nygren, Office Employees International Union; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, James Deach, Glen Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters; William L. McPetridge, William H. Cooper, David Sullivan, George Hardy, George W. Matthews, Building Service Employees' International Union; J. H. Lyons, Joseph F. Boyen, C. F. Strickland, E. M. Woods, Leslie L. Myers, Stanley Rounds, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Peter T. Schoenmann, Robert Lynch, G. J. O'Donnell, Union Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry; Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Bernard M. Egan, Horace L. Imeson, Lewis M. Herrmann, J. Arthur Moriarty, International Typographical Union; Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo-Engravers' Union of N. A.; Leo E. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Charles Ryan, Foree Kurtz, Alvin Tschirley, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Stanley W. Oliver, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. Delaney, Charles B. Gramling, International

Union of Operating Engineers; John A. McMahon, Enoch Nelson, John D. Ryan, National Association of Postal Supervisors; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union; Delegates, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; Delegate, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; Delegates, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Delegates, American Federation of Teachers.

RESOLVED, That this the sixty-eight convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in St. Paul, Minnesota, pledge its support to the affiliated organizations in the Government Employees' Council of the American Federation of Labor, and instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to support legislation in opposing:

1. Merging the Civil Service Retirement Fund with any other fund or retirement system.
2. The continuation of temporary non-certified employees in Federal Government employment.
3. The practice of contracting printing to the International Business Machines Company or others, thus depriving employees in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing and the Government Printing Office of work opportunities and eventually reducing the personnel.
4. Employment in the Government Service of any known member of the Communist Party or other subversive groups detrimental to our democratic form of Government.
5. The use of military personnel in civilian Government positions.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 54—By Delegates James G. Yaden, Berniece B. Heffner, A. E. Eisenmenger, American Federation of Government Employees; Lee B. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers' Union of N. A.; R. A. Rice, J. L. Reilly, Jerauld McDermott, Railway Mail Association; John B. Haggerty, Robert E. Hafkin, Mary G. Morley, Joseph Denny, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, John J. Nolan, Charles S. Fleming, James Stocker, Edward Benning, National Association of Letter Carriers; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, L. G. Nygren, Office Employees International Union; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, James Deach, Glen Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters; William L. McPetridge, William H.

Cooper, David Sullivan, George Hardy, George W. Matthews, Building Service Employees' International Union; J. H. Lyons, Joseph F. Boyen, C. F. Strickland, E. M. Woods, Leslie L. Myers, Stanley Rounds, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Peter T. Schoenmann, Robert Lynch, G. J. O'Donnell, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry; Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Bernard M. Egan, Horace L. Imeson, Lewis M. Herrmann, J. Arthur Moriarty, International Typographical Union; Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo-Engravers' Union of N. A.; Leo E. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Charles Ryan, Force Kurtz, Alvin Tschirley, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Stanley W. Oliver, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. Delaney, Charles B. Gramling, International Union of Operating Engineers; John A. McMahon, Enoch Nelson, John D. Ryan, National Association of Postal Supervisors; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers Union; Delegates, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; Delegate, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; Delegates, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Delegates, American Federation of Teachers.

RESOLVED, That this the sixty-eighth convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in St. Paul, Minnesota, pledge its support to the affiliated organizations in the Government Employees' Council of the American Federation of Labor, and instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to support the following legislation for that purpose:

1. Support legislation designed to secure an equitable upward revision of Government employees' salaries and wages, including those in the field service of the Post Office Department.
2. Enactment of legislation to modernize and bring up-to-date the Federal Employees' Classification Act of 1923, as amended.
3. Enactment of legislation to modernize and bring up-to-date the Postal Salary Classification Act of July 6, 1945, as amended.
4. Enactment of legislation to amend Sections 10 and 11 of the 1946 Pay Act so as to include wage board employees whose rates of pay are fixed on an annual or monthly basis by Wage Boards, and that employee representation be designated on all such Wage Boards.
5. Urge the enactment of legislation to remove multiple taxation.
6. Support legislation to exempt the first \$1440 of annuities from Federal income taxes.
7. Support legislation to establish a 35 hour work-week in Government Service.
8. Support legislation to establish a separate classification for Fire Fighters, covering all military and Federal Government installations.
9. Amendment to United States Employees' Compensation Act as embodied in H.R. 3191 of the 81st Congress.
10. Extension of the principles of the Employees' Compensation Appeals Board with provision for the Board to hold hearings in geographical centers.
11. Favoring the removal from the Government Service of any known member of the Communist Party or other subversive groups detrimental to our democratic form of government.
12. Establishment of an orderly system, if and when, reduction in force or general reorganization becomes necessary.
13. Amendment to Civil Service Employees' Retirement Act to give greater benefits.
14. Endorsing the continuation of the Civil Service Commission on a bi-partisan basis and provide that one of the members of said United States Civil Service Commission be selected from the ranks of the American Federation of Labor.
15. Establishment of seniority principles among all United States Government employees.
16. Endorsement of legislation to grant all employees of the United States Government 26 days annual leave and 15 days sick leave annually to be cumulative.
17. That Section 3 of Public Law 134, 79th Congress, be amended to provide that compensatory time be granted at a rate of 150 percentum of the actual time worked on Saturdays, Sundays or holidays.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

GRIEVANCE PROCEDURE AND ARBITRATION — GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 55—By Delegates James G. Yaden, Berniece B. Heffner, A. E. Eisenmenger, American Federation of Government Employees; Lee B. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers' Union of N. A.; R. A. Rice, J. L. Reilly, Jerauld McDermott, Railway Mail Association; John B. Haggerty, Robert E. Hafkin, Mary G. Morley, Joseph Denny, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, John J. Nolan, Charles S. Fleming, James Stocker, Edward Benning, National Association of Letter Carriers; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, L. G. Nygren, Office Employees International Union; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special De-

livery Messengers; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, James Deach, Glen Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters; William L. McFetridge, William H. Cooper, David Sullivan, George Hardy, George W. Matthews, Building Service Employees' International Union; J. H. Lyons, Joseph F. Boyen, C. F. Strickland, E. M. Woods, Leslie L. Myers, Stanley Rounds, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Peter T. Schoenmann, Robert Lynch, G. J. O'Donnell, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry; Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Bernard M. Egan, Horace L. Imeson, Lewis M. Herrmann, J. Arthur Moriarty, International Typographical Union; Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo-Engravers' Union of N. A.; Leo E. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Charles Ryan, Foree Kurtz, Alvin Tschirley, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Stanley W. Oliver, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. Delaney, Charles B. Gramling, International Union of Operating Engineers; John A. McMahon, Enoch Nelson, John D. Ryan, National Association of Postal Supervisors; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers Union; Delegates, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; Delegate, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; Delegates, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Delegates, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Good labor relations result from sound grievance procedure and arbitration, wherein both employers and employees are enabled to discover and correct unsatisfactory working conditions, and

WHEREAS, A complete and comprehensive procedure of arbitration provides for both the registration of complaints and the means of securing proper adjustments, and the establishment of such procedure raises the morale and efficiency of the workers, and

WHEREAS, Said procedure provides for a democratic, orderly system of appeal against arbitrary decisions of administrative officials affecting the rights and working conditions of employees, and

WHEREAS, Such procedure is the keystone of adjustment, based upon the cooperation resulting from the mutual recognition of employer-employee rights and relations, together with their attendant obligations, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in St. Paul, Minnesota, place itself on record as favoring and endorsing the enactment of suitable legislation and local ordinances so as to establish such procedure and arbitration of difficulties for each agency, bureau or department of the State, county, municipality or other political subdivisions.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES' PROGRAM

Resolution No. 56—By Delegates James G. Yaden, Earnice E. Hefner, A. E. Eisenmenger, American Federation of Government Employees; Lee B. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers' Union of N. A.; R. A. Rice, J. L. Reilly, Jerauld McDermott, Railway Mail Association; John B. Haggerty, Robert E. Haffkin, Mary G. Morley, Joseph Denny, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, John J. Nolan, Charles S. Fleming, James Stocker, Edward Benning, National Association of Letter Carriers; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, L. G. Nygren, Office Employees International Union; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, James Deach, Glen Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters; William L. McFetridge, William H. Cooper, David Sullivan, George Hardy, George W. Matthews, Building Service Employees' International Union; J. H. Lyons, Joseph F. Boyen, C. F. Strickland, E. M. Woods, Leslie L. Myers, Stanley Rounds, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Peter T. Schoenmann, Robert Lynch, G. J. O'Donnell, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry; Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Bernard M. Egan, Horace L. Imeson, Lewis M. Herrmann, J. Arthur Moriarty, International Typographical Union; Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo-Engravers' Union of N. A.; Leo E. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Charles Ryan, Foree Kurtz, Alvin Tschirley, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Stanley W. Oliver, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. Delaney, Charles B. Gramling, International Union of Operating Engineers; John A. McMahon, Enoch Nelson, John D. Ryan, National Association of Postal Supervisors; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers Union; Delegates, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; Delegate, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; Delegates, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Delegates, American Federation of Teachers.

RESOLVED, That this the sixty-eighth convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in St. Paul Minnesota, pledge its support to the affiliated organizations in the Government Employees' Council of the American Federation of Labor, and instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to support the following legislation for that purpose:

1. Increase immediately the present inadequate base pay of all Government employees so as to bring it into line with the rising cost of living.

2. Opposition to any effort to reduce the amount of annual and sick leave and the maximum accumulation of leave now available to Government employees.
3. General revision of the salary schedules of the Classification Act of 1923, as amended, and elimination of ceilings both as to base pay and overtime from existing pay legislation.
4. Retirement—Preservation of the autonomy of the civil service retirement system. Optional retirement at full annuity regardless of attained age: (1) after 25 years of service; (2) after 20 years of service for employees in all hazardous occupations; (3) after 20 years of service, at a reduced annuity if separated or demoted as a result of reduction in force. Elimination of taxation on all retirement annuities, to include persons now on retirement rolls.
5. Elimination from pay legislation of personnel ceilings to prevent interference with necessary functions of Government; reduction in force in proportion to maximum work-load, rather than determined by arbitrary means; dismissal wage at least equal to benefits provided by Unemployment Insurance laws.
6. Extension of longevity provisions of Public Law 134 and provision of 26 days annual and 15 days sick leave for custodial employees, post office department field service.
7. Extension of the classification act to the field service as an extent comparable with the departmental service; amendment of the Classification Act to prevent change in duties or description thereof while appeals for reallocation are pending; unrestricted opportunity for employees to discuss their positions with a designated government representative so as to apprise him fully of their duties; prompt adjudication of all appeals. Return to classification schedules of all ungraded and per diem employees where desired by the employee group through their duly authorized international union. Payment of within-grade increases upon the completion of the required periods and provision for additional increments after attaining the top pay rate for any grade.
8. Uniform personnel regulations throughout the Government service; creation of appeals boards with employee representation, decisions of such Boards to be binding on all concerned.
9. Perfection of the merit system and strengthening of the civil service system through adequate appropriations for the Civil Service Commission.
10. Payment on a time and one-half basis for all service required or officially accepted beyond a basic work day and/or a basic work-week of not more than 40 hours, and application to all Federal and District of Columbia Government employees of the overtime rates and provisions now enjoyed by the employees in the Customs and Immigration and Naturalization Services.
11. Promotion from within the service wherever practicable and general recognition of seniority in all personnel transactions.
12. Prevent employment or continuance in the service of persons who are disloyal or otherwise unfit.
13. Night differential pay for duty from 6:00 P.M. to 6:00 A.M. or in a similarly designated period, without regard to regularly assigned schedule of duty or overtime.
14. Improvement of the uniform Classification Act efficiency rating system.
15. Complete uniforms, accessories and equipment where required at Government expense for all employees of Federal Government.
16. Amendment of the Hatch Act to permit the Civil Service Commission to fix penalties for violations of the Act commensurate with the gravity of such violations.
17. Elimination of multiple taxation on Government employees income by states or subdivisions thereof.
18. Establishment of the United States Employment Service and the Unemployment Compensation Commission as permanent Federal agencies, subject to the Federal Classification Act of 1923, as amended.
19. Increase of compensation benefits granted under the United States Employees' Compensation Act.
20. Reclassification of Public Buildings Administration Guards and designation of this group of employees as U. S. Building Police.
21. Establishment of adequate transfer facilities to provide employees with employment opportunities in other localities or service; employees to be paid at regular per diem rate for 90 days when transferred at the convenience of the Government.
22. Payment for annual leave in excess of authorized maximum accumulation when administrative orders would result in the loss of leave.
23. Payment of one day's pay at double the straight time rate to employees required to work in excess of 32 hours during the week of any holiday.
24. Preservation of civil service positions in the Canal Zone for citizens of the United States.
25. A five-day thirty-five hour week at an early date, with a thirty-hour week as an ultimate objective.
26. Elimination of ten percent reduction from retirement annuity when wife or husband is designated beneficiary.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

SHORTER WORK WEEK FOR EMPLOYEES OF G. P. O.

Resolution No. 57—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Bernard M. Egan, Horace L. Imeson, Lewis M. Herrmann, J. Arthur Moriarty, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, Composing room employees of the newspaper industry in the City of Washington, D. C., have for many years enjoyed the 35 hour work week with the commercial printing industry employees enjoying a 37½ hour work week, and

WHEREAS, The printers employed at the Government Printing Office are still required to work a 40 hour work week as set forth in the Thomas 40-hour law, and

WHEREAS, The Public Printer is without authority to grant employees of the Government Printing Office a shorter work week, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this AFL convention endorse the principle of the pending Bill, H.R. 2503, providing for a 35-hour work week for all government employees (both annual and per diem) and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to each member of the Joint Committee on Printing, Public Printer John J. Deviny, Secretary of Labor Maurice J. Tobin, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the President of the Senate, and any others determined by the AFL Executive Council to have some influence on effectuating the purposes of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

Resolution No. 58—By Delegates John M. Eklund, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Selma M. Borchardt, Arthur A. Elder, Mary R. Wheeler, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, For many years the American Federation of Labor has advocated Federal subsidies to raise standard levels of education and to equalize educational opportunities for all children of the United States, and

WHEREAS, For a period of more than two years there has existed in the schools of the United States a serious crisis resulting largely from inadequate school finance and low salaries of teachers, and

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States, up to the present time, has failed to enact a general program of Federal aid to education, and

WHEREAS, The success of democratic government and the general welfare and secur-

ity of the nation are predicated upon an adequate system of public education, and

WHEREAS, The failure of the United States to support adequately the education of its children, at the time of the greatest economic prosperity in the History of the nation, is placing the United States in an unfavorable position in the eyes of the other nations of the world, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in St. Paul, Minnesota, in October, 1949, again reiterate its stand in favor of the enactment of Federal legislation which will provide sufficient Federal aid to guarantee adequate educational facilities for every child in the nation, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor insist that such a program of Federal aid include substantial funds earmarked for providing more adequate salaries for teachers in the public schools and that funds also be provided to make possible certain health and welfare services for all needy children in the nation regardless of race, creed or color.

Referred to Committee on Education.

INCLUSION OF CANAL ZONE IN FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION PROGRAM

Resolution No. 59—By Delegate Walter J. Jones, Central Labor Union, Balboa, Canal Zone.

WHEREAS, There have been various bills before Congress authorizing expenditures for free education, and

WHEREAS, The Report of the committee on education and labor to accompany S-161, 80th Congress, stated "There must be adequate program of education that is FREE and available to every child in every State and Territory," and

WHEREAS, All United States citizens should reserve the same rights and privileges as in any state of the Union, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to have the Canal Zone included in any future legislation for Federal Aid to Education programs.

Referred to Committee on Education.

FEDERAL SUPPORT FOR WORKERS' EDUCATION

Resolution No. 60—By Delegates John M. Eklund, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Selma M. Borchardt,

Arthur A. Elder, Mary R. Wheeler, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at its 1942 convention at Toronto, Canada pioneered in urging the enactment of legislation to provide Federal funds for programs of workers' education in colleges and universities of the United States, and

WHEREAS, Legislation is now pending which would provide subsidies for colleges and universities for the purpose of establishing educational services for unions, and

WHEREAS, An extensive educational program provided by the colleges and universities would tend to improve the labor movement in the United States and at the same time effectuate better labor-management relations, and

WHEREAS, In a democratic society it is of vital importance that the labor movement control its own educational program, and be free from the type of control exercised in totalitarian states, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in St. Paul, Minnesota, in October 1949, urge immediate enactment of legislation by the Congress of the United States to provide Federal subsidies for establishing and maintaining educational services for unions in the colleges and universities of the United States, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor insist that such educational services for unions shall be controlled by the organized labor movement rather than by the State or Federal government.

Referred to Committee on Education.

INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL FOR CITIZENS OF THE WORLD

Resolution No. 61—By Delegates John M. Eklund, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Selma M. Borchardt, Arthur A. Elder, Mary R. Wheeler, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The promotion of world peace and international brotherhood is essential to the welfare of organized labor throughout the world, and

WHEREAS, International travel and visiting among the citizens of the several nations of the world are effective means of promoting world peace and brotherhood, and

WHEREAS, A primary cause of war is the fact that travel among the citizens of the world has been left largely to wealthy individuals and representatives of business, and

WHEREAS, UNESCO and other international agencies have pointed out the vital need for more travel on the part of average citizens, including especially members of organized labor and other persons who are not interested primarily in profit, and

WHEREAS, The exchange of union members has proved to be a wholesome and effective means of promoting mutual understanding and international friendship, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in St. Paul, Minnesota in October 1949, go on record in favor of:

1. Promotion of inexpensive tours abroad which are within the economic reach of the average citizens of the nation.
2. Negotiation of vacations with pay which will make possible international travel.
3. Inclusion in the education program of organized labor of information in relation to travel programs and encouragement of members of unions to participate in such programs, and
4. Recommendation to the standing committee on education of the A. F. of L. that study and support be given to working out programs of international travel for members of unions.

Referred to Committee on Education.

WORKERS' EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Resolution No. 62—By Delegates John M. Eklund, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Selma M. Borchardt, Arthur A. Elder, Mary R. Wheeler, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The strength of the labor movement depends to a large extent upon the education of individual members in the basic principles and objectives of organized labor, and

WHEREAS, The rapid growth of the labor movement in the United States in recent years has brought into the ranks of organized labor thousands of members who have little information and little understanding about the true principles of organized labor, and

WHEREAS, Anti-labor propaganda of powerful opponents of organized labor is often extended to members of unions themselves in an attempt to weaken the labor movement from within, and

WHEREAS, Attempts have been made by anti-labor groups to weaken or destroy the educational institutions of the labor movement, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in St. Paul, Minnesota in October, 1949, urge all affiliated bodies to carry out extensive educational programs, to cooperate with universities which are providing workers' education programs, and to seek to establish such educational services as organized labor may desire in the

universities of the United States, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all A. F. of L. unions guard against attempts of certain powerful groups to destroy educational programs which have been established for the benefit of organized labor in colleges and universities of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Education.

WORKERS' EDUCATION BUREAU

Resolution No. 63—By Delegate Ted Williams, Federation of Labor, Birmingham, Alabama.

WHEREAS, The Workers' Education Bureau is doing splendid work among AFL organizations and memberships over the nation, but needs more funds to enlarge its scope of activity, and

WHEREAS, There is no greater need in any branch of the American Federation of Labor movement for enlarged activities than that of the educational field, which can best be directed by the Workers' Education Bureau, provided adequate funds are obtainable, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in 68th convention in St. Paul, Minn., be urged to appropriate additional funds so that Workers' Education Bureau may foster and effect a greater educational program in the coming year.

Referred to Committee on Education.

LOCAL UNION AFFILIATION TO CENTRAL BODIES

Resolution No. 64—By Delegate Ted Williams, Federation of Labor, Birmingham, Alabama.

WHEREAS, Previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor have gone on record urging national and international unions to instruct local unions to affiliate with city central bodies, and

WHEREAS, This matter has not been forcibly followed through by many national and international unions, causing city central bodies to be under potential strength due to non-affiliation of thousands of local unions over the country, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates in convention assembled request the officers of the American Federation of Labor to renew efforts to secure full cooperation by all parent unions to the end that all local unions shall become affiliated with city central bodies, thereby greatly strengthening the structure of AFL.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

STRIKE BENEFITS

Resolution No. 65—By Delegate George A. Haberman, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has always advocated increased unemployment compensation for the workers of America at the earliest possible date, and

WHEREAS, In an effort to remain consistent in the eyes of the general public as well as its own members, and

WHEREAS, In view of the increased needs of the American workers at all times, not only in time of a crisis, and

WHEREAS, The experience of strike benefits paid over the last decade to Federal labor unions, firmly establishes the justification, and merit of the resolve of this resolution, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in St. Paul, Minnesota amend its constitution as follows:

Article XIII, Section 5. In line seven, delete (\$7.00) seven dollars and insert (\$15.00) fifteen dollars for each member of a Federal labor union. In line twelve, where a waiting period of two weeks is called for, delete the word "two" and insert the words "one week" of the strike for all members of Federal labor unions.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

CHANGE IN DATE OF AFL CONVENTION

Resolution No. 66—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Luigi Antonini, Israel Feinberg, Charles S. Zimmerman, Isidore Nagler, Louis Stulberg, David Gingold, George Rubin, International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

WHEREAS, In recent years, the enemies of labor and progressive legislation have waged a dangerous and determined campaign culminating in the reactionary Taft-Hartley Law to rob organized labor of its hard-won rights of effective collective bargaining, and

WHEREAS, This pernicious development has led the A.F. of L. to organize the L. L.P.E. so as to increase its active and systematic participation in the political life of our country, and

WHEREAS, Because of the threat of hostile legislation it is imperative to have all members and officers of the A.F. of L. participate energetically in the election cam-

paigns for local and state, as well as national, public officials, and

WHEREAS, In recognition of the need for full and active participation by the A.F. of L. membership in presidential elections, A.F. of L. conventions have been held during such years beginning on the third Monday in November, and

WHEREAS, The various political activities and the progress of the L.L.P.E. demand the A.F. of L.'s full attention and participation on a national as well as local and state-wide basis, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Article III, Section I of the A.F. of L. constitution reading: "The convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 A.M., on the first Monday in October, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding convention, except during the years when a Presidential election occurs, when the convention in those years shall be held beginning the third Monday of November. If the proper convention arrangements or reasonable hotel accommodations cannot be secured in that city, the Executive Council may change the place of meeting," shall be amended to read: "The convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 A.M. on the Third Monday of November at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding convention. If the proper convention arrangements or reasonable hotel accommodations cannot be secured in that city, the Executive Council may change the place of meeting."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

ORGANIZING STAFF IN STATE OF INDIANA

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate Carl H. Mullen, Indiana State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There are now sixty-two (62) Federal Labor Unions, representing several thousand members in Indiana, and

WHEREAS, The organizing staff of the American Federation of Labor in Indiana has been reduced to the low point of two persons; the personnel now consisting of Director Hugh Gormley and Organizer Lloyd Thrush, and

WHEREAS, Many complaints are being made because of the inability of this department to give efficient service to the membership of these organizations, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 68th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as instructing its officers and the organization department to assign more organizers to the State of Indiana.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

AID FOR AFL UNIONS IN TERRITORY OF HAWAII

Resolution No. 68—By Delegate A. S. Reile, Central Labor Council, Honolulu, T. H.

WHEREAS, American Federation of Labor unions in the Territory of Hawaii have been and are still faced with almost insurmountable obstacles in their attempts to organize, and

WHEREAS, All attempts to secure for A. F. of L. unions in the Territory, union shop conditions of employment under which such unions can survive and prosper, and

WHEREAS, Employer groups, such as the Hawaii Employers Council and the General Contractors' Association of Hawaii, have consistently blocked all efforts to organize the workers of Hawaii by their insistence on open shop agreements, containing three clauses that emasculate any labor organization signing them, and

WHEREAS, The dominant labor organization in the Territory of Hawaii at present is the Communist dominated International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union of the CIO, and

WHEREAS, It has become increasingly apparent that there is an imperative need for a labor organization that is truly American in thought and concept to give honest labor representation to the workers of Hawaii, and

WHEREAS, Labor unions in Hawaii are faced with restrictive labor legislation far more objectionable than the Taft-Hartley Act, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in their convention of 1947 held out promises of full assistance to the beleaguered A. F. of L. unions now in the Territory of Hawaii by the adoption of Resolutions 78 and 79, and reaffirmed by the 1948 convention, and

WHEREAS, The assistance that has been rendered so far has been ineffective, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the 68th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, take action to provide sufficient men and money to initiate a comprehensive educational and organizational campaign in Hawaii, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That sufficient funds be provided to establish in the Territory of Hawaii a labor research bureau, a public relations service, a radio educational program geared to the local level, a labor newspaper, the retention of legal counsel and other agencies as may be required to carry out the intent of this Resolution, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the agencies requested by this Resolution work through and with the Central Labor Council of Honolulu, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the sum of \$6,000 per month be allocated to completely carry out the aims and principles of the American Federation of Labor, and to combat Communist infiltration in the Pacific Ocean Area; this sum to be in addition to that now allocated for the Territory of Hawaii.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION FOR TERRITORIES

Resolution No. 69—By Delegates John M. Eklund, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Selma M. Borchardt, Arthur A. Elder, Mary R. Wheeler, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Certain bills have been introduced in the Congress of the United States to provide federal aid for the schools of the several states but have failed to include adequate provisions for the schools of outlying territories such as Alaska, Canal Zone, Puerto Rico and Hawaii, and

WHEREAS, The educational facilities in many sections of the outlying territories are still grossly inadequate, and

WHEREAS, It is a fundamental responsibility of the United States to provide adequate educational facilities wherever the American flag flies, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record in favor of providing, in any Federal aid program which is enacted for the schools of the United States, adequate subsidies for all outlying territories which are under the ownership or control of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Education.

STUDENT LITERATURE

Resolution No. 70—By Delegates John M. Eklund, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Selma M. Borchardt, Arthur A. Elder, Mary R. Wheeler, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, There is a rapidly growing demand among students and faculty members in high school, college and university students for information regarding the program and objectives of the labor movement, and

WHEREAS, The supplying of reliable information of this kind to the students and universities of the nation is of vital interest to the labor movement, and

WHEREAS, Facilities are not now available to meet the growing demand for services of this type, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in St. Paul,

Minnesota, in October, 1949, urge all affiliated bodies to make every effort to supply the information about organized labor requested by students and faculty members in high schools, colleges and universities, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Permanent Committee on Education of the A. F. of L. be urged to give consideration to the provision of suitable literature, descriptive of organized labor's program, objectives and accomplishments, for use in the high schools, colleges and universities of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Education.

AUDIO-VISUAL EDUCATION IN A. F. OF L.

Resolution No. 71—By Delegates Lester Washburn, George Grisham, Anthony Doria, Earl Heaton, Frank Evans, International Union United Automobile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, There is a constantly increasing recognition on the part of educators everywhere of the superior instructive value of audio-visual education, and

WHEREAS, Organized labor affiliates are handicapped because of the scarcity of good labor films, and

WHEREAS, Organized labor as an important segment of the community should have an expanding program of film production and distribution in order to get its own message across, and

WHEREAS, Films on such subjects as "How to negotiate a contract," "Shop stewards at work," "How to conduct an interesting local meeting," etc., made on a national basis, available to all International Unions, could be made at a considerable smaller cost than to the International Union involved, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Workers Education Bureau of America be instructed to set up an American Federation of Labor Film Producing and Distributing unit and to prepare a suggested schedule for the production of new films, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this new unit of the Workers' Education Bureau of America be financed by an initial grant for administrative expenses from the American Federation of Labor and by grants from the International Unions interested in using such films; the size of such grants to be based on a proportionate use of the films by each International Union involved.

Referred to Committee on Education.

SHORTER WORK WEEK IN CANAL ZONE

Resolution No. 72—By Delegate Walter J. Jones, Central Labor Union, Balboa, Canal Zone.

WHEREAS, There have been many reductions in force in the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad and military establishments on the Panama Canal, and

WHEREAS, It can be expected that during some future time we may be faced with a depression, during which millions will be out of work, and

WHEREAS, It is expected that the American Federation of Labor will initiate or support some sort of a reduced work week, less than 40 hours per week, and

WHEREAS, It is likely that such action be completed through legislation in which the Canal Zone should be included, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, include the employees of the Panama Canal, Panama Railroad and military establishments on the Isthmus of Panama in any proposed legislation which may be initiated to carry out the intent of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Week.

BROTHERHOOD OF BLACKSMITHS, DROP FORGERS AND HELPERS — JOURNEYMEN HORSESHOERS INTERNATIONAL

Resolution No. 73—By Delegates John Pelkofer, A. J. Eberhardy, George Edgerton, International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers.

WHEREAS, Persons shoeing horses at various race tracks presently fall within the jurisdiction of Journeymen Horseshoers International Union, while persons shoeing horses used in dairies, cities generally, and in connection with other blacksmith work in the usual blacksmith shop have always been members of International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, and

WHEREAS, During the summer of 1948 horseshoers from various trotting (harness) tracks solicited International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers for membership therein, stating several reasons for their desires, pointing out the J.H.I.U. had a national membership of not more than 300, that, because of such small number the resulting insufficient revenue made it impossible to provide representation when needed

throughout the various tracks in the nation, without high and exorbitant costs to the membership. These people also pointed to strife between the horseshoers (platers) on running tracks and trotting (harness) tracks, but referred principally to lack of representation and stated quite emphatically that unless I.B.B.D.F.H. admitted them to membership, they would solicit the CIO in order to get representation. These people are a migrating group, moving from track to track across the length and breadth of the nation, which adds to representation problems and makes it mandatory to have representatives at or near each of the tracks. This would be impossible, unless such representatives are normally located in such vicinity, and

WHEREAS, The international officers of I.B.B.D.F.H. conferred, at his request, with the international president of the J.H.I.U. during the 67th convention of the American Federation of Labor at Cincinnati and this meeting resulted in strong indications that consolidation could be worked out under the most amicable conditions, and further resulted in agreement that the general president of I.B.B.D.F.H. confer with the general secretary-treasurer of J.H.I.U. on the subject, yet, when the general president of I.B.B.D.F.H. wrote to the G.S.T. of J.H.I.U. for such meeting, he received a most abusive reply, and

WHEREAS, I.B.B.D.F.H. reported on the situation to the Executive Council of the AFL, sending a copy of such report to the G.S.T. of J.H.I.U. Whereupon, I.B.B.D.F.H. was advised by the Executive Council to refrain from soliciting race track horseshoers into membership. I.B.B.D.F.H. had not previously and is not now soliciting such people into membership and, with very few exceptions, all have remained members. The few exceptions returned to J.H.I.U. under duress. I.B.B.D.F.H. was flatly told by the others that if their membership were terminated, most certainly become members of the CIO, and

WHEREAS, International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers is composed of local unions, system councils and district councils in every section of the United States and Canada with international officers, international representatives, system and district council representatives throughout. Any and all matters of representation and organization affecting any and all race track horseshoers can be handled on the spot by anyone of these, and with complete propriety, because of experience in handling organizational matters and representation of people performing this type of work. The work done by the people involved is identical with the work done, and is actually done by the persons so universally known as "blacksmith," therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, by virtue of its imperative authority, direct the consolidation and merger of I.B.B.D.F.H. and J.H.I.U. for the express purpose of providing the membership involved with representation they have a right to expect and to guarantee against their affiliation with the dual CIO and thereby promote

the welfare of the workers involved and further advance the interest of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

USE OF BUTTON BY BUILDING TRADES CRAFTSMEN

Resolution No. 74—By Delegate George A. Haberman, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The quarterly working card of Building & Construction Trades Councils has been the means of identification of the various crafts on construction work, and

WHEREAS, Possession of this card for the current quarter by members of crafts employed on construction work is evidence of quality workmanship and fair working conditions, and

WHEREAS, Possession of the card by workmen so employed instead of being called for inspection is in too many instances taken for granted, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 68th convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record favoring the button system of identification for building and construction tradesmen, in addition to the working card now used, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Building & Construction Trades Department be petitioned to adopt and order the button system to be used by all members of its affiliated organizations on a nation-wide basis.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

SPARKMAN-SPENCE HOUSING BILL

Resolution No. 75—By Delegate C. J. Hagerty, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Housing continues to be one of the most critical problems facing the American people, and

WHEREAS, The woefully inadequate record of the private building industry still leaves us with an accumulated shortage of at least 10 million homes and with a minimum requirement of 15 million homes to be built within the next ten years, and

WHEREAS, Ten million families in the United States are still living under overcrowded and substandard housing conditions, and

WHEREAS, The Housing Act of 1949, which makes possible for the first time construction of adequate homes for low-income families, still leaves 40 percent of American fam-

ilies with incomes of \$2,000 to \$3,750, the so-called moderate income families, largely untouched by any housing legislation, and

WHEREAS, These families, which include most workers and their families, have incomes too high to be eligible for public housing and too low to be able to afford the houses now being built by private builders, and

WHEREAS, There is presently before the Congress the Sparkman-Spence Bill (S. 2246 and H. R. 5631), Title III of which is specifically designed to meet the housing needs of moderate income families, and

WHEREAS, The Sparkman-Spence Bill would provide long-term direct loans at a low interest rate—entirely without subsidy—to cooperative housing groups and other non-profit housing projects organized by and for union members, veterans, and other moderate income families, and

WHEREAS, This program would bring the cost of housing down to about \$50-\$60 a month, an amount which moderate income families can afford, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 68th convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as calling upon the Congress to enact at the earliest possible moment the Sparkman-Spence Bill, Title III of which would make it possible for moderate income families to secure decent housing for family living, and would thereby round out a truly comprehensive housing program to meet the needs of every group in America.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

URGE IMMEDIATE ACTION BY HOUSING AUTHORITIES

Resolution No. 76—By Delegate C. J. Hagerty, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The benefits of slum clearance and public housing have become obvious to the members of the A. F. of L. unions, many of whom have directly benefited from past activities of the Federal and local housing authorities, and

WHEREAS, The increased population of the state has added to the problem of limited housing, and

WHEREAS, Many of the present housing authorities of California cities and counties have indicated their opposition to further public housing or slum clearance in this state, and

WHEREAS, Said housing authorities have failed to submit requests for Federal aid loans as provided by the recent Federal housing law, thereby deliberately depriving California workers and citizens of their right to decent housing and slum clearance, and

WHEREAS, Requests for aid become void within 90 days from the date that application blanks are received from the Government by the local housing authorities, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 68th convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record urging the housing authorities of all cities and counties in California and elsewhere in the nation to take immediate necessary action to secure loans allotted by Federal law to obtain the housing units so urgently needed.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

EXTENDING BENEFITS A EXTENDING COVERAGE AND INCREASED BENEFITS UNDER SOCIAL SECURITY

Resolution No. 77—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, About 40% of the employed labor force is not covered by old-age and survivors insurance program and,

WHEREAS, Monthly benefits under old-age and survivors insurance, which have remained unchanged since 1939, are inadequate to provide even a minimum standard of subsistence, and

WHEREAS, Prolonged disability not only constitutes a major cause of poverty and individual distress for millions of workers and their families but also results in the inability of many workers to establish eligibility for benefits under old-age and survivors insurance or in the reduction of benefits that might be paid, therefore, be it,

RESOLVED, That the 1949 convention of the American Federation of Labor in St. Paul, Minnesota go on record as favoring that old-age and survivors insurance be improved by (1) extending coverage to all gainful workers, including self-employed persons, (2) revising the average monthly wage and benefit formula to substantially increase benefit amounts, (3) providing for the payment of benefits during periods of extended or permanent total disability similar to those for old-age retirement, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the 1949 convention of the American Federation of Labor in St. Paul, Minnesota favors enactment of H. R. 6090 introduced in the House of Representatives on August 15, 1949, extending coverage and increasing benefits under the old-age and survivors insurance program and establishing disability benefits, and be it further

RESOLVED, That those local, state and federal employees who are covered under their own pension and/or retirement systems be excluded from the provisions of this Act.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PROTECTION OF AMERICAN WORKERS IN LOWERING TARIFF

Resolution No. 78—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The practice of some American manufacturers in obtaining duplicate facilities in Europe has lead to the loss of employment opportunities by members of organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, These manufacturers are advocating the lowering of tariffs to give them a competitive advantage over other American manufacturers, and

WHEREAS, These efforts, if successful will spell chaos for many American workers, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor foster legislation which will provide the maximum protection to American workers against this practice.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

DEPARTMENT OF WELFARE

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Equality of opportunity in education, a high standard of health for all, and assurance of some protection against the unpredictable hazards of insecurity are essential to the maintenance of the American system of free enterprise and free institutions, and

WHEREAS, These objectives are far too vital and important to the members of the ranks of organized labor to relegate them any longer to a secondary rank in Government, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we endorse the growing opinion that the administration of the Federal Security Agency be raised to cabinet rank, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the 1949 convention of the American Federation of Labor in St. Paul, Minn. favor enactment of Senate Bill 2060 introduced in the United States Senate on August 5, 1949 to establish a Department of Welfare to take its place among the principal executive departments of the Government.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

RESTORATION OF MINNEAPOLIS WAGE AND HOUR REGIONAL OFFICE

Resolution No. 80—By Delegate Robert A. Olson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, For a number of years the workers of the northwest, both organized and unorganized, had available to them the services of the United States Department of Labor through the regional office of the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions of the United States Department of Labor. This regional office was staffed with experts in the field of labor economics and with legal counsel, both of whom were available to the workers of the northwest seeking their rights

or redress under the Federal statutes. Complaints of the exploitation of workers through starvation wages, long hours and in many cases of fraud, duress and vicious "kickbacks" were promptly processed and the perpetrators of these various forms of exploitation were brought to book. Unions were advised and assisted in the negotiations of their contracts so as to bring them within the legal technicalities of the statutes. Thousands of dollars in back pay illegally withheld from the workers of the northwest was secured for those workers, and the worst "chiselers" among the employers were placed under permanent court orders to obey the laws, and

WHEREAS, in 1947, under the guise of "economy," this Minneapolis regional office was abolished and in its place we now have a mere field office with limited jurisdiction and without power to make any decisions. Complaints must now be handled through the regional office located in Chicago, who have the final say as to the processing of a complaint, regardless of the local phases of such complaints, and

WHEREAS, The Minneapolis field office is without the services of a competent attorney for the advice and guidance of workers organized and unorganized. Sporadic visits are made to this field office by attorneys from the Chicago office, but they cannot hope to cope with situations which arise from day to day, and

WHEREAS, For a long period of time, only one inspector for the Wage and Hour Division was allocated to both of the states of North Dakota and South Dakota thus depriving the workers of those states the rights and benefits granted them by statute, and

WHEREAS, The Secretary of Labor, exercising his powers under the laws, has made substantial increases in the minimums under the Walsh-Healey Act and only rigid enforcement can assure full compliance with such new minimum rates, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates in convention assembled request the officers of the American Federation of Labor to work for the restoration of the Minneapolis Office of the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions of the United States Department of Labor, with the same jurisdiction and territory it enjoyed prior to the 1947 curtailment.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

BUREAU OF LABOR STANDARDS

Resolution No. 81—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, Good labor standards in modern industrial society are not only a basic safeguard to the well-being of wage-earners but also materially contribute to the efficiency of production, and

WHEREAS, Such minimum standards established by law and industrial practice are the only protection afforded millions of un-

organized workers and further safeguard the standards won by unions in free collective bargaining with management, and

WHEREAS, The Bureau of Labor Standards, U. S. Department of Labor, is the Government arm engaged in promoting such standards for the prevention of industrial accidents and occupational disease, the extension of sound workmen's compensation laws, the regulation of wages, hours, industrial homework and child labor, adequate employment and educational opportunities for young workers, and the extension of these and similar labor standards both in this country and abroad, and

WHEREAS, These efforts to save the lives, limbs and health of workers, to safeguard the security of their families and to further the well-being of both, merit the active support and cooperation of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated national and international unions for the benefit of their members, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm all its previous endorsements of the Bureau of the Labor Standards and request the officers of its affiliated unions, dedicated to the extension of sound working conditions for their members, to continue and expand their support and active cooperation with the Bureau,

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

BUREAU OF APPRENTICESHIP

Resolution No. 82—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in convention assembled has repeatedly endorsed the apprenticeship program of the Bureau of Apprenticeship of the United States Department of Labor, and

WHEREAS, Under the policy guidance of the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, the General Committee on Apprenticeship for the Construction Industry and national trade joint committee on all of which the American Federation of Labor or affiliated international unions are represented, this program has grown in stature and its importance is now recognized throughout the nation, and

WHEREAS, National associations of employers and international unions have jointly established trade standards formulated to conform to the standards recommended by the Federal Committee, and

WHEREAS, In excess of 8,000 local joint apprenticeship committees have been set up voluntarily by employers and unions to train apprentices under Federal Committee standards, and

WHEREAS, The apprentices employed are being given the best training ever provided by apprentices in this country, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm the action of previous conventions by giving its

strong support to the Bureau of Apprenticeship U. S. Department of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

LABOR-MANAGEMENT APPRENTICESHIP COMMITTEE

Resolution No. 83—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, its Building and Construction Trades Department and its Metal Trades Department has been an active participant with the Bureau of Apprenticeship of the United States Department of Labor in developing a sound national program of apprenticeship for the further development of American skills, and

WHEREAS, There is world-wide demand, especially in underdeveloped countries, for American "know-how," that is, American skills and technical knowledge, and

WHEREAS, The training of skilled workers is essential to the development of a sound economy and a democratic way of life in these countries, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and affiliated international unions are demonstrating every day their determination to help the people of all countries to become free and self supporting members of the world family of nations, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor strongly recommends that the program conducted by the Bureau of Apprenticeship for the exchange of technical knowledge and skills with other countries be greatly strengthened and extended and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Bureau of Apprenticeship's policy of utilizing the services of labor-management committees, such as the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, the General Committee on Apprenticeship for the Construction Industry and local joint apprenticeship committees, be extended to the program for the training of workers from other countries.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

Resolution No. 84—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, It is necessary to this Nation's welfare that all groups of citizens receive accurate information on the economic changes taking place, many of which so vitally affect the wage-earners' welfare, and

WHEREAS, The Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor has supplied a most valuable service in providing dependable and useful information of this kind, and

WHEREAS, The Bureau has provided accurate information on wages and earnings of the American worker necessary for collective bargaining, and

WHEREAS, All groups of citizens need information on construction activity and housing provided by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and

WHEREAS, It is the one agency in the United States upon which all depend for a knowledge as to changes in the cost of living, and

WHEREAS, The representatives of the American trade union movement have been given every opportunity of consulting with the Bureau of Labor Statistics relative to its program of work, and of being assisted in securing all available data relative to industrial conditions and changes, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention of the American Federation of Labor give its hearty approval to the work being carried on by this Bureau and pledge itself to do what lies within its power to strengthen the functions of this important Bureau.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

APPROPRIATION FOR BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

Resolution No. 85—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The existence of a consistent and reliable body of occupational wage information on a current basis is required for sound collective bargaining and for appraising the living standards of workers, and

WHEREAS, Broad reliance is placed by labor, industry and the public generally on the occupational wage surveys of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U. S. Department of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The present program of occupational wage studies of the Bureau of Labor Statistics is not sufficiently comprehensive to meet urgent and wide-spread needs for authoritative information, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that vigorous efforts be made to obtain from the Congress of the United States sufficient appropriations to enable the Bureau of Labor Statistics to conduct each year surveys of wages by occupation in all of the more important industries in representative large and medium sized communities located in all parts of the country; and conduct each year surveys of wages by occupation in major industries that are located predominately outside of urban areas.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Resolution No. 86—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, To help promote a sound American economy the American Federation of Labor initiated legislation establishing the Department of Labor, with President Woodrow Wilson's active support, resulting in 1913 in an Act of Congress which set up the Department to "foster, promote and develop the welfare of the wage-earners of the United States," and to improve their working conditions and advance their opportunities for profitable employment, and

WHEREAS, America's prosperity for wage-earners, farmers, professional men and women, and all others alike, must be based upon a sound economy and maintained purchasing power by the masses of the people, and

WHEREAS, The 80th Congress stripped the Department of vital functions and drastically reduced its funds, weakening its usefulness to the working people and its effectiveness in developing a sound, prosperous economy, and

WHEREAS, The Department of Labor's contribution to the well-being of all the people in the country is equal to that of any other department or division of our government, and

WHEREAS, The Hoover Commission on Government Reorganization has recommended the return and transfer of many labor functions of Government to the Department of Labor, and President Truman in Reorganization Plan 2, approved and made effective by Congress, has transferred the United States Employment Service, Veterans Employment Service, and unemployment insurance operations, comprising the Bureau of Employment Security, to the Department of Labor, and the 81st Congress has provided appropriations more nearly adequate to the Department of Labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated national and international unions, urge the Congress to restore to the Department of Labor the Bureau, divisions and functions severed from it by the 80th Congress, including the United States Conciliation Service, and in addition place within the Department of Labor all related labor functions of the Federal Government properly belonging to the Department of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated national and international unions apply their united influence to urge the President and the Congress to appropriate to the Department of Labor the funds necessary to enable it adequately to carry out its obligations to the wage-earners of our country, its industries, and the Nation as a whole.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

SAFETY CONFERENCES

Resolution No. 87—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The Nation was made aware of the problems of industrial safety by the calling of a "President of the United States' Conference on Industrial Safety," and

WHEREAS, The resources and prestige of the Federal Government were placed behind a nation-wide program to reduce industrial accidents by one million by 1952, thereby reducing the needless toll of two million work injuries a year, and

WHEREAS, This conference sought the active cooperation and participation of labor, management, and all interested groups in achieving this worthy goal, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, give full support to the holding of this type of conference to the end that industrial accidents be reduced, and further that affiliated international unions cooperate wholeheartedly in these national safety conferences and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor be urged to call upon the State federations of labor and other central labor bodies, and all affiliated international unions, to participate actively in state safety conferences, as well as national, and to further implement, where possible, the recommendations of these conferences, both on a national and a state level.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

EXCISE TAX REMOVAL

Resolution No. 88—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, There has been a considerable slump in the sales of cooking and heating equipment, and

WHEREAS, The thousands of people employed in the industries which manufacture this cooking and heating equipment have been either laid off, or the time employed has been reduced to such an extent that they are unable to earn a living for themselves and families, and

WHEREAS, The purchase price of this equipment has increased because of the increase in manufacturing costs and taxes, to such an extent that the average citizen is unable to pay the sale price, and

WHEREAS, The removal of the excise tax would bring about a reduction in these prices and would be an inducement to the public to buy cooking and heating equipment, and thereby furnish employment to the thousands of unemployed and short-time workers in this industry, and

WHEREAS, The manufacturers have reduced the prices to the limit, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor call upon the United States Government to remove the excise tax from the cooking and heating equipment, which is a necessity and not a luxury, and would also be an inducement to the public to buy said equipment, thereby giving steadier employment to the workers of that industry and thereby reducing the number drawing unemployment

compensation, and helping the unemployment situation in general.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

U. S. FOREIGN POLICY

Resolution No. 89—By Delegate Gordon C. Preble, Nebraska State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The foreign policy of the United States has a very vital effect upon the members of organized labor, and

WHEREAS, History demonstrates that a minority of the members of the United States Senate has dictated the foreign policy of the United States for many years, and

WHEREAS, This same minority of the members of the United States Senate has blocked participation by the United States in matters of world cooperation on many occasions, and

WHEREAS, The present method of electing only one-third of the members of the United States Senate at the time the Executive is elected, may leave a lag in true representation of the will of the people in our national Government, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is so firmly committed to the policy of majority rule that the possibility of minority rule in matters of foreign policy should be distasteful to all members, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates in convention assembled, do hereby petition the American Federation of Labor, through its duly constituted and elected officers, to seriously study the problems involved in this resolution, and urge and sponsor such remedial legislation or constitutional change as may, in their studied judgment, appear desirable.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

COLORADO RIVER SYSTEM

Resolution No. 90—By Delegate Elmer F. Vickers, Sr., Arizona State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Department of the Interior and the Bureau of Reclamation have reported to the Congress of the United States that the "Central Arizona Project" is in all respects feasible, and that the early completion of the works proposed is essential to maintain the economy of the State of Arizona, and the national welfare, and

WHEREAS, The quantity of water of the Colorado River that is proposed to be diverted to the State of Arizona for the Central Arizona Project is well within the settled rights of the State of Arizona as established by the Colorado River Compact, the Boulder Canyon Project Act, the California "Self Limitation Act" and the Arizona Water Delivery Contract, and

WHEREAS, The State of Arizona will not use or attempt to use, or interfere with the use of, any waters from the Colorado River within the State of California which the State of California can legally use under its self-limitation statute, and

WHEREAS, The State of Arizona will not attempt to utilize any waters from the Colorado River for the Central Arizona Project, which can be lawfully used anywhere else, and

WHEREAS, Certain powerful interests in southern California are opposing the State of Arizona and the Central Arizona Project on false and unjustifiable grounds, and

WHEREAS, The State of Arizona, in waging this fight for her rights in the Colorado River system, finds herself pitted against tremendous odds in the same manner as labor has had to fight against tremendous odds in her struggle for the rights of the common man, and

WHEREAS, The authorization and the construction of the storage dams, canals, transmission lines and works necessary for the Central Arizona Project will provide members of organized labor with widespread employment in all phases of construction work, and in the building trades, transportation and factories in many points of the United States, and

WHEREAS, The opponents of the Central Arizona Project have been opposing Arizona by contending that it was a matter for the United States Supreme Court to decide, and

WHEREAS, The State of Arizona has accepted amendments to S. 75 which were proposed to the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee of the United States Senate by the Honorable Joseph P. O'Mahoney of the State of Wyoming, Chairman of the above-named Committee, and the Honorable Eugene D. Millikin, the able Senator from the State of Colorado who is the ranking Republican member of the same Committee, and

WHEREAS, The O'Mahoney-Millikin Amendment to S. 75 clears the way for the legal adjudication of California's claim and provides that no moneys can be appropriated for the construction of any works of the Central Arizona Project to be used solely for the delivery of water from the main stream of the Colorado River to Central Arizona until the conclusion of any suit which California or any other State of the Colorado River Basin is authorized to file within six months after the authorization of the Central Arizona Project by the Congress, and

WHEREAS, The construction of other works authorized by the Central Arizona Project authorization bill, such as the Bridge Canyon dam, power plant and transmission lines to supply badly needed hydroelectric energy for use in Arizona, can proceed while such a suit is pending without jeopardizing any possible claim of California to the use of water of the river, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this organization and its officers and agents do everything within their power to support the said Central Arizona

Project authorization bill, and do request the Congress of the United States to speedily pass S. 75 and its companion measure H. R. 934.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM OF POST OFFICE CLERKS

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Post Office Clerks in Convention assembled in Miami, Florida adopted the following program:

1. Salary Increase.
2. 26 days annual leave and 15 days sick leave.
3. Compulsory seniority law.
4. Longevity legislation to give employee full credit in pay for his entire period of service.
5. The Teague-Vursell-Miller Bills — to grant credit for military service to veterans of World War II in establishing salary grade.
6. Time and one-half pay for all service in excess of eight hours per day or 40 hours per week by substitute post office employees.
7. A shorter work week.
8. Liberalization of the U. S. Civil Service Retirement Law.
9. Repeal of the Hatch Act.

RESOLVED, That the 1949 convention of the American Federation of Labor in St. Paul, Minn. go on record as favoring the program of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

STANDARD WORK WEEK FOR NAVY PERSONNEL

Resolution No. 92—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, It is generally recognized that the normal five day work week begins on Monday and runs through Friday, and

WHEREAS, It is also generally recognized that Saturdays and Sundays are by good custom and usage distinct from the other days of the week, being identified as such by special sales in stores and special transportation rates and facilities, by athletic events and other entertainments whereby many persons gain a livelihood, and by religious services, and

WHEREAS, It is a general practice to offer extra compensation for work on Saturdays and Sundays to those who normally work a five day week, and

WHEREAS, It is the practice of some agencies of the Federal Government—and of the Navy Department in particular—to permit these beneficent customs to be circumvented by the use of the "rearranged work week," by means of which an employee is sent home without pay on one or two days of his regular work week and then required to work for straight pay on Saturdays and Sundays, and

WHEREAS, The Navy Department's policy in this matter has been stated in a letter dated February 8, 1949, which reads, in part as follows: "The furlough device (i.e., rearranged work week) was adopted many years ago for the purpose of providing a method of handling peaks in work load without requiring additional staff or the payment for such work at overtime rates," and

WHEREAS, The Navy Civilian Personnel Instructions on the re-arranged work week are so vaguely and ambiguously worded as to be susceptible to widely divergent interpretations, and

WHEREAS, In numerous conferences with Navy Department officials over a period of years, this ambiguity has made it impossible for the parties concerned to reach a satisfactory understanding, and

WHEREAS, These long continued difficulties have led us to the opinion that administrative rulings in this matter should be replaced by specific legislation, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled request the Congress of the United States, through suitable channels, to enact legislation specifying that the five day work week for all Federal employees shall begin on Monday and run through Friday; that the re-arranged work week be prohibited, so that employees required to work on Saturdays and Sundays will receive premium pay; and that the only exception to this rule shall be for police, fire-fighting and other security forces and watch standers.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

STATE FEDERATION AND CENTRAL LABOR UNION AFFILIATION

Resolution No. 93—By Delegate Robert A. Olson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There are a considerable number of local unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor through their international unions who are not affiliated with state federations of labor, and

WHEREAS, The conventions of the American Federation of Labor annually call upon state federations of labor and city central bodies to increase their efforts in the legislative field as well as in the servicing of the local unions, and

WHEREAS, State federations of labor are now called upon to take an active part in na-

tional elections by the American Federation of Labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, This Sixty-Eighth convention of the American Federation of Labor urges the international unions, composing the American Federation of Labor, to make a real determined effort to convince their unaffiliated unions to become affiliated with the state federations of labor and city central labor bodies.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

STATE FEDERATION AND CENTRAL LABOR UNION AFFILIATION

Resolution No. 94—By Delegate Joseph M. O'Rourke, Connecticut State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The growth and strength of state federations of labor and central labor unions are of utmost importance, and

WHEREAS, Many locals are not affiliated with either or both bodies, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as strongly favoring all national and international unions, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, amending their respective constitutions so that it will be mandatory that local unions under their jurisdiction become affiliated with central labor unions and state federations of labor.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

SHORTER WORK WEEK

Resolution No. 95—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, There is presently and has been for several months, a steady decline in the Nation's economy resulting in wide-spread unemployment, and

WHEREAS, This condition if not halted promptly, we believe will help bring about a depression that may even endanger our American way of life, and

WHEREAS, We believe the most practical and realistic approach to the problem is to spread the existing work load among a greater number of the workers of the Nation, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled give this matter consideration and take favorable action.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Week.

UNION LABEL WEEK

Resolution No. 96—By Delegate I. M. Ornburn, Union Label Trades Department.

WHEREAS, In all our promotional activities it is our desire to keep a constant reminder before members of labor unions, women's auxiliaries, their families and friends of the necessity of giving preference to Union Label goods and the patronage of union services, and

WHEREAS, We depend upon our friends all during the year to demand the Union Labels, Shop Cards and Buttons and we spearhead our campaigns by conducting a Union Label Week, and

WHEREAS, This year, beginning September 3 and ending September 10, Union Label Week was observed throughout the country with governors of numerous states and a great many mayors of cities proclaiming the period Union Label Week, and

WHEREAS, The response to Union Label Week far exceeded our expectations and the results have been outstanding, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we continue this nationwide medium to publicize Union Labels, Shop Cards and Buttons and that the period September 2 through 9 be set aside as Union Label Week for 1950.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

JURISDICTION AND CONTROL OVER CONSTRUCTION WORK ON DAMS, RIVER AND HARBOR IMPROVEMENT, ETC.

Resolution No. 97—By Delegate Richard J. Gray, Building and Construction Trades Department.

WHEREAS, Many branches of the Armed Forces have set up the practice of hiring so-called temporary civil service employees to perform construction work at reduced rates of wages far out of line with the prevailing wage rates in the localities in which projects are located, and

WHEREAS, The Corps of Engineers of the United States Army particularly in the exercise of its jurisdiction over flood control, dam and power house construction and soil conservation has exerted dictatorial control and ignored the rights of American workmen and our repeated appeals for adjustment of these matters, and

WHEREAS, Under the Davis-Bacon Act the United Department of Labor has no enforcement authority where there are violations of the predetermined wage rates, building and construction trades workmen are at the mercy of the Corps of Engineers who are the enforcing agency of the Government on work coming under their control, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention direct its officers to use every means within their power to prevail upon the Congress of the United States to help transfer to the Department of the Interior, Reclamation Service, jurisdiction and control over all construction work in

connection with the construction of dams, river and harbor improvement, construction of power houses in connection with dam work and all conservation and flood control work.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Sixty-Eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor 1949 Proceedings

Saint Paul, Minnesota, October 4, 1949



Report of

SECOND DAY—TUESDAY MORNING SESSION

The convention was called to order at 9:55 o'clock, a.m. by President Green.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Rev. Phillip McNairy, of Christ Episcopal Church, is with us this morning and will pronounce the invocation. I am pleased to present him to you now.

INVOCATION

(Rev. Phillip McNairy, Christ
Episcopal Church)

Almighty God, who in Thy love ever toilest for us and didst entrust to the hands of men the stewardship of the treasures of the earth, make us ever mindful that we are all workmen in Thy vineyard. Help us to learn the dignity of honest work well done.

When we are weary, strengthen us with the remembrance that we have not shirked; when we are ill, reward us.

Keep us from bitterness and give us sympathy for all who suffer wrongs. Give us a deeper sense of loyalty to our great nation.

May we never lose sight of the millions for whom our daily effort is life itself.

In the time of prosperity fill our hearts with thankfulness, and in the day of trouble permit not our trust in Thee to fail.

In the name of God we ask these things,—
Amen.

SUBSTITUTIONS

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair wishes to announce the substitution of the name of James Deach, of the Fire Fighters International Association, for that of George Richardson as a member of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

Also the substitution of the name of Delegate John R. Jones, of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, for that of Frank P. Barry as a member of the Committee on Education.

Also the substitution of the name of G. M. Webster of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America, for that of S. Shearer, on the Committee on Shorter Work Week.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Meany read the following messages:

Washington, D. C.
October 3, 1949.

Hon. William Green, President
American Federation of Labor Convention,
St. Paul, Minnesota.

This is national Employ-the-Physically-Handicapped week and I hope you will mention that fact to the delegates, and express our appreciation of the fine cooperation and support which has been given by the A. F. of L. and its constituent unions, to developing a real program beneficial to all handicapped people. We send our best regards and good wishes.

Paul A. Strachan, President American
Federation of the Physically Handicapped.

Chicago, Ill.
October 3, 1949.

George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer
American Federation of Labor, Civic
Auditorium,
St. Paul, Minnesota.

We send you and through you to the officers and delegates in attendance of the 68th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor our heartiest greetings and good wishes for a successful convention.

Chicago Joint Board International Ladies
Garment Workers Union. Harry Measer,
Chairman, Sol Flack, Assistant Manager.

THE COUNCIL FOR HASTENING JOINT AFFILIATION WITH F.W.L.C.

Care: National Railway Workers Union
National Railway Corporation Bldg.,
Marunouchi Chiyodaku Tokyo.

Mr. William Green
President A. F. of L.
Massachusetts Ave. 9th,
Washington, D. C.

We are greatly delighted to extend to you and through you to all officers and delegates assembled in the 68th annual convention of your great organization our hearty greetings in congratulation of your unparalleled achievements and distinguished services you have marked in the history of labour movement not only of America but of the world on the whole, in the history of struggle of organized labour for economic welfare and political freedom.

Please convey to our brothers in America that, thanks to your guidance and encouragement, the Japanese workers are advancing along the road of true democracy overcoming ceaseless attack made on them from both sides, conservative-reactionary influence now finding its political expression in Yoshida Cabinet on one hand and Japan Communist Party and its stooges on the other.

This Council was formed on September 10, in an effort of promoting joint affiliation of all democratic trade unions in this country with the Free World Labor Confederation, of which constituent convention is to take place from November 28th in London. We are extremely happy that we can inform you just in time for your convention that if this joint affiliation program be successfully realized over four million (4,000,000) of close to seven million (7,000,000) organized labour will be united in a national center for one aim, to join hands with the world organization of free democratic trade union movement.

With fraternal greeting and salutation,

Araki (Shosaburo)
President Japan Teachers & Education
Employee Union.

Haraguchi (Yukitaka)
President Japan Metal Mine Workers
Union.

Hosoya (Matsuta)
Political & International Secretary.

Harashima (Terofusa)
Tokyo Metropolitan Workers Federation.

Kato (Etsuo)
President National Railway Workers Union.

Kawata (Sosumu)
President Japan Radio Workers Union.

Matsuura (Seiichi)
Chief Political Affairs.

Moriguchi (Chuzo)
President All-Japan Trade Union Congress.

Muto (Takeo)
President Japan Federation of Coal Mine
Workers Unions.

Takano (Minoru)
Secretary-General Japan Federation of
Labour.

Note: Above signers are Standing Committee of the Council for Hastening Joint Affiliation with the F.W.L.C.

October 1, 1949.

Hannover, Via WU Cables.

William Green,
American Federation of Labor Convention,
St. Paul, Minnesota.

SPD sends convention sincere greetings. Stop. We admire great strides of American Labor in fight for Social progress everywhere. Are grateful for staunch support German Democracy. Stop. Wishing AFL best success. Stop.

(signed) KURT SCHUMACHER.

REPORT

OF

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA,
OCTOBER 3, 1949.

*To the Officers and Delegates of the Sixty-eighth Convention
of the American Federation of Labor,*

GREETINGS:

INTRODUCTION

Nationally as well as internationally the past year has been one of important struggles for standards without immediate decisive gains. At home, Labor's major struggle has been to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act with its un-American discrimination against wage earners as a group of citizens and its restrictions upon their right of free contract to promote their economic welfare. Although the Party whose platform committed it to repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, won the election, members of that Party joined with the Republican Party to defeat the Democratic Party's pledge to make good on its commitment.

Our economy is only now adjusting to more normal production orders with competition developing in buyers' markets because buyers refuse to buy over-priced commodities. The process of reducing costs to facilitate price declines makes for better management and more economical production with cooperation between management and labor.

Profits are still at high levels, some prices have dropped; wages rates and earnings have remained at high levels and the employed labor force is still close to 60,000,000. Our union membership is at peak levels and a new aggressiveness promises to regain freedom of contract. There is everywhere a deeper realization of the need to rely primarily on economic power and to seek information on how to use that power most effectively.

In the international field the ideological conflict continues unabated. To territorial and economic aggression has been added war on religion aimed primarily at the Roman Catholic Church, which has directed a world-wide attack on the materialistic and godless principles of Communism. The Kremlin has developed new techniques for its inquisition to which priests and other dissenters are submitted to the process of so-called trials.

The democracies of the world have blocked Soviet aggression in Europe primarily as a result of economic reconstruction and because Communist despotism can no longer conceal its ultimate purpose. On the other hand, Communism has made extraordinary gains in Asia, with Northern China under its control and the road to Southeast Asia gravely threatened, while Communist agitators are busy hoping to seize control of the rich natural resources of Malaya, Indonesia, French Indo-China and Thailand.

In the sections of our report that follow, we relate substantial progress at home through union activity as well as progress in trade union status in Europe and Asia, so that we are in a good position to advance our cause in the future. As the basis for all labor progress rests on organized, disciplined economic power, we never lose sight of the need for extension of trade unions and improvements in collective bargaining methods, devices and provisions. Such trade union progress is conditioned by the understanding and devotion of individual trade union members. If, in addition to membership in unions, each worker were to understand the policies and operation of the union, so that each is able to stand for basic principles, there can be a resurgence of devotion and dedication to the cause of Labor that characterized the work of the pioneers who founded our movement.

SECRETARY-TREASURER MEANY'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates to the Sixty-Eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

GREETINGS: I have the honor to submit the report of the receipts and expenses for the past 12 months, beginning September 1, 1948, and ending August 31, 1949.

At the close of the fiscal year there was a balance on hand of \$1,223,682.55. Of this total, \$381,159.96 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions and the balance, \$842,522.59 is in the general fund.

The total receipts from all sources, \$3,571,481.90; the total expenses, \$3,258,519.84. Amount of receipts over expenses, \$312,962.06.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the 12 months ending August 31, 1949.

RECEIPTS

| | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| Balance on hand, August 31, 1948..... | | \$ 910,720.49 |
| Per capita tax..... | \$2,881,236.51 | |
| Paid subscriptions, American Federationist | 3,703.88 | |
| Per capita tax subscriptions, American Federationist | 361,834.16 | |
| Per capita tax from locals allocated to Defense Fund | 205,793.71 | |
| Initiation fees | 50,509.97 | |
| Reinstatement fees | 2,004.00 | |
| Supplies | 15,583.33 | |
| Interest | 1,250.00 | |
| Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L..... | 34,540.47 | |
| Disbanded and suspended unions and miscellaneous receipts | 15,025.87 | |
| | | <hr/> |
| Total receipts | | 3,571,481.90 |
| | | <hr/> |
| Grand total | | \$4,482,202.39 |

EXPENSES

| | |
|------------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| Organizing expenses | \$1,044,615.97 |
| Organizers' salaries | 840,512.29 |
| Office employes' salaries..... | 332,479.38 |
| Administrative salaries | 108,131.64 |
| Miscellaneous general bills..... | 671,517.06 |
| Printing and publishing American Federationist | 173,061.34 |
| Defense Fund | 60,691.00 |

| | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|----------------|
| Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L..... | 27,511.16 | |
| | | |
| Total expenses | | 3,258,519.84 |
| | | |
| Balance on hand, August 31, 1949..... | | \$1,223,682.55 |

RECAPITULATION

| | |
|------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| In General Fund..... | \$ 842,522.59 |
| In Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions.. | 381,159.96 |
| | |
| Balance on hand, August 31, 1949..... | \$1,223,682.55 |

EXPENSES GROUPED

The following is a grouping under their respective heads of the detailed monthly expenses for the 12 months ending August 31, 1949:

| | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| Rent | \$ 30,624.72 |
| Refund, charter and outfit, per capita tax, supplies, etc... | 468.32 |
| Premiums: | |
| Bonds, local unions..... | 27,511.16 |
| Secretary-Treasurer's bond | 455.63 |
| Insurance, Workmen's Compensation..... | 3,971.63 |
| Forgery, burglary, robbery, liability..... | 610.05 |
| D. C. personal tax..... | 495.92 |
| Social Security old age benefit tax..... | 8,924.52 |
| Canadian and States' unemployment tax..... | 2,881.57 |
| Federal pay roll tax..... | 2,448.39 |
| Expressage, freight and drayage..... | 1,519.68 |
| Legislative salaries and expenses..... | 34,795.07 |
| Newspapers, magazines and books (library)..... | 3,299.13 |
| Office equipment and supplies..... | 10,431.88 |
| Research Statistical Service (supplies and miscellaneous) | 2,796.65 |
| Postage stamps | 19,375.15 |
| Supplies for resale..... | 9,939.63 |
| Printing: | |
| Bound proceedings | 4,531.60 |
| General | 48,900.28 |
| Convention roll call..... | 648.00 |
| Convention daily proceedings..... | 10,641.10 |
| Convention miscellaneous | 781.00 |
| A. F. of L. Weekly News Service..... | 23,877.38 |
| Miscellaneous expenses | 19,475.63 |
| Paper supply and envelopes (mailing department)..... | 6,936.25 |

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| Mailing equipment | 1,631.62 |
| Office furniture and fixtures..... | 3,422.26 |
| Telegrams and telephone..... | 26,181.88 |
| Fraternal delegates to British Trades Union Congress... | 4,000.00 |
| Cincinnati Convention: | |
| Entertaining fraternal delegates..... | 1,943.63 |
| Messengers, sergeant at arms and assistant secretary. | 650.00 |
| Supplies | 6.29 |
| Rooms (office, committee, press, E. C. meetings)..... | 1,967.82 |
| Entertaining guests, receptions and dinners..... | 2,633.23 |
| Stenographers and clerks..... | 6,881.64 |
| Official stenographers | 2,307.50 |
| Rental of office furniture..... | 713.29 |
| Telegrams, telephone, stamps, handling convention mail, porters, miscellaneous, etc..... | 1,032.08 |
| Auditing and Credentials Committee..... | 847.55 |
| Delegates, guests, committee and officers' badges.... | 1,634.32 |
| Salaries: | |
| President | 23,333.28 |
| Secretary-Treasurer | 21,333.44 |
| Secretary-Treasurer Emeritus | 3,250.00 |
| Office employes | 332,479.38 |
| Expenses: | |
| Executive Council meetings, telegrams, typewriter rental, baggage, stenographers, etc..... | 36,607.52 |
| President, traveling | 9,688.11 |
| Secretary-Treasurer, traveling | 8,012.08 |
| Defense Fund: | |
| Transfer to Trustee Building Fund..... | 15,000.00 |
| Workers' Education Bureau..... | 22,500.00 |
| Strike benefits | 23,191.00 |
| Per capita tax: | |
| Inter-American Confederation of Labor..... | 37,580.52 |
| Per capita tax for directly affiliated local unions: | |
| Metal Trades Department..... | 1,291.76 |
| Union Label Trades Department..... | 361.18 |
| Trades and Labor Congress of Canada..... | 1,669.79 |
| Organizers' salaries | 840,512.29 |
| Organizers' expenses | 1,044,615.97 |
| AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST: | |
| Cost of printing | 163,342.68 |
| Postage | 7,184.42 |

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

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| | |
|---------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| Story for Junior Federationist..... | 240.00 |
| Photographs | 1,841.29 |
| Miscellaneous | 452.95 |
| Legal services | 56,371.55 |
| Publicity salaries and expenses..... | 139,275.08 |
| European representative, salary and expenses..... | 12,166.30 |
| International Labor Relations Committee..... | 3,231.10 |
| Special committee and conferences..... | 14,005.53 |
| I. L. O. Conference..... | *3,901.81 |
| Contributions: | |
| Free Trade Union Committee..... | 32,400.00 |
| D. C. Tuberculosis Association..... | 50.00 |
| National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis..... | 1,067.00 |
| Employes' Retirement Fund..... | 11,372.69 |
| Community Chest Federation..... | 300.00 |
| Advance to Force Ouvriere..... | 25,000.00 |
| Conf. on Nat'l Org..... | 155.03 |
| Nat'l. Citizens Comm. for United Nations Day..... | 475.00 |
| Mrs. R. P. Minihan..... | 2,340.00 |
| Mrs. F. P. Fenton..... | 4,160.00 |
| British Trades Union Congress..... | 1,459.24 |
| Labor's League for Political Education..... | 20,583.40 |
| Rev. Joseph E. Gedra (Good Friday Observance).... | 25.00 |
| American Cancer Society..... | 500.00 |
| Int'l. Ladies' Garment Workers Union..... | 2,000.00 |
| Public Housing Conference Inc..... | 500.00 |
| The Franklin D. Roosevelt Fund..... | 500.00 |
| Total | \$3,258,519.84 |
| <hr/> | |
| *Refund of Amount not used..... | \$ 297.37 |

ORGANIZING EXPENSES

***During the twelve (12) months ending August 31, 1949, the American Federation of Labor expended in organizing activities \$1,885,128.26. Of this amount \$875,064.07 was spent in organizing and services for directly affiliated trade and federal labor unions; the balance, \$1,010,064.19, was incurred in the formation and assistance of newly formed local unions of national and international unions and in activities in behalf of state federations of labor and city central bodies.

**DEFENSE FUND
FOR
LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS**

The following is a statement of the amounts received from and paid to our local trade and federal labor unions, giving average membership, number of weeks' benefit and the amount received for the past 12 months, beginning September 1, 1948, and ending August 31, 1949. During the year, \$15,000.00 was transferred from the Defense Fund to the Trustee Fund.

RECEIPTS

| | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|
| Receipts from local trade and federal labor unions for the Defense Fund | \$205,018.71 |
| Refund of strike benefits..... | 775.00 |
| | <hr/> |
| Total Receipts | <u>\$205,793.71</u> |

EXPENSES

| <i>Number</i> | <i>Name</i> | <i>Location</i> | <i>No. of weeks</i> | <i>Aver. Mem.</i> | |
|---------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| 21095 | Federal Labor, Covington, Ky..... | | 6 | 46 | \$1,932.00 |
| 23614 | Federal Labor, Orange, Va..... | | 1 | 106 | 742.00 |
| 23917 | Federal Labor, Holyoke, Mass..... | | 4 | 97 | 2,716.00 |
| 24245 | Federal Labor, Graniteville, Mass..... | | 1 | 80 | 560.00 |
| 24363 | Federal Labor, Watford, Ont., Can..... | | 7 | 34 | 1,666.00 |
| 22480 | Canister Workers, Phillipsburg and vicinity, N. J..... | | 2 | 30 | 420.00 |
| 24369 | Waterbury Watch Wkrs., Waterbury, Conn. | | 2 | 326+ | 4,571.00 |
| 18820 | Optical Wkrs., Pittsburgh, Pa..... | | 5 | 53 | 1,855.00 |
| 22095 | Optical Wkrs., Cleveland, Ohio..... | | 4 | 14 | 392.00 |
| 18548 | Sawsmiths, Indianapolis, Ind. | | 1 | 58 | 406.00 |
| 22120 | Cannery Wkrs., Brazil, Ind..... | | 2 | 74+ | 1,043.00 |
| 23506 | Title Wkrs., Cleveland, Ohio..... | | 4 | 46 | 1,288.00 |
| | | | | | <hr/> |
| | | | | | \$17,591.00 |
| | Amount disbursed for relief to members: | | | | |
| 18887 | Federal Labor, Philadelphia, Pa..... | | | | \$ 5,000.00 |
| 23768 | Federal Labor, Chicago, Ill..... | | | | 100.00 |
| 24245 | Federal Labor, Graniteville, Mass..... | | | | 500.00 |
| | Workers Education Bureau..... | | | | 22,500.00 |
| | | | | | <hr/> |
| | Total Expenses | | | | <u>\$45,691.00</u> |

RECAPITULATION

| | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| Balance in Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions, August 31, 1948..... | \$236,057.25 |
| Transfer from Defense Fund to Trustee Fund..... | 15,000.00 |
| | <hr/> |
| Balance Defense Fund..... | \$221,057.25 |
| Receipts for 12 months ending August 31, 1949..... | 205,793.71 |
| | <hr/> |
| Total | \$426,850.96 |
| Strike benefits | \$17,591.00 |
| Assistance to members of striking unions..... | 5,600.00 |
| Affiliation fee (Workers Education Bureau) .. | 22,500.00 |
| | <hr/> |
| Total | \$ 45,691.00 |
| | <hr/> |
| Balance in Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions, August 31, 1949..... | \$381,159.96 |
| | <hr/> <hr/> |

**STATEMENT OF MONTHLY RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES
OF THE
SECRETARY-TREASURER OF THE
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
ALSO A STATEMENT OF THE FUNDS ON HAND
AUGUST 31, 1949**

| <i>Months</i> | <i>Receipts</i> | <i>Expenses</i> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| September, 1948 | \$ 303,046.74 | \$ 264,335.95 |
| October, 1948 | 287,179.66 | 281,083.03 |
| November, 1948 | 255,497.24 | 290,438.40 |
| December, 1948 | 361,720.23 | 312,073.90 |
| January, 1949 | 275,857.28 | 242,949.98 |
| February, 1949 | 265,423.70 | 243,311.98 |
| March, 1949 | 350,758.49 | 284,154.04 |
| April, 1949 | 265,862.01 | 240,054.99 |
| May, 1949 | 299,823.19 | 297,207.78 |
| June, 1949 | 349,360.21 | 261,726.83 |
| July, 1949 | 250,881.00 | 266,304.36 |
| August, 1949 | 306,072.15 | 274,878.60 |
| Total | \$3,571,481.90 | \$3,258,519.84 |
| Balance in hands of Secretary-Treasurer August 31, 1948..... | \$ 910,720.49 | |
| Grand Total | \$4,482,202.39 | |

RECAPITULATION

| | |
|----------------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| Total Receipts | \$4,482,202.39 |
| Total Expenses | 3,258,519.84 |
| Balance on hand August 31, 1949..... | \$1,223,682.55 |
| Monies deposited and invested as follows: | |
| U. S. Treasury Bonds 2½% Maturity, May 1, 1960..... | \$ 100,000.00 |
| U. S. Treasury Bonds 2½% Maturity, May 1, 1961..... | 100,000.00 |
| Union Labor Life Insurance Co. (Stock)..... | 15,000.00 |
| Federation Bank & Trust Co., New York (Subject to check) | 2,000.00 |
| City Bank (Subject to check)..... | 5,000.00 |
| Union National Bank, Newark, N. J. (Subject to check).. | 10,000.00 |
| Riggs National Bank (Subject to check)..... | 991,682.55 |
| Total August 31, 1949..... | \$1,223,682.55 |

CHARTERS ISSUED

During the twelve months ending August 31, 1949, there have been issued 183 charters to international, central, local trade and federal labor unions; of this number two were issued to the following international unions:

Flight Engineers International Association

Railway Patrolmens' International Union

Central Bodies as follows:

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------|
| California | Montana |
| Mendocino County | Lincoln County |
| Colorado | Nebraska |
| Larimer County | North Platte |
| Indiana | Pennsylvania |
| Winchester | Sharon |
| Iowa | Vermont |
| Spencer | St. Albans |
| Louisiana | Wisconsin |
| Hodge | Antigo |
| Jonesboro | Rhineland |
| Massachusetts | |
| Amesbury and Vicinity | |

The following is a statement showing the number of charters issued during the twelve months of this fiscal year.

| | 1948-1949 |
|---------------------------|-----------|
| Internationals | 2 |
| Central Labor Unions..... | 12 |
| Local Trade Unions..... | 125 |
| Federal Labor Unions..... | 44 |
| | <hr/> |
| Total | 183 |

Directly Chartered Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions

On August 31, 1949, we had 1,182 local trade and federal labor unions with an average membership for the fiscal year of 201,019 and a defense fund of \$381,159.96.

The Federation has 1,592 volunteer organizers, as well as 196 paid organizers and the officers of the 811 city central bodies that are ready at all times to respond to a call to assist the members of directly affiliated unions in the case of strike or lockout.

There was received a total per capita tax for defense fund purposes from the local unions during the year of \$205,793.71; initiation fees, \$50,509.97, and reinstatement fees, \$2,004.00.

Charters Revoked, Cancelled, Suspended, Surrendered, Disbanded, Merged, Amalgamated, Joined International Unions and Reinstated

CENTRAL BODIES: Amalgamated, 1.

LOCAL TRADE UNIONS: Disbanded, 23; suspended, 42; joined national and international organizations, 24; amalgamated, 1; reinstated, 27.

FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS: Disbanded, 13; suspended, 29; joined national and international organizations, 12; revoked, 1; reinstated, 10.

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS: Chartered, 2: Flight Engineers International Association, Railway Patrolmens' International Union.

TOTAL MEMBERSHIP
of
AFFILIATED UNIONS

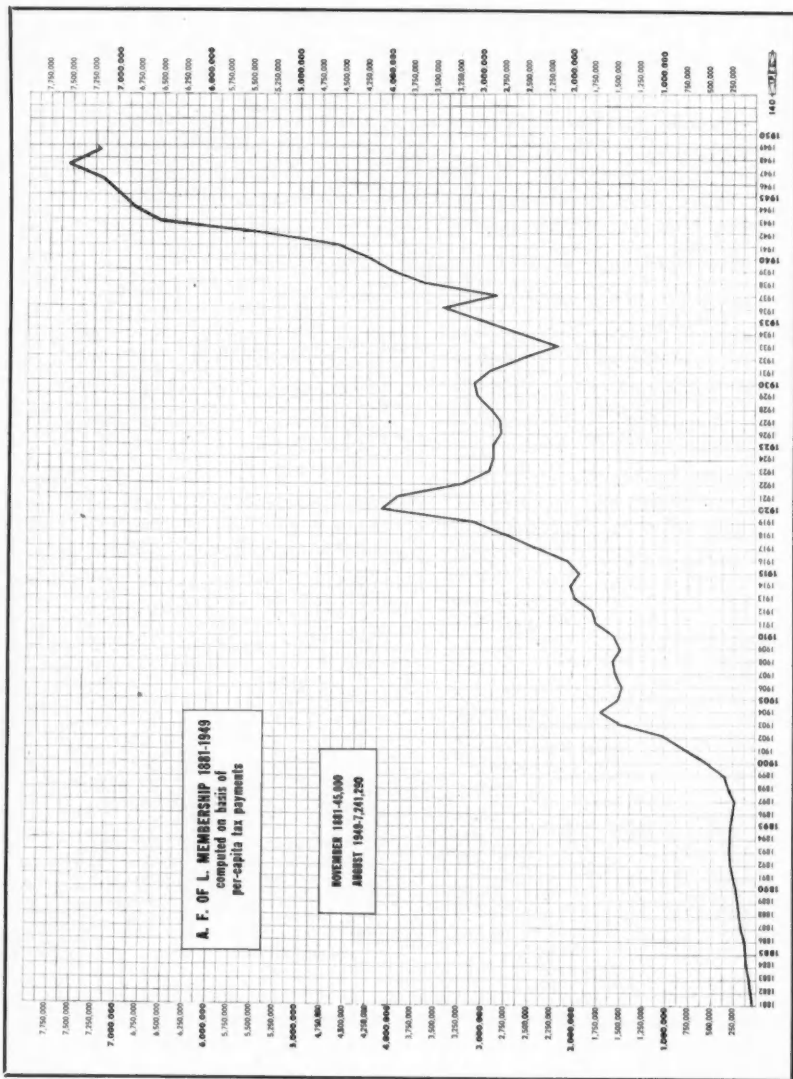
The total paid membership of the affiliated national and international organizations and the directly chartered trade and federal labor unions as of August 31, 1949, is 7,241,290.

This is based on actual per capita tax received at our office in Washington from our affiliated unions.

The following is the yearly membership in the past 53 years:

| <i>Year</i> | <i>Membership</i> | <i>Year</i> | <i>Membership</i> |
|-------------|-------------------|-------------|-------------------|
| 1897..... | 264,825 | 1923..... | 2,926,468 |
| 1898..... | 278,016 | 1924..... | 2,865,799 |
| 1899..... | 349,422 | 1925..... | 2,877,297 |
| 1900..... | 548,321 | 1926..... | 2,803,966 |
| 1901..... | 787,537 | 1927..... | 2,812,526 |
| 1902..... | 1,024,399 | 1928..... | 2,896,063 |
| 1903..... | 1,465,800 | 1929..... | 2,933,545 |
| 1904..... | 1,576,200 | 1930..... | 2,961,096 |
| 1905..... | 1,494,300 | 1931..... | 2,889,550 |
| 1906..... | 1,454,200 | 1932..... | 2,532,261 |
| 1907..... | 1,538,970 | 1933..... | 2,126,796 |
| 1908..... | 1,586,885 | 1934..... | 2,608,011 |
| 1909..... | 1,482,872 | 1935..... | 3,045,347 |
| 1910..... | 1,562,112 | 1936..... | 3,422,398 |
| 1911..... | 1,761,835 | 1937..... | 2,860,933 |
| 1912..... | 1,770,145 | 1938..... | 3,623,087 |
| 1913..... | 1,996,004 | 1939..... | 4,006,354 |
| 1914..... | 2,020,671 | 1940..... | 4,247,443 |
| 1915..... | 1,946,347 | 1941..... | 4,569,056 |
| 1916..... | 2,072,702 | 1942..... | 5,482,581 |
| 1917..... | 2,371,434 | 1943..... | 6,564,141 |
| 1918..... | 2,726,478 | 1944..... | 6,806,913 |
| 1919..... | 3,260,068 | 1945..... | 6,931,221 |
| 1920..... | 4,078,740 | 1946..... | 7,151,808 |
| 1921..... | 3,906,528 | 1947..... | 7,577,716 |
| 1922..... | 3,195,635 | 1948..... | 7,220,531 |
| | 1949..... | | 7,241,290 |

So that the delegates and membership at large may visualize the membership record at a glance, a chart follows on the next page indicating the membership, based on per capita tax payments received, for each year since 1881 up to and including 1949—a total of 69 years.



VOTING STRENGTH

The following table shows the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1939, up to and including 1949. This table is based upon the average membership paid upon to the American Federation of Labor for the fiscal year.

| ORGANIZATIONS | 1939 | 1940 | 1941 | 1942 | 1943 | 1944 | 1946 | 1947 | 1948 | 1949 |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Actors Associated & Artists of A. | 201 | 146 | 148 | 190 | 177 | 160 | 237 | 360 | 297 | 392 |
| Asbestos Workers' Intl. Ass. of Heat and Frost Insulators. | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 47 | 57 |
| *Automobile Workers of A. Intl. Union United | 42 | 191 | 261 | 368 | 431 | 507 | 431 | 549 | 586 | 542 |
| Bakery & Confect'y Wkrs. I. U. of A. | 730 | 811 | 844 | 919 | 869 | 897 | 1,107 | 1,228 | 1,288 | 1,326 |
| Barber's International Union Jour. | 475 | 490 | 490 | 490 | 492 | 590 | 503 | 558 | 586 | 600 |
| Bill Posters | 18 | 29 | 30 | 30 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 |
| Blacksmiths Intl. Brotherhood of | 50 | 50 | 50 | 92 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders. | 290 | 332 | 426 | 903 | 2,867 | 3,369 | 2,417 | 1,667 | 1,500 | 1,500 |
| Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. | 308 | 308 | 308 | 390 | 400 | 400 | 400 | 467 | 500 | 500 |
| Bookbinders Intl. Brotherhood of | 177 | 187 | 219 | 271 | 271 | 289 | 362 | 434 | 473 | 475 |
| Brewery Workmen Intl. Union. | 420 | 420 | 420 | † | † | † | † | † | † | † |
| Brick and Clay Workers etc. | 100 | 100 | 115 | 130 | 100 | 100 | 122 | 206 | 230 | 230 |
| Bricklayers Masons & Plaster's I.U.A. | 650 | 650 | 650 | 650 | 650 | 650 | 650 | 650 | 650 | 650 |
| Bridge & Struc. Iron Wkrs. Intl. Ass. | 395 | 413 | 520 | 861 | 1,124 | 1,056 | 923 | 972 | 1,042 | 1,054 |
| Broom and Whisk Makers' Union Intl. Building Serv. Employees' Intl. Union. | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| Carpenters and Joiners United Bro. of | 3,000 | 3,000 | 3,000 | 3,667 | 6,000 | 6,000 | 6,000 | 6,000 | 6,000 | 6,000 |
| Carmen of A. Bro. Railway. | 650 | 650 | 650 | 700 | 700 | 800 | 958 | 1,008 | 1,087 | 1,116 |
| Carvers' Union International Wood. | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 | † | † | † | † | † | † |
| Chemical Workers | † | † | † | † | † | † | 413 | 509 | 587 | 611 |
| Cigarmakers' International Union. | 70 | 70 | 87 | 106 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Cleaning & Dye House Wkrs. | 164 | 164 | 164 | 169 | 171 | 171 | 176 | 183 | 184 | 184 |
| Clerks Intl. Protective Assn. Retail. | 653 | 737 | 854 | 1,000 | 1,000 | 1,000 | 1,196 | 1,637 | 1,854 | 2,025 |
| Clerks Post Office Nat'l. Federation of | 400 | 400 | 400 | 450 | 429 | 400 | 458 | 540 | 685 | 790 |
| Clerks Bro. of Rwy. | 910 | 970 | 1,100 | 1,558 | 1,917 | 2,042 | 2,292 | 2,500 | 2,500 | 2,500 |
| Cement Lime & Gypsum Wkrs. | † | 132 | 168 | 211 | 190 | 180 | 204 | 286 | 323 | 319 |
| Circus Carnival Fairs & Rodeo Intl. Union | † | 3 | 11 | † | † | † | † | † | † | † |
| Conductors Order of Sleeping Car. | 14 | 14 | 14 | c | e | c | c | c | c | c |
| Coopers' International Union. | 41 | 42 | 45 | 51 | 51 | 50 | 50 | 68 | 68 | 60 |
| Diamond Workers' Prot. Union of A. | 3 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 7 |
| Dispatchers Assn. Airline. | † | † | † | † | † | † | † | 2 | 5 | 5 |
| Distillery Rectifying and Wine Workers International Union. | † | † | 33 | 70 | 94 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 250 |
| Draftsmen's Union Intl. | 19 | 19 | 22 | 34 | 47 | 71 | 62 | 57 | 53 | 59 |
| Electrical Wkrs. International Bro. | 2,003 | 2,097 | 2,010 | 2,079 | 2,529 | 3,129 | 3,300 | 3,300 | 3,300 | 3,300 |
| Elevator Constructors | 102 | 102 | 102 | 102 | 102 | 102 | 102 | 102 | 102 | 102 |
| Engineers Intl. Union of Operating. | 708 | 800 | 800 | 800 | 933 | 1,000 | 1,083 | 1,250 | 1,292 | 1,500 |
| Engineers Intl. Assn. Flight. | † | † | † | † | † | † | † | † | † | † |
| Engravers Intl. Union Metal. | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | † | † | † | † | † | 4 |
| Engravers Union of N.A. Intl. Photo. | 104 | 105 | 105 | 108 | 108 | 109 | 116 | 121 | 125 | 128 |
| Farm Labor Union National. | † | † | † | † | † | † | 7 | 104 | 104 | 71 |
| Fire Fighters Intl. Assn. of | 307 | 389 | 371 | 382 | 360 | 405 | 455 | 475 | 541 | 548 |
| Firemen and Oilers Intl. Bro. of | 268 | 312 | 343 | 411 | 475 | 527 | 581 | 586 | 580 | 580 |
| Foundry Employees Intl. Bro. of | 35 | e | e | e | e | e | e | e | e | 400 |
| Garment Workers of America United. | 400 | 400 | 400 | 400 | 400 | 400 | 400 | 400 | 400 | 400 |
| Garment Workers Intl. Ladies. | † | 375 | 2,250 | 2,250 | 2,250 | 2,375 | 2,500 | 3,125 | 3,500 | 3,500 |
| Glass Cutters League of A. Window. | 12 | 8 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 |
| Glass Bottle Blowers' Assn. of U.S.&C. | 200 | 200 | 200 | 203 | 240 | 240 | 286 | 350 | 360 | 360 |
| Glass Workers American Flint. | 178 | 186 | 203 | 237 | 217 | 256 | 291 | 327 | 313 | 284 |
| Glove Workers | 9 | 16 | 19 | 28 | 31 | 31 | 33 | 36 | 36 | 31 |
| Government Employees Am. Fed. of | 226 | 223 | 240 | 236 | 242 | 268 | 325 | 305 | 288 | 432 |
| Granite Cutters' Intl. Assn. of A. The. | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 43 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 |
| Hatters Cap and Millinery Wkrs. Intl. Union United | 300 | 320 | 320 | 320 | 320 | 320 | 320 | 320 | 320 | 320 |
| Hodcarriers and Common Laborers. | 1,544 | 1,619 | 1,837 | 2,837 | 4,202 | 3,331 | 2,417 | 2,587 | 2,675 | 2,675 |
| Horseshoers of U. S. and Can. | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| Hotel and Restaurant Employees etc. | 1,848 | 2,025 | 2,141 | 2,420 | 2,328 | 2,245 | 2,873 | 3,656 | 3,806 | 3,813 |
| Jewelry Workers' International. | 40 | 45 | 55 | 83 | 83 | 89 | 93 | 125 | 128 | 125 |
| Lathers Intl. Union of W. W. of Metal. | 81 | 81 | 81 | 81 | 81 | 81 | 81 | 81 | 84 | 99 |
| Laundry Wkrs. International Union. | 292 | 400 | 404 | 450 | 500 | 500 | 500 | 517 | 600 | 600 |
| Leather Wkrs. Intl. Union United. | 25 | 25 | 29 | 33 | 32 | 28 | 40 | 35 | 30 | 33 |
| Letter Carriers National Assn. of. | 600 | 600 | 600 | 600 | 600 | 600 | 608 | 650 | 650 | 725 |
| Letter Carriers Nat. Fed. of Rural. | 6 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | f | f | f |

| ORGANIZATIONS | 1939 | 1940 | 1941 | 1942 | 1943 | 1944 | 1946 | 1947 | 1948 | 1949 |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Lithographers' Intl. P. & B. Asso. | 123 | 124 | 129 | 139 | 136 | 137 | | † | † | † |
| Longshoremen's Association Intl. | 668 | 621 | 615 | 631 | 539 | 610 | 690 | 735 | 706 | 571 |
| Machinists Intl. Association of Maintenance of Way Emp's I. B. of | 1,900 | 1,901 | 2,218 | 3,255 | 4,584 | 6,659 | † | † | † | † |
| Marble Polishers etc. Intl. Asso. of .. | 576 | 633 | 657 | 969 | 1,185 | 1,169 | 1,441 | 1,563 | 1,554 | 1,618 |
| Masters Mates and Pilots. | 55 | 55 | 55 | 55 | 48 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 |
| Master Mech's. and Foremen of Navy Yds. & Naval Sta's Nat'l Asso. of .. | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 43 | 48 | 77 |
| Messengers Spec. Del. Nat'l Asso. | 1 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen. | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 12 | 18 | 20 |
| Metal Workers' Intl. Asso. Sheet. | 629 | 709 | 849 | 948 | 971 | 1,005 | 1,289 | 1,552 | 1,646 | 1,652 |
| Millers American Fed. of Grain. | 200 | 200 | 200 | 204 | 250 | 250 | 250 | 250 | 297 | 320 |
| *Mine Workers of America United. | | | | | | | | | 14 | 279 |
| Mine Wkrs. of A. Intl. Progressive. | † | e | e | e | e | e | 4,000 | 6,000 | † | † |
| Molders Union of N. A. Intl. | 350 | 350 | 350 | 350 | 350 | 350 | † | † | † | † |
| Musicians American Federation of. | 233 | 304 | 421 | 621 | 619 | 657 | 678 | 683 | 650 | 650 |
| Office Employees. | 1,000 | 1,000 | 1,000 | 1,000 | 1,000 | 1,000 | 1,000 | 1,754 | 2,281 | 2,354 |
| Painters of America Bro. of. | | | | | | | | 205 | 240 | 262 |
| Patrolmens Intl. Union Railway. | 1,002 | 1,002 | 1,049 | 1,226 | 1,328 | 1,397 | 1,586 | 1,702 | 1,733 | 1,757 |
| *Newly chartered. | | | | | | | | | | |
| Patternmakers United Bro. of. | 206 | 243 | 258 | 271 | 262 | 344 | 400 | 400 | 400 | 400 |
| Patternmakers' League of N. A. | 70 | 74 | 80 | 97 | 107 | 110 | 110 | 110 | 110 | 110 |
| Pilot Assn. Air Line (Intl.) | 10 | 10 | 11 | 14 | 17 | 27 | 45 | 56 | 60 | 61 |
| Plast'ers' Intl. Asso. of U.S.&C. Oper. | 194 | 191 | 212 | 250 | 250 | 250 | 250 | 250 | 250 | 297 |
| Plumbers Steamfitters etc. | 400 | 400 | 454 | 525 | 650 | 1,300 | 2,000 | 1,687 | 1,500 | 1,500 |
| Porters Pro. Sleeping Car. | 70 | 70 | 70 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 117 | 167 | 180 | 160 |
| Porters Pro. Sleeping Car. | 60 | 66 | 72 | 77 | 87 | 90 | 109 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Handbag & Novelty Workers. | 100 | 100 | 100 | 122 | 144 | 150 | 150 | 150 | 154 | 217 |
| Post Office & Railway Mail Handlers National Association. | 15 | 15 | 15 | 15 | 15 | 15 | 15 | 17 | 15 | 15 |
| Potters National Bro. of Operative. | 180 | 140 | 160 | 78 | 215 | 215 | 215 | 215 | 215 | 215 |
| Powder and High Explosive Workers. | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | d | d | d | d | d | d |
| Printing Pressmen International. | 396 | 437 | 457 | 476 | 485 | 493 | 634 | 703 | 743 | 753 |
| Printers' Die Stampers' & Engravers' Union of N. A. Intl. Plate. | 9 | 7 | 10 | 8 | 9 | 11 | 15 | 13 | 12 | 11 |
| Pulp Sulphite and Paper Mill Wkrs. | 322 | 400 | 442 | 567 | 600 | 613 | 772 | 1,009 | 1,067 | 1,142 |
| Radio Directors Guild. | | | | | | | | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Railway Employees Amal. S. & E. | 797 | 800 | 807 | 878 | 988 | 1,048 | 1,145 | 1,150 | 1,183 | 1,200 |
| Railway Mail Association. | 217 | 221 | 227 | 229 | 218 | 218 | 227 | 247 | 253 | 267 |
| Roofers Damp & Waterproof Wkrs. Assn. United Slate Tile & Comp. | 40 | 40 | 44 | 57 | 70 | 80 | 86 | 107 | 115 | 120 |
| B-Seafarers Intl. Union of N. A. | 110 | 187 | 200 | 292 | 300 | 300 | 450 | 450 | 450 | 450 |
| Sheep Shearers Union of N. A. | 7 | 6 | 6 | † | † | † | † | † | † | † |
| Siderographers Intl. Assn. of. | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| *Signalmen of A. Bro. Railroad. | | | | | | | | 107 | 127 | 128 |
| State County & Municipal Emp. | 257 | 297 | 337 | 356 | 360 | 460 | 670 | 883 | 783 | 750 |
| Spinners Union Intl. | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Stage Employees Intl. Alliance Theatrical. | 420 | 420 | 420 | 420 | 420 | 420 | 420 | 420 | 420 | 420 |
| Stereotypers & Electrotypers' of U.of.A. Stonecutters Assn. Journeymen. | 85 | 83 | 86 | 88 | 89 | 88 | 92 | 100 | 104 | 106 |
| Stove Mounters' Intl. Union. | 42 | 49 | 53 | 80 | 80 | 80 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 87 |
| Supervisors etc. | | | | | | | 16 | 126 | 136 | 106 |
| Switchmen's Union of N. A. | 78 | 81 | 80 | 85 | 88 | 93 | 92 | 89 | 93 | 88 |
| Teachers Am. Fed. of. | 256 | 300 | 267 | 229 | 229 | 252 | 306 | 348 | 400 | 358 |
| Teamsters Chauffeurs etc. Intl. Bro. of Telegraphers Commercial. | 3,500 | 3,937 | 4,083 | 5,056 | 6,029 | 6,292 | 6,250 | 6,250 | 6,250 | 6,250 |
| Telegraphers Order of Railroad. | 35 | 35 | 40 | 71 | 107 | 187 | 248 | 325 | 350 | 367 |
| *Textile Workers of America United. | 350 | 350 | 353 | 300 | 300 | 300 | 300 | 300 | 300 | 300 |
| Tobacco Wkrs. Intl. Union of Amer. *Typographical Union International. | 147 | 180 | 178 | 182 | 210 | 220 | 220 | 220 | 220 | 220 |
| Upholsterers Intl. Union of. | 792 | † | † | † | † | 53 | 640 | 640 | 640 | 640 |
| United Wall Paper Crafts of N. A. | 110 | 148 | 160 | 160 | 160 | 250 | 250 | 277 | 420 | 480 |
| Yardmasters of America Railroad. | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 28 | 27 | 40 | 36 | 29 |
| Wire Weavers' Protective American. Centrals. | 3 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 |
| State Branches. | 806 | 816 | 800 | 780 | 758 | 749 | 767 | 786 | 808 | 811 |
| Directly affiliated local trade and Federal labor Unions. | 49 | 49 | 49 | 49 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 |
| Total vote of Unions. | 2,465 | 2,471 | 2,587 | 2,939 | 3,301 | 3,633 | 2,617 | 2,923 | 2,601 | 2,326 |
| Total vote of Unions. | 39,267 | 41,146 | 45,332 | 53,029 | 63,362 | 68,184 | 68,552 | 76,331 | 72,311 | 73,585 |

† Suspended. a Merged with Hod Carriers and Common Laborers. c Withdrew affiliation.
* Reinstated. b Title Changed from Intl. Seamen's Union of America. d Disbanded.
e Charter revoked. f Amalgamated with Natl. Assn. of Letter Carriers.

GOMPERS MEMORIAL FUND

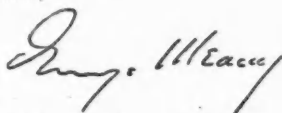
By direction of the Forty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council, an appeal was issued under date of December 26, 1928, for the collection of funds for the erection of a memorial to Samuel Gompers.

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|
| Receipts from December 20, 1924, to and including August 31, 1949 | \$136,375.30 |
| Expenses, January 12, 1929, to and including August 31, 1949 | 122,728.87 |
| Balance on hand August 31, 1949 | <u>\$ 13,646.43</u> |
| Funds deposited as follows: | |
| Riggs National Bank checking account | <u>\$ 13,646.43</u> |
| Balance on hand August 31, 1949 | <u>\$ 13,646.43</u> |

CONCLUSION

I desire to express my sincere appreciation for the cooperation and assistance extended to me in the performance of my duties by the officers of the National and International Unions and of all our affiliated bodies, and by my colleagues of the Executive Council.

Respectfully submitted,



Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of Labor.

REPORT OF TRUSTEES

of

A. F. of L. BUILDINGS

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

The following is a report of the receipts and expenses for the 12 months ending August 31, 1949:

RECEIPTS

| | |
|-------------------------------------------|-------------|
| Cash Balance on hand August 31, 1948..... | \$14,412.48 |
| Transfer from Denfense Fund..... | 15,000.00 |
| Rents—901 Massachusetts Ave..... | \$44,627.17 |
| Rents—1525 H. St., N. W..... | 10,080.00 |
| | <hr/> |
| Total receipts | 54,707.17 |
| | <hr/> |
| Receipts and balance..... | \$84,119.65 |

EXPENSES

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|
| Maintenance—901 Massachusetts Ave.: | |
| Pay Roll (Building Employes).... | \$29,912.60 |
| Taxes | 3,426.60 |
| Electricity | 2,614.55 |
| Fuel (Coal) | 1,254.13 |
| Supplies | 2,041.75 |
| Plastering and painting..... | 3,076.12 |
| Cleaning windows | 540.00 |
| Upkeep and repairs..... | 4,692.05 |
| Upkeep and repairs of elevators.. | 1,268.17 |
| Hauling ashes and trash..... | 240.00 |
| Miscellaneous expenses | 825.00 |
| Water rent | 160.88 |
| D. C. Unemployment Compensation | 22.08 |
| A. F. of L. Employes Retirement | |
| Annuity Trust Fund..... | 860.84 |
| Social Security Tax: | |
| Old Age Benefits..... | 305.17 |
| | <hr/> |
| Total | \$51,239.94 |
| Maintenance—1525 H St., N. W.: | |
| Pay Roll (Building Employes).... | \$ 1,872.00 |
| Gas | 754.47 |
| Trash removal | 105.00 |

| | |
|-------------------------|-----------|
| Telephone service | 97.87 |
| Snow removal | 12.00 |
| Electricity | 855.45 |
| Supplies | 456.58 |
| Cleaning | 18.00 |
| Cleaning windows | 300.00 |
| Taxes | 14,984.20 |
| Water rent | 37.31 |
| Upkeep and repairs..... | 2,289.68 |

Total 21,782.56

Total expenses \$73,022.50

Balance on hand August 31, 1949..... \$11,097.15

RECAPITULATION

| | |
|---------------------------|------------------|
| Receipts and balance..... | \$84,119.65 |
| Expenses | <u>73,022.50</u> |

Balance on hand August 31, 1949..... \$11,097.15

Monies deposited as follows:

Riggs National Bank..... \$11,097.15

This report of the trustees of the A. F. of L. Buildings is submitted to you, the Executive Council, and through you to the convention and the rank and file of the A. F. of L. We have performed the duty assigned to us with the best interest of the Federation in view.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,
 GEORGE MEANY,
 JOHN P. FREY,

Trustees, A. F. of L. Buildings.

REPORT OF TRUSTEES**American Federation of Labor Employees' Retirement Annuity
Trust Fund****For the Period September 1, 1948 to August 31, 1949****RECEIPTS**

| | | |
|-----------------------------------------|-------------|--------------|
| Balance on hand, September 1, 1948..... | | \$324,242.38 |
| A. F. of L. weekly contributions..... | \$12,696.39 | |
| Employees' weekly contributions..... | 12,696.39 | |
| Interest on U. S. Treasury Bonds..... | 8,250.00 | |
| Other interest received..... | 1.56 | |
| | <hr/> | |
| Total Receipts | | 33,644.34 |
| | | <hr/> |
| Total Receipts and Balance..... | | \$357,886.72 |

DISBURSEMENTS

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------|--------------|
| Benefits paid | \$ 668.28 | |
| Withdrawals paid | 1,651.54 | |
| Death benefits paid..... | 188.87 | |
| | <hr/> | |
| Total Disbursements | | 2,508.69 |
| | | <hr/> |
| Balance on hand, August 31, 1949..... | | \$355,378.03 |

ALLOCATION OF INTEREST**Investment Earnings Clearing Account**

| | | |
|------------------------------------------------|------------|------------|
| Balance on hand, September 1, 1948..... | | \$4,108.83 |
| Receipts—September 1 to December 31, 1948..... | | 3,576.56 |
| Excess Interest on Withdrawals..... | | 3.19 |
| | | <hr/> |
| Total | | \$7,688.58 |
| Less: Allocations made December 31, 1948: | | |
| To Prior Service Liability..... | \$6,917.85 | |
| To Federation Accumulations..... | 311.04 | |
| To Members Accumulations..... | 294.33 | |
| To Annuity Reserve..... | 165.36 | 7,688.58 |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| Receipts—January 1 to August 31, 1949..... | | \$4,675.00 |
| Excess Interest on Withdrawals..... | | 16.45 |
| | | <hr/> |
| Balance, August 31, 1949..... | | \$4,691.45 |

BALANCE SHEET

For the Period September 1, 1948 to August 31, 1949

ASSETS

| | |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| Investments | \$355,000.00 |
| Cash | 378.03 |
| Total | \$355,378.03 |

LIABILITIES AND INCOME

| | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------|
| Prior Service Liability | \$291,856.19 |
| Federation Accumulations | 27,577.10 |
| Members Accumulations | 25,069.82 |
| Annuity Reserve | 6,183.47 |
| Investment Earnings Clearing | 4,691.45 |
| Total | \$355,378.03 |

WILLIAM GREEN,
 GEORGE MEANY,
 E. LOGAN KIMMEL,
*Trustees, American Federation of Labor
 Employees' Retirement Annuity Trust Fund.*

NEW INTERNATIONAL UNIONS CHARTERED

Flight Engineers International Association

By direction of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor an international charter was granted to the Flight Engineers International Association on December 7, 1948. A proper and legal application for an international charter for Flight Engineers was made to the Executive Council by the representatives of federal labor unions eligible to membership in the new international organization. After due and careful consideration, the Executive Council directed that the charter be granted under the title of "Flight Engineers International Association."

Railway Patrolmen's International Union

An international charter was issued to the Railway Patrolmen's International Union on July 7, 1949. The records showed that fifty-three directly affiliated local unions of Railway Patrolmen had been organized and had formed a National Council. The members of these local unions of Railway Patrolmen appealed for the issuance of an international charter. The Executive Council decided after careful consideration to grant the petition, and to issue an international charter under the title of "Railway Patrolmen's International Union."

CHANGES OF TITLE OF INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association of the United States and Canada

An application for approval of a change in title was submitted to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor by the Operative Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada. They requested that the charter of the Association be amended so as to include cement finishers. Following an understanding reached with the representatives of other organizations, who because of their jurisdictional relationship were interested, this application for approval of a change in title was granted by the Executive Council at a meeting held in Cleveland, Ohio, the week of May 16, 1949.

Radio and Television Directors Guild

A change in title was granted to the Radio Directors Guild which had made application to the Executive Council to have the words "and Television" included in the title of said organization. An understanding was reached with the representatives of other organizations interested in this jurisdiction, and as a result said change of title was approved by the Executive Council at a meeting held in Cleveland, Ohio, the week of May 16, 1949.

SELECTION OF FRATERNAL DELEGATES

An invitation was received from the officers of the British Trades Union Congress to assign Fraternal Delegates to attend the convention

of the Trades Union Congress which was held at Bridlington, England, beginning September 5, 1949. Brother Harry C. Bates, President of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union, and Brother Dave Beck, Vice-President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, were appointed to attend said Trades Union Congress Convention as fraternal delegates representing the American Federation of Labor.

In response to an invitation from the officers of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, Brother H. A. Bradley, President of the International Chemical Workers Union, was appointed to attend the convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada which met at Calgary, Alberta, Canada, on September 15, 1949, as the fraternal delegate representing the American Federation of Labor.

FRANK MORRISON

It is with deep and sincere sorrow that the Executive Council records the death of the beloved Frank Morrison, one of the pioneers of the American labor movement and Secretary of the American Federation of Labor for 43 years until his retirement in 1940.

Always in the forefront of organized labor's struggles during his active service in the labor movement, Mr. Morrison maintained his keen interest in trade unionism and economic problems after his retirement. During the last few years of his life, he held the post of Secretary Emeritus of the American Federation of Labor which he saw grow from an organization of 250,000 members to its present strength of nearly 8,000,000 trade unionists.

His election as AFL secretary came at the first convention he attended as a delegate from the International Typographical Union. At that time the Federation was only 15 years old. From his election in 1896, Mr. Morrison witnessed the steady growth of the organization during the 43 years he served as its secretary. Because of his capabilities and the great respect which union members held for him, he was never opposed in an election over that 43-year period.

A kindly, white-haired gentleman of the old school, Frank Morrison was an active figure in many of labor's historic struggles during the era when the rights of trade unions to mere existence was often challenged by powerful employers and their allies, hostile police forces and injunction judges. He stood shoulder to shoulder with Samuel Gompers, whom he served under for 29 years, in the battles which make up such a large part of the early history, of organized labor in North America.

The memory of Frank Morrison will always live in the hearts of those who knew him and worked with him as an exemplary citizen and a beloved, distinguished pioneer in the American labor movement.

ORGANIZING ACTIVITIES

In the past year the organizing staff of the American Federation of Labor which is made up of capable people from our national and international unions have had to face the greatly involved problems that have developed not only from the full impact of the Taft-Hartley Act but from the shifting economic conditions. Employers are now taking every advantage which the Taft-Hartley Act gives them in resisting union recognition, wage increases, and in some instances all negotiable points.

It is still necessary for the organizing staff to assist in keeping both our federal and international local unions in compliance so that the procedure of the National Labor Relations Board can be utilized in petitions for representation and union shop elections, as well as filing unfair labor practice charges.

For the preparation of this report the staff organizers were contacted for reports on their activities, in their particular areas, which embrace this country, the Dominion of Canada and the territories of Alaska and Hawaii. Space will not permit us to unfold the full dramatic story of the American Federation of Labor's program in the field of organizing. However, a summary seems to be necessary so that the general story can be told.

Intensive campaigns were carried on jointly with international and national unions, building trades councils, metal trades councils, state federations of labor, city central labor unions. This was in addition to the routine work of the staff in organizing federal labor unions, installing them, instructing new local union officers, advising bargaining committees and negotiating agreements, even though organizing of federal labor unions has somewhat diminished, owing to the establishing of new international unions in the past several years and the extension of charter rights of national and international unions. The time necessary to organize new groups and service existing unions has increased due to the restrictive provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. For instance, on an average, 180 days are required to process collective bargaining petitions to the point of an election in the Southeastern area. This unnecessary delay requires a great deal more work and service to newly organized groups and has made general organizing work harder to accomplish.

Organizing

Irrespective of this, much organization work was accomplished through the Director of Organization's office. In all, 154 federal labor unions were established throughout the American Federation of Labor's jurisdiction.

A major organizing campaign was conducted in the insurance field, which involved the John Hancock, Metropolitan, and Prudential Com-

panies. We did not fare too well in the John Hancock and Metropolitan Companies but in the Prudential Company, after a ten-month organizing campaign by our staff organizers and the National Federation of Insurance men's Council, we successfully defeated the United Office and Professional Workers, C.I.O. Union, two to one. This victory gives us the bargaining rights in a 31-state area in which this company has offices covering 15,000 agents who are now in the process of joining and establishing federal labor unions. Our over-all membership will be enhanced in the insurance field by 15,000 making us the dominant union for insurance agents.

In the **Northeastern States**, we are carrying on general organizing campaigns. At present, the campaigns which are engaging the attention of our organizing staff are in the mass production industries in the state of Connecticut.

In the **Southeastern States**, considerable general organizing work has been under way in all industries, particularly among the citrus workers and the tobacco workers. We are jointly working with the Tobacco Workers International Union and other interested unions in a campaign at the R. J. Reynolds plant in Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

In the **Southwestern States**, in cooperation with our international unions, we have accomplished considerable organization work in the lumbering industries of Louisiana and Arkansas and in the building and construction field. In the inter-mountain area of the West and Southwest we are jointly engaged with the Metal Trades Department in an organizing program in the metal mining industry.

In the **Northwestern States**, our activities are of a general character. However, it might be well to specifically mention that the Atomic Energy Plant in Richland, Washington, was successfully organized by the Hanford Atomic Metal Trades Council under the direction of one of our staff organizers. This plant is now under contract with this Council of the Metal Trades Department.

A campaign is underway which is of a joint nature with the interested local unions in the aluminum plant of Mead and Trentwood, Washington.

In the **Middle West**, we have been directing our activities in mass production industries, particularly in the aluminum field.

In **Canada**, we have had an active organizing program in progress this past year which has shown very favorable results. It has enhanced the membership of our international unions. We were successful in organizing the Atomic Energy workers in Chalk River, a Federal Government project. A campaign is under way to organize the Ontario Hydro Electric Power Commission. An active committee of the unions involved has been established. This campaign will call for considerable activity and will take some time to complete.

We were successful in returning most of the federal labor union membership and their local unions, that seceded from us, back to the American Federation of Labor.

Newfoundland—Our organizer has been successful in cooperating with our international unions in bringing a great number of the Newfoundland workers into the American Federation of Labor. Activity is under way in the fishing and metal mining industries and meeting with considerable success.

Alaska—Our organizing activities have followed the same general pattern of assisting and cooperating with the international unions. Our major activity at the present in the territory is in the fish cannery industry. A representative election will be held to determine the collective bargaining agency in this industry. We hope to be successful in this election so that our organizing program can be extended throughout the entire industry in Alaska.

Hawaii—In the past year there has been considerable organizing activity on the part of the local unions, especially in the Building and Construction Trades. This followed the conference held in June, 1948. The conference was attended by representatives of the international unions and has created unity of purpose in all of our local unions, central labor councils, building trades and metal trades councils.

Conclusion

Average yearly membership of federal labor unions shows a decline. This does not necessarily indicate a loss of membership in the American Federation of Labor, as a number of federal labor unions were transferred to the international and national unions which are chartered by the American Federation of Labor. In fact, 36 federal labor unions were transferred to international unions and now their membership is reflected in the total membership of the American Federation of Labor.

The following table presents the average yearly membership of federal labor unions during the fiscal years ending August 31.

| | |
|------|---------|
| 1939 | 171,207 |
| 1940 | 185,707 |
| 1941 | 198,605 |
| 1942 | 241,677 |
| 1943 | 259,344 |
| 1944 | 297,852 |
| 1945 | 264,862 |
| 1946 | 208,256 |
| 1947 | 244,513 |
| 1948 | 239,865 |
| 1949 | 201,019 |

The indications are that the American Federation of Labor's policies and principles are very receptive to the American worker, who is

apparently realizing more and more that his best interests both economically and socially can be serviced through affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. The continuation of our program to join with and enlist the aid of international unions, central labor unions, state federations of labor, building and metal trade council representatives in organizing activities should show the successful fulfillment of many more organizing campaigns.

STRIKE BENEFITS

The Executive Council had referred to it, by the 1948 Convention, the subject matter of Resolution No. 60 for study, review and recommendations.

This resolution called for an increase in strike benefits now authorized for payment to federal labor unions under the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

After giving this matter careful study and consideration, the Executive Council recommends that the 1949 Convention of the American Federation of Labor, by amending Section 5, Article XIII of the Constitution, raise the strike benefits for federal labor unions from seven (\$7.00) dollars per week to ten (\$10.00) dollars per week and extend the period of payment of these weekly benefits from six (6) weeks to ten (10) weeks. To accomplish the purpose of this recommendation, Section 5 of Article XIII should be amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2 and 3, the American Federation of Labor shall pay to the bonded officer of the Union involved, or his order, for a period of ten weeks, an amount equal to ten (\$10) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safekeeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No benefit shall be paid for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period."

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1948

| Name of Organization | Death | Sick | Unemployment | Old Age | Disability | Miscellaneous | Total |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|------------|--------------|--------------|------------|---------------|--------------|
| Actors and Artists of America, Associated | | | | | | | |
| Air Line Dispatchers Association | NO | INTER | NATIONAL | L | BENE | FITS | PAID |
| Air Line Pilots Association | NO | INTER | NATIONAL | L | BENE | FITS | PAID |
| Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and | NO | INTER | NATIONAL | L | BENE | FITS | PAID |
| Automobile Workers of America, International Union United | | | | | | | |
| Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America | 537,695.00 | 140,175.00 | | | | | 677,870.00 |
| Barbers, Hairdressers and Cosmetologists' International Union of America, The | 189,975.00 | 45,930.00 | | | | | 235,905.00 |
| Journeyman | | | | | | | |
| Bill Posters and Bilers of America, International Alliance of | NO | INTER | NATIONAL | L | BENE | FITS | PAID |
| Blacksmiths, DropForgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of | 17,883.00 | | | | | | 17,883.00 |
| Boiler Makers Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of | | | | | | | |
| Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of | 113,100.00 | | 1,532.00 | | | 982.45 | 115,614.45 |
| Boot and Shoe Workers' Union | 56,950.00 | | | | | | 56,950.00 |
| Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America | 290,863.23 | | | 359,107.75 | | | 649,970.98 |
| Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United | 3,800.00 | | | | | | 3,800.00 |
| Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association | 83,450.00 | | | 157,125.00 | | | 240,575.00 |
| Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International | | | | | | | |
| Building Service Employees' International | 685,053.00 | 27,406.59 | | | | 23,534.00 | 735,993.59 |
| Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway | 320,800.00 | | | | 4,200.00 | | 325,000.00 |
| Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of | 934,721.85 | | | 2,329,920.00 | | | 3,264,641.85 |
| Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers International Union, United | NO | INTER | NATIONAL | L | BENE | FITS | PAID |
| Chemical Workers Union, International | NO | INTER | NATIONAL | L | BENE | FITS | PAID |
| Cigarmakers' International Union of America | NO | INTER | NATIONAL | L | BENE | FITS | PAID |
| Cleaning and Dye House Workers, International Association of | 12,081.00 | 10,200.00 | | | | 3,553.40 | 25,834.40 |
| Clerks, National Feder- | 76,500.00 | 15,129.20 | | | | | 91,629.20 |

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1948

| Name of Organization | Death | Sick | Unem- p-oyment | Old Age | Disability | Miscel- laneous | Total |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|------------|-------------------|--------------|------------|--------------------|---------------|
| Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway | 770,048.85 | 28,456.40 | 20,500.00 | | | | 819,005.25 |
| Clerks' International Association, Retail | 145,041.60 | 46,563.10 | | 1,820.00 | | 776.40 | 194,201.10 |
| Coopers' International Union of North America | 8,750.00 | | | | | 2,500.00 | 11,250.00 |
| Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America | 10,450.00 | | | | | 352.50 | 10,802.50 |
| Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers International Union | 41,000.00 | 285,434.45 | | | | | 326,434.45 |
| Draftsmen's Union, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and | NO | INTER | NATIONAL | BENE | FITS | PAID | |
| Electrical Workers, International Brotherhood of | 1,362,730.84 | | | 1,948,030.07 | | | 3,310,760.91 |
| Elevator Constructors, International Union of | NO | INTER | NATIONAL | BENE | FITS | PAID | |
| Engineers International Union of Operating | 191,765.00 | | | | | | 191,765.00 |
| Engravers Union of North America, International Photo | 310,835.85 | 100,594.35 | 87,617.85 | 149,358.50 | | 2,748.78 | 651,155.33 |
| Farm Labor Union, National, | NO | INTER | NATIONAL | BENE | FITS | PAID | |
| Fire Fighters, International Association of | 49,650.00 | | | 1,000.00 | | | 1,000.00 |
| Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of | 49,650.00 | | | | | | 49,650.00 |
| Fight Engineers' International Association | NO | INTER | NATIONAL | BENE | FITS | PAID | |
| Garment Workers of America, United | 33,925.00 | | | | | | 33,925.00 |
| Garment Workers Union, International Ladies' | 612,330.00 | 122,127.00 | | | | 15,618,857.80 | 16,353,314.80 |
| Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada | 38,500.00 | | | | | | 38,500.00 |
| Glass Cutters' League of America, Window, | 13,900.00 | | | | | | 13,900.00 |
| Glass Workers' Union American Flint. | 28,500.00 | | | | | | 28,500.00 |
| Glove Workers, Union of America, International | 1,850.00 | | | | | | 1,850.00 |
| Government Employees, American Federation of | NO | INTER | NATIONAL | BENE | FITS | PAID | |
| Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The | 26,857.50 | | | | | 38,074.00 | 64,931.50 |
| Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union, International | | | | | | | |
| Hatters' Cap and Millinery Workers International Union, | 1,900.00 | 106,294.00 | | | 298,655.00 | 12,550.00 | 419,429.00 |
| Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International | 377,364.04 | 5,306.11 | 1,614.42 | 3,421.06 | 14,377.59 | 34,663.05 | 436,746.27 |
| Horse Shoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeyemen. | 800.00 | | | | | | 800.00 |

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1948

| Name of Organization | Death | Sick | Unem- ployment | Old Age | Disability | Miscel- laneous | Total |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|---------------|-------------------|-----------|------------|--------------------|--------------|
| Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union | 363,675.00 | | | | | 444,390.35 | 808,065.35 |
| Jewelry Workers' Union, International | | | | | | | |
| Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal | | | | | | | |
| Laundry Workers' International Union | 18,787.44 | 19,332.12 | | | | 6,121.51 | 44,411.07 |
| Leather Workers International Union, United | | | | | | 1,275.00 | 1,275.00 |
| Letter Carriers, National Association of Longshoremen's Association, International | 279,016.14 | 190,279.58 | | | | | 469,295.72 |
| Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters Helpers and Terrazzo Helpers, International Association of | 404,855.00 | | | | | | 404,855.00 |
| Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization | 3,700.00 | | | | | | 3,700.00 |
| Master Mechanics and Foremen of Navy Yards and Naval Stations, National Association of | 6,150.00 | 85.00 | | | | 100.00 | 6,335.00 |
| Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated | NO | INTERNATIONAL | BENEFITS | PAID | | | |
| Metal Workers International Association, Sheet | 216,000.00 | 660,000.00 | 500,000.00 | 17,000.00 | 160,000.00 | 114,000.00 | 1,667,000.00 |
| Millers, American Federation of Grain | 91,750.00 | | | | | 10,800.00 | 102,550.00 |
| Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America, International | 19,265.41 | 12,425.61 | | | | 1,234.08 | 32,519.10 |
| Musicians, American Federation of | 379,413.91 | 128,968.00 | 49,618.75 | | | | 558,000.66 |
| Office Employees International Union | NO | INTERNATIONAL | BENEFITS | PAID | | | |
| Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of | 493,910.87 | | | | 46,825.00 | 22,200.00 | 562,935.87 |
| Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of | 173,344.20 | | | | | 63,400.00 | 236,744.20 |
| Pattern Makers League of North America | 19,125.00 | 17,424.20 | 18,155.00 | | | 2,225.11 | 56,929.31 |
| Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative | 109,590.00 | | | | | 1,635.00 | 111,225.00 |
| Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the | 504,000.00 | 7,595.00 | | | | 22,324.00 | 533,919.00 |

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1948

| Name of Organization | Death | Sick | Unemployment | Old Age | Disability | Miscellaneous | Total |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|------------|--------------|------------|------------|---------------|--------------|
| Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers International Union, Metal | 4,600.00 | | | | | | 4,600.00 |
| Porters, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car | NO | INTER | NATIONAL | L | BENE | FITS | PAID |
| Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers, National Association of | NO | INTER | NATIONAL | L | BENE | FITS | PAID |
| Postal Supervisors, The National Association of | NO | INTER | NATIONAL | L | BENE | FITS | PAID |
| Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative | 70,800.00 | 8,387.71 | | | | | 79,187.71 |
| Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers' Union of North America, International Plate | NO | INTER | NATIONAL | L | BENE | FITS | PAID |
| Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America, International | 1411,259.09 | 146,279.20 | 75,306.67 | 317,581.65 | | | 950,426.61 |
| Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of | | | | | | 6,510.00 | 6,510.00 |
| Radio and Television Directors Guild | NO | INTER | NATIONAL | L | BENE | FITS | PAID |
| Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric | 1,511,043.80 | 177,142.52 | | | 5,600.00 | | 1,693,786.32 |
| Railway Mail Association | 36,520.65 | | | | 153,977.50 | | 190,498.15 |
| Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United State, Tile and Composition | 52,784.46 | | | | | | 52,784.46 |
| Seafarers International Union of North America | 39,306.41 | 16,890.50 | | | | 2,456.55 | 58,653.46 |
| Siderographers International Association of | | | | | | | |
| Signalmen, Brotherhood of Rail Road | NO | INTER | NATIONAL | L | BENE | FITS | PAID |
| Special Delivery Messengers, The National Association of | NO | INTER | NATIONAL | L | BENE | FITS | PAID |
| Spinners Union, International | | | | | | | |
| Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical | NO | INTER | NATIONAL | L | BENE | FITS | PAID |
| State, County and Municipal employes, American Federation of | NO | INTER | NATIONAL | L | BENE | FITS | PAID |
| Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International | 135,203.66 | | | | 1,215.60 | | 136,419.26 |
| Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen | 4,950.00 | | | | | | 4,950.00 |
| Stove Mounters' International Union | 20,070.70 | | 10,338.63 | | | 10,964.38 | 41,373.71 |

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1948

| Name of Organization | Death | Sick | Unemployment | Old Age | Disability | Miscellaneous | Total |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| Switchmen's Union of North America | 192,950.00 | | | 1,440.00 | 18,595.00 | 1,700.00 | 214,685.00 |
| Teachers, American Federation of | NO | INTER | NATIONAL | L | BENE | FITS | PAID |
| Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of | | | | | | 244,950.00 | 244,950.00 |
| Telegraphers, The Order of Railroad | 241,193.13 | | | | | 5,102.50 | 246,295.63 |
| Telegraphers' Union of North America, The Commercial | 28,497.48 | | | | | | 28,497.48 |
| Textile Workers of America, United | NO | INTER | NATIONAL | L | BENE | FITS | PAID |
| Tobacco Workers International Union | 8,875.00 | | | 1,200.00 | | | 10,075.00 |
| Typographical Union, International | 899,797.97 | 99,263.40 | 28,543.99 | 6,510,588.26 | 518,858.59 | 8,056,710.97 | 16,104,763.18 |
| Signalmen, Brotherhood of Railroad | | | | | | | |
| Upholsterers' International Union of North America | 112,617.50 | 590,923.03 | | | | 11,795.71 | 715,336.24 |
| Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America, United | 24,000.00 | | | | | | 24,000.00 |
| Weavers Protective Association, American Wire | NO | INTER | NATIONAL | L | BENE | FITS | PAID |
| Yardmasters of America, Railroad | 7,400.00 | | | | | | 7,400.00 |
| Brotherhood Locomotive Engineers | | | | | | 65,800.00 | 65,800.00 |
| Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen | 2,153,830.39 | 17,543.94 | 137,084.45 | 14,134.04 | 47,598.00 | | 2,370,190.82 |
| Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen | 3,125,688.88 | 3,068,013.04 | 158,682.60 | | 383,027.09 | 2,433,507.13 | 9,168,918.74 |
| Order of Railway Conductors of America | 744,310.98 | | | | 68,443.97 | 236,947.30 | 1,049,702.25 |
| Total | 20,248,356.93 | 6,094,169.06 | 1,089,164.36 | 11,811,726.33 | 1,721,373.34 | 27,504,771.97 | 68,469,561.99 |

¹ Includes local benefits.

² Paid by local unions.

³ Paid by local unions and employers.

⁴ Includes disability benefits.

⁵ Dues waived.

| | |
|--------------------------------|---------------|
| Recapitulation: Death Benefits | 20,248,356.93 |
| Sick Benefits | 6,094,169.06 |
| Unemployment Benefits | 1,089,164.36 |
| Old Age Benefits | 11,811,726.33 |
| Disability Benefits | 1,721,373.34 |
| Miscellaneous Benefits | 27,504,771.97 |

Total 68,469,561.99

LEGAL ACTIVITIES OF GENERAL COUNSEL

I. Taft-Hartley Repeal

One of the principal functions performed by the Office of the General Counsel during the last year was its work in connection with efforts to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act. Beginning in January, when the Thomas and Lesinski Bills were proposed, and extending through the closing minutes of the fight in the Senate, it was necessary for the Office of the General Counsel to summarize, analyze and advise concerning the legal significance and implications of the various measures introduced by the supporters or opponents of Taft-Hartley repeal. Very often, especially during the legislative battles in the House and in the Senate, it was necessary that these analyses be undertaken at very short notice. The Office of the General Counsel was of great assistance during the legislative fight, not only in summarizing and analyzing the bills but in assisting in presenting arguments for or against various proposals. The Office of the General Counsel worked in close conjunction with the office of the Legislative Department of the American Federation of Labor. Furthermore, the Office of the General Counsel assisted in the presentation of material in connection with hearings before the Senate and House Labor Committees. This involved analysis of the Taft-Hartley Act and the course of decisions under the Taft-Hartley Act since its enactment, as well as a study of the impact of the law in general, and, in addition, a comparison of the protections under the Taft-Hartley Act with the protections under the Wagner Act.

Included among the various bills which were analyzed and reported upon are the following: (1) The Thomas Bill in the Senate and the Lesinski Bill in the House, which would repeal the Taft-Hartley Act and restore the Wagner Act with some slight amendments, among which was one dealing with national emergencies by providing for the establishment of a National Emergency Board to make findings and recommendations to the President and the public, with a "cooling-off" period of 30 days, but no provision for injunction. (2) The two Wood's Bills which were both as bad if not worse than the Taft-Hartley Act and which, in fact, gave more leeway in the use of injunctions than did the Taft-Hartley Act. (3) The Simms or Rayburn amendments which would add to the Lesinski Bill a requirement that labor organizations bargain in good faith, a requirement that both unions and employers file anti-communist affidavits and financial reports, and a provision for the use of injunctions in national emergencies. (4) The Taft amendments which, while watering down some of the minor provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act, retained in full all of the major objectionable features of the Taft-Hartley Act, including the use of injunctions to restrain union unfair labor practices and to curb national emergency strikes, the prohibitions on closed-shop agreements and on secondary boycotts,

and the subjection of unions to liability in damages for breaches of contract and for violations of the secondary boycott restrictions. (5) The Morse amendment which provided for Congressional action in case of national emergency strikes. (6) The Douglas amendment which was the same as the Simms amendment except that, instead of providing for injunctions in national emergencies, it provided for plant seizure. (7) The Ives amendment providing for Congressional action plus plant seizure. (8) The Jacobs Bill regulating the internal activities of labor organizations.

In addition to the foregoing, the Office of the General Counsel was available to the legislative representatives of the American Federation of Labor during the course of debates for the purpose of supplying material which might be helpful in promoting certain proposals or in opposing others. Finally, the Office of the General Counsel, together with members of the A. F. of L.'s Legislative Committee, participated in numerous conferences with Senators and Congressmen in respect to specific proposals prior to the time that they were introduced as bills.

II. The Taft-Hartley Act and Developments Thereunder

The Office of the General Counsel has participated in various cases before the National Labor Relations Board and has constantly advised the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions and their representatives of their rights and responsibilities under the law as it has developed during the past year.

The most important court case under the Taft-Hartley Act in which the General Counsel's office participated was a criminal action instituted in Hartford, Connecticut, and which was designed to test the constitutionality of the political expenditures section of the Taft-Hartley Act. On motion under the pleadings the trial court held the law constitutional. Thereafter a trial was had, and the local union and its president were convicted and sentenced to pay a fine. The conviction was appealed to the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit. On February 8, 1949, that Court handed down an opinion reversing the decision of the trial court and setting aside the judgments of conviction. While the opinion of the Circuit Court of Appeals did not reach the merits of the constitutional contentions, its holding that the prohibitions of the Taft-Hartley Act did not embrace money spent by a local union for advertising space in a commercial newspaper of local circulation or for a local broadcast on a commercial radio station, to elect or defeat political candidates, has, as a practical matter, so weakened the political expenditures' prohibition in the Taft-Hartley Act as to make it almost a "dead letter." The Federal Government did not appeal the case, so the decision is a final and binding one. As a result, even Senator Taft, in his amendments to the Taft-Hartley Act, passed by the Senate last June, eliminated the

prohibition against political expenditures by labor unions, although still retaining the prohibition against contributions as such.

Among the more important Labor Board cases in which the General Counsel's office has participated are the following: (1) The *Reynolds Metals Company* case in which the Board permitted the carving out of craft units in the aluminum industry in spite of a previous history of bargaining on an industrial basis. (2) The *Dun & Bradstreet Company* case in which the Board permitted a group of employees to file a petition and be certified under the name of the American Federation of Labor itself. (3) The *Prudential, John Hancock and Metropolitan Life Insurance Companies'* cases in which the Board designated nation-wide units in the insurance field, and in which lengthy hearings were held not only over the question of the unit but concerning objections to the Prudential election involving almost 20,000 employees, in which the A.F.L. Insurance Council received the top number of votes, but not a majority, thus requiring a run-off. In the run-off the A.F.L. Insurance Council won an overwhelming victory. (4) The *United States Time Company* case involving the question of whether an A.F.L. contract constituted a bar to an election petition, and in which the Board held in favor of the American Federation of Labor's contentions.

In addition to the foregoing, the Office of the General Counsel participated in a number of other Labor Board representation cases involving the usual questions of propriety of unit, supervisory exclusions, and the like.

Developments under the Taft-Hartley Act since the 1948 Report of the Executive Council have further confirmed all objections of organized labor to the Act. Since the effective date of this Act, through July, 1949, a total of 56 injunctions have been sought, 54 against labor organizations and only 2 against employers. The threat of injunction in thousands of unreported cases was an even more effective anti-union weapon. Labor disputes in the atomic energy industry, long lines telephone, the maritime trades, the packing industry, the mining and steel industries, were all adversely affected by the so-called "national emergency" provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. In a number of cases, several of them involving the Teamsters International Union, injunctions which were granted at the request of the Board's General Counsel, before hearings on the merits, were later dissolved after the case was fully heard, thus again illustrating one of the principal objections to the use of the injunction—that the dispute is ended and the strike enjoined before the merits can be adjudicated.

The broad prohibitions in the Act against secondary boycotts continued to prevent many heretofore legitimate and peaceful efforts by a labor organization to lend assistance to a sister organization. Experience during the past year has shown that the prohibitions against secondary

boycotts in the Taft-Hartley Act cannot be too severely condemned as defeating legitimate labor activity.

The closed-shop agreement, with the protections and security which accompanied such agreements, is rapidly becoming a thing of the past with the expiration of contracts entered into prior to the Taft-Hartley Act.

Finally, the free speech provision of the Taft-Hartley Act has continued to be utilized by employers during the course of organizing campaigns or immediately preceding elections to vilify and discredit unions.

The following especially significant rulings of the Board during the last year, emphasizing further the adverse effect of the Taft-Hartley Act, should be commented upon even though the Office of the General Counsel did not participate in them.

Otherwise bona fide labor contracts which contain a union-security clause that has not been preceded by the union-shop election required under the Act are no bar to raids by rival unions during the existence of the contract, and this is true even though the union-security provision has never been enforced.

So-called "mass picketing" has been declared illegal without an attempt to prescribe just what number of pickets may or may not constitute mass picketing. The following of a scab's automobile has been ruled illegal. In that same case (*Sunset Line and Twine Co.*) the Board ruled that an International was responsible for the illegal acts of members of a local union engaged in a strike, even though the International had not specifically authorized or may have specifically forbidden the act in question, if an International organizer happened to be present at the scene of the picketing and did not attempt to put a stop to it.

In another important case (*Klassen & Hodgson*) the Board ruled that the free speech provision of the Taft-Hartley Act (Section 8(c)) does not operate to permit peaceful attempts, by peaceful picketing or the circulation of an unfair or "do not patronize" list, to persuade employees to support a secondary boycott by refusing to cross a picket line. Chairman Herzog found himself forced to concur in this decision, stating, "Surely, the 80th Congress was more interested in putting an end to the secondary boycott than in protecting peaceful picketing and 'do not patronize lists.'" However, the Board has not as yet held that an unfair list cannot be circulated for the purpose of informing union members and the public generally that a certain employer or manufacturer or retailer is unfair, and that his product should not be purchased; it is only when a third party strike is induced that the unfair list becomes illegal.

The foregoing are but a few of the many cases decided by the Board illustrative of the continued anti-labor scope of decisions under Taft-Hartley. The more experience organized labor has under Taft-Hartley,

the more obvious it becomes that total repeal of the law must be accomplished at all costs.

III. State Anti-Labor Laws .

The 1948 Executive Council Report, after relating the passage of anti-labor legislation in some thirty states, made reference to litigation undertaken by the American Federation of Labor or in which the American Federation of Labor had rendered assistance testing the validity of a number of such enactments in various states. In particular, the report made reference to suits instituted in Arizona, North Carolina and Nebraska to determine the constitutionality of anti-closed-shop laws passed in those states. In addition, the report referred to pending litigation in Virginia, Florida, Delaware and Texas.

At that time the anti-closed-shop cases were about to be submitted to the Supreme Court of the United States. Comprehensive briefs were filed, including an economic brief, the case was argued at length, and finally, on January 3, 1949, the Court issued its decision. The Court upheld the anti-union-security laws in the three states, stating it would not interfere with the broad discretion of the states to pass laws limiting or prohibiting the right of labor organizations and employers to enter into union-security agreements or to discriminate against non-union employees any more than it would interfere with the right of the state to prohibit the making of "yellow dog" contracts or to prohibit any form of discrimination against union members.

The decision is a very important one, and it cannot be adequately discussed within the limits of this report. Our General Counsel has prepared a series of articles, which have appeared in the "American Federationist," which analyzed and discussed the significance of not only the anti-closed-shop cases but other important labor cases decided by the United States Supreme Court during its 1948-1949 Term.

In brief, the decision in the anti-closed-shop cases means that the Supreme Court will not interfere with the right of the states to pass laws controlling, regulating or prohibiting various union activities unless it can be shown that such regulation or prohibition operates actually to destroy the right of working people to form, join or function through labor organizations or otherwise impairs rights of speech, press and assembly protected under the First Amendment, or unless the regulation or prohibition is in direct conflict with some federal law.

While in immediate result the decision is unfavorable to organized labor, in end result the decision may prove favorable in a number of respects. To begin with, the case has served to settle a number of questions that have arisen since the states first began passing anti-labor laws concerning the extent to which the state can legislate affecting unions consistent with the federal Constitution, and under the decision

guide posts for the future have been established under which organized labor can formulate its policies and activities. Furthermore, the decision affords reasonable assurance that the Court will not strike down as unconstitutional any legislation which labor may sponsor to protect or advance its own interests even though the legislation may seem to employers as arbitrary as the laws forbidding union-security agreements appear to labor organizations. Finally, the decision, for the first time, expressly affirmed the principle that the right of working people to form, join and function through labor organizations is a right protected under the First Amendment, and thus is one which neither the state nor the Federal Government can impair.

Two other significant decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, in which the Office of the General Counsel was not directly involved but in which assistance was given, also served to indicate the reluctance of the Court to strike down state legislation on constitutional grounds. In *Giboney, et al. v. Empire Storage & Ice Company*, 69 S. Ct. 684, the Court, in a unanimous decision, held that an ancient anti-trust law in the State of Missouri could be utilized to prevent peaceful picketing of an ice company in an effort to persuade that company not to sell ice to vendors whom the union in question was trying to organize. The decision was apparently predicated upon the assumption that the record showed the objective of picketing was not simply to announce a labor dispute to the public but was primarily to compel the company to agree to stop selling ice to non-union peddlers—an agreement which in itself was held to be contrary to the Missouri anti-trust law.

The second case is that of *International Union, U.A.W.-A.F.L., Local 232, et al. v. Wisconsin Employment Relations Board, et al.*, 69 S. Ct. 516. In that case the Court held that intermittent and unannounced work stoppages whereunder employees would periodically stop work during working hours to attend union meetings was not the type of "concerted activity" protected by the National Labor Relations Act. Furthermore, the Court held that the decree of the Wisconsin Labor Relations Board, prohibiting such tactics, was not in conflict with the protections in the Thirteenth Amendment against involuntary servitude. The decision in this case is a dangerous one, for while the majority opinion did indicate that an ordinary strike, conducted in a peaceful manner and not involving any violence, sit-down or other unlawful conduct, would find protection both under the federal law and under the United States Constitution, it holds not only that the intermittent work stoppages involved in this case were not constitutionally protected, but also holds in effect that the states have power to control the method of conducting a strike when such control was not exclusively given to a federal agency by Congressional enactment.

Developments in the remaining cases mentioned in the 1948 report of the Executive Council are as follows:

In Florida, one of the two cases is still pending. The other, *Watson v. International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Local 390*, was decided in favor of the contentions made by the union. The lower court had enjoined peaceful picketing on the ground that the state law required a majority vote of the employees of the employer before any picketing could be engaged in. The State Supreme Court, however, dissolved this injunction, holding that since this picketing was being conducted by non-employees, the state law requiring such a vote did not apply.

In Texas, the case of *Ex parte Leo Henry* resulted in victory for the union involved, the Appellate Court upholding the right peacefully to picket, even though third parties might thereby be induced to sever business relations with the employer.

The other case (*Construction and General Labor Union Local No. 688, et al. v. Stephenson*), involving the legality of an attempt to protest, by peaceful picketing, the hiring of non-union labor, was decided adversely, the Court holding that the state could properly authorize an injunction because the members of the union doing the picketing were engaged in a different type of work than the employees of the employer being picketed. The case seems to fly in the face of *American Federation of Labor v. Swing*, and an appeal is being contemplated.

In Virginia, the case of *Hawkins v. Finney, et al.*, involving the Virginia anti-closed-shop law, has been argued before the Virginia Supreme Court, and a decision is expected in the near future.

In Delaware, five cases involving various aspects of the comprehensive Delaware anti-labor law were argued last November, but the Court has still not rendered a decision. However, the Governor of the state has signed a bill repealing this law, although the legality of this repeal is being questioned by those opposing the repeal.

Additional state litigation, in which the Office of the General Counsel participated during the past year, and which was not mentioned in the last report, is as follows:

1. The case of *The State of New Jersey v. Traffic Telephone Workers Federation of New Jersey and Bell Telephone Co.* before the Supreme Court of New Jersey, involved the constitutionality of the New Jersey law requiring compulsory arbitration in public utility labor controversies and limiting the right of public utility employees to strike. The New Jersey Supreme Court declared the law unconstitutional on the ground that it improperly delegated legislative authority to administrative officials without sufficiently prescribing standards. The enemies of Labor, however, having lost in the court, went to the state legislature and were successful in having that body enact legislation designed to cure the constitutional defect found by the court.

2. The case of *The Superior Court of the State of California and Farmer Bros. Co. v. Gay Lilleflore, et al.* involved an appeal to the

United States Supreme Court by an employer who sought to obtain a reversal of the decision of the Supreme Court of California, holding the so-called "hot cargo" law of that state unconstitutional. The law in question forbade the union members from refusing to handle or work on unfair or non-union goods or materials. The Office of the General Counsel presented briefs to and argued the case before the United States Supreme Court. The Supreme Court rejected the employer's appeal as being without foundation, thus leaving intact the California decision declaring the "hot cargo" law unconstitutional.

3. The case of *The Dayton Company v. Carpet, Linoleum and Resilient Floor Decorators' Union, Local No. 596, A.F.L.*, in the Supreme Court of Minnesota, involved the validity of a Minnesota law purporting to prohibit a strike protesting the displacement of union workers with non-union workers where the effect of the strike is to require the employer to discriminate against non-union members contrary to the Minnesota statute. The Minnesota Supreme Court, on its own version of the facts, found that the purpose of the strike was to require the employer to discriminate against non-union members rather than to protest the displacement of union workers by non-union employees and held that such a purpose was unlawful and that picketing for such purpose could be enjoined. It is expected that a petition for rehearing will be filed in which the Court will be asked to review its version of the facts under the record.

4. The case of *United States of America v. John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers* in the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, involved the so-called "national emergency" provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. This was the case in which Judge Goldsborough of the Federal Court in the District of Columbia evolved the notorious "nod, wink or code" theory, making parent organizations responsible for all general cessations of work even though not authorized, and in which John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers Union were fined a total of \$1,420,000 for alleged contempt of court. The brief of the American Federation of Labor supported the right of the miners to strike under the circumstances of the particular case. In its decision sustaining the fines, the United States Court of Appeals refused to consider the constitutionality of the emergency provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act or the legality of the particular strike and confined its decision to the narrow determination that the Mine Workers had committed a contempt of court regardless of whether the law was or was not constitutional or whether the strike was or was not legal.

In addition to the foregoing, the Office of the General Counsel has on numerous occasions rendered advice to various local counsel throughout the country respecting the propriety or wisdom of attempting appeals in various cases. As before stated, the Supreme Court of the United States has indicated an increasing reluctance to declare state laws

invalid as being contrary to the federal Constitution, asserting that the remedy of unions for oppressive legislation lies in the legislatures and not in the courts. However, there are certain fundamental rights which the Court has continued to protect and which require ceaseless vigilance to keep inviolate. It is important in every case to make certain that the facts involved are suitable for test purposes and to make sure that only the most appropriate cases reach the higher courts for determination. The Office of the General Counsel has been requested to give what assistance it can to A.F.L. affiliates with the end in view of coordinating litigation in the Appellate Courts and for the purpose of eliminating, wherever possible, the taking of appeals in cases where it may appear inadvisable to proceed. Affiliates are urged to avail themselves of this service. Indeed, it may even be wise to consult with the Office of the General Counsel at earlier stages of litigation in the lower courts or even before litigation is instituted, because once litigation is commenced and adverse decisions are announced, it is sometimes difficult to refrain from attempting appeals.

Miscellaneous Litigation in The Courts

1. In the case of *Deena Artware v. American Federation of Labor*, the American Federation of Labor, together with the Brotherhood of Teamsters and the United Brick & Clay Workers, has been sued for \$460,000 damages in the Federal Court in Paducah, Kentucky, for alleged violations of the secondary boycott provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. Preliminary motions requesting dismissal of the American Federation of Labor and the Teamsters as party defendants were made in Court and were recently denied. The Office of the General Counsel in cooperation with counsel for the Brick & Clay Workers have prepared an answer to the complaint filed by the Deena Artware Company and will file this pleading in court when and if necessary. This is an extremely important case, and the Office of the General Counsel has been instructed to take all possible steps to protect the interests of the American Federation of Labor and the other International Unions involved.

2. The cases of *Lee v. Federal Labor Union No. 19981, et al.*, *Aikey v. Federal Labor Union*, and *Coder v. Federal Labor Union* involved three suits against a Federal Labor Union in the State of Pennsylvania seeking injunctions and damages for alleged misconduct in operating the internal affairs of the union and in expelling members found guilty of dual unionism. After trial, the Court dismissed the suits, holding that giving assistance to an unaffiliated union constituted a violation of the oath and conduct unbecoming a member. Numerous questions with respect to the conduct of union trials and appeals were decided favorably to the union, and the Court reaffirmed and expanded the application of the rule that a union need not conduct its

trials and proceedings with the strict and technical exactitude customarily required in courts of law.

3. *In re William Roy Welton* is a case before the Tax Court which may be of interest to a number of international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, as it involves a matter of deduction for tax purposes of distinctive clothing or uniforms required in the carrying on of an occupation. The specific question in this case is whether letter carriers are entitled to deduct the purchase price and maintenance and deterioration of uniforms and other necessary expenses in their federal income tax returns. Heretofore, such necessary expenses were not deductible, and if a favorable ruling can be obtained, it might facilitate the granting of deductions in similar situations.

IV. Analysis of Bills Proposed Before State and Federal Legislatures

Another principal function of the Office of the General Counsel was, in addition to analyzing the various bills proposed in connection with the Taft-Hartley repeal, to summarize, analyze and comment upon various proposals affecting labor made before state and federal legislative bodies and transmitted to the Office of the General Counsel for examination either by legislative representatives of the American Federation of Labor or by State or Territorial Federations of Labor. Numerous bills were examined. Among the more important federal bills were the following: (1) Proposed changes in the Fair Labor Standards Act, including various proposals related to the problems of overtime pay as raised by the so-called "Overtime-on-Overtime" decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Longshoremen's case; (2) the Tydings Defense Bills (S. 1269 and S. 1843) providing for the unification of the armed services; (3) the Murray Bill (S. 281) to promote economic stability by encouraging private investment, encouraging voluntary development, through industry, agriculture and labor cooperation, of general policies relating to prices, wages, and profits, by encouraging long-range planning of public works, and by giving immediate and direct attention to localized areas of unemployment; (4) the Mundt and Ferguson Bills (S. 1194 and S. 1196) attempting to combat the threat of Communism; (5) the Lucas Concurrent Resolution No. 2 seeking to protect citizens appearing before Congressional investigating committees from unwarranted and unjustified attacks upon their character; (6) H. R. 4446 regulating the practice and presentation of cases before administrative agencies.

V. Rendering of Advisory Opinions.

A constant and most important function of the Office of the General Counsel, and certainly the function which takes the greater portion of its time, is the rendering of advisory opinions, either by formal memorandum or by letter, telephone or personal communication. The advice

thus given covers a multitude of problems ranging from opinions concerning the meaning, scope and application of the Taft-Hartley Act (the most frequent subject of requests for opinions) to the right of unions to expel or discipline members. Very often it is necessary to arrange for and participate in conferences with government officials, such as officials of the National Labor Relations Board, officials in the Department of Justice, officials in the Department of Labor, the Treasury Department, etc.

The multiple federal and state labor relations laws and other laws affecting labor organizations and the penalties that exist for violations of any of these laws have made labor organizations realize the necessity for consultation with attorneys when any doubt at all exists as to the proper course of conduct to be taken in any given situation so that they could avoid legal entanglements beforehand. Thus, the Office of the General Counsel functions not only to assist labor organizations after they have gotten into legal difficulties, but, even more important, to help them avoid such difficulties in the first instance.

WORLD SITUATION

Europe

Through the effective results of the Economic Recovery Administration, Western European countries have regained prewar economic levels in production but intra-European and foreign trade are handicapped by difficulties in the interchangeability of national moneys. Only two European countries have made sufficient recovery to be able to help their neighbors. It is significant that free enterprise still exists in these two countries.

Many of the difficulties now limiting European economic progress grew out of the absence of a unifying political federation with uniform trade controls—a condition that also limits security. Ten countries have ratified the Brussels Treaty which sets up a Consultative Council of Europe to deal with situations which may constitute a threat to peace. There is some support for a Western European Union. The Brussels Treaty falls short of anything like a political federation which could unify and strengthen Western Europe to provide free markets within its jurisdiction.

Three low countries—Holland, Belgium and Luxemburg—had entered into a customs union of the type that has facilitated political federation in Europe. However, Holland's difficulties in her colonies have resulted in such financial problems that the Benelux agreement has not had the beneficial effects desired. The customs agreement between France and Italy has also been hampered by inflation problems in both of the two countries. Belgium led the way in dealing with inflation. Holland, Norway and Austria followed the Belgium pattern. Sweden and Den-

mark came through the war without bad results. The money systems of Switzerland and Portugal are stronger than prewar.

In order to operate under the European Recovery Plan, the participants drew up a Charter to set up the machinery and rules of operation. Thus the Committee on European Economic Cooperation was authorized. Accounts between European countries are cleared through the Bank of International Settlements.

The Organization for European Economic Cooperation could well take on broader functions with long range responsibility when authorized by the various countries. Such a move would result in strengthening and expanding existing production facilities so that more would be produced, thus putting more real value in money and raising standards of living while increasing continental and foreign trade. While the curve is upward there should be multilateral arrangement to get currencies on a sound basis so that plans for universal exchangeability can be worked out. Refusals to let the necessary adjustments take place because of political reasons and in order to make political experiments, have hindered economic adjustments necessary for stabilization at the postwar level. In the change-over from war production to civilian, as scarcities are overcome, markets change from sellers to buyers control, competition returns and prices fall. With buyers markets, producers must watch costs and there is need for more production with greater efficiencies that bring lower costs. Each country must avert inflation, balance its budget, assure sound currency, in order to deal profitably in the world markets.

While economic progress under ECA has given European peoples new courage and hope, their very closeness to the forces of aggression make their insecurity very disturbing. Because of the moral effect of a pact assuring cooperation in the event of attacks of aggression, the Pact for the North Atlantic Community was negotiated and signed by 12 nations. It is like the Rio Pact of 1947 for the Western Hemisphere.

The Pact is carefully drawn so as to constitute a regional agreement under the Charter of the United Nations. The purpose of the Pact is to safeguard regionally the principles and the freedoms assured by the United Nations. The parties pledge themselves to resist collectively armed attacks on any one of the signatories. The United States has ratified the Atlantic Pact.

While there are notable trends in Europe indicating the growing strength of democratic forces as a result of economic recovery plans, attention should not be distracted from the growing savageness of the religious war to bring the people of satellite countries under abject submission. Churches are to be communized to serve as a party tool.

The USSR took advantage of the absence of concrete provisions assuring their Allies access to Berlin to cut off supplies to the inhabitants

of Berlin and to reduce the city to a siege by starvation. Our Government then started the airlift to keep food and fuel going to relieve suffering. The Berlin situation was brought to a focus by the railroad strike. A settlement was finally made as to the right of entry but experience indicated the need for keeping the airlift readily available. The USSR has refused to permit the Eastern Sector of Berlin to cooperate with other sectors and has made its territory the center of Communist propaganda and action. Industry has steadily declined in the Soviet sector as well as the east mark. There are provisions for a Soviet State which will prepare the opportunities to impose their constitutions on the rest of Germany. Reparations and dismantling strengthen the Soviet influence.

There has been some economic recovery in Germany but it is handicapped by the uncertainties of dismantling. The economic formula tying the country to an agricultural economy has not been wholly abandoned and this has retarded the speed of European recovery. Germany was formerly the industrial heart of Europe, its intra-European commerce supplying machinery, tools and material for manufacturing as well as finished goods, equalled its foreign exports.

The American Federation of Labor from its first consideration of economic recovery for Europe, believed that recovery for Germany must be developed simultaneously with that of Europe without transfer of facilities. Through the development of an integrated European economy, there would be widest opportunity to detect and curb production for war purposes. We hope that Commissioner McCloy with his dual authority can promote progress to these ends.

Far East

The USSR began her aggression for expansion of the territory under Communist control during the last World War. With the end of the war she used the Japanese surrender as an opportunity to seize Manchuria and to arm Chinese Communists. Because of confusion on Chinese policy in this country, the United States gave little material aid to China.

The Far Eastern Division of the State Department seemed to favor the Communist cause in China and used its influence to prevent Congress from voting further aid to the Nationalist Government. The USSR took advantage of its military occupation in North Korea to force Communist control on that area. She is now sending back to Japan prisoners of war whom she has kept all these years for indoctrination. This is similar to the aggression campaign of the Chinese Communist armies which have taken Peiping and driven the Nationalist Government out of Nanking and Shanghai. Then they took Shanghai and are now ready to move on to South China and the Southeast.

The former head of the Nationalist Government, Chiang Kai-shek, and the president of the Philippines, have entered into a Pacific Pact in which they were joined by President Rhee of South Korea. The purpose is mutual defense against the Communists.

Our nation, with so much at stake in maintaining friendly relations with Asia, should take an active part in promoting this constructive movement to secure general participation. No one country can block the world machinations of the Kremlin, but cooperation for united defense is irresistible. Such a move would protect Japan, the Islands of the Pacific and Australia.

Our nation should proclaim a policy of cooperation with all democratic groups in Asia. We should offer to them economic aid and cooperation similar to what we have given Europe. Communism can be defeated by cooperation in defense of high ideals of human life—moral standards and human rights assuring freedom.

With China and Japan removed from effective action, India remains as the one great Asiatic nation able to take effective leadership in blocking Communist aggression. India has so recently gained national freedom that the zeal of that great achievement can be redirected to the next great cause—security for the liberties gained. The encounter in the ideological war with Communists is a struggle between ideals and can be won by a positive faith in democracy. Upon India will fall the brunt of the responsibility for the democratic control of Asia. The wage earners of all democracies stand ready to cooperate with the wage earners of India.

Africa

This large continent is one of the least developed economically. Territorially, it is held by Great Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, and Spain, with Liberia, Egypt, Ethiopia, self-governing. The lands are rich in natural resources. Great Britain, Belgium and the others are investing as much capital as possible in agricultural and industrial projects.

Meanwhile Communist propagandists are busy among native tribesmen trying to inculcate fanatical race hatred of the white people. The Communists are fostering racial barriers so as to capture the continent for Moscow.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS COMMITTEE

Since our 67th Convention, the international situation has become more tense. World tension continues acute despite the continuous serious efforts being made by the democratic nations to secure Russian cooperation for peace and economic restoration. More than ever before, Russian aggression, with its drive to extend the sway of totalitarian Communism, is the principal source and primary cause of uncertainty, insecurity, cold war, and mounting preparations for another world conflict.

The tragedy now gripping China, where several hundred million helpless people are in danger of falling under the yoke of Communist totalitarianism, is today the focal point of the world crisis. The Kremlin has also been directing and financing a vast conspiracy to paralyze and prevent the great people of India and Pakistan from building healthy and prosperous democratic institutions. The power-mad clique in the Kremlin has been frantically engaged in instigating chaos and civil wars throughout Southeast Asia. With unbridled demagoguery, the rulers of the world's most rapacious imperialism have been exploiting the urgent needs and serious grievances of depressed and under-developed areas—solely and strictly for the purpose of promoting their aims of totalitarian domination on a global scale.

In Europe, no less than in Asia, has the U.S.S.R. been pursuing an aggressive course. But here, Russian imperialism has been facing increasingly firm, consistent, and effective resistance by the democratic powers. Thanks in large measure to the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Alliance, and other demonstrations of vigorous democratic and peaceful foreign policies by the United States, the forces of freedom have been considerably strengthened in Europe. What is more, the heavy defeat dealt to Russian aggression in the costly failure of its Berlin blockade and the crushing repudiation of Communism by the German people in recent elections not only in the western zones but even in the terrorized Russian Zone have signalized a marked decline in Soviet influence throughout Europe.

In the bitter cold war now gripping the world, the advance guard and the ideological cover of aggressive Russian imperialism have been the Cominform and its insidious auxiliary, the so-called World Federation of Trade Unions. These two agencies, despite their elaborate camouflage and hypocritical pretensions, are the Kremlin's principal fifth column and spearhead of the Soviet military machine now being primed and prepared for the over-running and conquest of the remaining free countries. In this critical situation only consistent, constructive, and bold initiative, on a world scale, by the forces of freedom can promote economic recovery and preserve world peace.

The International Labor Relations Committee has been keenly aware of the grave dangers to free labor and all mankind inherent in the present acute world crisis. We have actively intervened not only to help beat back the encroachments of Communist despotism but to turn the tide against these forces of dictatorship, tyranny, chaos and war.

Fully aroused to what is at stake in the Communist challenge and menace, we have urged that our country's foreign policy be democratic in intent and content, in aspiration and action. The Executive Council has, with increasing frequency, taken the initiative in proposing positive and constructive policies for adoption by our Government. Pursuing un-

ceasingly our independent and positive role, we have not only been critical of and differed with some of our Government's official policies, but we have at crucial junctures come forward with concrete proposals and programs to strengthen the cause and hands of the ranks of democracy everywhere.

In this respect, we need but cite the contributions of the American Federation of Labor toward sound American democratic policy for meeting the complex crisis in China; for building up the democratic forces in Japan, Germany and Italy; for aiding the advance of national freedom and human liberty throughout Asia; for assuring the success of the European Recovery Program; for eradicating every vestige of imperialist policy in Latin-America; improving the living and working conditions as well as the human rights in our American sister Republics, and eliminating all destructive Communist influence and intrigue in the Western Hemisphere.

The activities of our representatives in Europe and the occupied countries, our energetic participation in the Inter-American Confederation of Workers; and our unrelenting drive against the W.F.T.U. and consistent initiative for a realignment of the bona fide trade union movements of all lands into a dynamic democratic world federation of labor have all been directed towards the attainment and enhancement of international freedom, social justice, peace and prosperity. For the purpose of aiding these ideals, we have also conducted a highly expanded publications program; sent our special representatives to labor conferences in Europe, Asia, and Latin-America; energetically participated in the Economic and Social Council of the U.N.; welcomed delegations of trade unionists from other lands and rendered aid to free trade unionists in need—regardless of race, color, creed, or nationality.

Two factors have been decisive in our ability to expand and improve our activities in the ranks of international labor and in the realm of foreign affairs. These are: (1) the increasingly generous voluntary contributions to the Free Trade Union Committee by the Executive Council and various affiliates of the A. F. of L., and (2) the leadership and membership of the A. F. of L. have developed interest in the understanding of our country's world role and the resulting vital responsibilities for organized labor. Here we have the moral and material mainspring of our growing influence as a virile force for unity and democracy and an effective opponent of Communism and other brands of totalitarianism in the ranks of world labor. Here is the real source of our becoming an ever-more positive and independent force for democratic American foreign policy and world reconstruction and peace.

Free Trade Union Committee

It would be extremely difficult to give a complete and detailed picture of the many activities of the Free Trade Union Committee and the

Labor League for Human Rights in their execution of the policies of the Executive Council and its International Labor Relations Committee. Herewith are presented only a few of the highlights of the vast and varied undertakings which cover the entire world. These will illustrate the vigorous initiative, offensive drive, and crusading spirit with which we have championed the cause of free trade unionism, human liberty and social justice to every corner of the earth:—

There is to be noted an increased circulation of and response to the *International Free Trade Union News* which is published in English, French, German, and Italian. Particularly in Japan, India, Australia, Germany, South Africa and Britain has the interest in and demand for this bulletin grown in the last year.

To illustrate the practical ways in which our International Relations Committee, Free Trade Union Committee and Labor League for Human Rights have been working we cite herewith some facts relative to our activities in a number of countries.

Germany: We have worked very closely with the trade unions in their efforts to rebuild and even make much stronger their organizations shattered by the Nazis. Today, the free trade unions are the very backbone and bulwark of the developing democracy in Germany. Here our monthly publication *Internationale Freigewerkschaftliche Nachrichten* has been reaching into the homes of many thousands of trade unionists. Besides, hundreds of thousands of pieces of our literature—in special underground form—have reached even into the enslaved Russian Zone.

The A. F. of L. has been on the alert to help our military authorities develop a healthy understanding of the great import and the decisive role of free trade unionism to the democratization of the country and to its being drawn fully into the community of free peoples and their efforts to rebuild a democratic, economically sound, and peaceful continent as a part of a prosperous, humane, and peaceful world. In this capacity, the A. F. of L. has achieved encouraging results. We have been, in great measure, instrumental in and responsible for a more progressive and understanding role by American Military Government in its relations with organized labor.

Further dramatization of our unstinting and valuable aid to democratic free trade unionism came in the exchange of correspondence between Vice-President Woll and General Clay relative to a number of vital questions confronting the German labor movement in particular and the German people as a whole. As a result of this correspondence which evoked great interest on the entire continent and in consequence of the visit of Secretary-Treasurer Meany to the Ruhr last June, important results beneficial to free labor and democracy have been assured.

Italy: The Italian edition of our "International Free Trade Union News"—*Notiziario Internazionale del Movimento Sindacale Libero*—

wields considerable influence. The Free Trade Union Committee, working in cooperation with the Italian-American Labor Council, has been particularly active in striving for a realignment of the trade union movement. As a result of a number of favorable international developments and our active efforts, we can report that the prospects of realignment in the ranks of Italian labor are notably improved. The first break in the Communists' stranglehold on the Italian trade union movement has been made. There is good reason to hope that before many months elapse there will be organized a united federation of free trade unionists as a democratic labor organization to challenge effectively and in time overcome the Communist domination of organized labor in this country.

Since the liberation of Italy, the Labor League for Human Rights, has been contributing generously CARE packages to ease the food crisis and the threat of starvation confronting many trade unionists. Thousands of CARE parcels have been sent by us.

India: The Free Trade Union Committee has intervened to assist in the establishment and unification of a bona fide united trade union movement—completely free from political domination and government control. Towards this end, Brother Irving Brown, represented the A. F. of L. at the recent India National Trade Union Congress and our new Bureau is now functioning in Bombay.

Japan: We have stepped up our efforts to strengthen the ranks of democratic trade unionists who have had to face a powerful and lavishly-financed and unscrupulous Communist enemy. We have been working closely with the Democratization League and have been able to render important assistance to the democratic forces in the Japanese trade union movement who have recently registered significant organization advances. In addition, the Labor League for Human Rights has been sending CARE parcels to the needy trade unionists of Japan.

France: The Free Trade Union Committee and its representative, Irving Brown, have played a most constructive role in the struggle against the Communist grip on the trade unions. Today, while the Communists still hold the dominant position in the trade unions, they are no longer capable of launching a paralyzing general strike. Here is the best guarantee for the failure of the Communists to put through an insurrection and seize power in France.

Public libraries, universities, and research associations as well as labor organizations in many parts of the world are calling for these pamphlets. Since the last convention, there have been published "Rift and Realignment in World Labor," by David Dubinsky; "Slavery—Old and New," by Matthew Woll; "American Labor Looks At the World," Volume III; "Slavery in Russia—The Case Presented by the American Federation of Labor Before the United Nations." The last named is the first book published by the Free Trade Union Committee and contains

first-hand evidence and other documents of permanent value in the struggle for freedom and against Communism and all other forms of totalitarian despotism based on slave labor economies.

Trade Union Delegations From Abroad

In our effort to promote international labor solidarity and a better understanding on the part of the working people in other lands of how American labor works and lives and how America's democratic institutions actually function, the Free Trade Union Committee has continued the policy of bringing to our shores representatives of trade union organizations of other countries.

Since the last convention, the free trade unions of France and Italy selected delegations of five each to visit us and study our labor movement and democratic way of life. Thus, ten French and Italian trade unionists toured, as guests of the A. F. of L., our principal industrial centers from New York to Denver—eighteen cities in all—for nearly two months. They were free to observe and evaluate as they wished and to see and hear anything or anyone they wished. We are confident that the results of these missions will redound to the friendship and benefit of all peoples and trade union movements concerned.

Democratic Foreign Policy

No voluntary organization of our citizenry has been more actively interested than the A. F. of L. in the foreign policy of our nation and its being vigorously and consistently democratic and peaceful. Towards this end, our International Labor Relations Committee and its representatives have conferred with the Secretary of State and other leading government personnel. We have not always seen eye to eye with them, but we have always maintained our independent labor role and initiative. In respect to advancing democracy and free trade unionism in Germany and Japan; in regard to the struggle for free trade unionism and human liberty in Falangist Spain; in relation to the growing menace to human liberty in the Far East—aggravated particularly by the onrush of totalitarian Communism in China; in regard to the urgency of American economic and moral support of the developing forces of genuine democracy and national independence in India, Indonesia and elsewhere—the A. F. of L. has displayed striking, constructive and timely initiative which has aroused world-wide attention and interest.

A.F.L. REPRESENTATIVE IN EUROPE

The 1948 Report referred to "the beginning of the decline of the WFTU in the world of free trade union labor," and 1949 marks the completion of this process with the exit of the democratic trade union forces from the WFTU in January.

The withdrawal of the British TUC, followed by the other free trade unions, set the stage immediately for the eventual creation of a new international trade union movement in which the A. F. of L. must play an important role and is already beginning to do so. During this entire period, leading up to the WFTU split and after, the AFL's representative in Europe, Irving Brown, was exceedingly active in developing the AFL point of view and clarifying to the European trade unionists that the AFL was not only for a new international labor organization but for a new kind of international trade union movement.

Following soon after the British action in January, the International Trade Secretariats went into action. A conference was held in England where all the Secretariats were represented except the Miners' International. Delegates were present from 17 international organizations embracing over 20 millions of workers. It was unanimously agreed to reject any and all relationships with the WFTU. This conference constituted the first important international act, since the WFTU split, to turn away from the WFTU and towards the creation of a new International in which the Trade Secretariats would play their due and proper role. The conference agreed to create a coordinating committee which would represent the collective and common interests of the International Trade Secretariats. The AFL's European representative participated as a delegate from the International Metalworkers' Federation and has acted as an alternate member on the coordinating committee.

The trade unions of the small countries on the European continent—Benelux, Scandinavia, etc.—have begun to develop concerted action regarding the bases of a new international. Having rejected and withdrawn from the WFTU, they are now insisting on a system of representation which will guarantee some form of equality as between the large and small trade unions. The smaller bodies' representatives are also insisting that the headquarters of the new international be located in one of the smaller countries of Western Europe. They have also proposed that the General Secretary of the new world body should come from one of the smaller European countries. The AFL's European Representative has kept in touch as close as possible with these trade union bodies and, in the main, the AFL has tended to support the major ideas of these organizations.

Shifting from the European scene to America, we find equally important developments which are part of the European and International labor picture. The Central Committee of the International Metalworkers Federation held a meeting for the first time in its history in the United States. Important decisions were made relating to the participation of the trade unions in the Ruhr Control Authority. The way was also prepared for the affiliation of additional American trade unions. Unanimous support was given to the coordinating committee of the International

Trades Secretariats and to the development of cooperative relationships with the future international trade union federation. Our European representative, Irving Brown, participated in these sessions of the I.M.F. as well as having been responsible in part for the sessions being held in the U.S.A. It marked a great step forward in the enlargement of American labor's role in international organization.

Throughout the period—beginning with the WFTU split to the Geneva conference—the AFL's European representative kept the European trade unionists informed, through correspondence, newsletters and meetings, of the AFL's basic ideas relative to the future international labor body.

Mr. Irving Brown is one of the members of the continuation committee to draft the constitution of the new trade union international.

AFL Work in Europe Continues and Expands

The AFL's European bureau in Brussels continues its operations as a busy clearing house for the AFL's international relationships and contacts in Europe. A pamphlet on Labor and the Marshall Plan was distributed to over 25,000 trade unionists in France and in French speaking countries. Newspapers and magazines in various languages have reprinted in whole or in part much of this material. Information on labor and economic trends in Europe is steadily being collected and readily available to the AFL in the form of reports, articles, etc., whenever necessary.

Our aid and assistance to the non-communist trade union forces continues especially in France and Italy. This aid has taken the form of food, office equipment and finances which is now being enlarged in Italy as the non-communist forces are gaining strength and are moving towards unity. Most of the non-communist trade union leaders have withdrawn from the communist dominated C.G.I.L. The AFL European representative has been devoting much of his time to this area of western Europe which is still subject to a strong threat from the communists in the French and Italian trade unions.

Cooperation with the trade unionists in exile has developed to the point where there is now a "Trade Union Center in Exile" located in Paris. This organization dedicated to the struggle against totalitarianism, has begun to publish periodical bulletins concerning what goes on in eastern Europe, while still maintaining contacts with individuals and groups behind the iron curtain. Radio broadcasts have been engaged in from time to time over BBC and the Voice of America although the latter's policies have hampered more frequent broadcasts. This center has also assisted in the organization of foreign workers into the existing free trade unions like Force Ouvriere in France.

Survey of Indian Trade Unionism

During the entire month of May, the AFL European representative was assigned to India to contact the trade union movement and survey the situation. Tremendous interest was exhibited by the Indian labor leaders in the American trade unions. After meeting with hundreds of trade unionists in most of the industrial areas of India, the AFL representative reported that there was a deep and abiding interest in maintaining permanent relations between the Indian unions and the American trade unions. We hope that this trip to India by an AFL representative is the first step in the development and expansion of intimate relations between the American Federation of Labor and the rising trade union movement of India.

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

On October 12 to 14 of this year delegates of the trade unions of the three western zones of Germany will meet in the City of Munich. Their task will be to found a Western German Trade Union Federation. This federation, the first in Germany since Hitler destroyed the labor movement in May 1933, will represent over 5,000,000 members, constituting over 40 percent of the working population. It is a movement which will speak for all German labor in the western zones.

Attempted splits along political or religious lines have been avoided. Communists, who in the demoralizing period immediately after the war were able to exert some influence among workers have slowly but surely been pushed out of all responsible positions. The new Federation will be one of the strongest bulwarks of democracy in Central Europe.

The campaign to organize this Federation was beset with obstacles. These included the stepped-up efforts on the part of the Comintern to delay the formation of a Western German Government, and consequently, delay a Western German Union Federation; opposition of the French Military Government to French Zone unions taking part in the preparatory work of the proposed federation; anti-labor legislation passed by the German States and by the temporary Bizonal German Government in Frankfurt; the hesitancy on the part of the Military Government to approve bills passed by these parliaments at the insistence of Labor; Military Government's delay in acting on the return of property formerly belonging to the unions; the Allies' refusal to adopt a sane program of reparations and dismantling; the imposing of a curfew on Stuttgart by Military Government because of a labor demonstration in that city; the attempt of the former German coal and steel owners to regain control over their former empires.

Inasmuch as Military Government policies were stifling the free growth of the union movement a protest was lodged with the Military Governor by A. F. of L. Vice-President Woll. The exchange of letters between Mr. Woll and General Clay received wide publicity and had the

effect of bringing about a better understanding on the part of Military Government officials as to Labor's needs.

The American Federation of Labor was appealed to for assistance in getting U. S. Military Government approval for German labor representation equal to that of German management on the Board of Trustees which is to reorganize the German steel industry and supervise its operation until a new German Government decides its future ownership. German unions insisted this was imperative if the schemes of the steel industry owners, who supplied arms for two world wars, were to be counterbalanced. Military Government finally approved four trade-union nominees giving unions equal representation with management.

The American Federation of Labor was appealed to and supported a German labor request for U. S. Military Government approval of a new social insurance law to increase social security benefits for workers to the level of salaried employees. The Military Government delayed approval for many months of a social insurance ordinance which had been passed by big majorities in German parliamentary bodies.

Representatives of the trade unions of the United States occupied zone enlisted the support of the American Federation of Labor for a protest against Military Government's decision to leave to the new German courts the problem of deciding future ownership of former trade union property confiscated by the Nazis. The property in question involves real estate sold by the Nazis. Trade unionists feared German courts would declare such property as now belonging to the German states. Unionists asked that Military Government declare the present trade union movement as the legal successor to the old unions. The A. F. of L. representative in Germany, Henry Rutz, helped in getting the Military Government's decision modified so that unions were promised Military Government legal assistance in preparing their claims before German courts. The return of former trade union property remains a problem in the French and British occupied zones, however.

The American Federation of Labor was the first organization to protest an Allied industrial dismantling policy for Germany which indiscriminately hit peace-time production plants along with plants which were converted by the Nazis for war purposes.

The British Zone Trade Union Federation appealed to the A. F. of L. for protection against further dismantling plans which would increase the steadily mounting number of unemployed workers in Germany and interfere with the expeditious progress toward economic recovery for Europe in which German industry must play a part. President Green took up the matter with Secretary of State Acheson. The International Labor Relations Committee issued a statement in which it declared that the further dismantling of German industrial plants should be discontinued until the adoption of a definitive peace treaty with Germany by

the United Nations. The Committee also requested that the British Trades Union Congress and the French Force Ouvriere appeal to their respective governments for a change in the dismantling policies. President Green's exchange of telegrams with Secretary Acheson as well as the statement of the Executive Council were hailed by the German Press generally, and the trade union press specifically, as evidence of the American Federation of Labor's determination to continue its role of leading labor spokesman for the establishment of a sound western European economy.

The American Federation of Labor has furnished German unions with material dealing with U. S. unions' joint participation with management in improving conditions in their respective industries including changes in production methods. Articles were also supplied which dealt with living standards of typical American trade union families. These received a good reprint in the German and Austrian trade union press.

The courageous Independent Trade Union Federation of Berlin, which broke away from the Communist-dominated Eastern Zone union movement, was given our moral and material assistance. Typewriters were supplied to staff the offices and five hundred CARE packages were sent to feed the railroad strikers who demanded a stop to discrimination against members who failed to go along with the Communist line and who wanted payment in Western German marks rather than in worthless Eastern marks. Our action resulted in the Russians banning CARE from further use of the land and water transportation systems into Berlin after the blockade was lifted. The Russians claimed CARE was being used for "political purposes." A. F. L. Representative Henry Rutz was the guest speaker at a huge May Day rally organized by the anti-Communist unionists of Berlin where he was cheered by 200,000 freedom-loving workers. The distribution of CARE packages to needy unionists and their families was continued for the whole of Western Germany and brought hundreds of letters of thankful appreciation.

About 50 German unionists and Labor Department officials visited the States for a study of American labor relations. Several American Federation of Labor executives visited Germany during the past year to give encouragement to the new labor movement and its leaders. They met with union leaders in both the U. S. and British Zones. The American Federation of Labor was asked to assist in ending dismantling, and to request the U. S. authorities to approve a Board of Trustees on which German labor would have equal representation with management to re-organize the German coal industry. A follow-up on this problem has resulted in a compromise solution where German Labor has increased its representation on the reorganization committee but is still not on par with management. The A. F. L. Representative has taken up the matter with High Commissioner McCloy, calling his attention to the necessity of Labor's cooperation in the job of de-militarizing and democratizing the Ruhr coal industry.

Western Germany has been included as an observer nation in the International Labor Organization. Arrangements were also discussed to have I. L. O. material translated into German and to provide for radio outlets for German talks on I. L. O. decisions.

International Trade Union Secretariats were encouraged to accept the German unions into their fold. With few exceptions, German industrial unions have become members of their respective internationals. The German and Austrian Federations will also take part in the formation of a new genuine labor international this fall.

Harvey W. Brown, former president of the International Association of Machinists, has recently been appointed as Labor Advisor to Commissioner McCloy.

German Labor, too, has requested that manpower be kept as a separate independent agency with a status equal to that of the Economics and Finance Committees in the High Commissioner's Cabinet.

Austrian trade unions have sought the help of the American Federation of Labor in getting the U. S. Army to apply Austrian labor law to indigenous personnel working for the occupation forces. Over a year ago the Austrian union having jurisdiction over this type of employment had negotiated with Military Government for a directive which would give indigenous office type employees of the United States forces the same benefits regarding vacations, leave, severance pay, etc., as the employees of the Austrian Government. Most of the practices of Austrian law have been agreed to by Military Government with the exception of the severance pay for employees with over three years' tenure. Since July 1948, over 250 such employees have been dismissed in the U. S. Zone without receiving the accustomed remuneration. Our International Committee took up this matter with Washington authorities and was able to get a satisfactory settlement.

As postal regulations do not permit the sending of printed matter between Austria and Germany, our Frankfurt Bureau has arranged a system whereby Austrian and German trade union publications are exchanged regularly making it possible for the new union movements to understand each others problems and progress.

LATIN AMERICA

A. F. of L. Role in Defense of Trade Union Freedom

The main activity of the American Federation of Labor in Latin America during the past year has been devoted to the defense of trade union freedom which has been repeatedly violated by the military dictatorships of Peru and Venezuela and has been threatened in other countries.

The 67th Convention of the American Federation of Labor took notice of the serious situation in Peru and unanimously approved

Resolution No. 123 condemning the imprisonment of labor leaders and reaffirming our solidarity with them. In addition, the resolution instructed and empowered the International Labor Relations Committee "to take necessary steps required to carry out the manifest intent and purpose of this declaration."

On December 29, 1948, the American Federation of Labor Consultants before the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations—Vice-Presidents Matthew Woll and David Dubinsky—submitted to Trygve Lie, Secretary General of the United Nations, a detailed memorandum dealing with the suppression of trade union freedom in Peru and requested that it be submitted to the Eighth Session of the Economic and Social Council, scheduled to open on February 7, 1949.

Freedom of trade union organization was abolished in another country, Venezuela, as result of the establishment of a Military Government Committee, in November, 1948.

On March 1st President William Green cabled to the Military Government of Venezuela the following protest:

On behalf of eight million members of the American Federation of Labor, I am registering most emphatic protest over dissolution of Venezuelan Confederation of Labor, Workers' Federations of Federal District and State of Miranda and Printers' Union of Caracas ordered by the Military Junta in reprisal for Caracas Printers' strike called for preservation of collective agreement. We urge you to rescind decree of dissolution of above mentioned labor groups, stop persecution of democratic trade union leaders and immediately set free all trade unionists who have been arrested.

Meanwhile, the dissolution of the Venezuelan Confederation of Labor and its affiliated national unions, coupled with the open support on the part of the Venezuelan Military Government of the few labor groups headed by Communists and other totalitarian elements, aroused a wave of protest throughout the Western Hemisphere.

President Green, at the head of an A. F. of L. delegation, on March 9 visited Secretary of State Dean Acheson and placed before him a memorandum which, as part of a comprehensive program covering both international policy and labor's role in international affairs, advocated "that United States opposition to totalitarian crimes and persecutions be reflected in its policy towards South America and especially toward Venezuela and Peru."

The fight in defense of freedom of trade union organization in Latin America was carried by the American Federation of Labor to the IV Regional Conference of American States Members of the International Labor Organization, which met in Montevideo on April 25 - May 8, 1949. A resolution condemning the violation of trade union rights committed by the Military Governments of Peru and Venezuela and asking the Governing Body of the I.L.O. to make an investigation

was introduced by the Workers' Group of the Conference and was actively supported and defended by the A. F. of L. delegation at the Conference, composed of Philip Hannah, delegate; Serafino Romualdi, advisor; and George P. Delaney, representative of the Governing Body (I.L.O.) Workers' Group. The resolution was finally approved by a recorded vote in the Resolutions Committee of forty in favor, none against, five abstaining.

On December 15, 1948, a telegram was received from the Confederation of Labor "Rerum Novarum" of Costa Rica, in which the American Federation of Labor was urged to intervene before the Organization of American States on behalf of the territorial integrity of that country. President William Green dispatched a telegram to the Secretary-General of the Pan American Union urging effective action on the part of the organization of American States so that the integrity of Costa Rica and its democratic institutions might be preserved.

The same night, Dr. Lleras replied by telegram to President Green acquainting him with the action taken by the Council which ordered an immediate investigation of the charges.

José Figueres, President of the Republic of Costa Rica, conveyed to President William Green the gratitude of his nation for the moral support given by the American Federation of Labor during the invasion of that country by totalitarian elements.

The strong stand taken by the American Federation of Labor in defense of democracy, civil rights and freedom of association through Latin America has greatly enhanced its prestige throughout the Western Hemisphere and has earned for it the grateful appreciation of democratic organized labor of our sister American Republics. An example of this feeling is furnished by the Confederation of Labor of Peru which, at its clandestine national conference held during the month of July in Lima, voted "to send greetings and warm feelings of gratitude to the C.I.T. and the A. F. of L. for their valiant support, moral as well as material, to the Confederation of Labor of Peru (C.T.P.) and its leaders thus enabling them to continue their struggle for the re-establishment of freedom of organization."

In addition to moral support, the Free Trade Union Committee of the A. F. of L. voted a donation of one thousand dollars for relief purposes inside Peru in favor of the families of imprisoned labor leaders.

Activities of the A. F. of L. Latin American Representative

Brother Serafino Romualdi, Latin American Representative of the American Federation of Labor, has received an ever increasing number of inquiries from labor groups, colleges, universities, public and private organizations and Government offices concerning trade union conditions in Latin America and has supplied a considerable number of memoranda.

Furthermore, Brother Romualdi has written articles on Latin American problems for newspapers and magazines and has given frequent lectures before Labor Institutes, Colleges, Round Tables, Forums and Governmental groups on subjects related to labor and democracy in Latin America.

The *Inter-American Labor News*, which Brother Romualdi publishes in his capacity as Secretary of International Relations of the Inter-American Confederation of Workers, has continued to furnish labor leaders and other people in the United States and Canada, particularly interested in the trade union life in Latin America, with up-to-date news and comments stressing in particular the fight against totalitarianism and the constructive efforts of the C.I.T. in assisting in the organization of free, independent, democratic labor unions.

During the past twelve months Brother Serafino Romualdi has visited labor groups in Uruguay, Brazil, Puerto Rico, Haiti, Panama, Costa Rica and Cuba, bringing to them the solidarity of the American Federation of Labor.

The office of the Latin American Representative has attended to many requests for useful information concerning wages, working conditions, terms of collective agreements, text of labor and social laws, etc., coming from labor groups in Latin America.

The Cuban Federation of Sugar Workers has conveyed thanks to the American Federation of Labor for the support received through the services of its legislative representative, Brother Walter Mason, during the hearings before U. S. Secretary of Agriculture, to determine the quota of Cuban sugar to be bought by the United States in the current year.

Joint C. I. T.-A. F. of L. Investigating Committee of Labor Conditions in Canal Zone

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, at its winter meeting in Miami, Florida, on Monday, February 7th, received the report on labor conditions in the Canal Zone submitted to it by a special investigating committee.

The Committee was appointed by the Inter-American Confederation of Workers (C.I.T.) and the American Federation of Labor, pursuant to a resolution passed by the Lima Inter-American Trade Union Conference of January, 1948 at which the C.I.T. was organized. It consisted of Anthony E. Matz, President of the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers, representing the A. F. of L.; and Efraim Iregui of Colombia, Luis Alejandro Cuellar of Panama and Luis Alberto Monge of Costa Rica, representing the C.I.T. Serafino Romualdi, Latin American Representative of the American Federation of Labor, was added to the Committee as secretary-translator.

The Executive Council approved a set of recommendations embodying drastic changes in the wage policy now in force in the Canal Zone.

A. F. of L. Supports Industrialization

The American Federation of Labor has on many occasions proclaimed the fundamental principle that any program of industrialization of Latin America is doomed to failure unless it is accompanied by an increase in the purchasing power of the population, which can conversely be obtained only by the introduction of the "saving wage" in lieu of the mere "subsistence wage" now prevalent in Latin America. To this fact Brother Philip Hannah referred with emphasis in the course of his address during the discussion of the Director-General's report, at the Montevideo conference of the American States Members of the I.L.O.

The American Federation of Labor, being one of the non-Governmental Organizations, category "A," recognized by the United Nations for consultative purposes, was invited to attend the Second Session of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, held in Havana, Cuba, from May 29 to June 14, 1949. The A. F. of L. was represented at this meeting by its Latin-American Representative Brother Serafino Romualdi who in the course of the discussion presented a written statement in which he reaffirmed the concept that the introduction of the "saving wage" is a necessary prerequisite for the successful industrialization of Latin America and for increasing the purchasing power of the population.

The statement further emphasized the need to mobilize local capital for the financing of new industries instead of depending exclusively on foreign capital, advocated a program of technical assistance and training.

Mexican Farm Laborers in the United States

For many years a situation has existed along the United States-Mexico border which vitally affects the interests of the workers of both countries. This situation is characterized: by the constant illegal migration from Mexico, their employment in the United States in agriculture under conditions that undermine decent working and living standards, the infiltration of these illegals into various crafts and trades where the A. F. of L. has or is trying to create a trade-union structure, the exploitation of such illegal workers by their United States employers and the large scale importation of "Mexican Nationals" under joint government auspices.

Realizing that this situation could not be corrected satisfactorily without the participation of the trade-union organizations of both Mexico and the United States, the National Farm Labor Union laid before the Inter-American Confederation of Workers the idea of a border conference to consider this problem in both its immediate and extended

aspects. The suggestion for such a conference was approved by the Executive Committee of the Confederation at its meeting in San Francisco in June 1948.

The Laredo Conference

The meetings of the conference were held at the Hotel Regis in Nuevo Laredo. The *Confederación Proletaria Nacional* (C.P.N.) was represented by the following delegates: Manuel Rivera, secretary-general of the C.P.N.; Froyland Córdoba, secretary of labor relations of the Confederation of Workers and Peasants of the Federal District, Mexico; Manuel Huerta, secretary of labor relations of the National Proletarian Confederation in the State of Nuevo León; José Sánchez, secretary-treasurer of the C.P.N. Enrique Rangel, vice-president of the Inter-American Confederation of Workers, represented the C.I.T. and presided at the meetings.

The National Farm Labor Union was represented by Vice-President Parish R. Betton; George F. Webber, AFL organizer and member of the executive board of the N.F.L.U.; and Ernesto Galarza, Director of Research and Education. A. F. Cadena, general organizer for the A. F. L. in Texas, represented the American Federation of Labor at the conference.

After full discussion of the points of the agenda and others related to the subject of the conference, the delegates discussed at length proposed amendments to the 1948 Inter-Governmental Agreement.

The statement issued by the conference and duly signed by all the delegates contains the points of agreement and may be summarized as follows:

The C.P.N. and the N.F.L.U. agree to urge upon their respective governments certain amendments to the 1948 inter-governmental agreement on the recruitment and employment of Nationals. The most important of these amendments provide for:

- Recognition of the right of United States trade-unions to represent the Mexican workers;

- Prohibition of company stores in places where Nationals are employed;

- Extension of conditions of employment higher than those stipulated in the contract when such conditions exist for domestic workers;

- Denial of the right to employ Nationals to all employers who have been guilty of discrimination against Mexican workers;

- The right of Nationals to join strikes declared by United States trade unions with right to back-pay and participation in the benefits obtained by the strike;

- The obligation of government agencies to consult with trade unions before determining whether there is effective need for the recruitment of Nationals;

The determination of minimum wages by tri-partite committees on which labor shall be represented;

The recognition of a trade union representative by government agencies for the protection of the interest of the workers at all contracting points;

Free access of trade union representatives to all places where Nationals are employed.

The delegates also agreed to the creation of a permanent joint committee of the C.P.N. and N.F.L.U. for liaison and common action to protect the interest of the farm workers of both countries; to regularly exchange information which may be of use to this end; to hold meetings periodically alternating between Mexico and United States; to combat by all legal means at their disposal the illegal importation of workers; to foster the cultural and educational advancement of the farm workers.

Both organizations jointly declared against discrimination based on Mexican nationality and called for equal conditions of employment regardless of nationality.

Inter-American Confederation of Workers (C.I.T.)

During the last twelve months the Inter-American Confederation of Workers (C.I.T.) which the A. F. of L. helped to organize at the Lima, Peru, Inter-American Labor Conference of January, 1948, managed to extend its activity to a number of sister American Republics, among them Paraguay and Honduras; strengthened considerably its influence among the trade unionists of Uruguay, Cuba, Bolivia, Haiti and Mexico; and maintained its position in Argentina, Venezuela and Peru, in spite of the opposition on the part of the Governments of these countries.

The outstanding activity of the C.I.T. during the last twelve months has been, however, the battle waged against the suppression of trade union rights in Peru and Venezuela.

C.I.T. President Bernardo Ibañez, supported by the A. F. of L. International Representative George P. Delaney, introduced at the meeting of the Workers' Group of the I.L.O. Governing Body—of which both are members—held at Geneva, Switzerland, on December 10, 1948, a resolution which condemned the practice of arresting individuals on the Government's sole warrant; urged the Governments of Venezuela and Peru to put into practice the principles of freedom of trade union association as proclaimed in the I.L.O. Convention; and requested that the labor leaders of those two countries held without formal charges or due process of law be brought to trial as soon as possible before a civil tribunal, with all guarantees for an adequate defense.

This fight on behalf of trade union freedom was carried a step further by the C.I.T. at the Montevideo I.L.O. Regional Conference, where it joined forces with the A. F. of L. delegation in having the resolution on freedom of association approved by the Conference. Incidentally, a

significant feature of this Montevideo Conference was the emergence of the C.I.T. as the dominant labor group of the Western Hemisphere. It elected its full slate of candidates for various offices of the Workers' Group and the Conference, thus being able to play an important role in the deliberations of the Conference itself.

At the time of the Montevideo I.L.O. Conference, the Executive Committee of the C.I.T. held several meetings during which the following important decisions were taken:

- a) To call the Second Convention of the C.I.T. for September 6-10, 1949, in the city of Havana, Cuba;
- b) To reaffirm its stand in favor of the organization of a new Federation of Trade Unions, composed of free independent and democratically controlled labor groups and to urge as many representatives as possible of Latin American national labor groups to participate in the preliminary meeting called for this purpose by the British Trades Union Congress for the latter part of June 1949;
- c) To appoint Irving Brown, A. F. of L. European Representative, to act as C.I.T. observer at the I.L.O. Conferences and Governing Body meetings in Geneva;
- d) To express gratitude to the A. F. of L. Consultants before the United Nations for their effective fight against the violation of trade union rights;
- e) To express satisfaction and praise for the plan of the United States Government to establish trade union scholarships, beginning with the coming fiscal year, for the benefit of Latin-American Labor leaders who wish to study U.S. trade union life and the methods prevailing in our countries for collective bargaining and the settlement of labor disputes;
- f) To approve the report by Vice-President Luis Alberto Monge on the investigation of labor conditions in the Canal Zone. This report recommended concurrence with the action already taken in this respect by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at its last mid-winter meeting in Miami, Fla.

President William Green has appointed the following delegation to represent the A. F. of L. at the Second Convention of the C. I. T.: Secretary-Treasurer George Meany; International Representative George P. Delaney; Latin-American Representative Serafino Romualdi; and H. L. Mitchell, President of the National Farm Labor Union.

NORTH AMERICAN LABOR NEWS (Noticario Obrero Norteamericano)

The Spanish language clipsheet which is published bimonthly by the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor has continued its growth in circulation, influence and prestige. The *North American Labor News* has lost no opportunity to express the A. F. of L.'s deep-seated solidarity with the persecuted trade-unionists of Venezuela, Peru and other Latin-American countries where Military Government Committees are at present in power. Thus the circulation of the *North*

American Labor News has been somewhat impeded in Peru where workers caught by the police reading it have been actually put in jail. This fact was brought to the attention of the Social and Economic Council of the United Nations when it examined the American Federation of Labor's complaint on violation of trade union rights in Peru. On the other hand, the displeasure of the Military dictatorship of Peru has gained for the *North American Labor News* greater admiration and following on the part of the liberty-loving people throughout Latin-America.

This publication has continued to promote understanding among the workers of the Western Hemisphere and has endeavored to publicize the main aspects of the A. F. of L.'s activities during the past year. Considerable space was devoted to the reasons for opposition to the Taft-Hartley Act, to the policies and activities of Labor's League for Political Education, and to the importance of the social welfare clauses now being written in increasing number into the collective agreements negotiated by American Federation of Labor unions.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION ACTIVITIES

The present summary in chronological order of some of the most important activities of the International Labor Organization covers the period immediately following the 31st (San Francisco, 1948) Session of the International Labor Conference, up to and including the 32nd (1949) Session of the International Labor Conference held in Geneva.

Mr. David A. Morse delivered his first public address as Director-General of the International Labor Office, at the British Trades Union Congress at Margate, England, on September 9, 1948. He outlined the mission of the I.L.O. as defined in the Declaration of Philadelphia, and added:

The I.L.O. has declared war against suffering and want. I think that, having declared war, we must wage war and our watch-word must be: Attack. We must go forward to meet our problems; we must be active and vigorous, realistic and practical. We have a basic philosophy and a long term policy, but we must never forget the need to deal with the immediate problems that spring up day by day.

The technical Tripartite Conference on Safety in factories was held in Geneva in September and October 1948 to revise and adopt an international code of regulations for safety in factories.

An I.L.O. delegation, composed of its Director-General and members of the Governing Body, attended the third (Paris) Assembly of the United Nations. The Director-General addressed the Assembly on September 28, 1948. He pledged full I.L.O. cooperation with the United Nations and said that there could be no peace without political stability and no political stability without economic security and social justice, and to that task the I.L.O. was dedicated.

The I.L.O. Textiles Committee held its second Session in Geneva in October-November, 1948. With regard to employment problems, the Committee adopted resolutions on: vocational training; recruitment of manpower; welfare facilities; and the recruitment and conditions of work of the workers living in frontier regions. As regards industrial relations, the Committee urged speedy ratification of the international Convention on Freedom of Association adopted at the 1948 (San Francisco) International Labor Conference. A resolution was adopted inviting governments to supply information concerning difficulties in the way of implementing a reduction of hours (textiles) Convention of 1947. Other resolutions adopted concerned disparages in wages between various countries engaged in the textile industry; the textile industry in Japan; the health and safety of workers in the industry; and maternity protection.

In November, 1948, a preparatory Conference on Labor Inspection in Asian countries was held in Kandy (Ceylon). The agenda of the conference was Labor Inspection with special reference to:

- a. recruitment and training of labor inspectors; employment of women in labor inspection services;
- b. the whole of the inspectorate in the enforcement of measures intended to ameliorate working and living conditions.
- c. standardization of the collection and publication of information obtained by labor inspectors in the various countries.

In November, 1948, the second session of the I.L.O. Petroleum Committee was held in Geneva. Among the decisions reached, it was agreed that petroleum workers should have a rest period of 24 hours a week; it suggested that the I.L.O. study social problems in the industry, such as housing and health; safety programs should be extended; children of petroleum workers should receive a general basic education; it recommended the principles covering vocational training, apprenticeship and the recruiting of petroleum workers. A statement was adopted on industrial relations which urged that Workers' and Employers' Organizations in the industry be allowed to develop along voluntary and independent lines, and declared that where a workers' organization had been recognized, voluntary collective bargaining was the most satisfactory procedure for determining conditions of employment. A resolution was also adopted, declaring that a normal working week of 40 hours for the petroleum industry was a desirable goal.

The I.L.O. Joint Maritime Commission held sessions in Geneva in November and December, 1948. It was decided to ask member governments to report the reason for the failure to ratify the 9 conventions adopted by the Maritime Conference of the I.L.O., held in Seattle in 1946, which were designed to improve working conditions of seamen. Other decisions taken dealt with the transfer of ships to the Panama flag and, in this connection, governments, ship owners and seafarers' organizations

were urged to determine their attitude concerning such transfers which might prove harmful to the safety of employment and social protection of seafarers. It also recommended that the forthcoming conference for the revision of the Convention on Safety of Life at Sea considered how the convention could be made applicable to all maritime countries.

The 107th Session of the Governing Body was held in Geneva on December 8-11, 1948. The Workers' Members announced the appointment of George P. Delaney, International Representative of the American Federation of Labor, to fill the seat on the Governing Body held by the late Frank Fenton. It approved a program to further the training and full utilization of the world's manpower resources. It agreed to convene meetings of employment service experts in various regions; to appoint a committee to assist in the formulation and execution of an Asian manpower program, and to set up an I.L.O. field office in Asia on technical training; to assist countries in the development of systems of training of supervisors within industry; to make world-wide in scope the present periodic survey of manpower needs and surpluses. It also decided on the agenda of the 1950 (Geneva) session of the International Labor Conference. It established a Committee of Social Security experts which will meet in New Zealand in 1950 and also decided to set up a Committee on Work in Plantations. It was agreed that S.C.A.P. should be invited to be represented by a tripartite delegation at the I.L.O. Coal Mines Committee (Pittsburgh, 1949). It was agreed to set up a three member Governing Body delegation to inquire into charges made against the Panamanian Merchant Marine by maritime trade unions.

At the beginning of January, 1949, Mr. David Morse, Director-General of the I.L.O., visited Poland and Czechoslovakia to consult with members of the Government and to visit industrial undertakings and to study the social and economic developments in both countries. He also visited Italy to discuss problems which face that country in the field of manpower and the practical solution which the I.L.O. could make to their problems.

The I.L.O. Permanent Migration Committee met in Geneva in January, 1949 and approved a report on the work to be undertaken by the I.L.O. on migration within its general program of activities in the field of manpower. It adopted the report which included two draft International Labor Conventions and Draft Recommendations and a Draft Agreement designed to serve as a model for bilateral agreements between countries, on emigration and immigration. One draft convention would lay down minimum international standards covering the recruitment, placing and conditions of labor of persons and migrants for employment. The other would exempt from customs duties the personal effects and tools of migrants. They will be submitted to the June 1949 (Geneva) International Labor Conference for final consideration and, if approved, will replace

the 1939 International Labor Convention on migration for employment and its two supplementary Recommendations. A series of principles were approved on the question of land settlement. The Committee approved a proposal that the I.L.O. should pursue an active policy leading to the conclusion of precise agreements on the actual number of migrants who would be transferred from one country to another within a fixed period of time.

A Committee of Coal Experts from seven countries (including the United States) met in Geneva on January 31-February 4, 1949 and completed the preliminary work on a model code of safety regulations for underground work. It will in due course be circulated to governments as a guide to the formulation and revision of national mine safety laws and regulations.

On the invitation of the I.L.O. Director-General, a meeting was held in February, 1949 to discuss manpower problems. Representatives of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the executive heads of seven specialized inter-governmental agencies discussed those aspects of the I.L.O.'s current program in the field of manpower which are of concern to other international organizations.

The 108th Session of the Governing body was held in Geneva on March 4, 1949. It adopted a resolution requesting its manpower committees for various regions to study in joint session all measures which would promote the full utilization of manpower on an international basis. The I.L.O. was instructed to prepare a note on ways and means of securing consideration for the conclusions reached by the I.L.O. industrial committees, which welcomed the proposals for raising living standards in under-developed areas made by President Truman, and expressed the willingness of the I.L.O. to lend all possible assistance to any international program which may be undertaken to implement President Truman's proposals.

It was also decided to consider, at the next session in June 1949, the position of the trade union movements in different countries. The I.L.O. Director-General was requested to draw the attention of governments to the desirability of an early ratification of the International Convention of Freedom of Association and protection of the right to organize, and to request information on the effect which governments had given or proposed to give to the provisions of the Convention. The Governing Body approved in principle a recommendation that the I.L.O. convene a meeting of representative governments and international organizations to survey the possibility of increasing the movement of migration.

The Fourth regional Conference of American States Members of the I.L.O. was held in Montevideo in April, 1949 and tripartite (government, management and labor) delegations attended from South, Central and

North America. Mr. G. P. Delaney attended as a representative of the Workers' Group of the Governing Body. Recommendations aimed at the solution of the present social problems of the American countries were considered by the Conference. It had a four-point agenda, including a report by the I.L.O. Director-General which gave prominence to the question of industrialization and made special reference to the factors bearing on the efficiency of the labor force in Latin-America, including in particular training and health conditions. Other questions considered were: the living and working conditions of the indigenous populations of the American countries; conditions of employment of agricultural workers and the adjustment of labor disputes.

A Field Office on Technical Training in India will begin operations during the summer of 1949. The Office will give direct technical aid, on request, to the Asian and Far Eastern countries, on how to set up, operate and improve technical training programs aimed at increasing the number of skilled production workers.

The Second Session of the Building, Civil Engineering and Public Works Committee was held in Rome in March, 1949. The approved proposals were designed:

1. To improve industrial relations in industry.
2. To further labor and management cooperation.
3. To promote stability of employment in industry.
4. To improve vocational training and recruiting methods.

In order to stimulate vitally needed housing construction, the suggestion was advanced that an International Institute for Housing Loans be established under the control of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. In a detailed memorandum recommending policies for achieving employment stability in the industry, the Committee declared that it was desirable that all countries should have a central authority responsible for framing and applying such policies.

The ten leading coal producing countries met in Pittsburgh in April, 1949. Mr. Thomas Kennedy, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America, was elected Workers' Vice-Chairman of the Conference. The Conference adopted three reports, one of which called for revision of the I.L.O.'s 1935 Convention on Hours of Work in Coal Mines to bring it into line with technical, social and economic conditions prevalent in the industry. A report adopted on the re-training of disabled miners accepted the principle that disabled miners should be re-absorbed into jobs in which they may once again become productive members of the community. A report was also approved on the protection of young workers employed underground, and it proposed vocational training courses for all such workers under 18, physical examinations and re-orientation of physical and vocational rehabilitation, if possible within the industry itself, for those eliminated from the underground employment.

The I.L.O. Inland Transport Committee was held in Brussels in May, 1949. Twenty-two countries were represented and their decisions were embodied into a series of resolutions. With a view to stabilizing and "decasualizing" the work of dockers, the Committee recommended the establishment of registers on which dockers could be enrolled, priority in employment for registered workers, the establishment of systems assuring equal employment opportunities, and the improvement of the dockers' standard of living. The Committee asked the I.L.O. to make a comparative study of existing schemes assuring a guaranteed income to registered and available dockers. A resolution concerning the protection of young workers on inland waterways urged the limitation of the age for admission to employment, medical examinations, night hours, weekly rest periods, annual holidays, and the establishment of labor inspection systems.

The I.L.O.'s Commission of Inquiry into conditions of ships flying the Panama flag was held in Brussels in May, 1949. The Panamanian request followed a decision by the International Transport Workers Federation to institute a boycott of certain Panamanian ships, beginning May 1, 1949, but the boycott was suspended following negotiations between the Government of Panama and the I.T.F. The inquiry was tripartite, and the Workers' Member was Mr. Andrew Dalgeish, former Secretary of the British Transport and General Workers Union. During its meeting at Brussels the Commission visited two Panamanian freight ships anchored at Antwerp and heard a number of depositions. The Commission decided that it would need additional information from the Government of Panama and from the I.T.F., and that it would be necessary to visit a larger number of Panamanian ships before formulating its decisions.

The 109th Session of the Governing Body of the International Labor Organization was held in Geneva just prior to the 32nd Session of the International Labor Conference. The main questions dealt with at this session were the enforcement of trade union rights and the question of forced labor, and the I.L.O.'s contribution to the international program for technical assistance for economic development. A resolution concerning the establishment of international machinery for safeguarding freedom of association was adopted, and the Governing Body adopted the following conclusions in regard to forced labor; that the International Labor Organization considers that there should be an impartial inquiry into the nature and extent of forced labor and agrees to collaborate with the United Nations in providing for an impartial board of inquiry to study this matter; further instructs the Director-General to establish close contact with the Secretary-General of the United Nations, providing such a commission or inquiry at the earliest possible moment and to report back on this matter to the next Session of the Governing Body.

As regards technical assistance for economic development, the Governing Body recommended that the International Labor Conference affirm

the principle of full participation into the proposed technical assistance program by the International Labor Organization, and a provision to permit the International Labor Organization to undertake its part of the program to obtain the necessary funds.

Among other decisions taken by the 109th Session of the Governing Body were:

- a. instructed the Director-General to take appropriate steps to associate representatives of Germany, including workers and management representatives, with the I.L.O. activities and meetings.
- b. decided to convene meeting in Singapore in September 1949 on vocational training and to call a tripartite technical conference on vocational training for adults, January 1950.
- c. authorized the Director-General to open a manpower field office in Latin America.
- d. accepted an offer from Ceylon to hold the First Asian Regional Conference in that country in January 1950.
- e. approved for distribution to governments the I.L.O. Model Code of Safety Regulations in Industrial establishments.

The 32nd Session of the International Labor Organization Conference opened in Geneva on June 8 and closed on July 2, 1949. Five hundred and fifty delegates and advisers representing fifty of the I.L.O.'s sixty-one member countries, elected Sir Guildhaume Myrddin-Evans, former chairman of the Governing Body, as chairman of the Conference, and Mr. Bernardo Ibanez, Workers' Delegate from Chile, as Vice-Chairman of the Workers Group.

President Green recommended, and President Truman subsequently designated, the following advisers to the workers delegate from the United States: Mr. George Meany, Mr. Martin P. Durkin, Mr. William McPetridge, Mr. William McSorley, Mr. John Redmond, and Mr. Phil Ziegler.

The conference adopted three new international labor conventions which were: a convention to insure the workers the right to organize into trade unions without interference and to bargain collectively; to ensure that workers employed in the execution of contracts entered into by public authorities shall have wages, hours of work and working conditions not less favorable than other workers doing similar labor; and to protect workers' wages by assuring that they are paid in cash, promptly, in full, and directly to the workers.

Among the revised conventions approved by the conference were the following:

- a. international minimum standards to protect persons migrating from one country to take employment in another.
- b. provided for the gradual abolition or alternatively, the regulation of employment agencies which charged fees and are operated with a view to profit.
- c. vacation holidays with pay for seafarers;

- d. set standards for the accommodation of crews on board ships;
- e. fixed minimum wages for seafarers, established maximum hours, and set requirements for the manning of ships.

In addition to the decisions which the conference took in the form of new and revised conventions and recommendations, it also approved resolutions which requested the Governing Body to instruct the I.L.O. to prepare reports on:

- a. laws and practices throughout the world governing paid annual holidays; and on
- b. physical and cultural recreational facilities for workers.

The conference requested the Governing Body to give consideration to instructing the Director-General to prepare without delay a report on the problem of unemployment.

It approved a budget of some six million dollars to finance the I.L.O. operations for 1950.

TRADE UNION ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (U.S. Department of Labor)

During the year several meetings of the full committee were held at which important questions of international labor policy were considered. Included among these were the labor policies of the U. S. Military Government in Germany; what our Government's policy should be in respect to labor in Latin-America; relationships between the U. S. Military Government and the Japanese labor movement; and the ways in which the labor attaché program might be strengthened. The full committee received a report from a sub-committee which had toured Germany studying the means by which American Labor might assist the Germans in strengthening their democratic trade union movement. As a result of this report, the Committee made specific recommendations some of which have since been incorporated into our general policies in Germany.

The Committee noted with alarm the recent developments in Latin America, including:

The rapidity and ease with which military groups are gaining the ascendancy;

The abrogation of basic democratic freedoms;

The suppression of genuine free trade unions;

The creation and maintenance of government-controlled trade unions;

The increasing activity and effectiveness of Argentine "Labor Attaches", and

The continuing threat of Communist influence, particularly in trade unions.

After lengthy discussions on the developments in Latin America, the following resolution was adopted:

WHEREAS, these developments are clearly inimical to the democratic principles for which this country must stand if the objectives of our foreign policy are to be achieved,

BE IT RESOLVED, that the Secretary of Labor bring to the attention of the Secretary of State the grave concern of the American labor movement, as represented by this Committee, over these matters and transmit to the Secretary of State the following recommendations;

1. That the Secretary of State give consideration to bringing all possible pressures to bear, even to the extent of withholding diplomatic recognition, on those Latin-American governments which have suppressed basic democratic freedoms, including trade union rights; or on those which have come to power as a result of the overthrow of freely-elected governments.

2. That the Labor Attaché program be immediately expanded so that Latin American workers may be fully informed on labor conditions in the United States and of the activities and views of the American labor movements; so that the United States Government may be kept fully informed of labor developments in Latin America; and that the Labor Attaches be provided with ample resources to actively promote, as appropriate, the acceptance of democratic trade unionism, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Secretary of Labor inform the Secretary of State of the willingness of this Committee to advise the Departments of State and Labor in the formulation of a new United States labor policy for Latin America, and to assist through its legitimate activities as representatives of a free trade union movement in the implementation of this policy.

It was further agreed to recommend that the establishment of posts of labor advisors be re-established in Germany and Japan. The American Federation of Labor would furnish the Secretary of Labor the name of a trade union executive to fill the position as labor advisor to the Commander of American Military Forces in Germany.

The American Federation of Labor actively supports the international work of the Department of Labor and we have found that the Trade Union Advisory Committee is an effective body through which our views can be presented. We take pleasure in noting that this important area of Government activity—international labor affairs—is developing along the lines recommended in the Executive Council's Report of 1947.

We heartily endorse the recent appointment of Mr. Philip Kaiser, Director of the International Labor Affairs Division, Department of Labor, as Assistant Secretary of Labor for International Labor Affairs.

The American Federation of Labor was represented on the International Trade Union Advisory Committee by Secretary-Treasurer George Meany, Vice-President Matthew Woll, Vice-President David Dubinsky, and International Representative, George P. Delaney.

UNITED NATIONS

The work of this organization like all interests in the international field is conditioned by Soviet inability to cooperate with representatives of democratic nations and reach conclusions which include consensus of opinion, and their unwillingness to maintain such commitments as they have signed. The organization and orientation of a world organization would be difficult under the best of conditions, but when one of the major countries has declared war upon the institutions in which other members put their faith and seeks to impose its way of life upon all other nations, difficulties are multiplied. The United Nations has been prevented from implementing its police powers by Soviet vetoes. Arbitrary use of veto has discriminated against nations wishing to become members and has prevented international control of atomic power.

However, the General Assembly of the United Nations is the world's most important forum, but even there the discussion of issues, without action, was effective, as in the case of Iran.

The Trusteeship Council has assumed supervisory responsibility for nine non-strategic trust territories: New Guinea, Nauru, Western Samoa, Ruanda-Urundi, Tanganyika and two each of the Cameroons and Togoland; and over one non-strategic Pacific island formerly the mandate of Japan.

The United Nations, through its Economic and Social Council, has created economic commissions for Europe, Asia, and Latin America, and makes periodic economic reports as well as publishes a monthly statistical bulletin. This Council directs and coordinates the work of the various United Nations social and economic specialized agencies.

The American Federation of Labor has urged that United Nations agencies that have policy-making functions, should provide for representation for those groups directly concerned, and that national delegations in the General Assembly should represent functional citizen groups including Labor as well as the Government. Our representation in the Economic and Social Council should come from Industry, Agriculture, Finance (Labor as well as Management) preferably direct, but at least as technical advisers. Only when these groups participate will international relations rest on practical standards which make acceptance of human rights, human freedom, and human welfare in the production of goods conditions for admission to world markets.

A. F. of L. Consultants to the Economic and Social Council

One of the most important questions which came before the Economic and Social Council was put on the agenda by the American Federation of Labor. However, it took more than a year of continued effort to have it finally dealt with in Plenary Session. This was the question of Forced

Labor. The American Federation of Labor had gathered facts and collected a large number of affidavits from men and women who had been in some of the slave labor camps themselves and had succeeded in escaping. With a number of cases, personal interviews between these persons and the American Federation of Labor representative took place, and brought out all the revolting facts of slow starvation, hard labor, and indescribable suffering. The discussion on this item took almost a full week, and practically every member of the Council participated in it. The proposal was introduced to the Council by a representative of the American Federation of Labor who stressed that the workers of the world are perturbed by the fact that the evils they had fought in the last war are rampant again in certain parts of the world. The testimony received from persons who had escaped the hell of slave labor, showed that they were looking to the American Federation of Labor, asking for assistance in saving the lives of those still interned.

In view of the fact that the United Nations had adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which proclaims that nobody shall be held in slavery or servitude, the United Nations and all its members are under obligation to prove that they mean what they say.

The Russians and their satellites obviously were very embarrassed by the accusation, which was supported by very strong statements especially from the United States, British, Australian and Belgian delegates. The Russian suggestion for the appointment of an International Commission, numbering 125 persons consisting of representatives of trade union and other organizations (including the American Federation of Labor) to investigate real working conditions of workers and employees, did not fool any of the members of the Council. Only the Eastern countries voted for it.

The resolution finally adopted, gave full satisfaction to the demands of the American Federation of Labor, invited the International Labor Organization to investigate the existence of forced labor.

It also requests the Secretary-General to work in close cooperation with the International Labor Organization in carrying forward its work in this field, and to keep the International Labor Organization informed on the progress being made on the question, with the obligation to report to the next session of the Council on the result of his approaches and consultation.

The Secretary-General is also requested to approach all governments and to inquire in what manner and to what extent they would be prepared to cooperate in an impartial inquiry into the extent of forced labor in their countries, including the reasons for which persons are made to perform forced labor and the treatment accorded. It finally transmits the memorandum of the American Federation of Labor and the records of the Council discussion to the Commission on Human Rights for con-

sideration in connection with the drafting of the Covenant on Human Rights.

The American Federation of Labor also succeeded in obtaining the Economic and Social Council to consider a survey to determine *Violation of Trade Union Rights*, especially in the countries of Eastern Europe (Russia and her satellites).

The accusations made against Soviet Russia were based on official publications of the USSR, and those against the satellite countries on information from reliable sources which indicated persecution of trade union leaders and the abolishment of the most essential labor rights.

The World Federation of Trade Unions made counter charges against a long list of countries, all of them situated *outside* the Iron Curtain. They had asked that the Council, without any further investigation, pass a condemnatory judgment based exclusively on the accusations by the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Upon the request of the Inter-American Confederation of Workers, the American Federation of Labor consultants submitted a second paper to this item on the agenda, accusing the Peruvian Militarist Junta of persecution of trade unions and arrest of their leaders as a result of the *coup d'etat*.

After a long discussion, aided by the presence of our Latin American representative, Mr. Serafino Romualdi (Secretary of the C. I. T.), the request of the American Federation of Labor was satisfied and a resolution rallying the votes of all democratic powers was adopted. The resolution transmits the proposal and the records of the discussion to the International Labor Organization for investigation, and also to the Commission on Human Rights, in view of the latter's work in preparation of a draft Covenant on Human Rights with its implementation in mind.

At the same session of the Council the American Federation of Labor had brought a third topic on the agenda, namely, *Creation of a Central Publication*, for the purpose of furthering the development of under-developed areas. The idea was to ascertain a continuous pool of information and exchange of experience for the promotion of development projects. The item was especially highly welcomed by the representatives of the under-developed countries, and a resolution in conformity adopted, the votes against those, as usual, came from the Soviet and their satellites.

In compliance with the decision of the American Federation of Labor Convention in Cincinnati, the consultants presented to the Secretary-General an exhaustive memorandum on *Fifth Column Activities* of the Soviet Union and its satellites, especially Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia. They insisted that the Secretary-General should attempt to take action on it. In further development it appeared that the

International Law Commission was dealing with the subject-matter closely related to our request, namely, discussion of a draft *Declaration on the Rights and Duties of States*. In the first reading an article has been adopted as follows:

Every State has the duty to refrain from fomenting severe strife in the territory of another State, and the duty to prevent the organizing within its territory of activities calculated to foment such severe strife.

Our consultant is still in contact with the experts working on this matter in order to have a still greater clarification of the article.

Certain *Expansion of the Rights of the Non-Governmental Organizations in Category A*, as requested by the American Federation of Labor, was granted. The Council, in a revision of the rules of procedure, decided that these consultants in future should have the right to address, alternately, the Council itself or, at their choice, a Committee of the Council. It should be mentioned that the United Kingdom delegate was willing to go along all the way with the American Federation of Labor, namely, that the consultants would address the Council as well as the Committee of the Council and not alternately one or the other of them, but a majority, including the United States, did not want to go that far.

In their active participation in the Fiscal Commission, the American Federation of Labor consultants initiated discussion on the question of fiscal measures for promoting international trade and maximum employment to the extent compatible with the political security and economic independence of the less developed countries.

As Point 4 of President Truman's program—namely, *Development of the Under-Developed Areas*—tends to become the foremost issue in the Council's work, the American Federation of Labor's consultants initiated a proposal in the Sub-Commission on Economic Development, which aims at a greater diversification and planned extension of agricultural production, especially the industrial raw materials, to be based on long-term contracts with a number of industrialized countries willing to enter into such an agreement.

The American Federation of Labor representative in the Economic and Employment Commission, criticized the fact that no labor representative was attached to the Commission that was sent to Haiti to study the needs for the development of this area. As the purpose of assistance to under-developed countries is to speed up the process of development, attempts should also be made to avoid errors in the field of labor relations. Problems like trade union organization, labor-management relationship, collective bargaining, etc., are as important as technical advice on the introduction of machinery. In close cooperation with the International Labor Organization, labor advisors taken from the field, with practical experience, would be of invaluable help.

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION (UNESCO)

In our report to the 67th convention on the subject of this United Nations specialized agency we stated that the future usefulness of UNESCO would largely be determined by the decisions made at the Third General Conference which was scheduled to be held in Beirut, Lebanon. We are pleased to report now that there is indication that these basic decisions have been made and that they are generally in the direction recommended by the American Federation of Labor.

Just prior to the departure of the U. S. Delegation for Beirut the earlier decision noted in our last year's report was reversed and an American Federation of Labor representative was included in the delegation, Mr. John D. Connors, Director of the Workers' Education Bureau of America.

The most important action taken at the Beirut Conference was the election of a new Director-General. Dr. Jaime Torres-Bodet, former Minister of Education in Mexico was elected to succeed Dr. Julian Huxley. Torres-Bodet believes in a practical and democratic education program as he demonstrated in his outstanding campaign to eradicate illiteracy in Mexico. Under his leadership it can be expected that UNESCO will come to grips with the problems of world peace as they relate to educational, scientific and cultural pursuits. It was evident, too, at the Beirut Conference that UNESCO for the first time faced up to the hard facts of a world unfortunately divided between East and West.

At Beirut, the U. S. Delegation was influential in getting through two resolutions of special interest to Labor which were proposed by the labor members. One directed the Director-General to establish in the Paris headquarters a section on labor liaison to provide for furthering active participation of national labor organizations in UNESCO's program. The other instructed the Director-General to provide assistance to war-devastated countries in the field of education, science and culture to "attend to the needs of institutions and programs concerned with the education of adults such as trade unions and workers' educational movements."

Other resolutions of special interest to Labor were also included in the UNESCO program. These related to stimulation of exchange-of-persons programs at the non-academic levels, promotion of the study in schools of the contribution of organized labor to the advancement of science, a study of forces leading to Fascism, and inclusion in any UNESCO history of science and culture of the contribution of Labor to the advance of civilization.

Following the Beirut Conference, Ad. Staal, formerly in charge of the Workers' Organization Service of the ILO, was employed by

UNESCO on a temporary basis to draw up proposals as to the ways in which labor groups, national and international, could be associated with the work of UNESCO, and to help select a permanent labor liaison officer.

At the Second National Conference of the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO held in Cleveland on March 31 to April 2 (1949) there were thirty-five representatives from organized labor—twenty-five of whom were from A. F. of L. unions. At a meeting of these representatives a number of important recommendations were made to the U. S. National Commission. The burden of these recommendations was that UNESCO make special efforts to make its program of world peace in the field of educational, scientific and cultural endeavors more meaningful to plain people. Among the ways that it was suggested this be done, was that published material be aimed less at the university and university professor level and made more readable for working people and that exchange of persons include more persons coming from the practical schools of experience wherein people learn the facts about the world in which they live through their efforts to make a living and through their mutual efforts in their trade unions to improve their conditions.

An outstanding example of the contribution of American Federation of Labor members to the purposes of UNESCO was given at the Cleveland Conference in the presentation of the opening concert by the Cleveland Symphony Orchestra through arrangements made by the American Federation of Musicians.

At its June meeting, the Executive Committee of the National Commission considered the recommendations of the labor group in Cleveland and approved the calling of a small conference of labor representatives to consider topics on the UNESCO program and to present suggestions for the more active participation of labor in that program. This meeting was held in Washington on August 2. This group made a series of recommendations which will be submitted to the next annual meeting of the National Commission to be held in September.

Labor was conspicuously present at the Adult Education Conference arranged by UNESCO in Denmark in June. The Chairman of the U. S. Delegation was Mr. Mark Starr, Educational Director of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and President of Local 189, American Federation of Teachers. This was the first International Adult Education Conference since the war. Mr. Starr represented workers education activities as carried on by unions in the United States. 135 delegates from 27 countries and twenty-five non-governmental organizations participated. A fruitful pooling of ideas, experiences and techniques was made both in the plenary sessions and in the four commissions which held regular meetings.

At present there are only three labor members on the U. S. National Commission. This can hardly be considered adequate representation especially in view of the fact that several subsidiary organizations of the National Education Association are afforded representation.

On the positive side, it must be noted that there is increasing representation of organized labor on panels and committees which are set up by the National Commission under basic legislative authority. The American Federation of Labor is represented on seven important panels, including those on International Copyright, Fundamental Education and Adult Education. In addition to representation on the Executive Committee, the American Federation of Labor is also represented on the Committee on Educational Reconstruction and the Sub-Committee on Legislation. There are other important panels and committees on which we should be represented including the Panel on Educational Broadcasting, the Panel on Music and the working party on exchange of persons. Selection of representation for Labor on these panels and commissions should be by the labor unions most directly concerned.

The State Department has assured the American Federation of Labor that a person named by the Federation will be submitted to the President for membership on the official U. S. Delegation to the Fourth General Conference of UNESCO to be held in Paris in September.

While there remains much to be done to make the UNESCO program meaningful to the working people of this and other nations we are pleased to report that the last year has indicated progress in this direction. We urge the active support for the program and participation in it on the part of all our affiliated unions having an interest in educational, scientific and cultural matters.

ECONOMIC COOPERATION ADMINISTRATION

Any report on the progress of Europe toward economic reconstruction and stability must be limited to the end of 1948 as there are no figures available for any later date. However, all available information as to the state of the European economy as of December, 1948, gives eloquent testimony to the fact that under the Marshall Plan, the nations of Western Europe made some very substantial gains. By the last quarter of 1948 the aggregate production of the participating nations had for the first time reached and exceeded the "prewar level." (The year 1938 is universally used as the last "normal" year for purposes of comparing production.) Exports were 13% larger by volume than the level that existed in 1938. Prices were generally kept stable during the year. The gap between exports and imports, the cause for the famous dollar crisis, was lessened, and the gold and dollar deficits for the year were 30% lower than for 1947.

Industrial production in 1948 exceeded the volume of 1947 by a surprising figure of 14%, despite the great loss of production in France, due

to the coal strike and other Communist inspired forms of industrial unrest that plagued that country in the last part of the year. Including Western Germany the production level had just reached that of 1938. Excluding Western Germany the participating nations had bettered the '38 levels by 14%.

The recovery of Germany is a major factor in the program of European recovery. Before the war Germany accounted for over one-sixth of total European production. In 1947 it was producing only 40% of its prewar levels. By the last quarter of 1948 German industry had climbed back to 64% of the pre-war level. The result is that this large actual increase in production makes the progress of the last year seem more promising than it actually is; and the still low production of this important producer makes the actual overall production levels of the other countries seem less fully developed than they are.

The greatest production increases are concentrated in the heavy industries, i.e., iron and steel, engineering and chemicals. Metals and engineering production increased by 15% in '48 and chemicals by 19%. All the heavy industries are now well over 130% of prewar levels, if Germany is not included. German production in these industries is rigidly curtailed in such production by the occupation authorities. The importance of the continued low level of German production can best be shown by the following figures which show first, the production of Europe in the four basic industries with Germany; and second, without Germany. 1938 is used as the 100 index year:

| | WITH GERMANY | WITHOUT GERMANY |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| Textiles | 94 | 104 |
| Metals and Engineering..... | 100 | 133 |
| Chemicals | 108 | 141 |
| General Industrial Production..... | 102 | 118 |

Future of ERP

During the first year of operation of ERP there was neither the time nor the machinery for comprehensive economic planning to advance a continental European recovery. The trends were definitely toward developing more self-sufficient national economies and bilateral trade agreements. ERP had to grow out of disorganized production and trade practices. Europe had lost its former grain producing areas and had no means to develop relations with other sources of supply. Several countries had lost colonial possessions to which their economies were interrelated. Great Britain was the heaviest loser of all. Two world wars had exhausted her capital resources. Her economy was geared to foreign trade and heavily dependent on returns from foreign investments and services. She was dependent on the outside for raw materials and food. Her far-flung trade and foreign possessions had made her the world banker. Sterling was world currency, honored everywhere,

and interchangeable with all hard currencies. As the war consumed British capital, her dependencies tied to sterling became an obligation and a drain on her earnings.

ERP was intended to help Europe recover economically and to become self-dependent in the postwar world economy. Individual nations find it difficult to do business in world markets unless sustained by various economies drawing upon a wide geographic area with diversified resources. For this reason Congress wrote into the authorizing statute the principle that economic recovery should strive to attain a continental basis.

The whole economic framework of world trade has been changing. Western Europe is densely populated. It was formerly the main source of manufactured goods in world trade. While world trade increased greatly in total volume, manufacturing has increased in all countries so that Western Europe is no longer the dominant source. In 1938 the rest of the world produced half the output—a trend which continues. From 1913 imports to Europe increased while exports declined. If we maintain and raise their standards of living, better markets must be developed at home. Europe and all other countries need to fit themselves to compete as a continental economy in more interdependent world trade.

The interim report of Organization for European Economic Cooperation for 1948, the 19th annual report of the Bank of International Settlements, and the recent annual report of the International Monetary Fund all clearly pointed to necessary next steps: harmony in official policies and action and the relation of these policies to the actions of free industries. There was available only one agency to undertake this integrated planning for more basic developments—the OEEC—set up by the countries cooperating in ERP. The OEEC realized the need of planning how to gain strength by cooperation—not rivalry. In its report on its 1949-50 program it stated it was aware of weaknesses in individual national programs but it had not been in a position to ask countries to make specific modifications. However, it hopes to turn to consideration of the complex question of intra-European trade and payments.

Meanwhile the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe consisting of 12 member states, met in Strausbourg late in August. Its Economic Committee submitted proposals for action by the 12 states.

The Assembly requested the Council of Ministers

- “(1) to invite the Governments to promote an economic educational program on the need for economic unity.
- “(2) To take all practical steps to establish as quickly as possible a multilateral system of payments including the restoration of the interconvertibility of European currencies, subject to the safeguards necessary to enable the movement of capital to be controlled during the transitional period.

- "(3) To create permanent machinery for consultation on credit policy.
- "(4) To call an economic conference representing themselves and their oversea associates and territories in order (a) to follow up and extend both the work of OEEC in liberalizing inter-European trade and all studies now being made in regard to the economic relations of Europe and its oversea associates and territories; (b) as a first step towards a unified market to extend existing preferential systems to the whole of the trading area represented by all those taking part in the conference; (c) to study the development of production within the territories of the members of the conference so that their individual import requirements may be met as efficiently as possible from their combined resources; (d) to study the conditions under which the investment in their territories of American and other non-European capital could be encouraged.
- "(5) To call as soon as possible industrial conferences representing employers', workers', and consumers' organizations, as well as Government services interested in the main manufacturing and agricultural industries in order to make concrete proposals to the Assembly on the organization of these industries and the increase in their productivity in the common interests of Europe.
- "(6) To draw up a draft European convention for the control of international cartels which it will present to the Assembly."

The Committee reporting these proposals said:

"The countries of Europe must increase their productivity and reduce their costs and selling prices. The United States should encourage imports from Europe by every possible means. The peoples of Europe are weak today because they are divided; but by uniting their markets they can lower costs and selling prices and more than recover their lost prosperity. The economic union of Europe should not create an exclusive trading area, but on the contrary be open to the exchange of goods and services on fair terms with all the world."

These proposals were adopted with the recommendation that a mission should negotiate with the United States on behalf of all nations. Of course this Assembly is only consultative and without authority to act. Equally obvious is the fact that some agency must be authorized to act—and quickly. Either some such plans can be followed or greater powers can be delegated to the OEEC.

These proposals are mainly in the right direction—but as yet they are only proposals. The proposed action goes counter to historical traditions and practices. But imminent economic danger of bankruptcy is a potent force—this possibility looms large in that no closing of the dollar gap is expected in 1950.

The Director of ECA has been urging all possible effort to close the trade or dollar gap by 1952, when aid is scheduled to end.

The ECA through its Labor Advisors has already lifted some of their labor problems to the continental level. The problem of need for

workers and surplus workers has been solved by the service set up by ILO. Need for special training is met by vocational training. There is a trade union committee advisory to OEEC, representing the European work force, and labor members in all national missions aid with special national problems. Practical ways of exchanging work and production experience are further promoting cooperation.

All in all this distinctive American contribution to world need and to safeguarding of human freedoms, has made a good beginning in a most difficult and intricate undertaking. This experience will blaze the way for other efforts to aid higher living standards throughout the world. These next months must bring concentration on closing the dollar or trade gap. This can be done by raising the level of world trade as each economic unit makes available more goods and services demanded by consumers at prices fixed by competition in world markets.

The United States has grave responsibility because of its productive economy, its great political power, and its own interdependence on world trade and prosperity. We must act in the interests of all, to the detriment of none, and for the advancement and security of our own nation.

Responsibility is a sacred trust.

Reparations and Dismantling

The purpose of the Economic Recovery Administration or the Marshall Plan is to give to European people economic security so that they may return to Western European economic institutions. Even though there has been economic recovery that has provided work and income for many people and the tide of Communist strikes and Communist Party control have receded, proximity to the Communist Empire and Communist concentration on production for war brings all Europe under the shadow of a great fear that grows in intensity with nearness to the Iron Curtain. Should the hordes of the U.S.S.R. attack, there is nothing to stop them from overpowering Western Europe.

The Atlantic Pact and military armament of Western Europe is essential to assuage fear and safeguard economic recovery. The most vulnerable spot of all Europe is Germany. Part of her Eastern territory was carved off at the request of Stalin who wanted it to give to Poland to replace Eastern Polish territory which he had taken. Germany was brought to unconditional surrender which left her without government and in the hands of four conquering armies each of which took responsibility for a sector. The U.S.S.R. took over Eastern Germany and under the guise of reparations seized needed industrial machinery for use in their own factories and left other factories in operation in order to produce supplies for the U.S.S.R.

Current plans of Great Britain and France for further reparations and dismantling threaten hundreds of thousands of families with hopeless unemployment and reduces industrial Germany to a level that threatens

the existence of all. Communist propagandists are using this opportunity to induce the Germans to turn eastward—an historic slogan of Bismarck. They point the professed friendship of the democracies can be judged by its acts. Unemployment removes all hope.

Germany is the key to continental Europe. It would be small return for what they are receiving if France and Britain would forego dismantling so that the Iron Curtain could at least remain where it is until the U.S.S.R. can be returned to their former boundaries.

Point 4 (President Truman's Program for Technical Assistance)

In a message to Congress early in this session, the President outlined a plan to give technical assistance and experience to backward countries. The purpose of this proposal was to aid the agricultural and industrial development of these areas so that the people may have a more satisfactory life as a result of their productive efforts. By raising the standards of production and life for these areas the menace of sub-standard hours and wages is removed from domestic and foreign trade.

FORMATION OF NEW WORLD ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

The relentless fight waged by the American Federation of Labor against the creation, organization, and continuation of the W.F.T.U. was not a mere negative struggle. There can be nothing more positive and constructive than the defeat and eradication of destructive and totalitarian elements in the body-politic of organized labor. The elimination of the dangerous virus calling itself Communism, Nazism, Fascism, Falangism, Peronism, or any other specie of totalitarianism—twentieth century slavery in fact—and the counteracting and overcoming of its costly ravages especially at the expense of organized labor is the primary and absolute prerequisite for the very survival, let alone the continued success and progress, of free trade unionism and all human decency and liberty. The American Federation of Labor is highly gratified that its drive against the Kremlin's monstrous military espionage agency, the W.F.T.U., has borne fruit and that the free trade union organizations are now ready for a fundamental and sound realignment leading to the organization of a genuine world organization of the bona fide trade unions.

In this sense, the International Labor Relations Committee has been striving to secure the affiliation of the maximum number of A. F. of L. international unions to the various Trade Secretariats. Towards this end, we have actively participated in the Trade Union Advisory Committee of the Office of European Economic Cooperation (O.E.E.C.), with a view of securing European labor's most active voice in and contribution to the economic recovery of the continent.

Above all, in furtherance of sound world unity of free labor and genuine international labor solidarity and cooperation for freedom, economic well-being, social justice, and lasting peace, we have continuously striven for the organization of a united world federation of free trade unions. In a series of declarations, the Executive Council and its International Labor Relations Committee have offered definite principles and suggested positive proposals and policies for the organization and effective functioning of such a healthy world labor union.

The Executive Council authorized President Green, on behalf of the American Federation of Labor, to join forces with all the free trade unions of the world in the formation of a new world trade union movement. Therefore, at the invitation of the British Trades Union Congress, President Green delegated Secretary-Treasurer George Meany; Irving Brown, European Representative; William McSorley, President of the International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers; and George P. Delaney, A. F. of L. International Representative; to attend the provisional conference to form a new world trade union movement, which was held in Geneva, June 25 and 26, 1949.

The organizations represented at the provisional conference totaled a membership of approximately 47 million. There were 119 representatives from 34 national centers, 12 unaffiliated trade union bodies, the International Trade Secretariats, Trade Union Center in Exile, and the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions, who were present as observers.

After listening to a stirring address by Robert Bratschi, President of the Swiss Trade Union Federation, which opened the conference, the delegates proceeded to elect Paul Finet of Belgium as Chairman, and Vincent Tewson of the British Trades Union Congress as Secretary of the conference.

A Committee on Standing Orders and Credentials was elected. During the discussion of subjects on the agenda, most every delegation had a representative speaker. The speeches of George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer of the A. F. of L., and James Carey, Secretary-Treasurer of the C.I.O., were reproduced. The reaction to Mr. Meany's speech was one of universal acclaim and was reprinted in many European newspapers. The principal points set forth by Secretary Meany were:

1. The existing vacuum in the field of world labor must be filled by the organized unity of free labor. The threat of totalitarianism must be met and thrown back by uniting together the non-Communist trade unionists.
2. The new international trade union body must be divorced completely from big power politics. The rights and privileges of both large and small trade union centers must be fully recognized.
3. The International Trade Secretariats must be drawn into the preparations and organization of this new world labor organ

from the very beginning, thus maintaining and guaranteeing their independent autonomy as well as sound relations between the two international bodies.

4. There must be created a truly world-wide organization not confined merely to Europe and/or America but embracing Asian, South American and African areas of the world.

A summation of the many speeches made during the conference reveal the following major points:

1. Almost complete agreement on the need for creating a new International based upon free trade unionism and the urgent need to resist the world attacks of the Cominform through the WFTU.
2. The acceptance of the four basic principles enunciated in George Meany's speech. This was especially brought out in the speech of Eiler Jensen of Denmark who allied himself completely with the point of view of the A. F. of L. on this question.
3. Agreement on the need for closer relationships with the International Trade Secretariats and fuller participation in the work of the new International.
4. General agreement on the need for the location of the new organization in a small country in Western Europe. The majority opinion seems to be in favor of Brussels.
5. Great emphasis on the need for autonomy of national organizations, but also emphasis on the need for developing general international policy which the national organizations would follow and support.
6. Acceptance of the need for regional organizations and activity although agreeing on a central organization based upon national centers. It is interesting to note that Vincent Tewson of the TUC supported this approach.
7. The voice of the Far East and other under-developed areas was especially in evidence, and there was more attention paid in the speeches of everyone to the problems of these areas.

The report of the Credentials Committee, presented by E. Kupers, General Secretary of the Dutch Federation of Labor, revealed four outstanding protests. The Argentine C.G.T. objected to the seating of the anti-Peron organization "Comité Obrero Acción Sindical Independiente"; Lebanon challenged the credentials of Israel on the grounds that Histadruth was still affiliated to the WFTU; the Hind Mazdoor Sabha (India) challenged the credentials of the INTUC (India) as being Government-dominated; and the Chinese representatives protested against their status as observers and argued for the status of delegates.

At the close of the various speeches made, the Credentials Committee reported proposals that all credentials be granted, and that the Chinese be given the status of delegates since there was no time in which to complete any real investigation. The right to send invitations for the future World Trade Union Congress was left to the Continuation Committee. When the report was offered for adoption, the delegates from the Argentinian C.G.T. informed the conference that if the Credentials

Committee's report is accepted, permitting the anti-Peron organization to remain as bona fide delegate, it would be necessary for them to withdraw from the conference. When the report was adopted, the delegates of the C.G.T. of Argentina withdrew.

The Continuation Committee was elected to meet in London August 25, to draft a tentative constitution to be submitted to the first official Congress of the new world labor movement sometime between November 10th and November 30th. The location of the Congress will be decided by the Continuation Committee.

A draft committee was elected to prepare a declaration of principles for the conference. This committee made its report after lengthy discussions and it was decided to recommend the adoption, by the conference, of the following statement of principle:

This conference recognizes: the imperative need for an effective means of collaboration and consultation between the free and democratic trade union movements of the world; it shall seek to ensure close contact between the free and democratic trade union movements throughout the world; the provision of assistance in the establishment and development of trade union organizations in economically and socially under-developed countries; the furtherance of peace between nations of the world; the guaranteeing of fundamental human rights; and to seek association with such international organizations, both governmental and non-governmental as will further the aims of the international trade union organization in protecting and developing the interests of the people generally; to pay particular attention to the economic, social, and cultural interests of the populations of war-devastated countries and the rebuilding of their economies; to ensure full employment and to increase the standard of living of the peoples throughout the world, particularly through the development of backward countries and non-self-governing territories.

The Committee further recommended that a Preparatory Committee be elected which would prepare a tentative constitution for submission to the first Congress. The following persons were elected to this Committee: France (Jouhaux); Italy (Pastore); Great Britain (Deakin); U.S.A. (Ross and Brown); Germany (to be determined later); Australia and New Zealand (Croskery); Asia (Sen-India); (Hedayat-Iran); Africa (Haldane); Latin America (Ibanez); Benelux (Kupers); Scandinavia (Jensen); ITS (Oldenbroeck).

The Conference was brought to a close with a stirring speech by Paul Finet, Chairman of the Conference, who stated that the groundwork had been laid for the creation of an International Trade Union Movement which would be strong because of its love of liberty, freedom, and democracy, and that the new International Trade Union Movement would be independent of political parties and governments.

HOUSING

Inadequate housing was still a major problem for millions of families in 1949. Although more houses were built in 1948 than in any year since 1925, the all-time peak year, hardly a dent was made on the huge accumulated shortage which had become more and more acute during the wartime and postwar period.

The continuing deficiency in the housing supply certainly cannot be attributed to a lack of interest in the problem during the war and early postwar years. On the contrary, much thought and study had been given to the problem and programs were mapped out, with the active assistance and participation of organized labor, which could have made possible a real start in meeting the nation's housing shortage. It is a matter of record that in 1943, in the midst of the war, the American Federation of Labor proposed a comprehensive housing program which had as its goal an annual output of at least 1,500,000 houses, enough to provide, within a comparatively short time, a decent home for every American family.

Certainly all the statistical data available indicated unmistakably the terrific housing shortage which would face us at the end of the war. In 1940, even before the war, the first census of housing indicated that more than one-third of all American families were without decent, sanitary living quarters. With the necessary contraction in residential construction during the war and the large increase in the population it was inevitable that the already existing shortage should become even more acute.

More recent figures published by the Bureau of the Census (April 1948) indicate the present size of the housing problem confronting the nation. The Bureau found approximately 2,500,000 families were living doubled up, in furnished rooms, trailers, or other makeshift accommodations. This is approximately 500,000 more than in 1940. In addition, in urban areas alone there were 5 to 6 million houses which were below any acceptable minimum standard of health and decency.

According to latest estimates of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, from 17 to 18 million new dwellings will have to be built by 1960 in order to make up the existing housing shortage and to provide for the new families which will be added to the population. This would mean an average of about 1,500,000 new homes a year.

The real estate interests have made much of the fact that the 930,000 houses built in 1948 came close to equalling the all-time record of 937,000 units built in 1925. The pride which the private builders have shown in their 1948 production only seems to emphasize how limited is their understanding of the housing problems of the American people. Even if one million homes had been built in 1948, this would

still have been one-third less than the number which should have been built if the housing shortage is to be met by 1960.

Furthermore, the homes which are being built do not meet our most acute needs. Workers should not be forced to buy homes at the high prices houses are being offered for sale today. The most acute need is for rental housing. In the face of this fact, only about 15 percent of all houses built in 1948 were rental-type dwellings and while this figure may be increased in 1949, there is no chance whatsoever that the percentage will reach the 40 percent figure prevalent in the 1920's.

Even more significant is the fact that the houses being built today are still far too costly for average American families. In June 1949, the average weekly income of a factory worker was \$53.68. Even assuming 52 full weeks of paid work during the year, this worker can afford to pay not more than about \$55 a month for housing, since housing costs should not account for more than one-fourth of the family's income.

In 1948, however, the Housing and Home Finance Agency reported that rents in new apartment buildings were renting at \$85 and up with most rents at the \$100 level (including services and utilities). The situation with regard to sales housing was just as bad. The Federal Reserve Board reported that in 1948 the median price of new housing for sale was in the neighborhood of \$7500 to \$8500, and this included the comparatively low selling prices of homes in rural areas which were, of course, not available to urban workers. Even this range of selling prices would require monthly payments of \$75-85 a month, far more than the average factory worker can afford to pay.

For many workers, moreover, the problem has been still further complicated by rent increases resulting from the weakening of the rent control program after passage of the Housing and Rent Act of 1949. Under the so-called "local option" and "fair net operating income" provisions of that law, rents rose considerably in many areas of the country. At this time no conclusive data is as yet available indicating precisely how much rents have risen in units which have been affected by the weakening of the rent control program. However, we do know that from April 1 to July 29, 1949 nearly 760,000 rental units in 276 communities were decontrolled, either by "local option" or by the Housing Expediter. It is too early to know just how much rents have increased in each decontrolled area. Preliminary figures for Dallas, Texas, one of the decontrolled communities, show that typical rents increased from a minimum of 10½ percent to as much as 380 percent after municipal authorities voted to end rent control. More than half of the increases were 60 percent or more, and at least 20 percent were over 100 percent.

In addition to outright decontrol, rent increases plagued thousands of workers. The Housing Expediter reported that from April 1 to June

1, 1949, rent increases had been granted on 142,000 dwelling units still under rent control. The average monthly increase was \$6.40, representing an average increase of 18 percent.

The one bright spot in an otherwise dark picture was the passage of the Housing Act of 1949. This was the climax to the American Federation of Labor's 5-year fight for a comprehensive housing bill. Its most important provision authorizes a 6-year, 810,000-unit, low-rent public housing program for low-income families. The law also contains provisions for slum clearance and urban redevelopment, farm housing, and housing research. Its "statement of policy" sets a national goal of providing a decent home for every American family in a suitable living environment.

Although the new Housing Act will give low-income families in the population an opportunity to obtain decent housing, millions of moderate-income families with incomes ranging from \$2500 to \$4000 still have no way to solve their housing problem. These families cannot afford the new housing being built by private builders, but they are too rich to be eligible for public housing. The American Federation of Labor has endorsed the Sparkman Middle Income Housing Bill which authorizes long-term federal loans at low interest rates—entirely without subsidy—to groups of families joined together in cooperative and mutual housing organizations. This legislation is needed to round out a truly comprehensive housing program to meet the needs of every group in the population.

The victories which have been won in the housing field during the past year have been due largely to the efforts of the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor, which consists of Harry C. Bates, chairman; James A. Brownlow, Robert Byron, Richard J. Gray (ex officio, as President of the Building and Construction Trades Department), and Adolph Held. The members of this committee were aided tremendously by the enthusiastic support they received from local American Federation of Labor groups throughout the nation. The A. F. of L. Housing Committee will continue to need the assistance and support of every A. F. of L. affiliate in the coming year in order to successfully carry out Labor's housing program.

WAGE AND HOUR ADMINISTRATION

Fair Labor Standards Act

During the past year the Wage and Hour Administration continued to enforce the now obsolete standards established by the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Out of 32,012 establishments inspected during the past fiscal year, a total of 1,580, or five per cent were found to be paying their employees less than 40 cents an hour. It is astounding that even this percentage of

inspected establishments were found to be violating this obsolete minimum wage.

A far larger number of employers were found to be violating the overtime provisions of the law. A total of 18,180 were found to be violating this part of the Act.

However, it is important to note that during the year, the Labor Department was able to inspect only approximately 32,000 establishments. This represents only about 5 per cent of the estimated number of business units affected by the law. This low level of enforcement has been directly caused by the cut in funds made by the 80th Congress. Indications are that with an increased appropriation from the 81st Congress, the agency will more effectively be able to enforce the law.

The agency has found that it is becoming increasingly difficult to obtain back pay for the employees whose employers have been violating the law. For the first 9 months of the 1949 fiscal year, the agency was able to collect only about 35 per cent of the \$8,365,014 owed to 128,647 underpaid employees. The proportion of back wages recovered by employees is extremely low, largely because employers have been refusing to pay the money which they legally owe. However, the only way an employee can collect is by a costly and time-consuming civil suit which he is naturally reluctant to undertake. Legislation which would correct this situation by empowering the Administrator to sue for back wages on behalf of the underpaid employees is now under consideration by Congress.

In reviewing the enforcement activities of the past year, the most important fact which stands out is the very antiquated provisions of the law which were being enforced. Despite the developments of the past 10 years—the increased levels of employment, wages and prices—the minimum wage law of this country still contains the provision for a 40 cents an hour minimum written into the statute in 1938. Only when this antiquated minimum has been raised will the enforcement activities of the Department of Labor make it possible for this country to provide an effective minimum wage for workers.

Labor Standards on Government Contracts

While effective enforcement of a minimum wage law has been made more difficult by the failure of Congress to modernize the Fair Labor Standards Act, it has been possible to move ahead with effective enforcement of minimum wages in another area, namely, minimum wages for employees working on government contracts.

During the past year, the Department of Labor has continued its program for bringing up to date the wage determinations made under the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act. This law enacted in 1936 establishes minimum wage standards on government contracts and provides for minimum wage determinations by the Secretary of Labor.

Until the past year, the wage determinations in effect were all promulgated during the early years of the statute. Immediately after the war the American Federation of Labor urged the Department to revise these outdated determinations as quickly as possible. However, it was not until this past year that this program was fully put into effect. The importance of this work can be indicated by the fact that during the 1949 fiscal year, over 27,000 contracts valued at over \$3,600,000,000 were subject to the Public Contracts Act.

During the past year, seven new determinations were issued, covering the following industries:

| INDUSTRY | MINIMUM WAGE | EFFECTIVE DATE |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------|
| Men's Hat and Cap\$.85 (Cap & Cloth Hat Branch) | (auxiliary rate \$.65) | 11/16/48 |
| Textile87 | | 11/16/49 |
| Uniform and Clothing (Heavy Outerwear Branch).. .85 | (auxiliary rate \$.65) | 1/1/49 |
| (Wool Trousers Branch)75 | (auxiliary rate \$.65) | 1/1/49 |
| Woolen and Worsted 1.05 | | 5/4/49 |
| Flint Glass83½ | (auxiliary rate \$.78½) | 8/16/49 |
| Iron and Steel 1.23, 1.19, 1.08½ | (auxiliary rates \$.04½ less) | 8/27/49 |

Many international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor were instrumental in achieving these higher minimum rates for the industries with which they were concerned. In each case, the international union made a full presentation at the public hearing called to discuss the revision of the minimum rate.

The importance of this program is difficult to overestimate. In view of the number and value of government contracts, it is exceedingly important that these contracts are not being utilized as the means for subsidizing those business firms which fail to maintain minimum labor standards. We urge the Department of Labor to accelerate this program so that during the coming year all minimum rates under the Walsh-Healey Act will be brought up to date with the prevailing wage practices throughout American industry.

DEVELOPMENTS IN SOCIAL SECURITY

I. Old-Age And Survivors' Insurance

As of the end of the first quarter of 1949 nearly one and one-half million persons were receiving monthly retirement benefits under the Old-Age and Survivors' Insurance Program of the Social Security Act in the amount of about thirty-three and a half million dollars per

month. In addition, nearly a million more persons were receiving survivors' benefits in the amount of more than fifteen million dollars per month. While these totals are impressive the program under which the payments are made falls far short of providing security for wage earners in America.

In the first place, there are still two out of every five jobs in the United States that are not covered under a retirement program. The single substantive change in the coverage of the Old-Age and Survivors' Insurance program which was enacted by the 80th Congress was the Gearhart Resolution. This marked a distinct step backward as it removed between half and three-quarters of a million persons from coverage of the system. We continue to favor the extension of this program to all workers in America who depend on wages except those who are covered by adequate retirement programs such as that provided under the Railroad Retirement Act and under the Civil Service and other retirement programs provided for employees of the Federal Government.

Benefits remain at a pitifully low level. Since 1940 when benefits were first payable under this program the average benefit has increased only about 13 percent—from \$22.00 a month to about \$25.00. In 1940 the average monthly benefit represented roughly 20 percent of the average monthly wage of all employees in industry. The present average monthly retirement benefit represents only about 11 percent of the average wage.

In accordance with the action of the 67th convention of the American Federation of Labor the Committee on Social Security undertook to develop a well-rounded program of social insurance legislation to be presented to the 81st Congress. With relation to the Old-Age and Survivors' Insurance program the committee recommended two major objectives:

1. Extension and liberalization of the existing Federal Old-Age and Survivors' Insurance program.
2. Extension of the protection of the national insurance system to the risk of both temporary and permanent disability.

Under Point One the program called for extension of coverage to include self-employment, agricultural workers, domestic service, employment by non-profit institutions, Federal employees not covered by any Federal retirement plan, military services, employees of State and local governments except those covered by a pension plan deemed satisfactory by the workers under the plan.

The program called for liberalization of the amount of the monthly insurance benefit by increasing the minimum payment, by liberalizing the formula for computation of benefits, by computing the average wage on the basis of the individual's best five years, by increasing the wage base for both contributions and benefits to \$4,800 per year, by including gratuities as wages.

The program also provided for the reduction of the retirement age from 65 years to 60 for women employees, widows, wives and mothers; by liberalizing the amount which a beneficiary is permitted to earn without loss of insurance benefits and by providing a lump-sum burial benefit equal to three months' insurance benefit in all cases of death of the insured worker. Family benefits for widows, fatherless children and orphans would be increased by raising the amount of the first child's benefit from the present 50 percent to 75 percent of the parents' benefit by making children eligible for benefits in cases where the mother has died and the father is not able to support the child because of disability and by removing the arbitrary limitation on benefits for a widow with three children allowing the benefits for all children up to a maximum of the parents' previous wages or \$150.00 per month.

The American Federation of Labor proposal also calls for a system of temporary disability benefits to cover periods up to 26 weeks when the worker is unable to perform his usual work. Temporary disability benefits would correspond in amounts to unemployment compensation benefits. While as noted in the section on unemployment compensation several states have amended unemployment compensation laws to provide for temporary disability, our conviction remains that the best method of instituting such a program is through Federal enactment. This is confirmed by the fact that extension of such benefits under unemployment compensation is confined to those few states which have in the past provided for an employee contribution in unemployment compensation, with the exception of New York. We are also deeply concerned with the electing-out provisions which have been incorporated in all such plans with the exception of Rhode Island. We reaffirm our previous conviction that temporary disability insurance is not an appropriate field for private investment and that when the government requires all employers to insure against the contingency of temporary disability it should provide through a single state fund a low cost, non-profit method of insurance.

The coverage for the permanent or extended disability would be the same as for old-age and survivors' insurance excepting the self-employed. The program makes provision for rehabilitation and provides benefits the same as for retirement.

Pending Legislation

In February, 1949, legislation (H.R. 2893) was introduced by Chairman Doughton of the House Ways and Means Committee which had the approval of the Administration and which met in every particular the standards proposed by the American Federation of Labor.

Hearings were held on this bill and on H.R. 2892 (Public Assistance) during the months of March and April. April 20th was set aside as American Federation of Labor Day before the House Ways and Means

Committee. On that date twenty-one representatives of American Federation of Labor unions and departments headed by President Green appeared before the House Ways and Means Committee and presented the position of the American Federation of Labor with respect to the long-needed improvements in the social security system in a most vigorous and forceful manner.

From the end of April to the middle of August the Ways and Means Committee was in executive session preparing a Committee Bill. On August 15 the Chairman introduced the new bill (H.R. 6000) which combines the proposed changes in the old-age insurance program and in public assistance.

While this measure does not provide all the improvements asked by the American Federation of Labor, it is the most liberal set of proposals that have been before Congress in ten years. The following improvements over the present social security system are contained in this bill:

1. The protection is extended to the risk of permanent and total disability.
2. Coverage is extended to about 11 million new wage earners including non-farm self-employed (other than certain professions), employees of state and local governments (under conditions referred to below), domestic servants, employees of non-profit institutions, agricultural processing workers off the farm, certain federal employees (such as those employed on the TVA) who are not under any retirement system and salesmen and certain other employees who were deprived of protection by the Gearhart Resolution of the 80th Congress.

The extension of coverage to employees of state and local governments, under the provisions of this bill, depends upon the state entering into a voluntary compact with the Federal Security Agency (except for certain transit workers who are covered compulsorily). Such employees who are under an existing retirement system can be brought under the system only if such employees and adult beneficiaries of the retirement system elect such coverage by a two-thirds majority in a written secret ballot. While this method of protection for the retirement systems now in effect for certain groups of city and state employees is not precisely in the form requested by the American Federation of Labor it appears to offer adequate protection to the continuance of such systems where they are preferred by the affected employees without unduly hindering the extension of social security to employees who are without adequate retirement and disability protection.

3. Current benefits are materially liberalized. About 2.6 million persons currently receiving benefits would have their monthly benefits increased on the average by about 70 percent, ranging from an increase of 50 percent for the highest benefit groups to as much as 150 percent for the lowest.
4. Future benefits are further liberalized by a more liberal method of computing the average wage, as a by-product of extended coverage, by raising the annual wagebase from \$3,000 to \$3,600 and by less stringent eligibility provisions. The bill provides also

that the amount a beneficiary may earn in covered employment without loss of benefits would be increased from the present \$14.99 per month to \$50, with no limitation after age 75.

5. Protection of the system is extended to World War II veterans.
6. Social security would be extended to Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.
7. The sound principles of contributory social insurance consistently advocated by the American Federation of Labor are adhered to by providing increased contribution rates by both employers and employees beginning with an increase to 1½ percent of taxable payrolls for each in 1950 and by periodic steps increasing to 3¼ percent in 1970.

The liberalization outlined above along with the many technical improvements in the system contained in H.R. 6000 which are not possible to present in this brief summary in our opinion warrant the enthusiastic endorsement of the American Federation of Labor. It is hoped that favorable action may be taken on this measure by the House during the remainder of this session and that the Senate will adopt it early in 1950 so that the long-delayed increased and broadened protection of social insurance may be made immediately available to the wage earners of this country.

II. Public Assistance

The legislative history of the Social Security Act of 1935 indicates very clearly that it was the intention of the Congress that the development of the social insurance program provided under the Act should eventually in large part obviate the necessity for continuing relief or public assistance programs. We have viewed with deep concern the development of a trend especially in the past several years in just the opposite direction. It has been ten years since Congress has adopted any major change in the basic social insurance program while the public assistance program was amended in 1946, 1947 and 1948. Each of these amendments was in the direction of liberalizing public assistance in contrast to the general trend of restricting and limiting the social insurance program. The result is a social security program that is decidedly out of balance. There are over five million people in the United States at this time receiving some form of public assistance with about half that number benefiting from the Old-Age and Survivors' Insurance program. We are spending at the rate of nearly two billion a year for public assistance whereas the program which was originally designed to do away with the need for public assistance is paying out less than one-third that amount in benefits each year. It is for these reasons that we urged the House Ways and Means Committee to give prior consideration to the proposed improvements in the Old-Age and Survivors' Insurance program.

Our emphasis on the prior necessity of improving the contributory insurance system should not be taken as an indication that we do not

appreciate the need for a well-developed public assistance program. No matter how well designed the insurance system, there will always be those who for one reason or another are not eligible for its benefits. Public assistance as we conceive it should be the last line of defense against the ravages of hunger, want and disease. The following six basic objectives and standards are applicable to any program designed to meet whatever areas of need that are finally left to public assistance:

1. Federal grants-in-aid should be made available to the states for general assistance payments to needy persons not now eligible for assistance under the existing program.
2. The grants made by the Federal Government should encourage the states to improve the aid to dependent children.
3. The grants-in-aid should permit the states to determine whether payments for medical care should be made directly to the persons and agencies providing medical care and service or whether they should be paid by the needy person out of an assistance grant.
4. Federal financial aid should be made available to the states for general welfare services for adults, families and children.
5. The states with lower per capita income should be given proportionately larger grants from Federal funds.
6. Except for a short term requirement in the case of old-age assistance no state should be eligible to receive Federal funds if its public assistance program imposes a residence requirement as a condition of eligibility.

In February of this year Chairman Doughton of the Ways and Means Committee introduced a bill (H.R. 2892) which met these major objectives. The American Federation of Labor on March 18, 1949, presented to this Committee a statement in support of this bill urging however that the basic social insurance structure should be brought up to date before final consideration of the public assistance changes proposed in the measure.

Title III of H.R. 6000, the combined Committee Bill referred to above, while it does not meet completely all these standards moves substantially in their direction. This title greatly liberalizes the present public assistance titles of the Social Security Act in many important respects and therefore merits the full support of the American Federation of Labor.

III. Unemployment Compensation

The recent rise in the number of unemployed workers while not necessarily indicative of any serious depression gives cause for a re-evaluation of our unemployment compensation program. In the six-month period from December 1948 to June 1949 the number of those receiving benefits under the program rose from 939,000 to 1,814,000. Benefits averaging \$20.06 per week are currently being paid to unemployed workers covered by the program at the rate of \$154,700,000 per month.

While these amounts provide a substantial bulwark against destitution to families of unemployed workers in individual cases and at the same time contribute to the maintenance of purchasing power, the operation of the program in this first period of extensive unemployment that has occurred since the payment of benefits began reflects weaknesses that need to be analyzed and appraised.

Changes in State Laws 1948-49

Forty-six state legislatures were in session in 1949. As of the end of June all but 11 had adjourned. All the legislatures considered unemployment insurance legislation. Some of the enactments represented moves for liberalization while others were in the opposite direction.

With regard to the benefits, 23 states increased the maximum basic benefits while 12 states extended the duration of the benefit period. Six states added dependents' allowances, bringing the total having such provision to 11. Twenty-six states increased the maximum potential benefits in a benefit year. Even with these liberalizations, benefits do not represent an adequate proportion of the wage loss due to unemployment. The maximum basic benefit is \$25.00 or more in only 24 states. Twenty states still have a maximum benefit of \$20.00 per week. As to duration 29 states still have a maximum limit of 20 weeks or less. Six states limit the benefit period to 16 weeks or less with one still at 12. Eleven states have a maximum of 26 weeks and one state with a variable duration formula permits payments beyond 26 weeks. Of all 51 jurisdictions only 15 provide a uniform duration period.

The weekly benefit and the duration of the benefit period are reflected in the maximum potential benefits. Thirty-eight states provide a maximum potential primary benefit of less than \$600. Only 4 states which pay dependents' allowances provide a maximum potential benefit above \$800. The limitation on the duration of benefits is of growing importance as during the current period of unemployment an increasingly large proportion of workers are exhausting their benefit rights before finding suitable employment.

With regard to the waiting period one state in 1949 eliminated the waiting period and 4 reduced the waiting period from two weeks to one. This leaves 4 states with the unjustifiable two-week waiting period.

With respect to coverage, there were no significant changes in 1949.

The availability and disqualification provisions of the laws continue to indicate a general trend toward greater stringency. Eighteen states amended these provisions of their law. One state added provision for the payment of benefits in case of disability arising after the onset of the unemployment. Six states now have such provisions.

Six states added the "actively seeking work" provisions making a total of 21. This is a particularly vicious provision in state laws not only because it appears so plausible but because it adds a special burden

on the worker seeking benefits beyond the requirement of registering at the employment office. There is no comparable requirement on the part of employers. Employers are not even required to list their job openings with the employment office.

Experience rating continued as a device for lowering the contribution rate of employers under the guise of being a reward for providing regular employment. Nine states now provide for a zero tax rate and seven others provide for a rate as low as 1/10 of 1%. Nineteen states during the 1949 sessions of the legislature reduced the schedule of contributions which result in substantial tax reductions to the benefit of employers. Under the experience rating provisions of the state laws during 1948 the total loss to the Unemployment Compensation Trust Fund was \$1,600,000,000. This represents an amount which is 46% greater than the total amount of benefits paid to workers during that year.

As of the end of June 1949 only two states out of the 14 which were considering temporary disability insurance had adopted such a program. In one of the states (Washington) the effective date of the program was postponed as the matter is to be submitted to a referendum. In the other (New York) the disability law is to be administered by the Workmen's Compensation Board. This law unfortunately contains provisions for electing out and sets up extremely complicated administrative machinery.

Two other states have established Commissions to study the problem of unemployment due to disability.

The most outstanding liberalization of any state law in 1949 was obtained in California. Despite the powerful opposition of employers and insurance company interests the California State Federation of Labor succeeded in amending their disability insurance program to provide for hospitalization benefits for disabling illnesses or accidents not covered by their workmen's compensation. Under the terms of this bill eligible workers will receive an \$8.00 daily hospital benefit for a maximum of 12 days.

Report of Senate Advisory Council

In December 1948 the seventeen-member Advisory Council to the Senate Committee on Finance issued its report on unemployment insurance. This Council, which represented business management and the public as well as organized labor and on which the Director of Social Insurance Activities of the American Federation of Labor served as a member, found the following five major deficiencies in the present unemployment compensation program:

- “1. Inadequate coverage.—Only about 7 out of 10 employees are now covered by unemployment insurance.

- "2. Benefit financing which operates as a barrier to liberalizing benefit provisions.—The present arrangements permit States to compete in establishing low contribution rates for employers and therefore discourages the adoption of more adequate benefit provisions.
- "3. Irrational relationship between the contribution rates and the cyclical movements of business.—The present arrangements tend to make the contribution rate fluctuate inversely with the volume of employment, declining when employment is high and when contributions to the unemployment compensation fund are easiest to make and increasing when employment declines and when the burden of contributions is greatest.
- "4. Administrative deficiencies.—Improvement is needed in methods of financing administrative costs, provisions for determining eligibility and benefit amount in interstate claims, procedures for developing interstate claims and methods designed to insure prompt payments on all valid claims and to prevent payments on invalid claims.
- "5. Lack of adequate employee and citizen participation in the program.—Workers now have less influence on guiding the administration of the program and developing legislative policy than they should, and some employees, employers and members of the general public tend to regard unemployment compensation more as a hand-out than as social insurance earned by employment, financed by contributions, and payable only to those who satisfy eligibility requirements."

The findings of this Advisory Council are in agreement with the criticisms which the American Federation of Labor has made of the unemployment compensation program since its inception. We are also in agreement with most of the recommendations made by the Council to meet these deficiencies. We are in particular agreement with the five members of the Council who recorded their opinion in favor of the establishment of a single national system of unemployment insurance. Unemployment is essentially a national problem and is not an appropriate area for state operation. Many workers move from state to state in their search for work and the job markets cut across state lines. The maintenance of fifty-one separate systems, each with its own reserve fund, is actuarially unsound. Experience has also proven that the effectiveness of the various state plans has been diminished by the growing restrictions on benefits and the progressive changes in the benefit provisions of state laws have not kept pace with increasing wages and prices.

Pending Federal Legislation

At present writing there are three major proposals in the fields of unemployment compensation pending in Congress.

1. President's Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1949. In accordance with the provisions of the Reorganization Act of 1949 and with the recommendations made by the Commission on Reorganization of the

Executive Branch of the Government (Hoover Commission), President Truman has submitted this plan to transfer the Bureau of Employment Security from the Federal Security Agency to the Department of Labor and transfer to the Secretary of Labor the functions of the Veterans' Placement Service Board and of its chairman. This plan is in accordance with the proposals long urged by the American Federation of Labor to place labor functions within the Labor Department where they properly belong. Hearings were held in July before the Senate Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments and the American Federation of Labor registered its support of this plan.

2. Part B of Title II of the "Economic Expansion Bill" (S. 281) provides for an extension revision of the present Federal-State Unemployment Compensation program as a part of a general program to prevent economic depression. Provision is made for the extension of the unemployment benefit provisions of the G.I. Bill with the Federal Government paying the extra cost above whatever right an unemployed veteran has under a state unemployment insurance law. The provisions applying to payments to unemployed non-veterans liberalizes the present unemployment compensation program by writing into the standards applicable to the approval of a state law provisions for liberalizing the eligibility and disqualification provisions of the state laws. These standards apply to benefit amounts as well as to the duration of the benefit period. The effect of their adoption would also be to extend the coverage of the program and provide for the subsidizing of the state programs out of the general revenues of government for payments of benefits in excess of a twenty-six-week period. This bill would also convert the present Federal unemployment account (George fund) into a permanent re-insurance fund, the effect of which would be to underwrite the unemployment reserve fund of any state.

In the main, the provisions of this Title of Senate Bill 281 are in accord with the proposals made by the American Federation of Labor except that they undertake to meet the deficiencies of the present program within the framework of a Federal-State arrangement rather than through the federalization of the entire system.

3. Proposals to implement the recommendations of the President in connection with the mid-year economic report.

On July 11, 1949, the President submitted to the Congress with his mid-year economic report a series of eleven recommendations. Point 6 in this series was to "strengthen the unemployment compensation system by increasing the amount and duration of benefits and extending coverage." Immediately thereafter Congressman King of California submitted a bill to implement the proposals of the President (H.R. 5591). This bill would provide that by July 1, 1951, each state unemployment insurance law would have to be amended to provide benefits equal to

50 percent of wages up to a maximum of \$30.00 per week for a worker with no dependents and up to 75 percent of wages up to a maximum of \$45 a week for a worker with three or more dependents. State laws in order to be approved by the Federal Government would also have to provide a minimum of 26 weeks duration of the benefit period. Eligibility and disqualification provisions would also have to be liberalized. The King bill would also, beginning in 1950, extend the coverage of unemployment insurance laws to workers in small firms, to persons previously classified as agricultural labor, to those excluded in the Gearhart Resolution passed by the 80th Congress, and to employees of the Federal Government. These provisions are generally in accord with those approved by the American Federation of Labor except with respect to the extension of coverage to employees of the Federal Government. Separate proposals to provide protection in the event of unemployment to Federal workers are under consideration by Congress.

To encourage the states to meet the new standards without waiting until July 1951 and to protect their unemployment trust funds the King bill would change the present Federal unemployment account to a permanent re-insurance fund. Out of this fund states would be eligible for grants under certain specified conditions. The King bill also contains proposals for changes in the administrative fund which are in accord with the recommendations made by the American Federation of Labor Committee on Social Security.

To date no hearings have been scheduled for either the Senate Bill 281 or the House Bill 5591.

Lobbying Activities of State Agencies

As in the past the American Federation of Labor protested the lobbying activities of the Interstate Conference of Employment Security Agencies—an organization of State Unemployment Compensation Directors which has consistently lobbied against Federal legislation designed to improve unemployment insurance. This year Congressman John Fogarty, Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Appropriations for the Federal Security Agency and Labor Department, exposed the lobbying activities of this Agency being financed with Federal funds. He succeeded in having written into the report of the Appropriations Committee a criticism of this activity and an instruction that the Interstate Conference confine itself to legitimate efforts to improving the administration of the program. Senator Dennis Chavez succeeded in having the same decision reaffirmed by the Senate Appropriations Committee.

IV. National Health Insurance

The sixty-seventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor in Cincinnati, Ohio, on November 20, 1948, adopted the following declaration:

“Health Insurance.

A comprehensive program to provide and meet the costs of medical care and service by the extension of social insurance should be established. Such program must preserve the individual rights of both patients and physicians. The program should include provision for an extensive program for the construction of hospitals and health centers, the training of medical personnel, and development of research."

Legislation which meets in every particular the provisions called for by the Convention was introduced in both the Senate and the House of Representatives on April 25, 1949, following the President's special health message to Congress on April 22. The Senate sponsors are Thomas, Murray, Wagner, Pepper, Chavez, Taylor, McGrath and Humphrey. The House sponsors are Dingell and Biemiller. The Senate Bill is S. 1679 and the identical House Bills are H.R. 4312 and H.R. 4313.

The seven titles of this bill contain a comprehensive program to meet the health needs of the nation by providing:

1. Funds for increasing the enrollment in schools of medicine, dentistry, dental hygiene, nursing, public health and sanitary engineering; for expanding the facilities of such schools; and for providing scholarships and maintenance funds to deserving students in these fields.
2. The establishment of research institutes in the fields of the diseases that take a specially heavy toll of life and productivity.
3. Additional funds for the construction of hospitals, health centers, clinics, and group practice facilities under the Hospital Survey and Construction Act.
4. Special funds (\$35 million) to aid rural and other shortage areas in getting and maintaining personnel, hospitals, clinics, group practice facilities, mobile clinics and ambulance services, and funds to establish and operate demonstration farm health cooperatives in selected areas.
5. Additional funds for the extension of state public health services and for the establishment and extension of local public health departments wherever needed.
6. Additional funds to carry on programs for maternal and child health care, and for services to crippled children.
7. The establishment of a national program of health insurance enabling everyone to pay for needed health and medical care services while insuring the protection of individual rights of both patients and doctors.

A number of other bills were introduced which attempt to meet the need for health insurance by the Government subsidizing so-called voluntary plans or by paying bills for catastrophic illnesses in cases of need. The latter sponsored by Senator Taft includes the odious means test, while the former sponsored by Senators Ives and Flanders and a group of House Republicans in attempting to provide some form of health insurance without compulsory participation is so involved in administrative complexity that it is completely impractical.

We reaffirm our support for a national compulsory health insurance program such as contained in S. 1679, H.R. 4312-3 as the only practical means of meeting the health needs of the great number of wage earners and others in the middle income groups.

Legislative Situation

During May and June hearings were held in both House and Senate on all the major health proposals. The Director of Social Insurance Activities appeared before both Committees to present the position of the American Federation of Labor. It is hardly to be expected that our complete program will be adopted by the Congress at this time, but steps in that direction through accepting some titles of the major bill can be looked for.

Meanwhile support for national health insurance continues to grow as popular understanding that we do not propose to "socialize medicine" gains through public discussions in the press and over the air. The well-financed and bitter campaigns of the monopoly medical interests cannot stay much longer our well-conceived and moderate plan to provide people with a means of meeting the cost of medical care through social insurance.

We wish also to commend to our affiliated unions the valued work in this field which has been done by the Committee for the Nation's Health of which President Green is an honorary president and of which Vice-President Woll is a member of the Executive Committee. This Committee, as noted in our last year's report, has rendered valuable service in research in the field of medical economics and has done much to gain popular understanding and support for our program among liberal organizations.

EDUCATION

The American Federation of Labor is deeply concerned with the whole educational process: the philosophy, the methods, the scope, and the purpose.

Through education should come mental growth and thought development, spiritual development and character building, vocational training, physical development and health conservation, including nutrition and recreation. The school shares responsibility with the family, the home, the church, and other character-building agencies.

Education is concerned with forces that are so fundamental in shaping human thought and action that the safety of free institutions requires that we never forget the possibilities and dangers of regimentation.

The tremendous problem for education today is to better equip man to help himself and his fellowmen in a free society: in fact to understand and appreciate what a free society is.

To many persons, today, "education" means largely "credits," "grades"; perhaps a degree. Our free trade union movement must help reestablish a more vital, a more social meaning of "education"; a better appreciation of the function of a democratic society, a deeper respect for the rights and dignity of every man, a stronger sense of responsibility to the free society we seek to preserve and develop. To us, education means not only formal academic schooling, but also training on the job, on the farm, in the factory, wherever men are learning by doing; it means experience in living with our fellowmen.

We have often pointed out that good formal schooling requires professionally trained, social-minded teachers; socially conceived, integrated, well-planned curricula; good school buildings and democratic school administration

Vocational training, formal and informal, must help establish standards for work proficiency as well as help provide to equip the worker for his work. Education must be continuous. Adult education is as essential in our complex society as is elementary education or any other level of education.

These are principles for which we have fought; at times through legislation; at times through our free trade union movement.

Educational Financing

Our national tradition as well as our form of government recognizes education as both a public and a personal responsibility. The duty of any democratic government to provide educational opportunity for its people is manifest in the very nature of the government. This duty has never been questioned. The method of implementing this duty was for many decades not questioned, either. It was an accepted idea that, inasmuch as administration of education was a state function, the financing of education was a state function. This concept led to the development of unequal opportunities for education in the nation. Children and adults in the richer states could get a better education than those in the poorer states. Inadequacy of such a system became more and more evident as the inter-state rate of population migration increased. We realized then that while the administration of education was constitutionally a state function, that the urgent need for helping equip every citizen to share in our democratic society was the joint responsibility of the several states and of our federal government.

It is on this premise that our support of a program of federal aid for education rests.

Federal Aid For Education

We have fully reported in every convention since 1917 on our activities in support of federal aid for education.

Since 1942, we have been attacked because we have insisted that in any bill providing federal aid for education there must be administrative safeguards to assure that those most in need of aid shall receive it. This fundamental principle has led us to examine, what is meant by "federal aid for education." To us, this means:

1. Aid to the states to enable them to pay their public school teachers adequate salaries.
2. Aid for every child to assure him services which will protect and promote his health and welfare.
3. Aid to needy, worthy youth to enable them to continue their studies.
4. Aid for public school building program.
5. Aid to promote and develop a program in Adult Education with immediate attention to the eradication of adult illiteracy.

We are proud to restate the administrative safeguards for which we have fought. Many of them have now been accepted even by those who fought us when we first espoused them. These safeguards include:

1. The right of minority groups to be assured an equitable share in federal funds.
2. A provision that states and their political subdivisions be required to maintain at least their present educational budget, and be required to maintain at least the present salaries of their teachers, as a condition for receiving federal aid.
3. A guarantee that a fixed sum of federal funds be allocated for the payment of teachers' salaries, to supplement their present salaries.
4. A requirement that funds be allocated among the several states on the basis of relative need.
5. A requirement that federal funds be made available for every part of the state in need thereof, to supplement an equitable state aid program.
6. A condition that any state receiving funds be required to publish its plan for the use of federal funds before the funds are expended, and later to publish a report on how these funds have been expended.
7. A provision for a federal audit of federal funds allocated to states.
8. A provision that every child in the United States be assured essential services to protect and promote his health and welfare.

During the 80th Congress the Taft Bill for federal aid for education was passed in the Senate, but was not taken up in the House. That same bill was re-introduced at this session in both the Senate and the House and passed by the Senate, without hearings.

This Bill (the Taft Bill) falls short of our principles on a number of points; the following of which are the most important:

1. The Taft Bill does not guarantee that any fixed percentage of the money will be used to pay the salaries of teachers. It would make possible the use of the full sum, paid to any state, for school equipment, books, and administrators' salaries. We want federal money to help raise the salaries of public school teachers.

2. The Taft Bill does not provide that any member of a minority race or any other aggrieved person may seek, in the federal courts, to maintain his right to participate equitably thereunder.

3. The Taft Bill does not provide equitably for Puerto Rico and other outlying possessions of the United States.

4. The Taft Bill does not assure health and welfare services for every child in the United States.

Before the Taft Bill was passed with its shortcomings, Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois led a successful movement to have a separate bill adopted by the Senate which would provide health services for every child. This bill which had the support of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare was unanimously adopted by the Senate.

School Health Bill

A bill providing for health examinations and essential health services for all children (S. 1411) has been passed by the Senate. We urge early favorable action by the House. This bill provides some of the essential services for all children for which we are working.

Rural Library Demonstration Centers

We particularly urge our city central bodies to cooperate with adjacent rural and suburban areas in making the best possible use of this law. We urge that city central bodies in cooperation with farm organizations and other civic groups and with the help of the Workers' Education Bureau plan discussion courses through reading and studies made possible through this law.

We further recommend exploration of the possibility of having the provisions of this law extended to help develop library facilities in certain urban areas now not able to support them.

School Lunches

The school lunch program is working to the advantage of thousands of our children. This year the total appropriation was compromised at \$83,500,000. We urge the expansion of this program to meet more adequately the needs of our children.

We further urge that state federations and city central bodies make the administration of this program their vital concern. This, we would observe, is another of the essential services for all children, for which we are fighting.

A Research Program to Help Determine the Essential Services Through Which the Child's Health and Welfare May Best be Protected

The Committee on Education of the American Federation of Labor asked the cooperation of the state federations of labor in making a study on compulsory school attendance laws, as the first of a series of studies which should be undertaken. The committee was happy to find such a cordial response on the part of the state federations. The study has

revealed to us that a large number of states exempt a child from compulsory school education laws "if he lives too far away from a school." Another large number of states exempt the child from compulsory school attendance "if he is too poor to attend." The Committee on Education believes that there is no justification whatsoever for these conditions. To remove such exemptions, your committee urges the convention to support legislation which would assure every child in the United States the opportunity of going to school, regardless of how far away he may live from a school, and regardless of how poor he may be. These exemptions actually are serious indictments of our democratic society.

The Committee on Education will, in cooperation with our state federations, continue its study to determine the sums available and the methods provided for the enforcement of compulsory school attendance laws. The mere enactment of a law means nothing if it is not properly implemented. It is the immediate concern of every trade unionist to have the compulsory school attendance law of his state enforced and administered for the benefit of all children.

These studies by our Committee on Education indicate further the urgent need for a more adequate research program in the U. S. Office of Education. Our conventions have repeatedly noted the fact that the U. S. Office of Education does not gather, compile and keep current even the most elemental facts pertaining to public education. It is our belief that, if this matter were effectively called to the attention of the Federal Security Agency and the Congress, funds would be made available for that agency to conduct an adequate research program for the benefit of all of our people.

Vocational Education

Our interest in a sound program of vocational education is fundamental. To assure a sound program, however, it is necessary that we have a clearer understanding of what is meant by vocational education and what its functional relation is to general education. While many communities have made an excellent approach to this program, we note an unfortunate tendency to use federal funds allocated for vocational education to separate vocational education from academic education rather than to integrate it into the general educational program. At the same time, we find instances of trades taught in a classroom instead of having the worker taught on the job.

Labor today has a profound responsibility in seeking to have public attention focused carefully on the social standards and social objectives involved. In a program of vocational education, we must critically evaluate the place of practical training in the nation's educational program and, based on an extended practical study, we must outline the steps to be taken in the future.

To accomplish this purpose, the Committee on Education has appointed a sub-committee under the chairmanship of James Brownlow, Secretary of the Metal Trades Department, to conduct a functional study through pilot projects, in cooperation with the Division of Vocational Education of the Office of Education and the Apprenticeship Training Division of the Dept. of Labor. We believe that every possible aid should be given in the conduct of this study and, if additional funds are necessary to conduct the study adequately, that we seek such funds from Congress. Certainly a wise, truly social program in vocational education, integrated in the community program, would be a very rich investment for our nation.

Office of Vocational Rehabilitation

In all training programs, we have urged the integration of the worker with his community. The need for integrating the handicapped worker with his community is especially important.

Largely through the efforts of the American Federation of Labor, the La Follette Act was passed. Under its provisions, the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation of the Federal Security Agency stimulates and aids the states in helping the handicapped become self-reliant citizens again. Such a program has been in operation for some time. To make the program work effectively, it is necessary that our state federations and our local central bodies and the leaders of our Internationals actively cooperate with and counsel with the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation on the national and state level. Actually many of our members do not know of the opportunities open to them under this program. The Committee on Education has appointed a sub-committee under the chairmanship of Martin P. Durkin, President of the United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the U. S. and Canada, to aid in improving and developing this essential program. We believe that the recommendations made by this sub-committee at the close of its study, should be presented to the American Federation of Labor and fully employed by our organization.

School Construction Program

We have referred to the need for a large public school construction program. The Federation has actively supported Senator Hubert Humphrey in pressing legislation for this purpose. We recommend that the funds for such a program should be allocated to the states on the basis of their relative need and in conformance with a state-planned program which would serve all parts of the state. We further urge that legislation for such a program provide also that sound standards of construction in the building program be established by the Federal Works Agency or other qualified federal agency.

Assistance for Needy Students

A number of bills providing aid for worthy, needy students have been introduced. We support legislation for this purpose as well as for a program of loans through which to help needy students.

Funds for Eradication of Adult Illiteracy

With only a very limited appropriation, and that largely from private funds, the United States Office of Education has conducted a splendid program establishing standards in the fight to eradicate adult illiteracy. Senator Kilgore of West Virginia has explored one approach to this urgent need. We recommend that earnest effort be made to secure adequate funds to assist all properly qualified, non-profit agencies that are seeking to assist the U. S. Office of Education in its efforts to eradicate adult illiteracy.

Bills for Federal Aid for Public School Teachers' Salaries and Federal Aid for Services for All Children

We have, earlier in this report stated that we recommend separate bills for each of the five fields in education for which we believe federal funds are needed.

Reference has already been made to separate bills for public school construction, aid for scholarships and loans for needy worthy students, and the eradication of illiteracy. We have referred to some of the services for all children for which funds are already available. We recommend such further legislation as will be necessary to provide essential services for all children to protect and promote their health and welfare.

We further recommend support of separate legislation to give federal aid to raise the salaries of public school teachers, in keeping with the principles and safeguards set forth earlier in this report.

Labor Extension Service

The American Federation of Labor has continued to support legislation through which to establish a Labor Extension Service within the Department of Labor. Our representative endorsed the proposal before the House Committee and urged that such a service be established as speedily as possible.

However, while we have continued our support of the principle of legislation to establish a Labor Extension Service, we have urged changes in the draft of the proposed bills.

The Committee on Education, after extended consideration of the proposals before Congress, deemed it essential to propose amendments to the pending bills. The amendments which we proposed placed greater responsibility in the trade unions themselves.

In fact, since the earlier bills were introduced the Land Grant Colleges have taken formal action to indicate their lack of interest in a program such as labor wants. Then, too, the successful efforts of General Motors to destroy a splendid Workers' Education Program at the University of Michigan was further proof that a Labor Extension Service must be a program of the Department of Labor, conducted in cooperation with our trade unions.

In the development of this Extension Service it is our judgment that the Department of Labor should assume a much more important function than is suggested for it in some of the bills now before Congress. Certain of these bills would limit the Department of Labor largely to the supervision of state administered programs.

In our opinion the Department of Labor which was set up specifically to foster, promote, and develop the welfare of wage earners should assume a more immediate and direct responsibility for the initiation and direction of any proposed extension service. We believe that workers have a right to look to the Department of Labor itself to provide informational and factual material and services that are not now available.

Our standing Committee on Education has guided us in making the following recommendations:

1. An agency should be established within the Department of Labor to provide services that will enable workers to engage in collective bargaining more effectively. Collective bargaining is understood to include all subject matter relating to the problems of the workers as a union member and as citizen, producer, and consumer.

Any agency set up should provide the following services:

- 1) aid in research
- 2) examination of best practices based on experience
- 3) demonstration and evaluation of findings and material issued by various governmental agencies
- 4) analysis of local, state and international problems in terms of the workers' interest and relationship.

2. The initiative for determining the nature and scope of the program should come largely from the unions themselves. All such services should be practical; information and interpretation of data for workers, above all, must be practical and develop out of the expression of their continuing needs as they may be made evident through unions and other workers' organizations. It is through dealing with specific problems that adults acquire more information and understanding and share the problems of adult education.

3. Since the Department of Labor was set up to protect and promote the interests of workers and wage earners, it is logical that an extension service for workers should be administered through that department. The Department of Labor, dealing so directly with the material that affects the worker so vitally as a worker and as a citizen, is in the very best position to develop such an extension service on a functional basis. Moreover, the Department of Labor is in the very best position to draw on other

governmental agencies for research materials and data to supplement the information and resources available through its own bureaus and agencies. The desirability of providing educational services of a functional nature through the appropriate department is stressed by the Hoover Commission's report on education.

4. Finally, if organized labor is interested in the establishment of field services and demonstration centers, it is essential that such services be established as an extension and supplement to such educational services as are being provided through the Department of Labor and the unions themselves. For this reason it seems imperative that field offices and demonstration centers be set up at the instance of organized labor groups themselves acting in cooperation with the Department of Labor. In those instances where universities, colleges, or private research agencies may be called in to perform specific services they should be provided on a contract basis under such terms as may be approved by the Department of Labor and the workers making use of such services. Orderly development of field services and demonstration centers will provide the best guarantee against haphazard development, the creation of competing services and needless administrative overhead.

Recommendations:

1. Establishment of an Extension Service Division within the Department of Labor under the Secretary of Labor as quickly as possible. The Division should provide consultative and information services on the following matters:

- a) wages and hours prevailing in trades and industries
- b) industrial safety programs and practices
- c) state and federal labor legislation
- d) social security
- e) contract provisions governing mediation, arbitration, welfare, paid holidays, seniority, etc.
- f) production, consumption, employment, capital investment, profits and taxation
- g) international trade and its effect on our economy
- h) labor-management cooperation for economic and community betterment.

2. Provision should be made at the outset for authorizing the Extension Service Division to make use of public or private research agencies and educational institutions to undertake such specific projects or demonstrations as the facilities of labor organizations or the Department of Labor will not permit. As experience shows the need for developing and extending services in the field, the enabling legislation should be extended to make provision for services.

The above recommendations should be embodied in any bill on this subject before the committee.

With all of the recommendations regarding specific items in our program, we again urge observance of the philosophy and general purpose of education in a free society: to help develop within each man a sense of values and educational and moral equipment to enable him to help keep our society free.

WORKERS EDUCATION BUREAU

During the past year the Workers Education Bureau has suffered the loss of two staunch friends and supporters—Dr. Charles A. Beard, the historian, and Frank Morrison, Secretary-Treasurer Emeritus of the American Federation of Labor. Dr. Beard was one of the founders and guiding spirits of the Bureau and Brother Morrison was a member of its Advisory Committee for many years.

Because of an increase in its budget during the past year, the Workers Education Bureau has been enabled to expand its activities and increase its services to the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions.

The Bureau has opened a Midwest Regional Office in Detroit and employed two field representatives. Thus the Bureau has been able to establish direct contact with many more national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies and local unions.

This expanded program is reflected in the annual summary:

Conference of A. F. of L. Educational Directors

The Bureau held a conference of A. F. of L. Educational and Research Directors on March 25, 1949, in New York to evaluate the work the Bureau has been doing for American Federation of Labor unions and to map out an enlarged program based on their current and future needs. The Educational Directors reported on their respective programs and discussion centered on how the Bureau could coordinate their activities and make them of greater mutual benefit. Newer educational techniques such as the use of audio-visual materials were also discussed and it was the consensus that the Bureau could be of great assistance to labor organizations in this field.

The conference proved so valuable that the Bureau is planning a series of such meetings in different sections of the country.

Educational Meetings at A. F. of L. Convention. The Bureau held a Conference on Workers Education on November 19, 1948, during the convention of the American Federation of Labor at Cincinnati, Ohio. Reports of programs were presented by representatives of national and international unions, state federations, universities, and local enterprises such as the Madison Workers Education Bureau. A discussion of organized Labor's relationship to the programs of universities was also included.

A second educational meeting held November 22 discussed the relationship of the workers education movement of this country with that of Great Britain.

General Assistance to Labor Organizations, Labor Schools, etc.

The Bureau's advisory service to labor organizations on their educational programs consumes the largest part of its time and energies.

Such service includes the mapping out of nation-wide and state-wide programs, local classes and study groups, lecture courses, forum series, advice on conducting essay or scholarship contests, the development of public relations programs, securing library cooperation, the furnishing of speakers, advice on films, radio programs, etc.

The Bureau has cooperated actively with the expanded educational program of the Massachusetts Federation of Labor, including its essay contest mentioned elsewhere in this report. It has worked closely with the Departments of Education and Research of the State Federations of Colorado and Kentucky, which this summer conducted its Fourth Annual Summer School at Eastern State College, and has given much time to the programs in Connecticut, Indiana, Maryland, Michigan and Pennsylvania.

Labor schools of the country have received the Bureau's continued cooperation including the Director and other staff members.

Cooperation with anti-discrimination organizations, such as National Labor Service and the Jewish and Negro Labor Committees has continued and expanded. Listed in the Publications section of this report are several pamphlets on this subject which the Bureau has distributed, as well as a turnover talk and wall-map.

The Bureau's library of books and pamphlets is of increasing use to labor and non-labor people, and the Bureau is called upon frequently by labor organizations to suggest suitable volumes as a basic library for their headquarters and to purchase such volumes for them. The interest of public libraries in working with labor groups is increasing, as evidenced by the exhibits set up by libraries at labor institutes and such projects as the book fairs planned by the Public Libraries in Chicago and Worcester, Massachusetts in observance of Labor Day. It is evidenced also by the increased activities of the Joint Committee on Library Service to Labor of the American Library Association, of which the Bureau's Director is a member.

The Bureau has added a research assistant to its staff and can render additional services.

The Bureau's free registration service for teachers, research workers, and other educational personnel for labor organizations and workers' education enterprises is being used increasingly.

Audio-Visual Activities

Recently increasing interest has been evinced by A. F. of L. unions in the use of audio-visual materials in educational work, and the Bureau has been giving considerable attention to this development and is expanding its activities in this field. There was extended discussion of this matter at the Bureau's conference of educational and research directors in March, and the consensus was that the Bureau could be of great serv-

ice in this growing educational field. In addition, other representatives of a number of international unions and state federations have expressed the opinion that the Bureau is the logical agency to advise on and correlate activities in the preparation of audio-visual materials such as filmstrips, movies, transcriptions, etc. Experience has shown that by a pooling of resources a better quality of material can be prepared in this field at a minimum cost to affiliated groups.

The Workers Education Bureau, therefore, is exploring this field thoroughly with a view to assisting in production as well as distribution of this type of material. The Bureau is establishing a library of films and filmstrips for the use of affiliated unions and is carrying on also an advisory service on the preparation of scripts and production problems. The Bureau has also made arrangements to purchase for its affiliates projectors and other visual equipment directly from the manufacturers at substantial reductions.

In addition to assistance on visual aids to workers' education, the Bureau is collecting a file of labor radio scripts and recordings of radio programs. For example, the Hatters furnish the Bureau each week with the scripts of their weekly broadcasts from Danbury, Connecticut.

Labor Institutes and Conferences

The program of Labor Institutes and other conferences in which the bureau cooperate with state federations of labor, city central bodies, state universities and other educational institutions, and community organizations has been continued. In many of these activities the Workers Education Bureau played a major role in the planning and carrying out of programs; in others its participation consisted largely of counsel and advice to representatives of labor organizations and universities. The major themes have been the Taft-Hartley Law and other labor legislation; political education and action; and international relations. Among these institutes were the following:

California. Under the auspices of the University of California an Institute on Social Security and Health and Welfare Plans, primarily for business agents and union secretaries, was held on the Berkeley campus August 14, 1948 in cooperation with the San Francisco Labor Council.

On August 27-28, Institute on the Taft-Hartley Law (Los Angeles) in cooperation with Locals 12, 63 and 526 of the International Union of Operating Engineers.

Institute on wages and the Taft-Hartley Law for Local 465 of the Electrical Workers, San Diego, December 4.

Press-Industrial Relations, San Francisco, May 6, 1949, in cooperation with the State Federation of Labor and the San Francisco Labor Council.

Second Summer Labor Institute, Pacific Grove, August 14-20, in cooperation with the California State Federation of Labor, labor problems, especially labor legislation and collective bargaining.

Colorado. The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees held its Second Annual Rocky Mountain Labor Institute on the campus of the University of Colorado at Boulder, August 16-20, 1948.

On June 14-17, 1949, a School of Instruction in Denver, sponsored by the International Council of Sugar Workers in cooperation with the Bureau. This first institute conducted for the officers of the Council and affiliated locals concerned itself with such particular problems as finances and how to read financial statements, and grievance procedure, and also matters of wider application such as social security, wage and hour legislation, public relations, political action, and workers' education.

Georgia. The annual Labor Leadership Institute sponsored by the Georgia Workers Education Service was held at Laurel Falls Camp near Clayton, August 28-September 1, 1948, its theme being "Labor Leadership in Community Affairs."

Pennsylvania. The Third Educational Institute of the Conference of Eastern Pennsylvania Central Labor Unions was held at Lafayette College in Easton, September 24-25, and the Fourth was held at State Teachers College in East Stroudsburg, June 10-11, 1949.

A series of Four Teamsters' Institutes, sponsored by the Pennsylvania Commercial Drivers Conference in cooperation with the Pennsylvania State College Extension Service, the first being held in Uniontown, October 28-30, 1948. Special trucking industry problems were discussed.

Labor Institute for union representatives of Luzerne County, sponsored by the United Labor Education Committee and the State College, Wilkes-Barre, on October 23 on Taft-Hartley Act.

Wisconsin. The Madison Workers Education Bureau held a Labor Institute on October 24 at the Park Hotel.

The second annual state-wide Educational Conference of Wisconsin locals of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union was held in Milwaukee on November 20-21.

Illinois. During the week of December 6 the 2-day Fifth Annual Central Illinois Workers Conference was held in Decatur, considering, in addition to union administrative problems, social security, legislative action and education for democracy.

A conference on Problems of Labor Law, under the auspices of the University of Illinois' Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, College of Law, and University Extension Division, in cooperation with the Illinois State Federation of Labor, took place on December 9 and 10 on the University Campus at Urbana.

A Labor Journalism Conference in Chicago on February 26, 1949, for labor editors, members of local union publicity and education committees, etc., was sponsored by the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations of the University of Illinois. Its Third Annual Conference for Labor Journal Editors and Union Publicity Committees, with the cooperation of the University's School of Journalism, was held on the University campus April 22-23.

On March 11 and 12 the Chicago labor movement with the cooperation of the University of Chicago held a Conference on Labor's Legislative Program in the 81st Congress, at the University's downtown center.

Kansas. The Annual Kansas Labor Institute, sponsored by the Kansas State Federation of Labor and the Extension Service of the University of Kansas, was held at the University in Lawrence, March 19 and 20.

The Labor Management Round Table of Kansas State College in Manhattan discussed "The Causes of Industrial Peace" at its sessions on April 29 and 30.

Indiana. The Upholsterers' International Union, in cooperation with the Bureau's Midwest Office, held the first of a series of conferences for locals in various areas of the country at Indiana University in Bloomington on April 9 and 10.

On May 7 a conference of 70 federal labor unions in Indiana was held in Indianapolis.

Ohio. The Fourth Conference of Federal Labor Unions of Northwestern Ohio met in Toledo, April 29-30.

The Ohio State Branch of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen held an Educational Institute with the cooperation of Ohio State University at the University in Columbus during the week of June 26.

Connecticut. The Second Annual Labor Institute sponsored by the Connecticut Federation of Labor was held at the Labor Temple in New Haven, May 13 and 14. The Institute opened with a discussion of workers' education programs for Connecticut locals, other important subjects being social security, unemployment compensation, the legislative situation and political education.

On May 28, Council 16 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees held a Labor Institute in Hartford when problems peculiar to that union were discussed, together with the L. L. P. E. and the essentials of an educational program.

Maryland. One of the most successful institutes with which the Bureau has cooperated this year was the Leadership Training Institute held in Baltimore on June 10 and 11, sponsored jointly by the Baltimore

Federation of Labor's Educational Committee and the Bureau. The technique used of dividing the delegates into four groups and holding four discussion sessions on each subject, thus insuring greater delegate participation, proved particularly effective. The subjects discussed were Political Action, Shop Stewards' problems, How to Organize, and How to Organize a Workers Education Program.

Massachusetts. The Eighth Annual Labor Institute of the Massachusetts Federation of Labor met June 10-12 on the campus of the College of the Holy Cross at Worcester. In addition to many other subjects of vital interest to Labor, attention was given to the State Federation's educational program being carried on under its recently appointed Director of Education.

New Jersey. The Nineteenth Annual Rutgers Institute of Labor, held June 13-16 at Rutgers University, New Brunswick, and sponsored by the New Jersey State Federation of Labor, the University, and the Bureau, took as its theme "Labor Building a Democratic World." The Joint Committee planning the program reverted this year to the earlier custom of having labor and university representatives plan all the sessions, rather than having some sessions as joint projects with management. This year a successful innovation was the breaking up of several of the sessions into small discussion groups, after an introductory general session.

New York. An Institute for Union Leaders was conducted by the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations July 18-22 at Ithaca for upstate A. F. of L. federal union leaders.

Montana. The Sixth Montana Labor Institute was held on the campus of the Montana State University at Missoula, August 4-6, sponsored by the State Federation of Labor and other labor groups, the Montana Farmers Union, and the State University.

Other Conferences. The New York Adult Education Council has during the past year held three more of the Discussion Institutes inaugurated last year, the first for this season having taken place in New York on October 23, 1948.

The Second Annual Conference on Labor sponsored by New York University met in New York, April 26-29, 1949.

Canada. The Director addressed the Annual Meeting and Conference of the Workers Educational Association of Canada at Toronto on May 14.

5. Publications

During the past year the Bureau has published the following:

A "*Turnover*" Talk **FOR FAIR PRACTICES**, with 23 color cartoons plus Discussion Pamphlets and an easel.

A *Wallmap* **TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS**, based on the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

A. F. of L. Wants F. E. P. C.—7p. pamphlet.

Labor and Education in 1948—28p. annual supplement issued in cooperation with the American Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Teachers—edited by the Bureau.

The Bureau has published and distributed mid-monthly series of six articles each, as follows:

Organized Labor's Stake in Tax Policy—Arthur A. Elder.

Labor and UNESCO—John D. Connors.

A series of six articles by George S. Counts on *The Soviet System of Mind Control* is now in publication.

Courses on Labor in Schools, Essay Contests, Etc.

An interesting experiment in labor education was successfully carried on in March 1949 by the Committee on Education of the Essex Trades Council of Newark, New Jersey, when a group of its delegates taught classes for seniors at the East Side High School in Newark on such subjects as American Labor's Struggle Through the Years; Collective Bargaining—Causes of Strikes; Why Has Labor Entered Politics?; Labor Legislation; and Labor as an Asset in the Community.

After several "briefing" sessions for the trade union "professors" by the Institute of Labor and Management Relations of Rutgers University, the Bureau, and members of the high school faculty, the course was initiated at a general assembly session addressed by representatives of labor and the schools.

This pioneer program was concluded with a general assembly of all the high school students, its main feature being a panel discussion of the week's work by two labor representatives, two boy and two girl students from the senior classes. Following the program the Essex Trades Council also arranged for an essay contest among the students on the subject matter of the labor classes, the prize for which was a U. S. Savings Bond.

Thirty-five classes were held, of 45 minutes' duration each, about 20 minutes being devoted to a presentation by a union official and the rest to an open forum discussion.

This experiment received extensive publicity both locally and nationally and was watched closely by educational authorities in New Jersey and surrounding states, by employers' associations, and by civic groups, many of whom had been fearful lest the students be indoctrinated with "radical ideas." Much skepticism and even antagonism was found among the students themselves, but as the classes proceeded this was reduced to a minimum.

It is gratifying to record that, following a close study of the results of the course and the reactions of the students, the school authorities of Newark are making plans to arrange for similar classes in all the seven high schools of the community.

This experiment is one which might well serve as an example for city central bodies all over the country to follow, to help clear the minds

of our youth of many of the fallacies and anti-labor propaganda flooding the public press and finding its way into our schools.

An exceptionally fine course has recently been introduced into the high school in Clayton, a suburb of St. Louis, Mo. The Bureau is gathering a file of material useful to labor organizations in negotiating with boards of education for such courses.

An activity of labor organizations, which is very helpful from a public relations point of view and in many instances is designed to secure the introduction of courses on the labor movement into the public schools, is the sponsorship of essay and scholarship contests for public school pupils. The Bureau is called upon more and more for information and advice in connection with such contests.

Examples of essay contests sponsored by State Federations are those in Oregon and Massachusetts. The third annual award of college scholarships was made by the Oregon State Federation of Labor on May 14, when three high school students received \$500. and three alternates \$50. as entrance grants. Two scholarships were furnished by the State Federation and one by the Oregon Joint Council of Teamsters, all based on a competitive examination in labor subjects. The Massachusetts Federation of Labor conducted its first annual contest in the fall of 1948, awarding two state-wide prizes of \$100. each, and 14 county prizes of \$10. each. These were based on essays on the subject "Organized Labor's Participation in the Development of Our Nation."

City central bodies also sponsor scholarships, such as those of the Lawrence (Mass.) Central Labor Union and the Peter Benard Scholarship recently established by the Bridgeport (Conn.) Central Labor Union.

In other instances, local unions set up opportunities for children of members, such as the four scholarships of \$3,000. each offered by the Chicago Flat Janitors Union, Local 1, B.S.E.I.U., for Northwestern University, and the College Scholarship Fund established by the New England Conference of Teamsters in 1948, for children of members in that area. This latter fund also contains an offer for scholarships in labor-management relations for members. The Robert J. Watt Memorial Scholarship sponsored by the Massachusetts Federation of Labor is also planned for trade unionists, who will study under the Harvard Trade Union Fellowships.

The above will serve as illustrations of a developing trend.

Lang Prize Essay Contest

Early in 1948 the Bureau sponsored a prize essay contest among undergraduate college students on "Isms;" "What Ism Do You Choose: Anarchism, Communism, Fascism, Socialism, Americanism?" The contest was inspired by Lucy Robins Lang's recently published autobiography "Tomorrow is Beautiful," giving a picture of her close re-

relationships with the American labor movement. Winners of the five prizes of \$350., \$250., \$200., \$100., and \$50. were announced in a broadcast over New York Station WEVD on Sunday evening, March 6. Matthew Woll, chairman of the Bureau, presided and President Green and Mrs. Lang were among the speakers. Judges of the contest were Dr. Harry D. Gideonse, President of Brooklyn College; Professor Allan Nevins of Columbia University; and Professor Sidney Hook of New York University.

International Educational Activities

The Bureau's activities in the international field have kept pace with the growing attention being paid to such relationships by the American Federation of Labor. It is primarily concerned with developing workers' education so as to serve best the needs of labor in America, but is being called upon increasingly to furnish information and advice on its development in other countries. Correspondence and exchange of workers' educational materials with workers' groups abroad are growing. The Bureau sends materials regularly to several centers in Germany and, in addition to responding to requests from other European and Latin American countries, has this year answered calls from centers in India, Japan, Egypt, and Haiti.

Ruskin College Scholarships. For the third consecutive year five scholarships of approximately \$800. each have been awarded to American workers for study at Ruskin College, Oxford, England, the resident workers' education center for British trade unionists. Funds for two of the scholarships are donated by the Trades Union Congress of Great Britain, two by a fund administered by the Rt. Hon. Ernest Bevin, and one by Sir Robert Mayer, chairman of the British Committee of the Transatlantic Foundation. The Bureau's Director is a member of the Election Committee. Among the 1949-50 winners are members of the Teamsters and Jewelry Workers Unions.

The Bureau is interested also in further exchanges of worker-students between the United States and other countries. The Director is a member of the Commission of Occupied Areas of the American Council on Education, which is concerned, among other educational and cultural matters, with arranging exchanges of persons between occupied Germany and this country. The Bureau is also cooperating with other agencies with a view to securing the interchange of many more trade unionists in these educational projects.

A. F. of L. Contribution to Bureau

With reference to the contribution of the American Federation of Labor to the Workers' Education Bureau, it is recommended that this matter be referred to the Executive Council for careful study and analysis and that the Council be clothed with authority to make such contribution as they feel the circumstances and the facts may warrant.

NATIONAL LEGISLATION

The first session of the 81st Congress convened on January 3, 1949, and at the time this is being written, September 1, is still in session. So far, a total of approximately 10,000 public bills and resolutions have been introduced and 278 measures enacted into law.

The 81st Congress is just as difficult from a legislative standpoint as was the 80th, and is further behind in its work. Despite the fact that many more liberals were elected to the Congress, the coalition of Southern Democrats and Republicans had been able to hamper and delay the work of the Congress. This coalition was able to prevent a repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and its replacement with a fair labor law.

While the House Committee on Ways and Means has acted upon amendments to the Social Security Act, there will be no legislation enacted.

The Fair Labor Standards Act carrying an increase in the minimum rate from 40 cents to 75 cents per hour, but with over a million uncovered from the present law, passed the House. The Senate has also passed the bill with the minimum wage increased to 75 cents but with a large number of persons removed from its coverage.

There still remains to be acted upon five appropriation bills which are supposed to be enacted by the beginning of the fiscal year, last July 1.

The House had difficulty in securing attendance on the floor of half of its 435 members, and on August 24 adopted a resolution to recess from August 26 to September 21, to which the Senate would not agree, so the House will just meet and recess every three days for the next month and handle no controversial matters.

On August 31 the Senate recessed until September 7.

Government Salary Legislation

At intervals during the present decade and for several years Federal Government salary legislation has been proposed for revision. Our position in this field has continued to be one of close attention to the needs of our postal employes, as well as those employed in the nonpostal branches. Those persons paid under salary rates do not have the advantage afforded to wage groups whose requirements are presented to administrative wage boards. Relief is had only by resorting to the legislative process which is slow at best.

The salaried employe must wait for the Congressional wheels to grind and he is thrown into competition for attention with many topics having national and international significance.

After the lapse of several months in 1949 it became glaringly apparent that the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service probably would report no salary legislation. When this fact became evident, we gave wholehearted help to the campaign to bring the

legislation to the floor for House consideration. The result of the efforts of the Executive Council and of the affiliated unions was that the Committee finally did report a worthwhile bill, although further complications served to delay conclusive action. The Executive Council stood shoulder to shoulder with our affiliates in working on several discharge petitions designed to ascertain House action on H. R. 4495.

We worked actively in support of the House discharge petition to bring H. R. 4495 from the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service to the floor for debate. On the second petition to discharge the Committee on Rules, President Green dispatched telegrams to a large number of House members, known to be friendly to organized labor, urging them to sign the petition and thanking them for their services. More than the 218 signatures necessary were secured within twenty-four hours.

In the instances of both discharge petitions Executive Council member William C. Doherty led the campaigns, both as President of his own organization, the National Association of Letter Carriers, and as Chairman of the Legislative Committee of the Government Employees' Council. Brother Doherty untiringly displayed masterful field generalship at all times, capturing one objective after another.

Meanwhile, efforts were successful on the Senate side in obtaining a bill, S. 1772, of only meager proportions.

Certainly the united efforts of the Executive Council and the unions in this field of salaries has had and will continue to have a salutary effect upon all concerned. A wholesome respect for the interests of organized labor is always greatly to be desired and can best be promoted through the unified methods within Labor's own ranks.

While the fate of the nonpostal employe is only indirectly concerned in this postal legislation, the postal bill is to be regarded as the spearhead for all salary bills. Certainly the welfare of the nonpostal employe is not to be lost sight of. The result has been that modest salary adjustments may also be included within the framework of nonpostal reclassification bills. (H. R. 5931 and S. 2379).

The history of the two discharge petitions on postal salaries deserves special mention. During the Eightieth Congress, both postal and nonpostal salaried employes were granted last-minute increases of varying sums and totaling to the least amount considered by the leadership to be possible, considering the fact that 1948 was an election year.

Personal living expenses having shown no worthwhile decline by the time the Eighty-first Congress had convened, our postal unions returned to the task in 1949, a nonelection year, of obtaining salary revision to bring the total for the combined years to \$600.00 and certain other benefits long overdue. Accordingly, bills were offered as early as mid-February by Representative Miller, California, Representative McCarthy,

Minnesota, and others, as the bases for consideration. Six months elapsed before serious discussions began and then only after frequent insistence from our Unions. Even then the process was so slow it was evident no real action was intended this session.

It next was proposed to discharge the House Committee from further control over the legislation and Representative Walsh, of Indiana, instituted such petition which quickly gained the signed endorsement of a full majority of the House membership. Thereupon, the Committee reported out a bill satisfactory to the Unions but without provision for a set date for floor consideration. Representative Corbett, of Pennsylvania, then offered Discharge Petition No. 18 when the Rules Committee showed little interest in the legislation. This petition won swift majority endorsement. After this plan had succeeded the Rules Committee granted a rule for consideration but only at a time when the House was starting on a protracted technical recess.

The nonpostal reclassification bill, H. R. 5931, was granted a rule at the same time, thus insuring those included under this bill equal consideration with the postal field service personnel.

Final action on this legislation was expected to be taken first in the House of Representatives despite the fact that considerable under-cover opposition was developed in Congress to carry over into 1950 the measures designed to bring relief to Government Employees. The intermittent meetings in the House beginning late in August added greatly to the difficulty of getting the legislation enacted. It is a long established fact that failure to obtain action in the first session of Congress does not prejudice final success in the ensuing session.

GOVERNMENT MILEAGE ALLOWANCE

The financial hardship endured by Federal Government officers and employees and members of the Congress while in travel status was granted relief in the Eighty-first Congress. The energies of one House member, a pronounced anti-labor legislator, had prevented passage of the measure in the preceding year. We supported H. R. 3005 to afford relief from travel overhead, much of which had been defrayed by the individual who desired to uphold the dignity of Uncle Sam and at the same time being compelled to pay the 15 percent transportation tax, all local sales taxes and the general increase in hotel and meal rates.

We are gratified in reporting a successful conclusion to this campaign and enactment of Public Law No. 92, which increases per diem from six dollars to nine dollars.

Government Maternity Leave

Our support of the principle of granting maternity leave to women in the Federal Government service was continued into the Eighty-first Con-

gress. In the former Congress we had submitted testimony in support of the legislation.

S. 85 would grant as many as 60 days leave in any consecutive 12 months. This bill has been reported by the Senate Committee, though there is no companion House bill, thus permitting the House, in event it sees fit, to pass the Senate bill.

COMPENSATION FOR DISABILITY

For twenty-two years the Government Employe has waited for an adjustment of the rates of benefits paid in the Federal Service for injuries incurred in line of duty. During the Eightieth Congress, efforts were made by our affiliated unions and through the Government Employes Council of the American Federation of Labor to revise the rates for injury and death payments. Those unions having membership, wholly or in part, in Government service joined hands to bring about these reforms.

The Executive Council has taken a definitely active interest and has participated in all phases of the discussion and progress of H. R. 3191, the disability compensation legislation, presenting testimony and working actively in behalf of the legislation. We were fortunate in having the benevolent attention of the two subcommittees in considering the legislation. The subcommitteemen demonstrated an active interest in the details of the bill and freely asked questions concerning the applicability and scope in given types of cases.

Several bills were introduced during the Eightieth Congress, though the measures never approached completion. It was not until the House Committee on Education and Labor, following the outlines and principles enunciated by the American Federation of Labor, took the subject firmly in hand that action was assured. The long standing record of the American Federation of Labor and its unions, and the personal interest taken by President Green in the subject of disability compensation were related before the Congressional Committees. The result will be that an entirely new law will go onto the statute books to cover this field and to provide a far more realistic consideration of disability and death claims in the Federal Government service.

H. R. 3191 represents the longest step forward in ministering to the stricken men and women in Federal Government service. For the first time, the rates of benefits will be in direct ratio to the active pay of the individual and death payments and funeral expenses will be higher and more directly in line with today's costs.

This legislation also received the active attention and support of the National Administration and the Administrator of the Federal Security Agency, as well as the Bureau of Employes' Compensation. The Executive Council is pleased to report the full sympathetic assistance of the

Congressional Subcommittees in giving heed to the American Federation of Labor's position.

Senator Paul Douglas, Chairman of the Subcommittee handling H. R. 3191, has given indication of early completion on this legislation, probably before the close of the present session of Congress.

CIVIL SERVICE RETIREMENT

The provisions of the Green-Forand Act on Civil Service Retirement were revived in legislative form during the Eighty-first Congress. Although some features of this Act had been included in Public Law No. 426, of the Eightieth Congress in modified form, it was deemed desirable, particularly in behalf of those in the skilled trades in naval stations and arsenals, that the full purposes of the Green-Forand Act be continued. Having expired after a two-year period, July 1, 1947, the Act was revived in preliminary form through the adoption of H. R. 997 in the House of Representatives by George Miller of California, and in the Senate through S. 988, by Senator Green of Rhode Island.

We gave our complete support to this legislation which would extend the benefits of Subsection 1(c) of Section 1, of the Civil Service Retirement Act of May 29, 1930, as amended, to persons involuntarily separated from Federal Government service between July 1, 1945 and July 1, 1947, with 25 years of service but less than 55 years of age.

Following passage of H. R. 997 in the House, this bill was ordered onto the calendar in the Senate while the Green bill, S. 988, also was reported to the Senate. An amendment by Senator Johnston of South Carolina, the Committee Chairman, would further clarify the status of persons covered by the legislation by providing annuities on the present basis to be made applicable effective on the date of separation from the service. The Senate enacted H. R. 997 on August 26, and it became Public Law No. 267 of the 81st Congress.

Other Government Employes Bills

We had opportunity during the first session of the present Congress to share in the legislative proceedings on a number of other measures. We presented testimony designed to simplify job description record-keeping that would relieve employes in the Government of having to do the job that management should be doing. Accordingly, we offered testimony in conjunction with that presented by several affiliated unions on the Second Deficiency Appropriation bill, having to do with an item for the Department of the Navy.

Further, we joined a large number of affiliated unions in their campaigning to preserve the long fought-for gains to prevent summary dismissal from Government jobs. Our counter-proposals were such that

the Federal Agencies were anxious to drop their efforts to encroach upon the hard-earned protective legislation.

In this case, we were on the opposition side working against certain legislation, as contrasted to the customary position taken in support of legislation. Our position necessarily was opposed to that taken by some Federal agencies desirous of destroying the new gains won for our members.

Retirement

During the Eightieth Congress the Langer-Chavez-Stevenson Civil Service Retirement Act, Public Law No. 426, was placed upon the statute books and further efforts were made during the present year to perfect its purposes. We previously had given wholehearted support to the intent of the new retirement legislation, but felt that in the cause of expeditious action that the bill, with whatever imperfections, real or apparent, should remain and be removed by degrees after the general bill had become law. During the Eighty-first Congress, therefore, we gave further thought and attention to perfecting Public Law No. 426. Particularly were we concerned with proposals affording to women employes of the Federal Government the same consideration in retirement matters, particularly, to some widows who had been forced to forfeit prospective annuities.

In addition, S. 1229 (Public Law No. 98), to enable certain former officers or employes of the United States separated from service subsequent to January 23, 1942, now will permit such persons to elect to forfeit their rights to Civil-Service Retirement annuities and to obtain in lieu thereof returns of their contributions with interest. We were especially interested in enactment of Public Law No. 123, of the present Congress, to grant credit in accordance with Section 9 of the Civil Service Retirement Act of May 29, 1930, as amended, permitting employes where through inadvertence, no inductions had been made from salaries, nevertheless to receive full credit for prior service.

The passage of Public Law No. 180 combined the Alaska Railroad Retirement Act of June 29, 1936, as amended, and Section 91 to 107 of the Canal Zone Code to merge the two systems with the Civil Service Retirement system. The result will be that where persons employed by the Alaska Railroad and those serving in the Canal Zone now will receive the full benefits afforded by Public Law No. 426 of the Eightieth Congress, including the benefits to be granted to widows and dependent minors.

THE GOVERNMENT EMPLOYES COUNCIL

In 1945 there had been created the Government Employes Council of the American Federation of Labor to consider at the top levels

among the respective unions, the methods for campaigning for and developing details of legislation relating to Government employment, the year 1949 brought a further refinement in this regard.

For the first time, actively and attentively, a member of the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor this year was assigned, in addition to his other duties, to apply his own background and general knowledge of Government Employes' matters to the needs and wishes of the unions having membership in the Government Employes' Council. The Legislative Committeeman attended all meetings of the Government Employes' Council and its Legislative Committee to maintain a close relationship to the Council's problems.

It is readily recognized that the task of legislating is becoming no easier nor less complex. For this and for other reasons, the desirability of affording full and voluntary attention to the requirements of Government Employes' unions is to be continued on an ever more complete basis. Upon the wishes of the unions of the Government Employes' Council will depend the frequency of presentation of our testimony and general activity in this field. Such activity will be as frequent as is warranted, and designed to supplement and endorse the general work of the unions in their fields.

FEDERAL LEGISLATION

The President's Salary

In line with a resolution approved at the Cincinnati Convention, the 81st Congress promptly enacted legislation adjusting the salary of the President of the United States under the provisions of Public Law No. 2. The salaries of the Vice President and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, likewise, were included.

We also gave support to the Government Executives' salary bill. Brother William C. Doherty, of the Executive Council, who also is President of the National Association of Letter Carriers, appeared in support of the bill and actively worked for its passage.

Hearings were held on the Executive salaries legislation, H. R. 1689 and S. 498. The House bill was passed with the prospect that the Senate would adopt the House bill as it was favorably reported, with an amendment, by the Senate committee on Aug. 9th. S. 498 was also reported favorably Mar. 18th.

SALARIES FOR FEDERAL JUDGES

In line with our policy to grant support to legislation favorable to improve conditions for Federal Government officers and employes, we are in accord with the proposal to adjust the salaries of Judges on the Federal bench and have so advised the House and Senate Judiciary Committees.

Two House bills and one Senate bill have been introduced on this subject. In the Senate, to date, no action has been taken on S. 637, but a House Judiciary Subcommittee has concluded hearings on H. R. 241. No report has been made by the Subcommittee Number 1, however, and no attention has been given to H. R. 1706 for the same purposes.

It is fair to assume that if and when the Executive Salary bill is enacted the prospects for passage of the Federal Judges Salary bill will be improved.

FEDERAL MEDIATION AND CONCILIATION SERVICE

The Eightieth Congress appropriated \$2,940,000 for this service for 1949, of which \$179,000 was returned to the Treasury, leaving an amount actually spent from July 1, 1948 through June 30, 1949 of \$2,761,000. For the fiscal year 1950, the service requested \$2,740,000 which was approved by the Bureau of the Budget. Congress approved \$2,700,000 which is \$40,000 less than the amount requested. This reduction is not justified based on the fact that there will be an increase of approximately \$50,000 over last year in travel expense, because of higher per diem and mileage rates. The American Federation of Labor supported the recommendation of the service and is of the opinion that the amount appropriated is inadequate.

RIVERS AND HARBORS

As usual, we took a great interest in the Rivers and Harbors Act, H. R. 5472, due to the fact that it carries authorization for many hundreds of projects employing many people throughout the country and also because of the beneficial effects rivers and harbors improvements give to the country. The bill passed the House on August 22 by a vote of 202 to 1.

MISSOURI VALLEY AUTHORITY

Our position in support of the creation of a Missouri Valley Authority remains unchanged. Till now there has been no Committee or Subcommittee activity on this subject. Most of the attention of the Public Works Committee has been occupied with the legislation relating to the Columbia Valley Administration, instead.

The broad program of unified resources development and water control provided for in H. R. 3522 and S. 1162 continues to have our endorsement, supported by testimony when hearings are in order.

The needs of our people are such, in our opinion, that backing for this legislation is essential for the advancement of residents in the Missouri Valley. The trail-blazing job done by the Tennessee Valley Authority is sufficient proof of the practicability of other such enterprises.

COLUMBIA VALLEY AUTHORITY

During the 81st Congress we presented the views of organized labor to the Public Works Committee, whose jurisdiction includes construction of public irrigation, water power and water control projects.

We endorsed S. 1645, a bill sponsored by Senators Chavez, Magnuson, Kefauver, Humphrey, Murray, Langer, Douglas, McGrath, Pepper, Sparkman, Hill, Green, Young, Taylor, Gillette, Johnston of South Carolina and Johnson of Texas. This legislation would establish in the Pacific Northwest a Columbia Valley Administration, and for the first time would bring to that region the full benefits designed under such a vast program as to meet the rapidly growing needs of a population of one of the most important sections of the United States, where labor, industry, agriculture and commerce are working for the common advancement.

In addition to the blanket endorsement of the purpose of the legislation, we took particular note of the provisions of the bill having to do with the construction and maintenance of the long-range operation. Constructive suggestions were offered to Congress on how to improve the suggestions of the legislation dealing with the hiring of construction and maintenance personnel.

The highly successful method used by the Tennessee Valley Authority in its construction work of the early 1930's presents an excellent pattern for describing the needs of organized labor at the new project in the Columbia Valley.

We suggested to the Congress that the permissive portions of the legislation be made mandatory and that where the Administrator otherwise would be supplied authority for instituting and continuing the affairs of the Columbia Valley Administration in a pro-labor manner that more of the details be spelled out.

With adoption of the suggestions that we have made to the Congress on this legislation there can be no doubt that the Columbia Valley Administration can become another model for employing skilled and semi-skilled labor on such vast public projects. We shall continue to maintain close interest in the progress of this legislation as our contribution to the national welfare from a patriotic and economic viewpoint, and knowing full well that the welfare of the people of the Pacific Northwest is tied in closely with the advancement and progress with the rest of the nation.

Hearings were held by the Senate Public Works Committee and after some weeks were recessed, after which time both Senate and House Committees selected subcommittees to go to the scene of the proposed construction in the Columbia Valley to hold hearings. The Washington hearings will be resumed probably next session.

COLORADO RIVER SYSTEM

S. J. Res. 4 grants the consent of Congress to joinder of the United States in a suit in the United States Supreme Court for adjudication of claims of waters of the Colorado River System, between California and Arizona. (See Resolution 48, 1948 Convention.) We presented the 1948 Convention action regarding this legislation when hearings were held by the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. S. 75, which carries some of the provisions of S. J. Res. 4 has been reported out of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs with amendments and is now pending on the Senate Calendar.

Hearings on H. R. 934, a companion bill, have been held in the House Committee but the committee has not yet considered the bill in executive session.

DEVELOPMENT OF HYDROELECTRIC POWER

The acute power shortage in the west is well known. Failure to relieve this power shortage will retard the natural expansion of industry in this area, and may mean irreparable injury to its economy, besides hardships for its growing population. The American Federation of Labor, having a continued interest in the welfare of all workers, as both consumers and producers, and in the steady growth of industry and employment opportunities in the west and the country at large, strongly endorsed the President's program for the development of the west.

The Interior Department appropriation as passed by the House carried out the President's program for developing the west. It included the necessary power program of the State Federations of Labor of Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and of labor groups in Montana as well as the California labor movement. The labor movement in Colorado and in parts of Texas as well as in Arizona and New Mexico all backed this program. It is a program long overdue and an investment in the nation's future—an investment that is guaranteed a return of manifold proportions in material and human values.

In the Senate hearings, the private utilities were carrying on their biggest fight in years against public power. Private utilities want the government to generate the electricity at its huge dams and then turn the power over to the electric companies for distribution. The Senate committee yielded to this request by drastically reducing the appropriation on all of the west power projects. This action would completely wreck the plans of the Administration respecting public power and would constitute a major victory for the private utilities in the west.

The American Federation of Labor vigorously opposed this action and contacted its friends in the Senate urging the adoption of the full

amount of appropriation necessary to carry out the program for the development of the west.

Despite the pressure of private utilities the cuts recommended by the committee were restored by the Senate. This much needed program should now go forward to a speedy completion.

SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION

S. 1670, authorizing federal assistance for construction of elementary and secondary public schools, was referred to the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, where hearings were held, but no further action ensued.

While we testified in favor of this bill, we did so reluctantly as it included only a small portion of the general Aid to Education Bills (S. 246) and H. R. No. 3630 which we were sponsoring and we were also fearful that it might be assumed that we were abandoning all other features of the general bills.

SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM

The position of the American Federation of Labor in advocating free lunches to children of school ages has been long and consistent. Our views were set forth in our report for 1948 in considerable detail. At that time, the Congress had merely restored the required appropriation after having materially reduced the sum in 1947.

In the first session of the Eighty-first Congress, we are enabled to report a sizable increase in the appropriation to be made available for free school lunches for children of poorer families. The appropriation for 1949 rose from the \$75,000,000 for 1948 to \$83,500,000 under Public Law No. 146.

Free school lunches have the added advantage of helping to supply stronger bodies and to consume some of the farm surpluses we are still beset with despite our export program. Started in the depression years of the 1930s, these free lunches have now become a part of our American scene and demonstrates full well that no one will be permitted to go hungry in the "Land of Plenty."

Naval Shipyard Wage-Fixing

During the Eightieth Congress Senator Bridges of New Hampshire introduced S. 2285, on methods of wage fixing in naval shipyards and arsenals. The bill, favorably reported by the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee, remained unacted upon by the Senate at the end of the Eightieth Congress. No action was taken on the Jones (Washington) bill, the companion in the House Committee on Armed Services.

In the Eighty-first Congress, Senators Bridges and Johnston (S.C.) proposed S. 1173, identical to S. 2285. The bill would revive the intent of the Act of 1862 by granting the skilled trades opportunity to share in the methods used in arriving at wages for the respective occupations.

The Armed Services Committee notified the Senatorial sponsors on May 2, 1949 that the Department of the Navy was opposed to the legislation and invited expressions for the Committee's further guidance. Neither Senator Bridges nor Senator Johnston replied and the bill remained unacted upon.

In the meantime, the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor reports that after negotiation with Federal officials the same purposes of S. 1173 are being instituted by the Department of the Navy administratively. For the present, at least, no further need is felt for pursuing the point with Congress.

Another forward step in relations with the Department of the Navy seemed assured in the announcement that the Department will remove its obstructions to supervisory personnel sharing in the affairs of their Unions. Four years ago the Department served notice that Union members in supervisory jobs must choose between continuing in such jobs and demonstrating more than inactive interest in Union matters. The Metal Trades Department and individual Unions have been continually at work to remove this barrier to good employee-management relations.

On several occasions we were represented in White House conferences on this issue, the latest being in the Spring of 1949. We congratulate the Department of the Navy upon its "new, enlightened personnel policy," just announced.

IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

During the first session of the 81st Congress approximately 1,000 bills and resolutions relating to immigration and naturalization were introduced for consideration. Out of this number, two are now public laws and fifty-one private bills were enacted into law. Four public bills passed the House and are now pending in the Senate. The Committees also reviewed 1600 suspension and deportation cases which were acted upon by Congress.

Bills Enacted into Law

H. J. Res. 160 (Public Law 51) extended and concluded the admission of certain alien fiances and fiancées of members or of former members of the armed forces of the United States, as provided in the so-called G. I. Fiancées Act, as amended.

H. R. 1837 (Public Law 140) corrected an error in the Nationality Act of 1940.

Both of these bills were supported by the American Federation of Labor.

Bills Passed by the House and Pending in the Senate

H. R. 199 repealing remaining racial exclusion clauses of the Immigration and Naturalization Laws. This is similar to the Judd Bill (H. R. 6809) which we reported on last year. The primary purpose and objectives of this bill are (1) to provide without racial restriction the privilege of becoming a naturalized citizen of the United States to all immigrants having a legal right to permanent residence; (2) to make immigration quotas available to Asian and natives of the Pacific Islands to enter the United States as quota immigrants in accordance with the national origin provision of the 1924 Immigration Act. The bill states nothing new in terms of basic policy, but merely extends to the one-fourth of the population of Asia and adjacent islands the same naturalization and immigration privileges as Congress has already applied in laws to China and other peoples of India and the Philippine Islands. The arguments advanced in support of this legislation pointed out that the interests of the United States would be best served by the removal of the present bars, contained in our naturalization and immigration laws, against certain peoples on the basis of race; that such laws have complicated the conduct of foreign relations for many years and their presence on our statute books have been and are being used as foreign propaganda against the United States.

H. J. Res. 238 authorizes naturalization of all legal permanent residents of the United States. The purpose of this Resolution is to eliminate race as a barrier to application for naturalization on the part of legally resident immigrants to the United States. It is considered an interim measure pending the enactment of legislation such as provided by H. R. 199.

H. R. 3875 simplifies the procedure in suspension of deportation. The purpose of this bill is to change the procedure relating to the exercise of the power of review and confirmation vested in the Congress under existing law with respect to the Attorney General's authority to adjust the immigration status of certain deportable aliens since July 1, 1948, under the provisions of Public Law 863, 80th Congress. As a matter of fact Congressional action in each individual case is required before suspension or deportation could become final and the status of the alien could be adjusted as a permanent resident.

It is the consensus of opinion that this administrative procedure is too cumbersome and would seriously interfere with the legislative work of the Committee on Judiciary and would, in time, interfere with the legislative work of Congress.

Displaced Persons

H. R. 4567 amended the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 by increasing the number of persons to be admitted and liberalizes general eligibility conditions. This bill changes the cut-off date of prospective immigrants from December 22, 1945, to January 1, 1949. It eliminates certain percentage preferences, authorizes issuance of 339,000 visas to displaced persons through July 1, 1951 and authorizes advances not to exceed \$5,000,000 by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to the Displaced Persons Commission. The bill contains most of the proposals advanced by the American Federation of Labor and is in accordance with the action taken by our last Convention. However, the Senate Judiciary Committee has declined to take any action in this session.

Bills Pending in the House

H. R. 10 facilitates the deportation and detention of certain aliens. There are four major purposes of this bill: (1) the bill will amend an extremely ambiguous statute dealing with the places to which an alien was deportable may be sent and the procedure for choosing the place. (2) The bill sets forth with greater particularity than existing law the procedure and control which the Attorney General would follow and exercise in dealing with an alien arrested for the purpose of showing cause why he should not be deported. (3) It will deny to any court jurisdiction to release on bond or otherwise any alien detained under any provision of law relating to the exclusion or expulsion of aliens at any time prior to a decision of the court in the alien's favor which is not subject to further judicial reviews. Finally, it will return without doubt to the Executive Branch of the Government certain functions in connection with exclusion and expulsion of aliens which historically have been vested in that branch, and which the Supreme Court has said rightly belongs to the Executive branch, rather than to the judiciary.

H. R. 3001 authorizes the admission into the United States of certain aliens possessing special skills. This is a bill to provide selective immigration within existing quotas. The existing basic immigration laws of the United States do not adequately provide for selection of immigrants by the receiving country. It is our opinion that the immigration laws of this country should have a special provision for the admission of aliens whose entry would be beneficial to the United States upon the ground of special skill.

S. 272, a bill to facilitate the admission of certain farm workers desiring to perform agricultural work in the United States. This legislation would seriously weaken our immigration laws and would flood the United States with cheap foreign labor from Mexico and other South American countries and British colonies off the Atlantic Coast. It sets aside the provision of the Immigration Act of 1917 by abolishing the

head tax and other admission charges and literacy requirements. The provisions of the law relating to contract laborers as well as prohibitions of payment of passage by corporations and foreign governments would be set aside. The procedures of the Immigration Service would be changed to permit admission of such foreign workers by authorities issuing "white identification cards." The United States Department of Agriculture would certify the number needed.

To enter the United States, all a Mexican or British Indian worker would have to do is present himself to the United States Immigration authorities, state that he is willing to work on a farm, and be admitted. Once such a worker is admitted, there are no means whereby his future movements may be controlled. He may get a job at any other trade or calling in any state or city. While the Immigration authorities could deport him legally, the Service has never been able to control the flow of illegal aliens from Mexico. In a report issued June 20, 1949, a survey jointly sponsored by the University of Texas and the General Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation estimates that there are not less than half a million illegal aliens from Mexico in the United States now. At a time when there are between four and five million unemployed, the passage of such legislation would be indefensible.

In our opinion the Congress of the United States should concern itself with improving working conditions on farms so that the American citizens may be attracted to farm work, instead of lifting the bars on present Immigration Laws which have worked so well.

The Senate Judiciary Committee reported the bill out favorably and it is now pending before the Senate for final action. A similar bill, H. R. 5557, is now pending before the House.

We continued to adhere closely to the traditional policy of the American Federation of Labor and were successful in blocking any permanent major changes in existing immigration laws.

We recommend that all phases of the traditional immigration policy of the American Federation of Labor be maintained.

ECONOMIC COOPERATION APPROPRIATION

S. 1209—Extends and amends the Economic Cooperation Appropriation Act of 1948: Our position favorable to the maintenance of European recovery is the same as last year. We continue to give our wholehearted sanction to the legislation in this direction. Public Law No. 47, of this Congress, amends the ECA Act of 1948 and appropriates more than \$3,100,000,000 for use during the present fiscal year, 1950. This sum in addition to that provided in H. R. 4830 will provide at least \$4,500,000,000.

We are entirely mindful of the dire necessity for continuing all steps toward getting the Continent of Europe back upon its economic feet and to help our Brothers across the waters to regain their political composure.

The amount assured by the Congress, including both the figures in Public Law No. 47 and those in the deficiency bill, H. R. 4830, will serve to insure an uninterrupted flow of aid to the stricken Continent.

H. R. 4830—For expenses necessary to enable the President to carry out the provisions of the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, as amended by the Act of April 19, 1949 (Public Law No. 47), for the period commencing April 3, 1949, through June 30, 1949.

The Senate this year found itself in a logjam, the like of which has never been experienced in the history of the Congress. One of the principal results has been the delay in meeting our commitments under the general European recovery program, even for the recent fiscal year of 1949.

The complete program was outlined in great detail in the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, insuring many safeguards against wastage of funds or diversion to purposes other than those intended by the framers of the legislation.

For this reason we could foresee no valid reason for the delays we have encountered in getting this appropriation passed beyond the overall conditions confronting almost all other prices of appropriation legislation for whatever purpose.

H. R. 4830, still in conference at this writing, would provide deficiency sums for the recent fiscal year to meet unforeseen expenses in administering the Act.

RECIPROCAL TRADE AGREEMENTS

Extensive hearings were held by the House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee on H.R. 1211, and we presented the attitude of the American Federation of Labor to both Committees as laid down by the 1948 Convention (pages 166, 239 and 450). With but three minor modifications, the bill as passed by both House and Senate extends the authority of the President, under section 350 of the Tariff Act, to enter into trade agreements with other countries until June 12, 1951.

All amendments limiting the President's powers were defeated.

No further action can be taken, however, until the House recesses end September 21st, when conferees can be appointed.

MERCHANT MARINE RESERVE

H. R. 4448 to provide for the creation, organization, administration, and maintenance of a Merchant Marine Reserve. In our testimony before the House Committee we vigorously opposed the enactment of this legislation. It is our belief that there is no need to authorize the United States Maritime Service to develop and maintain a Merchant Marine Service for training for service in war, and that the underlying purpose of the Merchant Marine Reserve would be that of a strike-breaking agency—the phrase, “national emergency,” has become familiar to us in the various proposals to limit workers’ rights to strike.

It is our firm belief that H. R. 4448 is not needed. The Navy already has authority to maintain services of both licensed and unlicensed personnel which has been exercised for licensed personnel, but not for the unlicensed. We opposed the proposal because of the vast unemployment that now exists among trained unlicensed personnel and the potential danger of the use of the Reserve in strikes designated as national emergencies. If there should be a legitimate need for non-licensed personnel reserve for other than strike-breaking purposes, the Navy would have exercised the authority delegated to it.

The House Committee failed to act on this bill.

The American Federation of Labor will continue its efforts to defeat this legislation.

UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

S. 1194 by Senators Mundt and Johnston of South Carolina, and S. 1196 by Representative Ferguson, bills designed for the protection of the United States against Un-American and subversive activities, were introduced and referred to the Senate Judiciary Committee. We testified in opposition to the bills for, although we are in complete accord with the idea of protecting the United States from all Un-American subversive activities from without or within the country, the terms of the bills are Un-American in themselves.

The A. F. of L. for many, many years has been in the forefront of the battle against Communists, Fascists and other Un-American groups. Not only have we warned our affiliates against them, but by circular letters we have requested that the Communists be denied membership. We abhor and detest all such “isms” but the terms of the bills are such that we cannot support them as they would indirectly deprive the voters of this country the right to freely express themselves at the poll. We have full confidence in the intelligence of the voters of this country and are confident that they will never elect a communistic or other subversive party to take control of this country.

The Mundt-Johnston bill sets up a Subversive Activities Control Board of three with extraordinary powers over minority political parties and voluntary organizations of citizens. The Board is permitted to designate political parties or voluntary organizations as communists or communist front organizations. If the bill becomes law, such political organizations must register with the Attorney General and disclose the names of their membership and the communist front organizations must register and name their officers publicly. All material sent out by them, by air or ordinary mail, must be designated as coming from a commy source. Members of these political organizations could not hold non-elective Federal positions or secure passports. While the board would not have the authority to outlaw organizations as designated by the board, such organizations so designated would be terribly hampered. The bill would permit the setting of precedents which might result disastrously to labor organizations themselves and for these reasons, as above stated, we opposed it.

TAXATION

Outside of the introduction of many bills, especially for the repeal of excise and other nuisance taxes, no action has been had on taxation and Chairman Doughton of the House Ways and Means Committee has announced that there will be no action during this session. On the other hand, Chairman George of the Senate Finance Committee favors repeal of excise taxes but, of course, is helpless in the face of the House Chairman's decision as all taxation measures must originate in the House of Representatives. We were quite active in endeavoring to repeal excise taxes, particularly on transportation, cabaret and other luxury taxes, such as those levied on ladies' pocketbooks, etc., but without avail. These wartime taxes should be repealed.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The Sales Tax

We have steadfastly maintained our position against legislating a sales tax for the District of Columbia. Any such law inevitably would encourage similar taxes in all states and on the national level.

During 1949 our position in this regard was amply vindicated when, following enactment of a District of Columbia sales tax, Public Law No. 76, the tax rate on real estate was increased only 7½ percent, from \$2 per \$100 of valuation. We had said that a sales tax would become a screen behind which the landlords of the District of Columbia would be excused from a material tax burden increase while saddling the real increase upon those least in position financially to assume the added responsibility. This prediction further was substantiated by the fact that the forces in Congress, particularly in the Senate who proposed the

sales tax, are the same forces that demanded landlords be released from rent controls.

Our stand in this matter now having been vindicated, we return to the original position, in opposition to the sales tax and in support of a plan to eliminate the sales tax.

The mild manner in which merchants accept this tax indicates new profits are in store for them under the sales tax law. They are responsible for reporting a straight percentage tax on sales, though multiple sales in small amounts need only be reported at the regular dollar basis. The small sales are almost invariably made to the small consumer, the one least able to bear the tax burden.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA EMPLOYEES COMPENSATION

A bill, H. R. 379, providing for an increase in compensation for all officers and employees of the municipal government of the District of Columbia was referred to the House District of Columbia Committee where, after hearings were held, a new revised bill was introduced and reported (H. R. 3088, which became Public Law No. 151). This law provides for an increase in salary for policemen, firemen and teachers of the District of Columbia of \$330 per annum retroactive to July 1, 1948. We helped draft this legislation, testified in favor of it and aided in its passage in every possible way.

We supported H. J. Res. 302 and S. J. Res. 119 to increase the annuities of retired members of the Metropolitan Police, the U. S. Park Police, the White House and of the Fire Department of the District of Columbia. This legislation permits adjustment in payments to retired persons proportionate to salaries of actively employed persons in these branches.

District of Columbia Teachers' Leave Bill

H.R. 4381 provides for cumulative sick and emergency leave with pay for teachers and attendance officers in the employ of the Board of Education of the District of Columbia. This bill has passed both the House and the Senate and is now in conference. The Senate version increased the total of cumulative paid sick leave from sixty to ninety days, the only point of conflict with House as both branches approved the plan for one day a month sick leave with pay and up to twenty days' retroactive leave.

We have been assured that immediately after the House recess ends, the conferees will meet and agree and that the bill will definitely come out of conference and become law.

BARBERS' BILL (S. 941)

This bill provides that barber shops in the District of Columbia be closed one day in seven.

Hearings were held by a subcommittee of the Senate District of Columbia Committee headed by Senator Margaret Smith but the Subcommittee declined to favorably report it.

We will continue our efforts in the next session to advance the bill legislatively.

ALASKA

Since 1912 Alaska has been an organized Territory with limited powers of self-government. The people of Alaska, through taxes on themselves and Alaskan activities, already support an excellent system of public schools. They finance health, welfare, higher education, social service, development and other governmental programs the equal of those of most states.

The Territory has no public debt. The people of Alaska are, of course, subject to all the federal taxes—including the income tax—imposed on Americans generally. As an incorporated territory, Alaska occupies a position markedly different from that of such unincorporated Territories as Puerto Rico, Samoa, the Virgin Islands and Guam. An incorporated territory like Alaska is an integral part of the nation with inherent rights to statehood. It is considered to be serving an apprenticeship for Statehood. Governmentally, Alaska has gone as far as it can on its own under the territorial system. The next step—and one for which Alaskans have signified readiness—is statehood.

Pending in Congress is a bill to admit Alaska as a state of the Union.

Statehood for the Northern Territory has been the subject of intense study by Congressional Committees. Hearings have been held throughout Alaska and in Washington. Every investigation has resulted in an overwhelming decision in favor of admitting Alaska as a state.

The Alaska Statehood Bill now before Congress (H. R. 331) is identical with a measure which was reported favorably and unanimously to the 80th Congress in 1948 by the House Committee on Public Lands. H. R. 331 was reported favorably to the House in the 81st Congress on March 10, 1949. It is now before the Rules Committee, but no action has been taken as of today.

Bills that were passed of major interest to the people of Alaska, which became law, are:

H. R. 224 (companion bill *S. 855*) Alaska Public Works Program. *S. 855* passed the Senate on August 11 and the House on August 15 and became Public Law 264.

H. R. 2122—Alaska Housing Act. *S. 851* passed in lieu thereof and was approved by the President on April 23, 1949—Public Law 52.

H. R. 2120 and companion bill *S. 1359* repeals the Railroad Retirement Act and extends benefits of Civil Service Retirement Act to Alaska railroad employes. Passed Congress on July 6, 1949 and became Public Law 180.

Other special bills of major interest still pending before Congress are:

H. R. 4766—Military Public Works—was reported out favorably from the Armed Services Committee on July 25, 1949. No further action was taken.

H. R. 214—Extends Alaska's workmen's compensation laws to land and premises of the United States in the Territory.

H. R. 218—Appointment of resident as Governor.

H. R. 219—Allows Alaska Railroad employes to bring suit in Court of Claims for overtime compensation.

H. R. 1515—Salmon trap elimination over 10-year period. (Replaced by *H. R. 4461*).

One of the above bills (*H. R. 214*) making workmen's compensation laws of Alaska applicable on land and premises of the United States in such Territory was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor where hearings were held and the American Federation of Labor presented testimony in support of the bill, but no further action was had on it.

The bill is an excellent one and would correct a very bad situation as state or territorial laws do not apply on lands owned by the Federal Government and when workmen are engaged in construction of buildings or on other projects on federal property, they are not protected under state or territorial laws.

Unless such workmen are employed directly by the Federal Government they do not have even the protection of the U. S. Employees Federal Compensation Act.

We will continue our efforts to advance appropriate legislation in the interest of the people of Alaska.

PUERTO RICO

Puerto Rico is just trying to emerge from a predominantly agricultural economy into an industrialized economy. Industries in Puerto Rico, up to the present, have been limited to the manufacture of sugar, rum, cigars and needlework. Competition from the mainland, on the basis of mass production and highly mechanized industry, has been a very important factor in Puerto Rico in the past, in anything else than in the previously mentioned industries. Out of a population of 2,225,000 inhabitants, Puerto Rico has a labor force of 681,000. The total unem-

ployment in the Island amounts today to 74,000. These figures show that, considering the bigness of American industry, it would not take any big industrial expansion in Puerto Rico to wipe out unemployment entirely.

In order to protect employment opportunities in Puerto Rico, as now existing, and to further expand employment opportunities in order to cope with the chronic unemployment situation therein, it is vital to develop an industrial pattern for Puerto Rico as speedily as possible. In order to alleviate the low living standards that now exist in Puerto Rico, it will be necessary to protect their market and create conditions where wage rates could be adjusted on a par with the wages paid here on the mainland without causing any serious effect on the economy of Puerto Rico. The following is a list of legislation, of a general character, which is considered very important to Puerto Rico:

1. *Fair Labor Standards Act.* It is our firm belief that enough effort has not been made in the past fifty years during which Puerto Rico has been in the possession of the United States, to bring about decent living standards of the workers of Puerto Rico. Wage rates now being paid by certain industries do not even provide a mere subsistence. It is clearly evident that the Industry Committees provided for under the Fair Labor Standards Act have failed and that it now becomes necessary to establish a minimum floor under wages to protect the health, welfare and general well-being of the workers of Puerto Rico. At the request of the American Federation of Labor, a Congressional committee will visit Puerto Rico this year to investigate the wage rates that are being paid, and the living conditions which now exist. This committee is to submit a report to the House Labor Committee on its findings and to make such recommendations that will be necessary to bring about decent living standards for the workers of Puerto Rico.

2. *Federal Aid to Education.* As of May 28, 1948, the total population of Puerto Rico 15 years old and over, had an average schooling of 4.4 grades. In the urban areas the average was 6 grades of schooling completed and in the rural areas 3.4 grades. Eleven per cent of this population either had never attended school, or had not completed the first grade. Furthermore, 30 per cent had no schooling beyond grade 2, and more than 50 per cent had attended school not more than 4 years. The situation these figures reveal is appalling, to say the least, despite the fact that the Government of Puerto Rico has done more, relative to its resources, in behalf of education during this half century than any state of the Union or country in the world. The Senate bill as passed extends federal aid to Puerto Rico and provides a fund of \$7,000,000. It is our considered judgment that any legislation adopted for the establishment of federal aid to education should include Puerto Rico on the same basis as any state.

3. *Social Security Act.* Social Security should be extended to Puerto Rico equally as in the mainland. The House Bill as reported extends social security to Puerto Rico except for unemployment. It is hoped that the bill will be amended to extend unemployment insurance to the workers of Puerto Rico.

4. *Housing Legislation.* Puerto Rico is greatly in need of sanitary and decent housing facilities. In this connection we were successful in having Puerto Rico included in the Housing Act of 1949.

Other special bills of interest to Puerto Rico: (1) H. R. 4090 which would extend the Bankhead-Jones Act fully to Puerto Rico. (2) H. R. 3699 authorizing farm credit associations in Puerto Rico. (3) H. R. 173 clarifying the application of the Nationality Act to persons who had been declared American citizens. (4) H. R. 5207 authorizing the Legislature of Puerto Rico to determine the salaries of the Supreme Court Justices of Puerto Rico. All of the above-mentioned bills have passed the House and are now pending in the Senate.

The American Federation of Labor will continue its efforts in the next session of Congress to advance enactment of appropriate legislation to meet the needs of the workers of Puerto Rico.

CANAL ZONE

Old Timers' Act

An amendment (H. R. 2273—Public No. 696—80th Congress), to the so-called "Old Timers' " Act of May 29, 1944 (Public No. 319—78th Congress), gave recognition to those who served three or more years during construction of the Panama Canal by granting them an annuity, became law.

This amendment removes a prohibition in the 1944 Act which prevented these "Old Timers" from receiving both the gratuity and the benefits of the Canal Zone Retirement Act. They now receive both. Though this amendment became law there was no money appropriated to pay the same. It was not until this session that the funds were allowed in the Independent Offices Appropriation for 1950 (H. R. 4177). The moneys will be retroactive to date the bill was passed.

McCarran Amendment

This amendment was again put on the Navy and both War Department Appropriations Bills (Navy, Public No. 753, 80th Congress; Civil Functions, Public No. 782, 80th Congress; and Military Establishment, Public No. 766, 80th Congress) in the identical form reported to the last convention, with one exception, which was that the last proviso was deleted. The proviso read—"That the President may if he finds it necessary because of a shortage of housing, suspend for the year 1949

the application of those portions of this section which require the employment of the citizens of the Republic of Panama or of the United States in skilled, technical, clerical, administrative, executive, or supervisory positions."

Teachers, Police and Firemen's Salaries

H. R. 5531 was introduced in the House as well as S. 2226 in the Senate which would give the Canal Zone school teachers, policemen and firemen the same pay increase as well as the year retroactive features the District police, firemen and school teachers received.

Canal Zone Retirement

The employes of the Panama Canal wanted to amend Sections 91 to 107 of the Canal Zone Code so as to include the new features of Public Law No. 426 of the 80th Congress and still have the Panama Canal Retirement Act. This was impossible for the intent of Congress is to consolidate all retirement systems into one act. The passage of Public Law No. 180 of the 81st Congress now combine the Alaska Railroad Retirement Act of June 29, 1936, as amended, and Sections 91 to 107 of the Canal Zone Code to merge the two systems with the Civil Service Retirement system. Retiring employes of the Panama Canal and the Alaska Railroad will now receive the full benefit afforded by Public Law No. 426 of the 80th Congress, including the benefit to be granted to widows and dependent minors. The compulsory retirement age will remain the same as in the past, 62 years.

Federal Aid to Schools

S. 246 passed the Senate on May 5, 1949. We offered amendments in the House to include the Canal Zone.

CONSTRUCTION WORKERS ON WAKE, GUAM AND CAVITE

We reported to the 1948 Convention our successful efforts in the legislative field in behalf of these workers, who were captives of the Japanese during World War II, and their dependents.

We have continued to aid them by assisting their General President, Mrs. Mary H. Ward, in having the laws covering their claims properly applied.

Mrs. Ward has served these workers and their families for years in Washington without pay. She is a member of the Aeronautical Workers affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

THE TAFT-HARTLEY ACT

At the outset of the Eighty-first Congress, the first order of business from the Executive Council's viewpoint was to bring about repeal or material modification of the Taft-Hartley Act.

It was evident from the very beginning that organized labor still faced heavy odds in its repeal campaign, there still being in the Congress 279 members—54 Senators and 225 House members—who had voted the Taft-Hartley measure into law. Thus, there were seven votes more than a majority in the Senate and seven votes more than a majority in the House still opposed to us.

Nevertheless, Labor having made most gratifying political progress since the adjournment of the Eightieth Congress and being heartened by the recent gains at the polls in the 1948 elections, put all its force to work.

President Truman's announced determination to repeal the extremely distasteful, anti-Labor Taft-Hartley Act became the rallying point for the hopeful and, even optimistic, Labor forces.

Creation of the National Legislative Council of the American Federation of Labor was directed at the Cincinnati Convention in November 1948 with all representatives of international unions eligible and urged to share actively in its work.

This Council became the center of effort and of exchange of strategic ideas and general information. The enthusiastic voluntary attendance at the Council's sessions provided ample evidence to justify the Council's creation, the first meeting of which was held the day following the convening of the new session of Congress.

An Administrative Committee of the National Legislative Council set forth the agenda each month and at such other frequent times when the Council met. All international representatives were kept continually informed of the details of the legislative situation, were supplied with a considerable number of legal opinions and digests of the various bills and amendments bearing upon the repeal of Taft-Hartley. In addition, a weekly bulletin traced the progress of the campaign.

The two-package plan—first, repeal of the existing law and second, re-establishment of the Wagner Act—was the plan of the American Federation of Labor. The National Legislative Council under our direction endeavored to secure the two-package plan but despite this fact, the Administration leaders took the position that their own methods would bring quicker results by the one-package method. Legislative measures were started accordingly.

From the first day of the repeal campaign it was quite evident the anti-Labor forces intended to apply all the delaying tactics at their command. In the hope of playing for time, they endeavored to cripple the Administration's campaign and, in the end, to defeat the repeal forces. While filibuster methods were being used on the Senate floor on other legislative proposals and were roundly denounced by the Republicans, they themselves were filibustering in the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare at every turn.

As time wore on, it became clearly apparent to Labor as represented by the American Federation of Labor, that these delays had helped the opposition to repeal to gather strength and to arouse the same elements nationally that had helped enact the Taft-Hartley law. By mid-March 1949, these facts were in sharp outline. Repeal without compromise and perhaps crippling amendments was becoming only a remote possibility.

On April 27, President Green called the Select Committee on Taft-Hartley of the Executive Council together and a meeting was held with Labor Secretary Maurice Tobin. Agreement was reached on several amendments. It was stated that these amendments were not proposed by the American Federation of Labor but that the Federation was willing to submit to them for purposes of expediting passage of a bill.

The Lesinski bill, H. R. 3032, came to a vote in the House May 3, after debate had closed April 29. With the understanding that the repeal bill would not be taken up until May 3, the House adjourned April 29. But on the morning of May 3, House Speaker Rayburn handed his own compromise substitute for the Wood bill to Representative Sims of South Carolina, a friend of organized labor, with the request that Sims offer the compromise. The Sims measure was designed to reduce the pressure that had been built up against House members from the industrial districts who were in no position to offer the legislation. Representative Sims offered the bill only as a service to the Speaker and not because its provisions expressed his own views. And though it was an improvement over the Wood bill, it did contain the injunctive features.

Both the Wood and the Sims bills were unacceptable to the American Federation of Labor and our intent was to defeat both. Success on this course would have left the original Lesinski bill as the only legislation before the House and we hoped to pass it. However, the Sims bill lost, 183-211 and the Wood bill was adopted in the Committee of the Whole, 210-196. The Committee of the Whole having arisen, the Speaker was informed of the action and a roll call was taken by the House on the Wood bill. The measure passed, 217-203. This left Labor's enemies entrenched at the hour of adjournment.

Only a few hours remained to bring about any upset in the House vote for the Wood bill. Legislative Chairman Hushing consulted with President Green and other labor leaders for last-minute instructions the following morning and then conferred with House leaders. It was agreed to try for recommitment of the Wood bill to the Committee on Education and Labor. It was this or accept defeat without further fighting. Recommittal under far more favorable circumstances is no minor undertaking, but every available man went directly to the Capitol to seek support for recommitment. A sufficient number of votes was changed in the three hours before the voting began and the Wood bill was recommitted,

212-209, a decided surprise and great disappointment to its supporters—the coalition of Southern Democrats and Republicans.

The next attempt came in the Senate in a meeting which the Federation of Labor representatives held with the Steering Committee when Secretary Tobin's amendments were discussed and then Majority Leader Lucas thereupon agreed to call the Majority Senators into a caucus to bind them to vote for these amendments and to vote against all others. This meeting developed considerable opposition from some Senators to any amendments. In addition, other Senators desired to go much further than the Tobin amendments.

The coalition bloc of Senators willing to support the position agreed to by the American Federation of Labor included Aiken, Morse, Hill, Douglas, Tobey, Smith (Maine) and Langer.

On June 2, Senator Douglas, the coalition bloc leader, asked Legislative Chairman Hushing, Legislative Representative Mason, A. F. of L. Attorneys Woll and Thatcher, the CIO attorneys and others to meet with him in his office. Secretary Tobin's amendments covering the following points were discussed from all angles and their final draft was approved:

1. Mutuality of bargaining.
2. Free speech.
3. Filing of financial statements.
4. Communist affidavits.
5. National emergency strikes.

The same day, June 2, the Senate started consideration of S. 249 by Mr. Thomas of Utah. Debate extended over many days. The first four listed amendments were adopted without opposition.

Among other proposals, Senator Taft had pending a substitute for Section 3 of the Thomas bill providing for both plant seizures and injunctions. Without consultation with any American Federation of Labor representatives, Senator Lucas conferred with some of the coalition bloc members and a decision was reached to offer the Lucas amendment which struck the injunctive feature from the Taft substitute for Section 3. On June 28, the Lucas amendment was defeated, 44-46. A change of a single vote would have resulted in a tie and brought victory to the Labor supporters because of the vote of the Vice President, as presiding officer, would have cast to break the deadlock. One or two Senators in whom reliance had been placed failed to give Labor their votes and so the next vote on the same day came on the Taft substitute for Section 3. It carried, 50-40. An amendment proposed by Senators Schoeppel, Holland, Hoey and Bricker to strike the seizure provision from the Taft amendment lost, 37-54. The result was the Taft substitute for Title 3 of the Thomas bill was adopted, carrying, as already stated, seizure as well as injunction.

Thereupon, Senator Taft moved reconsideration of the vote by which his amendment had just been adopted and Senator Wherry promptly moved that the Taft motion be tabled. It was laid on the table, thus assuring the Taft amendment's permanency in the bill and sealing off the legislation from further amendments, so far as Title 3 was concerned. The Taft substitute for Titles 1, 2 and 3 were next in order for consideration.

So June 29, President Green dispatched the following letter to Senate Majority Scott Lucas who read it on the floor of the Senate:

June 29, 1949

The Honorable Scott W. Lucas
Majority Leader
The United States Senate
Washington, D. C.
My dear Senator:

I understand that you are to make a unanimous consent request, after the Senate convenes today, that the Senate proceed to vote immediately upon the Taft Substitute for Sections 1, 2 and 4 of the Thomas Bill, S. 249.

It is respectfully requested that you advise the Senate that at meeting of representatives of A. F. of L. State Federations of Labor, City Central Labor Unions, National and International Unions, the National Legislative Council, the National Legislative Committee and Labor's League for Political Education, held this morning, a motion was unanimously adopted to heartily support your contemplated proposal.

We feel that amendments designed to make the Taft Bill more palatable would be useless and a waste of time, as the action yesterday in the Senate, in regard to Section 3 of the bill, makes it absolutely unacceptable.

We hope that our request will be granted, and that the Senate will proceed immediately to vote today on both the Taft substitute and the Thomas Bill as amended, without further amendments being presented. We trust that both will be defeated.

Very truly yours,
(s) WM. GREEN,
President,
American Federation of Labor.

It was on the following day, June 30, that the Taft substitute for the Thomas bill was adopted, 49-44, after which the entire bill, as amended, was adopted, 51-42. All the objectionable provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act are preserved in the Taft substitute.

On July 13, President Green called into session the Resident Members of the Executive Council and Executive Councilmen Dubinsky and Woll, who were in Washington to attend another meeting. These Executive Council members agreed that the best possible bill obtainable in the

House of Representatives would be the Sims bill. This bill contained the injunction. There was the further probability that the Wood bill with all its objectionable features would be revived and adopted and that the campaign in the House would be useless and wasteful. It was determined that if the legislation were renewed in the House that the American Federation of Labor, of course, would exert all possible effort to see that the bill was steered successfully and in line with the Tobin amendments.

There was the further thought expressed that the Congress during the election year of 1950 would be more inclined toward favorable attention to the bill but as we had clean-cut votes in both the House and Senate that we would not press for further action during the present session.

Throughout the First Session of the Eighty-first Congress, every representative of the American Federation of Labor put forth the very best effort of which he was capable to bring about repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and to secure a fair labor act. The odds simply were too great. The great energies demonstrated by these representatives of organized labor, joined up as a team, still were insufficient to overcome the odds against them.

Our internationals, nationals, state federations and many of the city central bodies were called to Washington to join vigorously in the campaign for repeal. The response was magnificent and inspiring. Whereas, one or two representatives from each organization had been expected, to the great surprise of many, most of the affiliates delegated numbers sufficient to provide ample manpower to cover all fronts on Capitol Hill at any time and on any phase of the battle.

Indiana, Louisiana, Pennsylvania, North and South Carolina and other State Federations came to Washington with large delegations. Both Indiana and Louisiana reported each had 26 men present—ready, anxious and able. They did their job.

Almost daily, meetings were held with members of the National Legislative Council and the visiting delegations. Many thousands of letters and telegrams went forth from the American Federation of Labor urging that all nationals, internationals, state federations and city central bodies and federal local unions call upon their members of both houses of the Congress to enact a fair labor law. The response to these requests was immediate and gratifying.

THE FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT

The Fair Labor Standards Act became effective on October 24, 1938. In passing that Act, Congress recognized the legal obligation of the United States Government to maintain "the minimum standard of living necessary for the health, efficiency and general well-being of workers." For over ten years it has been an important and basic element of federal

labor policy in peace and in war. The striking economic changes of this decade, however, have largely robbed the minimum wage of its intended significance. These changes, as well as intervening court decisions, make it possible and important to extend the application of the minimum wage and overtime provisions to many more workers.

Among the important legislative aims of the American Federation of Labor in this session of Congress is a statutory minimum wage under the Act of \$1 an hour and the extension of coverage of the Act to millions of workers who are now unjustly denied its protection, including workers in all industries affecting interstate commerce, in large-scale retail trade and service establishments, in industrial agriculture, in agricultural processing, and in maritime industry.

During this session, hearings on proposed revisions to the Act were held by both the House Committee on Education and Labor and the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. In February, the House Committee held extensive hearings covering all phases of the present law. In our testimony we strongly urged the adoption of all amendments proposed by the American Federation of Labor, which were embodied in H. R. 3190, introduced by Congressman Lesinski.

On March 16, 1949, the House Committee on Education and Labor by a close vote, 13-12 reported favorably to the House H. R. 3190 with certain amendments. The most important changes in the Committee Bill were raising the minimum wage level from 40¢ to 75¢ and an extension of coverage to approximately 5 million additional workers not now protected under the Act. It carried out the recommendation of the President on this subject.

On August 8, the House began consideration of minimum wage legislation. The Administration decided to compromise and offered H. R. 5856, a committee-modified version of H. R. 3190. The debate lasted three days during which time Congressman Lucas of Texas offered a substitute bill in the form of amendments to H. R. 5856. The principal amendment being a flexible minimum wage of 65¢ an hour based on the consumer price index published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. An amendment to this amendment was offered by Congressman Redden of North Carolina to provide for a flat minimum wage of 75¢ an hour. The Redden amendment carried 186 to 116. There were other amendments that carried, however, the bill finally passed raised the minimum wage to a flat 75¢ minimum wage and contained most of the Lucas amendments.

H. R. 5856, as it passed the House of Representatives, is a major rewrite of the Fair Labor Standards Act. It contains much new language and new tests for determining coverage and exemption. Until the language is clarified by the courts, we can only make estimates of the meaning and effect of this legislation. Although there are some apparent advances, the Act is marked throughout by contraction of coverage, ex-

pansion of exemption, strengthening of defenses and loosening of definition. While raising the minimum wage to 75¢, it removes entirely from the Act more than a million employees, in a wide variety of businesses, who have been covered by the present Act.

In the Senate, the hearings did not begin until April 11, 1949. There followed only five days of hearings at which representatives of labor, management and the Administration appeared before the Committee. In our testimony before the Committee we supported S. 653, introduced by Senator Thomas of Utah, with certain amendments, as were contained in H. R. 3190. In addition, we proposed that the full benefits of the law be extended as rapidly as possible to the workers of Puerto Rico.

On July 8, 1949, the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare by a unanimous agreement reported to the Senate S. 653, as amended. The bill provided for 3 important changes: (1) to increase the minimum wage to a flat 75¢ an hour (2) to improve and strengthen the Child labor provision of the present law, and (3) to improve the Act's administrative effectiveness in enforcing the principles and intent of the law. It retains all of the present coverage and is a large improvement over the bill (H. R. 5856) that passed the House.

The Senate passed the bill with 75 cents provided as the minimum wage but it also reduced the number of employees now covered by 250,000.

HOUSING LEGISLATION

Labor's long fight for public housing legislation was crowned with success in the spring of 1949 when Congress passed the Housing Act of 1949. Its most important provision authorizes a six-year, 810,000-unit low-rent public housing program for low-income families, an objective long sought by organized labor. In addition, it provides for slum clearance and urban redevelopment, rural housing and housing research. The enactment of this law represents a long forward step in labor's drive to secure a comprehensive housing program.

After labor's housing program had been blocked in the 79th and 80th Congresses, the American Federation of Labor at its 67th convention in Cincinnati in 1948 unanimously called for passage of housing legislation, including a one million unit low-rent public housing program. Following the convention action shortly after the convening of the 81st Congress, the Executive Council issued a statement calling for immediate enactment of comprehensive housing legislation.

The first test in the 81st Congress came in the Senate where the Housing Bill was passed by an overwhelming vote of 57-13. The fight, however, was much closer in the House of Representatives. There, a powerful reactionary coalition of Dixiecrats and Republicans in the Rules Committee sought to stave off a vote, following the tactics used

in the notorious 80th Congress. Finally, the bill came to the floor. The public housing section of the bill, by far its most important provision, was first knocked out by a 3 vote margin but finally squeaked through by a majority of only 5 votes. On the final vote, the bill passed by a vote of 228-185.

As finally enacted, the Bill contained the following provisions:

(1) **Public Housing.** Construction of 810,000 public housing units for low-income families in urban and rural non-farm areas over a period of six years. However, for any one year, the President is authorized to increase this program to 200,000 units. Although the low-rent subsidy will be paid by federal funds, this program will be completely operated by local housing authorities.

(2) **Slum Clearance.** Authorization of \$1 billion in loans and \$500 million in capital grants over a five-year period to assist in carrying out local slum clearance and urban redevelopment projects. The loans are to be used to finance the cost of acquiring, clearing and preparing areas in which slums are now located while the grants will help the communities to absorb the necessary losses in this program because the actual cost of slum clearance operation will be more than the value of the land for redevelopment purposes after the area has been cleared.

(3) **Farm Housing.** Authorization of \$250 million in loans and an additional \$25 million in grants to make possible a significant start in the improvement of farm housing.

(4) **Housing Research.** A comprehensive housing research program to improve building materials, to assist in reducing housing costs, and to increase the production of better housing. The Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency is specifically instructed to cooperate closely with industry, labor, and other governmental and non-governmental agencies in carrying out this research program.

The passage of the Housing Act of 1949 represents a tremendous victory for organized labor, but it by no means completes labor's housing agenda. This was made very clear in a statement issued by the Executive Council at its January 1949 meeting.

The public housing provisions of the Housing Act of 1949 represent an attempt to meet the needs of the lowest income group in our population, but this legislation still leaves largely untouched the great group of moderate income families with incomes of \$2,000 to \$3,750, who constitute 40 percent of our entire population. Most union workers, whose incomes average \$50-55 a week, are in this group. They are completely unable to afford to pay the \$75-100 required for rent or monthly payments in new private housing. However, their incomes are too high to make them eligible for apartments in public housing projects.

Middle-Income Housing Bill.

Recognizing the extensive housing problems of this moderate income group, the Executive Council called for the enactment of legislation by the 81st Congress which would provide housing that average workers could afford. Largely as a result of labor's efforts, bills were introduced by a number of senators and congressmen which would provide for long-term federal loans at low interest rates—entirely without subsidy—to groups of moderate income families joined together in cooperative and mutual housing organizations. It was expected that this program would bring the cost of housing down to \$50-60 a month, an amount which ordinary workers could afford to pay.

After representatives of the American Federation of Labor had testified before both the House and Senate Banking and Currency Committees in favor of this type of legislation, and after the fight for the public housing bill had been won, Senator John J. Sparkman, Chairman of the Housing Subcommittee of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, and Congressman Brent Spence, Chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee, introduced identical bills, the main feature of which was the housing program for moderate income families.

Title III of the Sparkman-Spence Bill provides for direct loans for large-scale rental housing projects organized by cooperative and other non-profit corporations at the going Federal rate of interest (2½ percent) plus one-half of one percent for administration, for an amortization period of up to 60 years, but not to exceed the useful life of the project. The Bill provides for a new separate constituent unit within the Housing and Home Finance Agency, the Cooperative Housing Administration, the head of which will be appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. This legislation would make possible the construction of a maximum of only 120,000 units, but it is confidently expected that once this program is underway, it will so conclusively prove its value that future sessions of Congress will extend it on a permanent and expanded basis.

At this writing, it is too early to know whether the Sparkman-Spence Bill, and particularly its Title III providing for the moderate income housing program, will be enacted in the 81st Congress. Support for it has come not only from organized labor but also from veterans, church, minority and other groups who are concerned with the vital problem of meeting the housing needs of average Americans.

The bill as reported by the Senate Banking and Currency Committee (S. 2246) is thoroughly satisfactory and includes the so-called cooperative housing title (Title III) which we regard as the heart of the bill. In view of the present log-jam in the Senate, we are uncertain as to when the bill will come up on the Senate Floor, but it will probably not be for at least a month. The bill as reported out by the House Com-

mittee on Banking and Currency (H. R. 6070) was not as good as the Senate Bill and was particularly disappointing to us because it did not contain Title III on cooperative housing. At the insistence of the Rules Committee, some other desirable features of the bill providing for direct federal loans for veterans homes and for higher income veterans cooperatives were removed by the House Banking and Currency Committee. On August 24, the bill came up in the House and in the Committee of the Whole, the direct loans for veterans homes and for higher-income cooperatives were put back in the bill. Then, Representative Marcantonio secured a favorable vote in his anti-segregation amendment thus, in effect, killing the bill for the moment.

The following day when the Committee of the Whole reported its action to the House, on motion of Chairman Spence of the Banking and Currency Committee, the amendments adopted in the Committee of the Whole were stricken from the bill which was then passed as reported from the Banking and Currency Committee without a roll call vote.

The American Federation of Labor will put as much effort into the passage of good middle income housing legislation as it put into the fight for public housing for low-income families. The stake of workers in this legislation is even greater since most of them are in the income group which will be most benefited by this legislation.

The American Federation of Labor has vigorously maintained that until enough new houses are built to meet the most acute needs stabilization of rents is extremely important. Therefore, organized labor has taken a determined stand to maintain and improve the federal rent control program. At its January 1949 meeting, the Executive Council emphasized the importance of rent control to all workers and called for the extension and improvement of existing rent control legislation.

RENT CONTROL

Rent control was one of the first problems to receive the attention of the 81st Congress. It soon became evident that the real estate lobby would make an all-out drive to abolish all federal rent controls. However, despite tremendous pressures brought by the real estate interests, Congress finally passed a new rent control law, the Housing and Rent Act of 1949, which became effective on April 1, 1949. While this law contained some improvements over the previous legislation, the opponents of rent control were able to secure certain provisions which have resulted in a serious weakening of the entire rent control program.

Since the enactment of the rent control law, the Housing Expediter, on his own initiative, has used its provisions to decontrol rents in scores of communities and to raise rents for thousands of tenants. To make matters worse, real estate interests in many communities have organized successful campaigns to abolish rent controls altogether by making use

of the so-called "local option" provision. They have even been successful in removing federal rent controls in three states, Nebraska, Texas and Wisconsin.

Maintenance of rents at existing levels is important for hundreds of thousands of workers, particularly during this period of rising unemployment. The rent control program must be maintained and strengthened until new homes are built in sufficient volume to make federal rent controls no longer necessary.

OVERTIME ON OVERTIME

H. R. 858 and companion bill S. 336 were introduced designed to amend Section 7 of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 in order to correct a situation which had developed in connection with the so-called "clock overtime" or "overtime on overtime" issue.

In the hearings before the House Committee on Education and Labor, issues were raised as to:

1. Whether the bill should be made retroactive to protect employers against existing claims for so-called "overtime on overtime" and
2. Whether the bill should be broadened to include industry generally instead of being restricted to the longshore and stevedore industries.

The American Federation of Labor in its testimony before the Committee opposed both of these amendments and offered an amendment to extend its application to the building and construction industry. This amendment was proposed at the request of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. The Committee heard extensive testimony on all of these points and reported out H. R. 858 as originally introduced with the amendment proposed by the American Federation of Labor.

The bill as reported would have the effect of furnishing a partial definition of "regular rate" of pay, in that the following extra compensation would not be deemed a part of the regular rate of pay for the purpose of computing statutory overtime and would be credited toward overtime payments required by the law:

1. Premium rate for work on Saturday, Sunday, or holidays, or on the sixth or seventh day of the workweek, where the premium rate is not less than one and one-half the rate established in good faith for like work performed during non overtime hours on other days.
2. Premium rates for work outside the basic, normal, or regular workday (not exceeding eight hours) or workweek (not exceeding forty hours) established in good faith by contract or agreement where the premium rate is not less than one and one-half times the

rate established in good faith by contract or agreement for like work performed during such workday or workweek.

The bill applied only to future claims and was limited to the longshore, stevedoring, building and construction industries.

In other words, the bill validated past overtime practices under collective bargaining or other agreements, thus avoiding the payment of overtime on overtime for the future. The bill passed the House by a vote of 230 to 7 on February 21.

It was then sent to the Senate and referred to the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. In the hearings before the Senate Committee the same issues were raised as to:

1. Whether the bill should be made retroactive to protect employers against existing claims for so-called "overtime on overtime."
2. Whether the bill should be broadened to include industries generally, instead of being restricted to the longshore, stevedoring, building, and construction industries.

The American Federation of Labor and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers filed a statement with the Committee in support of H. R. 858, as amended and passed by the House. The International Longshoremen's Association testified before the Committee in support of the same bill but did not take any position with respect to the retroactive feature proposed by the employers. The Government Executive Departments either supported the proposal for retroactive relief or failed to register any opposition thereto. No serious objection was made to the proposal that the bill be broadened to include industry generally.

After hearing extensive testimony on all of these points, the Committee amended the bill so as to validate past overtime practices on the collective bargaining or other agreements, thus avoiding the payment of "overtime on overtime" for the past as well as for the future. It also amended the bill to be made general in its application. On May 23, H. R. 858, as amended by the Senate Labor Committee, was passed by the Senate without a single objection.

H. R. 858, as amended, was then sent to the House and referred to the House Committee on Education and Labor. The Committee adopted the Senate amendment by a vote of 14 to 11. The House accepted the Committee's action and President Truman affixed his signature on July 20, 1949 (Public 177—81st Congress).

SOCIAL SECURITY

A number of bills on this subject were introduced in both the House and Senate. Extensive hearings were held by the House Ways and Means Committee and an excellent bill reported (H. R. 6000).

The National Legislative Committee answered every call for aid made by the Director of Social Security and as he is making a detailed report on the subject, the details will not be inserted here in order to avoid repetition.

LABOR EXTENSION SERVICE

The American Federation of Labor strongly supports the need for a Labor Extension Service within the Department of Labor and wholeheartedly endorses the proposal that such a service be established as speedily as possible. However, in the development of this Extension Service it is the considered judgment of the American Federation of Labor that the Department of Labor should assume the direct responsibility for the initiation and direction of any proposed extension.

Several bills concerning this subject were introduced in the 81st Congress. Most of these bills would place the primary emphasis on securing extension services through state universities and institutions and limit the Department of Labor largely to the supervision of state-administered programs. We do not favor that type of a labor extension service because there are only a few universities, if any, that have personnel or resources that would permit them to do the practical service job that is immediately needed.

In our testimony before the House Labor and Education Committee, the following recommendations were made:

1. An agency should be established within the Department of Labor to provide services that will enable workers to engage in collective bargaining more effectively. Collective bargaining is understood to include all subject matter relating to the problems of the worker as a union member and as citizen, producer, and consumer. Any agency set up should provide the following services:

- 1) aid in research
- 2) examination of best practices based on experience
- 3) demonstration and evaluation of findings and material issued by various governmental agencies
- 4) analysis of local, state and international problems in terms of the workers' interest and relationship.

2. The initiation for determining the nature and scope of the program should come largely from the unions themselves. All such services should be practical; information and interpretation of data for workers, above all, must be practical and develop out of the expression of their continuing needs as they may be made evident through unions and other workers' organizations. It is through dealing with specific problems that adults acquire more information and understanding and share the problems of adult education.

3. Since the Department of Labor was set up to protect and promote the interests of workers and wage earners, it is logical that an extension service for workers should be administered through that department. The Department of Labor, dealing so directly with the material that affects the worker so vitally as a worker and as a citizen, is in the very best position to develop such an extension service on a functional basis. Moreover, the Department of Labor is in the very best position to draw on other governmental agencies for research materials and data to supplement the information and resources available through its own bureaus and agencies. The desirability of providing educational services of a functional nature through the appropriate department is stressed by the Hoover Commission's report on education.

4. Finally, if organized labor is interested in the establishment of field services and demonstration centers, it is essential that such services be established as an extension and supplement to such educational services as are being provided through the Department of Labor and the unions themselves. For this reason it seems imperative that field offices and demonstration centers be set up at the instance of organized labor groups themselves acting in cooperation with the Department of Labor. In those instances where universities, colleges, or private research agencies may be called in to perform specific services, they should be provided on a contract basis under such terms as may be approved by the Department of Labor and the workers making use of such services. Orderly development of field services and demonstration centers will provide the best guarantee against haphazard development, the creation of competing services and needless administrative overhead.

Most of these recommendations are embodied in H. R. 3785 which is being considered by the House Committee. However, no action will be taken at this session of Congress on this legislation.

APPRENTICE TRAINING

For many years the American Federation of Labor has taken the lead in the establishment of apprentice training programs. Ever since the beginning of the century both employers and unions in industry have recognized the need for revising and extending the traditional methods of training apprentices. Our apprentice system is relatively new, and is still developing. The basis for that system was, in our opinion, laid down in 1917 with the adoption of the Smith-Hughes Act providing for federal aid to vocational training. On-the-job-training is still the heart of our program, but we recognized many years ago that in a civilization as complex as ours it is not enough to simply turn out a first class mechanic. We must give the boys more general education as well. This is why the American Federation of Labor led the fight for apprentice education. This is why many unions have tried to establish

their own schools to give the supplemental education they thought so necessary.

Although the Smith-Hughes Act was passed in 1917, it could not be made effective at once because of World War I. After the war unions and employers, working together, tried to set up training programs, which for the most part took the form of local enterprises. This move was getting well under way when, in turn, it was checked by the depression. Unions saw very clearly what the suspension of apprentice training meant, and as soon as the situation began to improve, they tried to revive the program.

In 1934 the first practical step was taken to restore adequate apprenticeship training with the formation of the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship. That committee was made a prominent part of the Department of Labor in 1937 and since that time it has, working with the Bureau of Apprenticeship, provided the service essential to a broad, national apprentice-training program.

In 1946 there were only about 16,000 apprentices in training in the building and construction industry in the entire country. On January first of this year, the Bureau of Apprenticeship reported 134,294 apprentices in training in the industry, out of a total of around 233,000 apprentices in all industry. In other words, over 40 percent of the total apprentices in training in the country today are in the various trades of the building and construction industry. Four out of five apprentices, according to the Bureau of Apprenticeship, are veterans and many of the veterans have suffered some degree of physical handicap.

This is a good record and is a tribute to our Federal Committee on Apprenticeship Training.

There were four bills introduced in the House; namely, H. R. 3067, H. R. 4898, H. R. 5626 and H. R. 5833, relating to full-time institutional trade and industrial training for veterans. These bills, in effect, set up what amounts to an alternative system of apprentice training in the building and construction industries. All of these proposed bills, under consideration by the Veterans' Affairs Committee, cut not only across the apprentice program now in effect, and working well, but they nullify the provisions of the Davis-Bacon Act which Congress passed some years ago to protect labor standards on public construction. Under that Act the wages of apprentices in all trades are predetermined when wage rates are set up.

If the proposed bills are adopted, we could well have a situation in which apprentices in one trade might be working at one and the same time on adjoining buildings under entirely different conditions. In one case they might be at work under wage rates predetermined by the Labor Department as prevailing in the locality, learning their trade under the direct supervision of their local contractors association and

their local union, with the assistance of their public school system, and in accordance with national standards worked out by employers and the unions in the trade. In the other case they might be working without any wages whatsoever under the direction of their school instructor whose own qualifications might or might not be adequate. Such a situation cannot fail to create all kinds of confusion and dissatisfaction and in the long run do much to destroy the apprenticeship training we are building with so much care and patience.

The Committee reported out H. R. 5833 and it passed the House with an amendment limiting the training on the construction of schools.

We recommend that every effort be set forth to defeat this bill in the Senate.

THE PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

It can safely be said that the greatest single contribution to the work of the President's Committee on National Employ-the-Physically Handicapped-Week has come from the leaders of organized labor, as a group and individually. The American Federation of Labor believes that the work of this Committee should be expanded to provide year-round services aimed at creating better employment opportunities for the physically handicapped and that these functions should be made the responsibility of a fulltime staff within the Department of Labor.

For many years the American Federation of Labor has been vitally interested in this most important problem, particularly with the job of eliminating the economic effects of handicaps which interfere with a worker's opportunity to lead a full and prosperous life. In serving the general needs of its membership, the American Federation of Labor has also made direct and important contributions to the physically handicapped who are not members of our organization. The first, and not the least, of Labor's service in this respect was the successful campaign for state factory inspection laws aimed at placing guards on machines which were contributing so heavily to the increase of the physically handicapped population. Then, through its efforts to establish systems of workmen's compensation, organized labor provided a degree of medical care and financial assistance to workers disabled by industrial injuries. The American Federation of Labor has also been vitally interested in the field of vocational rehabilitation, and its current efforts in behalf of the establishment of "second injury" funds promised greater employment opportunities for the handicapped.

Labor's service to the cause of the handicapped has not been limited to the fields of social and labor legislation. In collective bargaining at the plant level, organized labor has contributed materially to the welfare of the handicapped worker. For example, many employers who

consider the hiring of the handicapped either a charitable act, or a sheer necessity, in time of a tight labor market have made a practice of laying off the handicapped workers first in time of slack business. A good seniority system incorporated in a collective bargaining contract is the best insurance the handicapped worker has that he will not be the object of discrimination in lay-offs, or in promotions, or transfers for that matter. Because the physically handicapped worker is more open to discrimination than his fellow workers, he stands to gain more than they do from the security and justice which trade unionism provides.

There is no doubt that opportunity for the physically handicapped has increased markedly in the past thirty years. The American Federation of Labor is proud of its part in helping bring about this improved situation. But, the important fact facing us today is not that conditions have improved, but that we must make them still better before we obtain the goal of full opportunity for the physically handicapped.

Following is a list of the bills which were introduced in the Eighty-first Congress to assist the physically handicapped:

S. 1066—companion bill to *H. R. 3095*—to establish a Federal Commission on Services for the physically handicapped. The bill provides for an overall comprehensive program to aid the physically handicapped, and the establishment of a National Commission on Employment of the Handicapped, composed of organizations and individuals outside of the Government, to encourage employment of the handicapped.

Hearings were held by the House Education and Labor Committee during the week of July 12. In our testimony before the Committee the American Federation of Labor strongly urged the adoption of this proposal. So far no action has been taken by the Committee.

S. 458—A bill to provide for a survey of physically handicapped citizens. The bill would provide the statutory authorization and direction for the Director of the Bureau of the Census to survey the population of the United States—to determine, insofar as possible, the number, age, social, and economic characteristics, and location of physically handicapped persons. On June 2, 1949 the Senate Committee on Post Office and Civil Service reported the bill out favorably. No further action has been taken.

H. R. 1729—to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for research and investigation with respect to the cause, prevention, and treatment of cerebral palsy, and for other purposes. No action was taken on this bill.

S. 704—a National Leprosy Act. This bill projects an advanced and a corrective measure in the care and treatment of those afflicted with Leprosy. No action was taken on this bill.

S. 659—A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for research and investigation as to the cause, prevention, treatment, and possible cure of epilepsy. No action has been taken on this bill.

We will continue to give our full support to all of these proposals and all other practical legislation to assist the physically handicapped.

BASING POINT SYSTEMS

S. 1008 defining the application of the Federal Trade Commission Act and the Clayton Act to certain pricing practices.

This bill is a highly technical and complicated piece of legislation which is intended to clear away the confusion which has arisen as to decisions in the "Cement Case" and the "Conduit Case." The basic question presented to the Court was, however, whether the Commission's findings of concerted action were supported by the evidence, and if so, whether these findings were adequate as a matter of law to sustain the Commission's conclusion that the multiple basing point delivered price system, as practiced by the cement and steel industries, constituted an "unfair method of competition" because it either restrained free competition or was an incipient menace to it.

Any explanation of the multiple basing point price system requires an understanding of "factory" or "mill prices" and "delivered prices." Goods may be sold and delivered to customers at the seller's mill or warehouse door or may be sold free on board (f. o. b.) immediately adjacent to the seller's mill or warehouse. In either event, the actual cost of the goods to the purchaser is, broadly speaking, the seller's "mill price" plus the purchaser's cost of transportation. However, if the seller fixes a price at which he undertakes to deliver goods to the purchaser where they are to be used, the cost to the purchaser is the "delivered price." A seller who makes the "mill price" identical for all purchases of like amount and quality simply delivers his goods at the same place (his mill) and for the same price (price at the mill). He thus receives for all f. o. b. mill sales an identical net amount of money for like goods from all customers. A "delivered price" system, however, creates complications which may result in sellers receiving different net returns from the sale of like goods. Since the cost of transporting a long distance is almost always more than the cost of transporting a short distance, if customers one hundred and five hundred miles away pay the same "delivered price," the seller's net return is less from the more distant customer.

The multiple basing point system adopted by the respondents, was found by the Supreme Court to be patterned after an earlier basing point price system called "Pittsburgh plus." This "Pittsburgh plus" related to the price of steel. According to the Supreme Court, the Pittsburgh price was the base price, Pittsburgh being, therefore, a price

basing point. In order for the system to work, sales had to be made only at delivered prices. Under this system the delivered prices of steel from anywhere in the United States to a point of delivery anywhere in the United States was in general the Pittsburgh price plus the railroad freight rate from Pittsburgh to the point of delivery. Thus, for example, as pointed out by the Supreme Court, under this system a Chicago steel producer was not free to sell his steel at cost, plus a reasonable profit. He was required to sell it at the Pittsburgh price, plus the railroad freight rate from Pittsburgh to the point of delivery. Chicago steel customers were, by this pricing plan, thus arbitrarily required to pay for Chicago produced steel at Pittsburgh base price plus what it would cost to ship the steel by rail from Pittsburgh to Chicago had it been shipped. The theoretical cost of this fictitious shipment became known as "phantom freight." But had it been economically possible under this plan for a Chicago producer to ship his steel to Pittsburgh, his "delivered price" would have been merely the Pittsburgh price although he actually would have been required to pay the freight from Chicago to Pittsburgh. Thus the "delivered price" under these latter circumstances required a Chicago (non-basing point) producer to "absorb" freight costs. That is, such a seller's net returns became smaller and smaller as his deliveries approached closer and closer to the basing point.

The Supreme Court held that the basing point system used was not single but multiple. That is, instead of one basing point, like that in "Pittsburgh plus" a number of basing point localities were used. In the multiple basing point system, just as in the single basing point system, either freight absorption or phantom freight is an element of the delivered price in all sales not governed by a basing point actually located at the seller's mill, and all sellers quote identical delivered prices in any given locality regardless of their different cost of production and their different freight expenses. Thus, as stated by the Supreme Court, the multiple and single systems function in the same general manner and produce the same consequence—identity of prices and diversity of net returns.

The Supreme Court in its decision sustained the Commission's conclusion that concerted maintenance of this multiple basing point delivered price system resulted in price discrimination and substantially lessened competition and also operated as an unfair method of competition prohibited by the Federal Trade Commission Act.

On June 1, the bill passed the Senate and was referred to the Judiciary Committee in the House of Representatives. It was reported favorably out of the House Committee and passed the House with an amendment known as the Carroll Amendment. The Amendment is intended to safeguard the principles and purpose of our anti-trust laws. The bill is now in conference and is expected to be acted upon in this session.

MONOPOLIES AND TRADE RESTRAINTS

During the 81st Congress, first session, the subject of monopolies, in general, arose in the halls of Congress. Several Committees took notice of the subject and the Judiciary and Small Business Committees generated considerable interest in the problem.

At the invitation of Representative Wright Patman, Chairman, Select Committee on Small Business, House of Representatives, the Executive Council gave close attention to the progress of the discussions and purposes of the various questions on the subject of monopolies. We were invited to have representation at all meetings called by Chairman Patman to participate in discussions of the purposes of the Clayton Act and the Robinson-Patman Act, as well as the extent to which the Federal Trade Commission has carried out the general intent of the laws. Proposals to amend the Clayton Act, which in fact is the brokerage section of the Robinson-Patman Act, are contained in S. 2190 under consideration by a Senate Subcommittee of which Senator O'Connor, of Maryland, is Chairman. The progress of this legislation is being watched with considerable interest by the Patman Committee.

Specific legislation also is pending before the House of Representatives in H. R. 2734, to amend Section 7 of the Clayton Act and H. R. 4760, to insure small business a fair share of Government Procurement Orders. It can be suggested that much of the current discussion of the activities of the so-called 5% commission lobbyists is a manifestation of the development of denial of small business of its fair share of distribution of Government Contracts and purchase orders.

We were joined by several other union organizations, unaffiliated, in the consideration of the agendas presented at the respective meetings of an unofficial advisory group to the Chairman of the Select Committee on Small Business. Other bills on this broad and general subject of monopolies include H. R. 4, relating to the tax treatment of chain stores operated at a loss, and H. R. 5, relating to certain discriminatory pricing practices affecting commerce.

Indications are that the subject of monopolies and trade restraints will continue to be open for long discussion, and that no conclusive legislation will be recommended during 1949. Hearings unnecessarily will be long, drawn-out and Congressional action can be expected to be slow.

CIVIL RIGHTS

A number of civil rights bills were introduced covering F. E. P. C., Anti-Poll Tax and Anti-Lynching. The House Committee on Labor and Education held extensive hearings on the fair labor practice proposals and reported a bill, H. R. 4453, upon which a rule for its consideration has not as yet been granted. If the bill is permitted to come before the

House it will pass by a large majority. The Anti-Poll Tax bill, H. R. 3199, was passed by the House on July 26 by a vote of 273 to 116. Many bills regarding anti-lynching were introduced and S. 91 was reported, but no further action has ensued.

It is generally conceded that none of these civil rights bills will become law during the present session of Congress, which is apparently reaching its final days and therefore a filibuster or even a threat of one will prevent their passage. We shall continue our efforts for the enactment of these proposals.

VETERANS LEGISLATION

Several laws have been signed during the Eighty-first Congress beneficial to war veterans. Public Law No. 195, supported by the American Federation of Labor, provides that compensation be paid from the date Armed Services personnel are killed, rather than from the date of filing claims. Other new laws, to which have not yet been assigned numbers, include S. 2146 granting up to \$10,000 toward housing facilities in amputee and paralysis cases, thus amending the Act of 1948.

S. 2115, now about to become law, will include World War I amputees for Government paid-for automobiles. H. R. 5833 involves building trades training programs to veterans but is restricted entirely to school-owned property. H. R. 6022 increases salaries of medical, dental and nursing personnel in the Veterans Administration. The National Service Life Insurance Act has been clarified in the form of Public Law No. 69 to permit surviving beneficiaries to draw the residue of amounts not already drawn by the insured.

Two remaining bills, now passed in the House and awaiting Senate consideration, include H. R. 4617, to grant \$72 a month to all former Armed Services personnel upon arriving at age 65, and H. R. 5598, to increase by approximately 8.7 per cent compensation benefits of service-connected injured former service personnel.

PROHIBITION OF INTERSTATE ADVERTISING OF ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES

S. 1847 would prohibit interstate advertising of alcoholic beverages and Chairman Johnson, Colorado, of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, has announced that hearings will be held on this bill on January 12 and 13, 1950, and that the prohibition of liquor advertising over the radio will also be dealt with during the hearings on the bill.

OLEOMARGARINE

A representative of the American Federation of Labor appeared before the House Agriculture Committee in an effort to repeal the taxes on

oleomargarine. H. R. 2023 was reported out by the Committee and passed by the House 288 to 89.

When the bill reached the Senate it was referred to the Senate Finance Committee, where we also testified in favor of the bill.

The bill was favorably reported to the Senate and the Democratic Steering Committee has made it one of the first bills to be considered when Congress returns to Washington in January.

For a considerable number of years, by unanimous Convention action we have favored repeal of this tax on oleomargarine and will continue our efforts.

PRESIDENT'S SAFETY CONFERENCE

The Federal Government has undertaken a national campaign to reduce the needless annual toll of 2 million work injuries. The President called upon organized labor, management and all interested groups to pool their experience in this great common endeavor.

A Coordinating Committee was formed to organize the conference and work began on the compilation of conference reports and agenda. Fifty-one members of the American Federation of Labor, headed by President Green, played an active role in the deliberations of the Conference.

One thousand two hundred delegates representing labor, management, Federal and State Government, insurance companies and non-official organizations with a basic interest in industrial safety, met in Washington to work out a program whereby it was hoped to achieve the goal of a million fewer accidents a year.

The reduction and prevention of industrial accidents is primarily the responsibility of the respective states. Accordingly, the President's Conference on Industrial Safety recommended the calling of Governors' Conferences on Industrial Safety by the states, patterned after the national conference in Washington, as a major activity of a continuing industrial safety program.

National and international unions can serve the cause of safety for their members by creating a union safety organization from the International through the local unions. Trained union safety representatives would be in a position to cooperate practically with management in the development and maintenance of sound safety organizations in industry.

These safety representatives will be in a position to see that the interests of Labor are adequately considered in safety programs.

TAXATION

Tax policies followed at the Federal, state, and local level continue to give members of organized labor much cause for concern.

In 1945, when Federal tax collections reached an all time high, the proportion of tax income derived from progressive taxes levied on the basis of ability to pay also reached a high point. During that year the total revenue derived from Federal, state, and local taxes on personal and business income totaled 69.81 per cent of the \$51.4 billions in tax revenue that was collected at all levels of government. Inheritance, estate, and gift taxes, which are also progressive, yielded 1.51% of the total revenue collected. Since 1945 our tax system has become increasingly regressive following two successive tax cuts which concentrated reductions in the income, estate, and gift tax fields. By 1947 only 58.74% of total tax collections was derived from income taxes. When all the data for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1949 is in, the tax cuts pushed through the Eightieth Congress over President Truman's veto will reflect a still further reduction in the proportion of revenue being derived from income, estate, and gift taxes.

Unfortunately, this decline in revenue from personal and business income taxes at the Federal level makes for heavier dependence on the excise taxes which, enacted as war emergency measures, are still seriously curtailing the purchasing power and employment of our people in 1949. States and local municipalities facing serious post-war accumulations of need for services and capital improvements are showing an increasing tendency to depend more and more on consumption taxes. A number of states have financed servicemen's bonuses out of taxes on cigarettes or other forms of taxes on consumption. Most regrettable, too, because of its implications, was the adoption by Congress of a sales tax in the District of Columbia in a situation in which the operation of a sales tax will prove inequitable and provide insufficient revenue.

The serious consequences of this increasing dependence on consumption taxes may be realized when one examines a breakdown of spending units in various income groups for 1947. This shows that 59% of all spending units who were in income groups below \$3,000 were recipients of only 29% of the national income. A median group of 17% of spending units in the income group between \$3,000 and \$4,000 received 18% of the income while 24% of spending units with income above \$4,000 received 53% of the income. Consideration of these income distribution figures should indicate clearly the folly of continued or increasing reliance on excise and consumption taxes either from the standpoint of equity or sound economy.

Tax policy at the Federal, state, and local levels since the end of World War II has followed a pattern of providing for increasing expenditures for defense, European recovery, capital costs, and normal and deferred needs and services. Total tax collections for 1949-50 at all levels of government will be more than they were at the high point of war-time taxation in 1945 by several billion dollars.

Unfortunately, from the point of view of those interested in sound tax policy, a much smaller percentage of this larger amount of revenue is now being collected from taxes based on the ability to pay. To the extent this is so, it is clear that by heavier taxation on low income groups we are cutting into much needed purchasing power and inviting unemployment and depression.

It should be noted, too, that during the past year large sections of the membership of organized labor have registered protests against Federal excise taxes. These taxes imposed during the war on amusements, transportation, telephone, cosmetics, leather goods, jewelry, etc., have undoubtedly contributed to unemployment of our members, because of curtailed demand for goods and services to which they apply. When enacted, Congress referred to these excise taxes as temporary war emergency measures; its continued failure to reduce or modify them constitutes a breach of faith with the American people.

An overall approach to tax needs is still lacking. Competition in the tax field between the various units of government continues unchecked. Coordination of tax policy is sorely needed to eliminate continued overlapping, competition, and confusion. It is no less important because greater co-operation in developing Federal, state, and local taxation and spending policies would do much to contribute to economic stability.

Moreover, if the need for revenue at the present high level continues, it is apparent that reductions in excise and other taxes on consumers must be accompanied by increases in taxes on income, corporation profits, inheritance and gifts, so that the proportion of overall revenue accruing from progressive taxes will show a substantial increase.

Since it is obvious that gains to workers in bargaining or through price reductions may be lost if unwise tax policies are adopted, it is urged all affiliated bodies actively support sound tax programs. Regressive and unsound programs calling for heavier taxes on payrolls, amusements, sales, etc., should be opposed; sound, progressive tax programs based on the ability to pay should be initiated and supported.

STATE LABOR LEGISLATION IN 1949

The successful participation of Labor in the elections last November was reflected in the 44 state legislatures which met this year. The record achieved in 1948 when not a single anti-labor bill was passed and Louisiana repealed its restrictive law was almost paralleled this year. Since our last Executive Council Report, six other states rejected acts restricting union activities either by referendum or legislative repeal. An encouraging amount of other good labor legislation was enacted but the failure to pass many sound proposals leaves no room for complacency or reduced effort.

State federations of labor are to be congratulated on the results of their hard work in Maine, Massachusetts, New Mexico, Missouri, Delaware and New Hampshire. There the voters defeated proposals to ban closed shop and other types of union security agreements. Maine voters in September rejected a 1947 anti-closed shop law and defeated a proposed measure with even more restrictive provisions. In November, voters in New Mexico defeated a proposed amendment to the state constitution which would have prohibited denying employment to any person because of membership in, resignation or expulsion from, a labor organization, or refusal to join a union. Massachusetts, at the November election, also defeated a proposal to ban the closed shop. In the same election, this state also turned down a measure to require labor union officials to be elected by secret ballot at least once a year, and a proposed law which would have prohibited strikes unless approved by a majority of the union's membership.

"Little Taft-Hartley Acts" in Missouri and Delaware were repealed. The New Hampshire Act regulating union security agreements was also repealed.

In addition, Michigan amended its law substituting voluntary arbitration of labor disputes for compulsory arbitration in public utilities. This provision for voluntary arbitration applies to all types of labor disputes. Other amendments made less restrictive the conditions under which a strike vote is conducted.

A bill to repeal the 1947 Missouri Act that regulates labor disputes in public utilities is still pending. The Missouri legislature, now in recess, expects to reconvene in the fall.

This record is a good start on the long road trade unions must follow to secure the repeal of anti-labor laws enacted in the past few years in nearly three-quarters of the states. The record merely shows that the job can be done but that it is not easy. For despite the general trend, restrictive legislation was adopted this year in Arizona and Nebraska. In Arizona, in a referendum vote, approval was given to an Act prohibiting the denial of employment because of nonmembership in a labor union. This Act also forbids the use of compulsion in attempts to persuade a person to join a union or strike against his will. In addition, striking or picketing to force or influence an employer to make an agreement in violation of the act is illegal. Under an Act passed by the Nebraska legislature, "mass picketing" as defined in the law is made a misdemeanor. These acts serve to highlight the need for renewed efforts by state federations of labor here and in many states to wipe out these repressive, undemocratic measures.

Disability Compensation

Returning to the plus side, the American Federation of Labor's long advocacy of disability insurance paid off this year in widespread inter-

est. Some 75 bills to provide benefits for loss of income from non-work connected sickness or injury were introduced in about one-third of the states. Results in legislation, however, were meager. Only two States—New York and Washington—passed new disability insurance acts, making five states in all that have enacted such legislation. The New York Act became effective April 13, 1949. Operation of the Washington Act is suspended pending a referendum at the November 1950 general election.

New York provides weekly benefits, based on wages received, ranging from \$10 to \$26 for a maximum of 13 weeks in any one year. The Washington Act provides benefits of \$10 to \$25 for a maximum of 26 weeks. Both laws provide for a waiting period of one week for each disability, and both provide for payment of benefits for partial weeks of disability.

Private plans for sickness and disability insurance are permitted in both states, subject to approval of the administrator for the Act, if such plans provide for payment of benefits at least as favorable as the disability benefits under the state plans, and in Washington, if they meet certain other specific standards.

The administration of the Washington Act is to be coordinated with the program of the Unemployment Insurance Administration. The New York law will be administered by the Workmen's Compensation Board in the Department of Labor.

Bills to liberalize the amount of benefits failed in three states that already have such legislation—California, New Jersey, and Rhode Island.

Workmen's Compensation

As usual in the past few years, the greatest advances this year were made in workmen's compensation legislation. The American Federation of Labor's push for liberalized benefits and higher weekly maximums to carry out the basic principle of providing two-thirds of average weekly earnings brought results. Thirty-four states and Hawaii liberalized their workmen's compensation benefits. As a result, more than three-fourths of the workmen's compensation laws now provide \$25 or more as the maximum weekly benefit (including allowances for dependents) in temporary total disability cases, and more than one-third provide \$30 or more per week in such cases. A maximum of \$35 or more per week for temporary total disability is provided in ten of these laws.¹ This should be the minimum standard in every state.

¹ Arizona, \$150; D. C., \$35; Mass., \$25, plus \$2.50 for each dependent up to maximum of weekly wage; Nev., \$40.15; N. Dak., \$37; Oreg., \$40.38; Wash., \$35.77; Wyo., \$40.38; Hawaii, \$35; U. S. Longshoreman's Act, \$35.

The most substantial increases in benefits were provided in the laws for Michigan, Nevada, Rhode Island, West Virginia, and Hawaii. In each of these laws, the benefits were boosted 40 percent or more for temporary total disability cases. In Michigan, provision was made for the payment of extra compensation in the case of dependents up to maximum payment of \$34, instead of the former provision of \$21 for a worker with or without dependents.

In addition to the liberalization of benefits, this period was outstanding for its trend towards full coverage of occupational diseases instead of schedule coverage. Six states—Delaware, Nevada, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Utah, and West Virginia—changed from schedule to full coverage. South Carolina enacted occupational disease coverage for the first time and adopted the all inclusive type of law. With the action in these seven states, more than half of the 40 states with occupational disease provisions now have full coverage.

Indiana joined the list of states with second injury funds. Seven states—Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, and Virginia—still remain without such laws.

Eleven states liberalized their medical aid benefits either by extending the period during which the aid may be given or by increasing the total amount allowed, or both; Maryland changed its law to provide for full, instead of limited benefits. This makes 30 states with unlimited medical benefits.

Safety and Health

As our last report predicted, further efforts were made this year—two successfully—to rob state labor departments of their industrial health functions and place them in state health departments.

Labor departments have traditionally had authority to inspect workplaces and enforce regulations for the control of industrial health hazards. In practice, these functions are inseparable from the control of job accidents but industrial hygiene divisions of state health departments have been greatly enlarged in recent years through generous federal grants-in-aid. Because this federal money is available without much state matching, appropriations to state labor departments for factory inspection and enforcement of industrial safety and health laws have been decreased or even discontinued. In some states the authority over industrial hygiene or health has been taken from labor departments and given to their health departments.

The Hoover Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government in one of its Task Force Reports, blamed industrial hygiene bureaus of state health departments for this encroachment on basic labor department functions. These bureaus, it pointed out, are sponsoring legislation to give them power to control working conditions in industry.

Bills for this purpose were introduced this year in Georgia, Michigan, Nevada, Pennsylvania, Vermont, and West Virginia, and were enacted in Vermont and West Virginia.

Vermont created a Division of Industrial Hygiene in the State Department of Health with authority not only to study and investigate occupational diseases, but to make inspections for the enforcement of regulations to control and prevent such diseases.

The West Virginia Act gave the Board of Health authority to make and enforce rules and regulations to control occupational and industrial health hazards and to control sanitary conditions in workshops, factories, and labor camps. As is typical in these health measures which usurp labor departments' functions, it is carefully provided that inspection records may not be used in the adjudication of workers' claims to compensation for injuries or disease. In other words the injured worker is denied the use of technical data necessary to prove his claim, while his employer has a full report from the Health Department to use as he sees fit. Organized labor must be on the alert to prevent further extension of this type of discriminatory legislation.

Anti-discrimination

Anti-discrimination bills were introduced in about one-half of the state legislatures, but only four—New Mexico, Oregon, Rhode Island, and Washington—were enacted. These Acts forbid employers to discharge or discriminate against any person in compensation, terms, conditions or privileges of employment because of race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry. All four laws prohibit discrimination by employment agencies, and in New Mexico, Oregon, and Rhode Island, the laws forbid employers and employment agencies to print advertisements or issue publications expressing discriminatory preferences.

Child Labor

The American Federation of Labor has always supported legislation which aims to improve child labor laws. Progress has been unbelievably slow. This year in only two states—Maine and Tennessee—was legislation passed to provide a basic 16-year minimum age for full-time employment. This brings to 22 the number of states with such legislation. We still have far to go to give adequate protection to our young workers.

Wage and Hour Legislation

The last depression taught us that unemployment not only reduces jobs but pay envelopes and other labor standards. Over 4 million jobless now point again to the need for a "floor" under wages and a "ceiling" over hours. Yet not one state has enacted a wage and hour law similar to the Fair Labor Standards Act for the nation. Nor have any new

states enacted minimum wage laws for women and minors. For the protection of millions of unorganized workers as well as of its own standards, organized labor must buckle down to a real fight for decent wage and hour laws in the 48 states. It can and must enlist the cooperation of public spirited citizens and progressive employers who realize that such laws are necessary under unstable economic conditions to maintain the health and well being of workers and to maintain purchasing power for the products of industry.

Other Important Acts

Among the other constructive labor legislative measures of the year were those creating Labor Departments in Idaho, Montana, and South Dakota; the establishment of a voluntary apprenticeship system in Utah; equal pay laws in Connecticut, California, Maine, and Alaska. Labor-sponsored laws prohibiting employers from requiring workers to pay the cost of medical examination required as a condition of employment, were enacted in six states—Michigan, South Dakota, Maine, Massachusetts, Utah, and Vermont.

While this report indicates progress in the state labor legislative field, it also indicates how slow that progress really is. With 44 state legislatures in session we should have been able to mark up many substantial achievements. These will only come in large measure when candidates sympathetic to the needs of workers are elected to the state legislatures, and programs for improvement in basic labor standards are actively sponsored and supported by the labor movement.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS

During 1949, the American economy has been going through a period of readjustment accompanied by declines in prices, production and employment. This has been a difficult period for all concerned. For more than 4 million workers it has meant unemployment, and several hundred thousand of them have been out of work longer than the unemployment benefit period so that their benefits have been exhausted. Many of those employed have had their incomes cut by part-time work. For business, the recession has meant a 14% reduction in total profits (after taxes) for the second quarter of 1949 compared to the peak 1948 levels, and an 80% increase in business failures. Price declines, reduced sales income, returning competition have brought difficulties for employers and made them resist granting wage increases.

The recession however has been a corrective process, not an industrial depression. Various economic maladjustments had arisen during the postwar business boom. The two-year price rise had brought many prices to extravagant peaks quite out of proportion to costs; productivity was not increasing as it should—the incentive for industrial management to exert the necessary effort to improve efficiency and cut costs

was not present because it was easy to meet costs by raising prices; workers' "real" income was not advancing and average per capita buying power of consumers was declining as price rises cancelled wage increases and reduced living standards of those on fixed incomes. Another unwholesome effect of price increases was the accumulation of top heavy inventories by business firms in all lines—retail, wholesale and manufacturing.

During the recession, important progress has been made in correcting these maladjustments. The downturn in prices, which started with farm products about mid-1948, as the world food shortage was overcome, extended to industrial products late last year. Since then a general downward price adjustment has been under way throughout the economy. Price declines have been gradual in most industries, causing a minimum of dislocation, but in a few cases declines have been sharp as in copper, lead and zinc where prices fell 25% in four months, bringing difficulties both to workers and employers in the industries concerned.

Price reductions at wholesale levels are now reaching retail levels where they benefit workers and other consumers, but thus far the general decline in living costs has been too small to be of much significance for workers. The Consumer Price Index in June 1949 was only 1.2% below June 1948. Although the indexes for food, clothing and housefurnishings were each 6% below the peak level, and 3 to 5% below June 1948, these declines were offset by price increases in many items which had not risen as far during the boom, such as rents, electricity and telephone rates, costs of various services such as laundry, dry cleaning, medical care, also prices of gasoline, carfares, etc. Further declines in living cost are expected before the close of this year with lower meat and food prices, further declines in clothing, appearance on the market of new low cost models in household appliances.

Beside the price decline, other important economic adjustments have taken place since midsummer of 1948. With the return of competition and the decline in prices and sales income, management is showing new interest in cutting costs and increasing productivity. As a result, productivity is rising again. From 1944 through 1947, the increase in national income produced per manhour of work for the entire economy was small except for a hidden increase due to improvement in quality of product which was not shown in the figures. After the immense increase in production per manhour during the war, amounting to 6½% per year, the lag during this postwar period was striking. Since the first half of 1948, productivity has been rising again at the rate of 2.3% a year, a figure which is close to normal. The recession has also brought drastic cuts in inventories, so that over a large part of industry inventories are in much better balance. This will permit new low cost goods to flow through quickly to the market.

Workers are already benefitting by the stabilization of consumer prices in general, and by summer sales and small declines in prices of a large number of living necessities. For the three years from July 1945 to August 1948, there had been no lasting gain in the average factory worker's "real" wage. Measured in 1949 prices, the buying power of the average straight time hourly wage was \$1.27 in July 1945 and was still \$1.27 in August 1948, after remaining close to this figure during the entire three year period. Substantial wage increases won by unions had been entirely cancelled by the price rise during this period. Since the end of the general consumer price rise (August 1948) wage increases are no longer offset by price rises and workers' "real" wage or buying power has been rising gradually, and reached \$1.35 per hour in June 1949. Wage increases won by affiliated unions in 1949 have for the most part been between 5c and 15c per hour, but even if these increases have been smaller than in previous postwar years, they have brought more benefit to our members because they have been real and not cancelled by price rises.

Throughout this business recession, the Federation has recognized the importance of giving free rein to the normal corrective forces of a free economy, so that the necessary readjustments could be brought about. The "seller's market" of recent years has now changed to a "buyer's market." Competition has returned. Today businessmen are more interested in cutting costs and saving waste than they have been for many years. Their customers are demanding lower prices, and they must reduce prices to compete in the market. Thus competition, functioning in a time of stringency when sales volume and business income are declining, is forcing business firms to do the difficult things which improve the productive process and gradually bring lower cost goods on the market.

The Federation recognizes that the corrective process now going on is essential to restore economic health, and that as it is completed economic activity will of itself return to normal relationships kept sound by competition.

When the free market pricing system operates without government interference, the consumers' choice among products of competing producers finally determines what should be produced, in what quantity and at what price. Consumers are in control, and producers strive to put on the market goods that will meet consumers' needs at prices they will be willing to pay. If on the other hand government unnecessarily bolsters the price, producers no longer have the same incentive to meet consumers' needs. Such a policy, if resorted to in any significant degree, would result in business producing for the government, not for consumers, and thus would place the government in control. The end result would be less effort to cut costs and place low priced goods on the market, a

tendency for wastes and inefficiencies to multiply, and in the long run this would mean lower "real" wages and living standards.

We have consistently recognized that living standards rise as production per manhour increases and efficiency improves, not by speed-up, but by intelligent cooperation of unions and management. This process, which has taken place over the years through the functioning of our competitive free enterprise system, and the organization of workers in unions, has made it possible for unions to raise wages steadily while good quality lower priced products are continually being brought to the market. Over the last 60 years, the buying power of the American factory worker's hour of work has increased 180%, and living standards have risen proportionately. This was due to union action to raise wages while competition reduced prices. Is there any other country in the world which can show such a record of gain for the average worker? The pressure of competition is essential today to bring back to the market the good quality, low priced products which were eliminated during the war, so that low income groups may improve their living standards. And there is ample evidence that this is occurring, although the process is slow.

We see no need for the government to enter into business by providing for plant expansion through government financing. On the other hand, this would tend to lessen or nullify the incentive for private investment and productive effort and might prove to be the entering wedge to replace private initiative with government domination.

During this period we have continually urged our affiliated organizations, through official releases on the economic situation, to negotiate wage increases without causing price rises, to cooperate with their employers in improving productive processes and cutting costs to make wage increases possible where they could not otherwise be granted, and thus help to better their employers' competitive position. We are gratified with the results achieved by our affiliates. A check of negotiations conducted by American Federation of Labor unions in July, showed that of 371 negotiations, 90% had resulted in wage increases or other gains for workers (improved vacations, health and welfare and other plans) and in few if any cases had significant increase in prices been caused. Cooperation of our members in saving waste, cutting costs and otherwise improving efficiency has been largely responsible for this constructive result. We note particularly, for instance, that the building construction industry in general agrees that labor productivity is rising and that the rise has been at least enough to offset wage increases.

This constructive action on the part of our membership has had nation wide effect. Consumer buying power has been buoyed up by increasing wages while prices remained stable or declined. As a result, consumer purchasing has continued at high levels in spite of unemploy-

ment and a 15% decline in industrial production (December 1948 to July 1949). It was this sustained consumer demand which reduced inventories and forced business firms to reorder supplies of goods, so that toward the end of July, orders to manufacturers began to increase, laid off workers began going back to work and the business outlook brightened.

The future trend of business will depend primarily on steady increases in wages without turning prices upward again. Consumer buying power must increase substantially to sustain maximum production and employment, particularly as the demand on American industry to supply goods for European recovery tapers off and imports increase. Much will also depend on a continuation of the downward price adjustment, the reappearance of good quality low priced models of durable consumers goods on the market and of low cost housing to meet the needs of low income groups and bring their buying power into play. Continued capital investment on the part of American business for industrial plant and equipment is also essential to sustain demand and keep the economy at maximum employment levels.

HOURS OF WORK

After a hiatus of nearly ten years, during which the emphasis was on maximum production to meet unprecedented levels of demand, the time is appropriate for the American Federation of Labor to consider a resumption of its traditional drive for shorter hours and greater leisure for workers.

The occasion for a reduction in the hours of work appears when the productivity of the labor force exceeds the power of the market to absorb the total product, under prevailing and impending conditions. While it is still too early to definitely predict what the trend will be following the present period of "readjustment," the rise in unemployment and the decline in industrial production during recent months emphasizes the potential dangers in the situation and the need for vigilance and preparedness. Regardless of the short-term outlook, if the economy is to remain sound over the long run, our developing productivity and technology must be "leisure-providing" as well as "labor-saving," and must lead to shorter hours and higher living standards for all, rather than unemployment for a growing number. Past history demonstrates, however, that this will only come about through aggressive and forward-looking trade-union action.

In accordance with the recommendations of the Committee on the Shorter Work Day at the 1948 Convention, the research staff of the Federation is studying economic conditions bearing on the question of shorter hours. This involves such factors as current levels of employment, production and demand, the effects of the foreign aid and defense pro-

grams, and changes in man-hour productivity through new developments in technology and technique.

Effects of the Foreign Aid Program

The various foreign aid programs since the end of the war have supplemented the extraordinary level of domestic demand and delayed the readjustment to a peacetime economy, in spite of export controls, by adding to the volume of our shipments abroad.

U. S. Exports and Imports of Goods and Services (*\$ Billion*)

| Period | Exports | Imports | Export Surplus |
|--------------------------------|---------|---------|----------------|
| 1936-38 average | 4.1 | 3.6 | .5 |
| 1946 | 15.0 | 7.2 | 7.8 |
| 1947 | 19.8 | 8.5 | 11.3 |
| 1948 | 16.8 | 10.5 | 6.3 |
| 1949—1st qtr. (annual rate) .. | 16.5 | 10.2 | 6.3 |
| 2nd qtr..... | 17.1 | 9.8 | 7.3 |

A large part of our exports in 1946 and 1947 were made possible through loans, UNNRA, and other emergency relief programs, and the liquidation of gold and dollar assets by foreign countries. In 1948, the cessation of UNNRA and the dollar exchange shortage led to a decrease in exports, so that in that year, the inauguration of the European Recovery Program tended to support rather than to increase our shipments to the participating countries.

In the final quarter of 1948, the export surplus increased for the first time since the beginning of E.R.P., reversing more than a year of continuous decline. In the first half of this year, the total export surplus continued to rise, providing a small offset to sagging production and employment here at home. However, while total exports of goods have held up well so far this year, the pattern has altered somewhat. While agricultural exports were 17 per cent higher in value in the first 4 months of 1949 than in the corresponding period of 1948, nonagricultural exports were about 7 per cent lower.

Total foreign aid is not as great as it had been during the spring of 1947, when it reached a rate of \$8 billion a year and accounted for nearly two-thirds of our total export surplus, but payments made under it are now almost equal to the export surplus. The physical quantity of imports has declined this year, although foreign ability to produce and export continued to increase. The level of imports in the first quarter of this year, in terms of physical volume, was only 20 per cent above prewar levels, although the increase in domestic production and purchasing power above prewar was very much greater and our tariffs were lower. This recent decline apparently reflects the movement of domestic business activity.

If low foreign production for export were the cause of our low imports, as was largely the case just after the war, the fall in business activity in the United States might not reduce imports correspondingly. The decline in imports this year, however, shows that U.S. market demand for foreign goods is being largely met at present prices and exchange rates. A further decline in domestic demand and production would probably result in a further decline in imports. Under the present dollar exchange shortage, there is a close relation between our imports and our sales abroad. A further reduction in dollars available to foreign countries from our imports of their goods would therefore tend to further reduce business activity in this country, unless offset by increases in the amount of our foreign aid. E.R.P. appropriations for the coming year, however, have been reduced.

E.R.P. payments are now about at their peak, and in view of the probable course of E.R.P. procurement it appears likely that the most intense effect of existing foreign aid programs upon the domestic economy has already been felt. The proposed military aid under the North Atlantic Pact is not expected to have any significant early economic effect.

Our imports and government aid have provided almost all of the dollars with which foreign countries have been able to purchase American products. With foreign aid at its peak and with imports showing a tendency to decline, exports can not be counted upon to provide any further stimulus to domestic employment, production and purchasing power in the immediate future.

Future prospects of positive effects on the level of employment and production in this country as a result of the foreign aid program will hinge on the ultimate realization of its basic long-run aims—the revival and expansion of multilateral trade among prosperous nations, the development of backward areas, and the raising of living standards throughout the free world. Our production for export will then expand concurrently with our imports, with government grants no longer necessary. However, before this country can contribute its share to the general expansion of world trade, it must maintain a high and growing level of employment in order to provide a market for the products of other nations, whereby they may obtain the dollars needed to increase their purchases from us. Greater prosperity and employment from expanded world trade can be secured, therefore, only if we maintain our internal prosperity and avoid further drastic declines in employment, as a necessary precondition.

Effects of the Armament Program

The grave international situation has been responsible for another item adding significantly to the domestic demand for goods and services—government expenditures for military preparedness. This program is

still expanding, as shown by the fact that national defense expenditures during the first half of 1949 were at an annual rate of \$12.7 billion, as compared to about \$11.2 billion during 1948. The estimated outlay during the fiscal year 1950 will be about \$13.1 billion.

Obviously this now accounts for an appreciable portion of current employment and production and has provided substantial support to the weakening market situation. While it is not healthy for our economy to rely upon a crutch of this nature, and it is to be devoutly hoped that the early establishment of a sound peace will make possible a reduction in the arms program, it must be recognized that future trends in this area will depend upon international developments which are, by their nature, largely unpredictable. It is probable that an abnormally high level of military expenditure will be necessary for a long time to come. We must be prepared, however, to deal with the adverse effects on employment of any curtailment of defense spending which may be warranted by a change in the international outlook.

Rise in Unemployment

In spite of the foreign aid and defense program and other measures which have had the effect of propping up demand, production, and employment during this period of "readjustment," unemployment has risen steadily to a new postwar peak. In July of this year, 4.1 million persons were totally unemployed, as compared with about 2.2 unemployed in July of 1948. Accompanying the rise in unemployment has been an increase in the number who have been jobless for relatively long periods of time. In July, 1949, about 750,000 had been looking for work for 15 weeks or more, as against about half that number a year ago. Total nonagricultural employment decreased from 52.4 million in July, 1948, to 50.1 million in July, 1949.

Employment and Production (Federal Reserve Board)

(Seasonally Adjusted)

| | Factory Employment (1939=100) | | | Industrial Production (1939=100) | | |
|------|----------------------------------|---------|-------------|-------------------------------------|---------|-------------|
| | All Mfg. | Durable | Non-durable | All Mfg. | Durable | Non-durable |
| 1945 | 151.8 | 192.5 | 119.7 | 196 | 251 | 152 |
| 1946 | 143.4 | 162.5 | 128.3 | 162 | 176 | 151 |
| 1947 | 157.3 | 183.8 | 136.5 | 178 | 202 | 155 |
| 1948 | 159.9 | 186.6 | 138.9 | 182 | 206 | 162 |
| 1949 | | | | | | |
| Jan. | 155.3 | 181.2 | 134.9 | 182 | 208 | 160 |
| Feb. | 153.6 | 178.3 | 134.1 | 180 | 206 | 159 |
| Mar. | 151.2 | 175.5 | 132.0 | 177 | 204 | 154 |
| Apr. | 149.0 | 171.8 | 131.0 | 169 | 194 | 149 |
| May | 145.8 | 166.3 | 129.5 | 164 | 184 | 148 |
| June | 145.3 | 165.1 | 129.7 | 160 | 178 | 148 |

The impact of unemployment in its early stages was largely confined to particular areas and industries. With unemployment now over 4 million, the point where it could be considered a local problem has clearly been passed. Every industrial State in the country has been affected, and its widespread nature is further indicated by the fact that, with the exception of food processing, automobiles, and printing and publishing, each of the major industrial groups is employing fewer workers than last year.

The true employment picture is shown not only by the level of employment but also by the hours worked. Hours worked have declined significantly in some industries. In manufacturing as a whole, the average of weekly hours has declined by more than 1 hour between the first half of 1948 and the first half of 1949. This is due both to the elimination of overtime work and the institution of below-standard workweeks (with equivalent reductions in pay) in industries where output has been reduced. For example, the May weekly hours worked in cotton textile mills averaged about 34 hours, 6 hours less than the year before. Shoe workers were employed only 33.4 hours per week in May and hosiery mill workers averaged 35.2 hours. The number of workers on a substandard work week rose from 800,000 in September of 1948 to about 1.5 million in the first half of 1949. In addition about a million persons with regular part-time jobs were looking for full-time work, compared with 550,000 in September of 1948.

It has also been estimated that during the past few months, one out of four unemployed persons was ineligible for unemployment compensation. Most of these were either not covered by any plan or had been unemployed so long that their benefit rights had been exhausted.

While these adverse developments are serious and the fact that they have caused a great deal of hardship should not be minimized, the situation calls for vigilance and a readiness to take timely appropriate action, rather than general alarm or hasty drastic measures. The forces which produced the postwar boom were too unstable and temporary to last for long, and this period of readjustment, while painful, is probably necessary to provide a less precarious base for future economic growth.

The recent downward trend should not obscure the fact that employment and economic activity generally is still well above any real depression level. While the unemployment rate of 52 per 1,000 for the first six months of 1949 was considerably higher than the 37 per 1,000 recorded during the first half of 1948, it was still much better than that of 1941, when, even during the so-called "defense boom," the rate was as high as 100 per 1,000. Also, even during this period of gradually rising unemployment, between one-third and two-fifths of the unemployed in one month have either returned to work or found new jobs before the next month.

The fact that the present situation is not as bad as in prewar days would be small reassurance in itself, as long as the trend continues downwards. However, there are elements of basic strength in the economy which encourage the belief that stability will soon arrive and be followed by renewed growth. In many lines, current sales are greater than current production, and increased production should follow the working down of excess stocks. New investments in plant and equipment are continuing at a high level and business credit on favorable terms is readily available. Construction activity is on the upgrade again, after a period of relative decline, and federal, state, and local governments have undertaken many of the urgent public works which were deferred during the war. Outlays by the Federal Government are expanding generally and wherever possible are being routed to areas where unemployment is highest. Wages have held up quite well, and unemployment insurance and other social security benefits have helped to sustain buying power and the demand for goods. Holdings of liquid assets are still high and private debt is low. If and when consumer prices, which in many lines have not been as responsive as they should be to the change in demand decline, all of the elements necessary for a rise in the general level of production and employment will exist.

The mistake should not be made, however, of viewing these strong points as a sort of impregnable Maginot Line against depression. The present decline can be traced to inadequate consumer demand at the prevailing level of market prices, for the surplus stocks which are now being scaled down could not have been accumulated had production not been in excess of demand. To call it an "inventory recession" is just another way of saying that sales, governed by effective demand, were too low. Rising unemployment further undermines effective demand, and consequently sales and production, which in turn results in more unemployment. Unemployment is bred of recession, and it in turn breeds further recession, and eventually, if not checked, depression. Too much faith should not be placed in the so-called "automatic correctives," for unemployment compensation alone can never replace the buying power that was lost with the loss of a job. Until the unemployment trend is reversed and those now seeking work find productive jobs, there is no cause for complacency about the future.

We must not be content just so long as our situation is better than "prewar"—we are living in a new era and on a higher plane of activity, and our benchmarks and standards must advance with the times. Not only must past gains be preserved but new gains must also be made. It is not enough to secure the reemployment of those now seeking work—new jobs must be created each year for the million annual newcomers to the labor force.

To this end, the American Federation of Labor should once more consider a renewal of its drive for the shorter standard workweek and

the shorter standard work-day, through collective bargaining. A reduction in the hours of work will be necessary over the coming years to keep our national productivity in line with our national income. This is essential if high unemployment is to be avoided. If the physical ability of our plants, machines, and labor force to produce exceeds the total national income or product, the difference between the two is made up of unemployed workers, idle plants and equipment, or both. The long-term tendency, from the beginning of the century until the boom of World War II,—a tendency which again appears to be asserting itself—has been for the rise in national productivity to exceed the rise in national income, with an accompanying proportionate rise in unemployment.

If this tendency for productivity to expand faster than the per capita product is to be reversed in the future—and it must be if prosperity is to be maintained—either “real” production-consumption income must be increased either by raising wages or reducing prices, or both, as fast as over-all productivity, or, failing that, working hours must be reduced sufficiently to offset the disparity. It may very well be desirable in the interests of greater leisure, or more feasible on other accounts, to take the shorter hours as an alternative, up to a point, to the higher income. It may be possible to do both. If, for example, per capita income rises 12 percent over a period of years while productivity rises 20 percent, hourly wages can be advanced 20 percent without increasing unit costs, while hours must be reduced 6½ percent to maintain employment. If both of these are done, the weekly pay will increase by 12 percent even with the reduced workweek.

While shorter hours alone can not perform the full task of the expansion of job opportunities that will be needed in an ever-growing degree, it can make a very important contribution to the achievement of that aim. It is furthermore an entirely worthwhile end in itself, and an historic one for Labor.

PUBLIC RELATIONS, RADIO, AND THE LABOR PRESS

During the year the American Federation of Labor gained ground in public esteem. The absence of major strikes, the success of Labor's League for Political Education in the last elections, the constructive policies espoused by the Federation's leadership and its militant stand against Communism, all contributed toward a better public understanding and acceptance of Labor's role in national and international affairs. Especially wide and favorable publicity was obtained for the American Federation of Labor's activities in combating Communist efforts to infiltrate the trade union movement in this country and in Europe. Radio, press, and magazine commentators emphasized that the American Federation of Labor's refusal to enter into the Communist-dominated

World Federation of Trade Unions has been thoroughly vindicated by events.

The public relations program of the American Federation of Labor, while still limited in scope, has succeeded in identifying the labor movement with causes and programs which the American people favor. At the same time our public relations program has succeeded to a degree in making the public understand that the reactionary forces in this country most active in promoting repressive anti-labor legislation like the Taft-Hartley Act are the same forces which have obstructed and prevented adoption of effective human welfare legislation.

Both by choice and of necessity the American Federation of Labor concentrated most of its public relations activities on the medium of radio. These radio programs, as for several years past, were made available to the American Federation of Labor by the radio networks, as a public service, free of charge. Considerable study has been given by the Executive Council to a proposal for the purchase of radio time for the presentation of an outstanding radio commentator on a five-night-a-week basis. This project, involving a large outlay of funds and other difficult problems, will get under way about January 1, 1950. At the beginning of the year the American Federation of Labor's contract with the public relations firm of Owen & Chappel was terminated.

Notable progress was achieved during the year in extending and broadening the free services rendered by the American Federation of Labor Weekly News Service to the bona fide labor press. The free mat service, including cartoons and news photographs, has been especially well received by labor publications. Articles by regional correspondents, providing lively reports of significant labor events in various parts of the country have been widely re-published. The News Service, which is now published twice a week, is rapidly becoming of indispensable value to the loyal labor press.

As against these encouraging developments, members of the Executive Council have become increasingly distressed by numerous complaints that have been received regarding unethical advertising and soliciting practices by certain publications which are not part of the bona fide labor press but masquerade as such. The Executive Council wishes to state emphatically that no publication which uses high pressure advertising soliciting or which seeks to intimidate prospective advertisers should have the support of Labor.

It is part of the basic philosophy of the American Federation of Labor that a strong and bona fide labor press should be encouraged as a vital and trustworthy medium for the education and enlightenment of trade union members. The Executive Council is determined to assist the labor press to attain and maintain the highest standards.

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

The *American Federationist*, the official monthly magazine of the American Federation of Labor, has performed a most constructive service during the past year by furnishing accurate information regarding the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions throughout North America.

The Executive Council feels that it has never been more important than at the present time for undistorted, honest information and interpretation pertaining to organized labor's policies, actions, philosophy and future aims to be disseminated among the people. The *American Federationist* has been sincerely and effectively engaged during the past year in counteracting deceitful anti-labor propaganda by publishing the facts about the American Federation of Labor's objectives and achievements.

The Executive Council is pleased to record that the *American Federationist*, as the official organ of the American Federation of Labor, has gained recognition as an outstanding magazine not only in the United States but among trade union leaders and students of labor affairs in Europe and other parts of the globe. The *American Federationist* has come to be regarded as the foremost periodical issued by a national labor movement. The Executive Council recognizes that this position of Labor's own magazine is in substantial measure the result of the splendid cooperation accorded by officers and representatives of national and international unions, state federations of labor and other affiliates as well as by many other individuals, including the officers, organizers and representatives of the American Federation of Labor itself. For the time and effort which these busy men and women have always been ready to devote to the preparation of enlightening and valuable articles, the Executive Council records its most sincere appreciation.

As a streamlined, interesting magazine, the *American Federationist* is one of the most effective ambassadors of the organized labor movement to the general public. The circulation of the magazine among trade unionists and persons outside Labor's ranks should be greatly augmented, for additional readers of Labor's message would be most helpful in securing and strengthening a favorable public opinion toward the institution of free trade unionism.

The Executive Council recommends that during the coming year the American Federation of Labor and the national and international unions, state federations of labor and central labor unions as well as the officers and representatives of these organizations extend their full cooperation to the end that the circulation of the *American Federationist* may be greatly enlarged. By widening the audience of this modern and immensely valuable publication, they will be giving direct aid to the advancement of organized labor in America.

LABOR'S MONTHLY SURVEY

For unions properly to carry out their responsibilities in a free enterprise economy, they must have factual information and a thorough understanding of the economic conditions surrounding the industries employing their members. Current reports on developments in the national economy as a whole are also essential. In this year's business recession information on the economic outlook in various industries has been particularly important, and the Survey has made a point of providing such information giving current data on profits and prospects. We have had numerous requests from unions for more detailed information on specific industries. Union executives are also seeking the more detailed information which is found in company financial reports, and where collective bargaining relations have established mutual confidence, this information is sometimes submitted by employers. An issue of the Survey devoted to explaining the interpretation of a financial report was widely used, and the fact that employer groups and educational institutions were favorably interested in it suggests that the Survey was instrumental in encouraging the submission of this information for collective bargaining.

We recommend that where collective bargaining has been long established, unions seek to include in their contracts, provisions that appropriate financial and production records be supplied the unions as a basis for collective bargaining.

The Survey has also been concerned this year to explain the operation of the free enterprise system. We have described the function and use of profits and the free market pricing system. We have pointed out how the Taft-Hartley Act interferes in the assumption of responsibility by unions for their share in the industrial partnership of management and workers, essential for the functioning of a free enterprise economy. It is necessary for unions to understand not only the functioning of a free economy in our own country but also the international economic problems and policies affecting our own and foreign countries if we are to cooperate in the promotion of multilateral world trade. International exchange of goods is essential to raise living standards on a world wide basis. We must also understand the "trade gap" or "dollar gap" that has developed. The Survey has presented information on the achievements and problems of E.C.A. and the problems of other countries. We have reported the world wide progress of free trade unions and shown its significance. We have continued to give factual information contrasting workers living standards in U.S.A. and other countries with those prevailing in Soviet Russia.

Interest in the Survey among unions and among employers and educational institutions continues to grow, and we feel that in addition to giving unions important information on current economic problems,

it is also filling a vital public relations function, interpreting the Federation viewpoint on economic affairs to the public in general. It is widely quoted in the press. A substantial number of labor papers have asked to be added to our mat service supplying cuts and text on charts appearing in the Survey.

RESEARCH REPORT

The publication of the *Research Report*, monthly bulletin of the American Federation of Labor Research Staff, began its second year with continuing interest among local union officials.

During the year, the Report was expanded to give increased attention to developments and issues in collective bargaining. Special articles were published on health and welfare benefit plans, on lay-off practices, and state legislation. Decisions by the National Labor Relations Board and the courts, of interest to organized labor, continue to be reported so that local union officials will be kept aware of their legal rights and responsibilities.

BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES DEPARTMENT

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1949, the Building and Construction Trades Department issued charters to 16 new local building and construction trades councils, bringing the total number of such councils to 580. Average members in good standing in the affiliated unions increased by 6,636 over the preceding year.

The finances of the Department are in excellent condition. All of the 19 affiliated national and international unions are in good standing with the Department, and will be represented at the forty-second annual convention.

The Department continued the publication of its official monthly organ, the *Building and Construction Trades Bulletin*, the circulation of which more than doubled during the year.

Despite the leveling off which has taken place in a number of industries, the building and construction industry has continued to operate at a very high level throughout the year, and prospects for the coming year are promising. In the first six months of 1949 new construction put in place amounted in dollar volume to \$8,453 millions, an increase of 3.6 per cent over the dollar volume of the corresponding period in 1948. The United States Department of Labor and Commerce jointly estimate that a new dollar-volume record of \$19 billion will be established in the calendar year of 1949. This will represent a small increase in dollar volume in comparison with the preceding year, but will mean a somewhat larger increase in physical volume because of recent declines in building costs. The declines in building costs which have occurred are attributed principally to increased material supplies and lowered prices, lowered profit margins, increased productivity, better planning of work and in-

creased efficiency in all branches of the industry. While there are no precise measures of the increase which has taken place in man-hour productivity, special reports from contractors throughout the country indicate that the increase is marked, due primarily to the better material supplies and planning.

A shift in emphasis from private to public construction has taken place. Total private construction declined almost 5 per cent in the first six months of 1949, as compared with the first six months of 1948, while total public construction increased by 36.6 per cent in the same period. The principal increase in public construction occurred in non-residential building, principally education and hospital and other institutional building. Private residential building declined in the period by almost 12 per cent, and is expected to remain considerably below the figure of the past year although the operation of the Housing Act of 1949 may bring about a marked increase in public residential building.

The adoption of the Housing Act of 1949 brought to an end the long fight for slum clearance, urban development and redevelopment, and public low-rent housing. The Department was extremely active in the effort to secure the passage of this legislation, working closely with the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor, and calling again and again on state and local building and construction trades councils for help in marshaling labor support behind the bill. As soon as the law was passed both state and local councils became very active in securing state housing acts in those states where no such legislation had yet been adopted, and in the organization of local housing authorities. Building tradesmen took a leading part in local housing authorities in the program carried out under the United States Housing Act of 1937, and it is expected that they will be equally active in the forthcoming program. This legislation will have an immediate effect upon the number of multiple family dwelling units constructed. One of the developments in housing during the past year, however, has been the increase in such units. In urban centers alone, the increase in multiple-dwelling units in the first six months of 1949 amounted to 11.7 per cent, in comparison with the corresponding period of 1948.

Late in 1948 and early in 1949 the Federal Housing Administration, with the support and assistance of the National Association of Homebuilders and a number of other organizations, launched the Economy Housing Program. In essence this program was an attempt to defeat public housing legislation. The housing advocated under the Economy Housing Program proved to be so inadequate both as to space and construction standards, as to fail completely to measure up to what the Department considered adequate housing for family living. For this reason the Department refused to endorse the Economy Housing Program, and advised all state and local building trades councils that state-

ments made in official publications with regard to the Economy Housing Program, that it had Labor's support, were entirely false.

Wage rate increases affecting all trades were secured during the year in many localities. The increases negotiated were, however, for the most part considerably lower than those of the preceding twelve months, while a significant number of agreements were renewed without changes in wage rates. Reports of wage rates in effect as of July 1st, received each year from local building and construction trades councils, indicate that increases secured during the year will average about 10 cents an hour. According to the Department of Labor, the rise in scales of wages for seven trades upon which the Department reports each quarter, from the first of this year to July 1st, is about 2 per cent, which is the smallest gain achieved by union building trades workers for any similar period since the end of the War. In contrast, during the first six months of 1948, the per cent increase in union scales in the same seven trades, amounted to 7 per cent. Despite the recent price declines, wage rates of building tradesmen have failed to keep pace with the increased cost of living since 1939. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics the increase in the Consumers' Price Index between August, 1939, and July, 1949, amounted to 72 per cent, while hourly wage rates of union building tradesmen advanced in the same period by only 71 per cent.

Employment in the industry continues high. There have been scattered reports in the past twelve months, of local unemployment, but that situation has been due almost entirely to weather or other purely local conditions. Employment by construction contractors amounted to close to 2-1/3 million workers in August.

Apprentice training in the industry continued to develop and expand. At the end of June there were national joint apprenticeship committees organized and operating in 14 of the skilled trades. There were at that time close to 140,000 registered and unregistered building trades apprentices in training, four out of five of whom were veterans. Building and construction trades unions, state and local councils continued to cooperate in the apprentice training program to the fullest possible extent. The weak point in the program is still, as last year, the need of the Bureau of Apprenticeship for additional field representatives to supervise the program.

After a year's experience with the National Joint Plan for the Settlement of Jurisdictional Disputes which was initiated on May 1, 1948, the Executive Council of the Department decided that the plan should be terminated, because it was being used by contractors to create jurisdictional disputes where no such disputes had existed before. Accordingly, at a meeting of the Executive Council and the general presidents held on May 16, 1949, the President of the Department was instructed to send formal thirty-day notice to participating contractors' associations of the termination of the plan as of June 30, 1949. It was anticipated that

as of July 1 jurisdictional disputes would again be settled by action of the unions alone, with the assistance of an impartial arbitrator.

Notice of termination of the plan was duly sent on May 25th, but when it developed that the National Labor Relations Board would not cooperate with the Department and its affiliated national and international unions unless employers participated in the plan, both the unions and the participating contractors' associations agreed to continue the joint plan indefinitely. As of July 15th negotiations were undertaken to bring about changes in the National Joint Plan which would make it more satisfactory to all parties concerned.

A particular problem which has occupied much of the time of the officers of the Department in the past several months has been the increasing and widespread tendency on the part of all branches of the armed services to evade the provisions of the Davis-Bacon Act, and to carry on construction work with temporary Civil Service employees at wage rates far below those prevailing in the communities. In March all local building and construction trades councils were asked to report in detail to the Department on any such condition existing in their jurisdictions. On the basis of that report violations of the Davis-Bacon Act were reported in 34 states by various branches of the armed services. The situation was discussed at a series of meetings with representatives of the Army and Navy, and the complaints were presented in detail to the appropriate branches of the armed forces. The Department was requested to give two weeks' time in which the complaint could be investigated and adjusted. When no such adjustments were made, however, the appropriate senators and representatives were asked by the President of the Department to assist in securing relief in their own constituencies. This situation points up the serious need not only for observance of the laws by the armed forces, but for an increase in the personnel of the Department of Labor in the administration of the Davis-Bacon Act. Investigation revealed that the armed services themselves had considerably more people employed in wage rate investigations than did the Department of Labor, which actually had only 8 persons engaged in wage rate investigation work in July. The Department will continue its efforts to see that the Davis-Bacon Act is observed by the Armed Services, and at the same time will continue its efforts to strengthen and expand the administration of that Act in the Department of Labor.

The Taft-Hartley Act again took up a major portion of the time of the officers of the Department. During the year there were a number of extremely important decisions handed down by the National Labor Relations Board affecting building trades unions. Among such decisions were several with regard to the so-called secondary boycott, under which the use of peaceful picketing and the unfair list were declared to be illegal in connection with such disputes. One Board decision

found the customary hiring practices in the industry illegal, and said that a contract entered into between a contractor and a union, prior to the actual hiring of workers by the contractor for the particular job the question could not be recognized as legitimate under the Act. During the year the Board rendered a number of decisions in jurisdictional dispute questions, all of which establish the fact that the policy of the Board is to permit the employer full freedom in the assignment of work, so long as such assignment does not run counter to an order or a certification of the Board itself. Since it has been found impossible to hold elections in the building and construction industry there can never be a certified building trades union. This leaves employers in the construction industry even more freedom to assign work as they choose than is enjoyed by employers in other industries.

During the year the General Counsel and the Board itself gave up any attempt to work out methods by which representation of union shop elections could be held in the industry. One representation election was held in this period, on the Bull Shoals Dam in Arkansas. The Fort Smith, Little Rock and Springfield Joint Council won the election, but when it began negotiations with the Ozark Dam Constructors, of which Brown & Root are the operating contractors, it became apparent at once that the employers had no intention of negotiating in good faith. After weeks of futile attempts to reach an understanding a complaint of unfair labor practice was filed with the National Labor Relations Board. Hearings were held in January but it was not until July that the Intermediate Report of the Trial Examiner was finally submitted to the Board, finding the Ozark Dam Constructors guilty of failure to negotiate in good faith. A year's time had elapsed between the election and the Intermediate Report, and it may well be many months before the Board acts in the case. Meantime more than half of the specified time for completion of the dam has elapsed.

The Department joined with all its strength in the attempt to secure outright repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and reenactment of the Wagner Act. It will continue to work for repeal of the law in the coming year.

The Department supported legislation for the advance planning of public works and one such bill was adopted by Congress and signed by the President. This is the Public Buildings Act of 1949, which provides for advance planning of Federal public buildings throughout the country, and for site acquisition in connection with such planning. The appropriation which the bill carries is entirely inadequate and the Department will work for additional advance-planning legislation, so that an adequate shelf of public works may be established, ready for construction at once if activity in the industry declines.

The Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor and the Department have worked in close cooperation in all matters relating to legislation. The President of the Department appeared before both

Senate and House Committees in support of the slum clearance, urban development and redevelopment and public housing legislation. He also testified before the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare on repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. Relationships with other Departments of the American Federation of Labor have been most satisfactory. The Department worked closely with the Metal Trades Department on the problems of labor relations on privately operated Atomic Energy Commission plants.

UNION LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT

The Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor is making rapid progress in all of its activities to publicize union labels, shop cards and union buttons. Among the various media employed to publicize our official emblems are labor weekly newspapers, monthly official labor journals, independent newspapers and magazines, radio, television, movies, and now the Union Industries Show.

The Union Label Trades Department wishes to acknowledge the loyal support and cooperation it has received from President William Green and Secretary George Meany, the presidents and other officials of the Departments of the American Federation of Labor, and the presidents and other officials of national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. They have contributed greatly to the success of every campaign to publicize union labels, shop cards and buttons as well as the 1949 Union Industries Show.

We are also grateful to the editors of the official monthly journals of the national and international unions for the great amount of space contributed to union label features during the past year. Again, President William Green and Secretary George Meany have been unusually helpful in opening the columns of the *American Federationist*, the official journal of the American Federation of Labor, and the A. F. of L. Weekly News Service for news items, pictorial features and editorials following the policy and promoting the best interests of the Union Label Trades Department. In expressing our appreciation for the loyal support which we have received we desire to thank the Director of Organization and the army of A. F. of L. organizers who have given their unqualified aid in all drives for union labels, shop cards and buttons. In conclusion, we should offer our many-way thanks to the officials and members of the various branches of the American Federation of Labor which includes state federations of labor, central labor unions, union label leagues, federal labor unions, local unions, and women's auxiliaries.

Union Label Leagues

The Union Label Trades Department is encouraging the formation of Union Label Leagues in each city throughout America. The local

League is chartered directly by the Department and its first function is to coordinate union label activities on a local level. The officials of the league cooperate with the officers of the central labor unions, local unions and women's auxiliaries in each campaign for union labels, shop cards and union buttons and also in the promotion of sales of products which bear these official insignia of our affiliated American Federation of Labor unions.

Union Label Features

The labor press has been unusually generous in contributing space for all Union Label features. News items, editorials, cartoons and other pictorial features, and facsimiles of union labels, shop cards and union buttons are generally used in official monthly labor journals of A. F. of L. national and international unions and railway labor unions, weekly labor newspapers, and other union periodicals. The International Labor News Service has been unusually liberal in carrying union label releases.

Special articles for state annuals, central labor union publications, local union label directories, and special editions are furnished by our Department to editors of the labor press. Articles are also prepared for both independent magazines and newspapers.

Union Label Directory

The Union Label Directory is the official reference book of the Union Label Trades Department. It is issued annually and distributed to national and international unions, departments and other A. F. of L. agencies as well as the women's auxiliaries.

Union Label Weeks

This year, Union Label Week has made great strides toward a popular annual event for every city and community throughout the United States and Canada. The dates were set for September 3rd through the 10th, so that Labor Sunday and Labor Day would fall within the designated period.

The union label cause is localized through the demonstrations and ceremonies for Union Label Week in various sections of America. The state federations of labor, central labor unions, union label leagues, and union label committees of local unions and women's auxiliaries all become engaged in some phase of the week's activities which are designed to promote the sale of Union Label goods and the use of Union services.

The general purpose of the seven-day period is to create better public relations and promote good relations between American Federation of Labor members and employers in every city in America.

Merchants and manufacturers displayed union label goods in their windows; ran union label advertisements in local newspapers and an-

nouncements in the local theatres. Special union label programs and spot announcements were also made over local broadcasting stations and every means of publicity was utilized to create community influence in behalf of our program. In some cities labor parades, banquets, dances, picnics, and other social events were appropriately scheduled for Union Label Week.

The governors of many states and the mayors of numerous cities issued proclamations setting aside September 3-10 as Union Label Week. It was an unusual opportunity to give the greatest publicity to the fact that the products that bear the union label are "the goods that made America famous!"

Women's Auxiliaries

The officials and members of the American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor have given the utmost of cooperation in the economic field to increase the demand for union label goods and union services and they were also an important factor in urging citizens to register and vote during the 1948 campaign. These active workers among the women members of trade unionists' families will also be a great factor during the coming year in the campaigns for union goods and services as well as during the primary and November elections of 1950. The Union Label Trades Department is proud of the fact that it was originally instrumental in the formation of the A.F.W.A.L. It considers this powerful organization of wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters of A. F. of L. trade unionists a most able and effective ally in supplementing all American Federation of Labor activities and urges that all-out support be given to the American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor by the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions.

The Union Industries Show

The Union Industries Show, sponsored by the Union Label Trades Department, is a superb example of good public relations for the American Federation of Labor. It has proven to be one of the most popular events of its nature ever conducted by organized labor. It is the only exhibition of its kind and the largest labor-management show in the world. All the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor participate in the show. Several departments have large display areas in which hundreds of employers directly or indirectly participate. Some national and international unions have separate exhibits and others participate in cooperation with other unions, while still others have joint-exhibits with their respective employers.

Union Industries Shows offer an excellent opportunity for manufacturers of union-made goods and managers of transportation and other services who have collective bargaining agreements with the American Federation of Labor to display their union-made-in-America

products or demonstrate their proficient and dependable union services. It gives them a good chance to publicize their brand names in the halls of fame. It impresses upon them the value of a show conducted by labor and management in a new partnership which accentuates good relations between employers and workers. It also affords a favorable opportunity to popularize the various union products and union services among the thousands of consumers—over a million in all who have witnessed these shows.

The 1950 AFL Union Industries Show

The 1950 A. F. of L. Union Industries Show will be held in the enormous Convention Hall of Philadelphia. It will open May 6th and run through the 13th. Together with the growth in size of Union Industries Shows, exhibits are multiplying and the attendance increases with the capacity of the exhibition halls to accommodate the record-breaking crowds.

The Union Industries Show is growing to such an extent that it is a problem to find auditoriums large enough to accommodate it but we are fortunate in having been able to obtain the Convention Hall in Philadelphia which is composed of two large exhibition halls and a spacious auditorium.

An elaborate brochure has been mailed by our Department to prospective exhibitors in the 1950 Union Industries Show.

Union Label From Every Standpoint

From a selfish standpoint, every consumer should buy union label articles because it is the best way for him to raise his own standard of living. He will find it the only practical method of increasing the contents in his pay envelope. If self-preservation is the first law of man, let us then buy under the union label from a purely selfish standpoint.

But there is a greater cause than the selfish one. It is buying union-made goods from a humanitarian standpoint. In industries that are unionized, there is no child labor, no sweatshop conditions and no unfair conditions for either men or women. The health of those who consume or use unfair products may be greatly impaired. To buy union-made products therefore is the greatest assurance of sanitary conditions in processing.

And last, but most important from an American's standpoint, there is no better way to show your loyalty to your own country than to demand the union label, shop card, and button. It is the best guarantee that goods are made in America. Union label buying is the best way to obtain the full union benefits for all citizens. The great reforms which the American Federation of Labor advocates can be more easily accomplished by greater organization and union label buying. Collective

bargaining and intelligent buying are the only methods yet discovered to raise wages, shorten hours and better the conditions of all toilers. In just the degree that American workers and their friends, as consumers, buy under the union label banner can we obtain a full measure of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness!"

METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT

The last convention of the Metal Trades Department instructed its officers to give special consideration to an organizing campaign in Southern California. The subject was taken up with the affiliated international unions, and an organizing committee created. That committee has been actively functioning, and has made substantial progress.

Early in 1949 a number of local Metal Trades Councils became more active in extending joint agreements with employers.

Many of the joint agreements with employers, to which the Metal Trades Department was a party, came up for renewal in May and June of 1949. In most instances these agreements were renewed for another year, and in no instance was there a break in the collective bargaining status.

Considering the industrial trend and the uncertainties which existed in the minds of management, the Metal Trades Department fared exceptionally well.

MARITIME TRADES DEPARTMENT

The Maritime Trades Department has had a successful year.

The Seafarers International Union (Canadian Division) has carried on a very bitter campaign against the Canadian Seamen's Union (Communist dominated).

The fight is now in the final cleaning-up stages, with victory assured despite the fact that the Canadian Seamen's Union was able to get the support of the British Dockers, who tied up several English ports in an attempt to beat the American Seamen (S.I.U.).

The International Longshoremen's Association and the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks aided the S.I.U. wherever possible.

Panamanian Boycott

The practice of certain American Steamship Operators placing their ships under the Panamanian flag has resulted in much unemployment to American seagoing personnel.

The seamen in many European countries are also adversely effected by the ship operators in their countries resorting to the same sharp practice.

The matter is now before the I.L.O. but to date that body has accomplished very little.

The Maritime Trades Department has set up an American Committee to work with the European Seamen and Dockers to handle the Panamanian Boycott.

World Federation of Trade Unions

This Communist-dominated outfit has set up a Seamen's and Dockers Division. This division may be used to carry out the orders of the Cominform and is, therefore, a threat to the free trade union throughout the world and to world peace.

This Department would be glad to appoint a committee to work with other unions within the American Federation of Labor, in order that the Communists can never effectively disrupt any form of transportation in this country.

RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' DEPARTMENT

The Railway Employees' Department and its affiliated international organizations have continued to make progress in improving the wages and working conditions of their membership in the railroad industry. The outstanding accomplishment of the past year was the negotiation of an industry-wide agreement by the non-operating Standard Railway Labor Organizations providing for the establishment of a forty-hour work week in the railroad industry without a reduction in weekly earnings as well as an increase in rates of pay. Recently, a national movement was inaugurated by the non-operating organizations in Canada to secure the establishment of similar conditions on the Canadian Railways. In addition, other improvements in working conditions have been secured as the result of negotiations on the individual railways.

Progress of Organization

Since virtually all of the railway mileage in the United States and Canada is under agreement with the Railway Employees' Department and its affiliated organizations, the chief emphasis has been on the improvement of existing agreements. While representation has been established for one or more crafts on 5 railroads during the past year, new or revised agreements have been negotiated on a total of 23 carriers. An intensive organizing drive has also been in progress on the Pennsylvania Railroad which is the only large railroad still remaining to be organized. The services of the National Mediation Board were invoked on July 14, 1949, and as we go to press, preparations are being made to hold a representation election on this property.

National Wage-Hour Movement

The national movement which was inaugurated last year by the following non-operating Standard Railway Labor Organizations for a basic forty-hour work week and an increase in wage rates has been brought to a conclusion:

International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forges and Helpers
International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders & Helpers of America

Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers

International Association of Machinists

Sheet Metal Workers' International Association

International Brotherhood of Firemen, Oilers, Helpers, Round House & Railway Shop Laborers

Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employes

Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes

The Order of Railroad Telegraphers

Brotherhood Railroad Signalmen of America

National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America

National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association

International Longshoremen's Association

Hotel & Restaurant Employes and Bartenders International Union
Railroad Yardmasters of America

As was previously reported, uniform notices were served on April 10, 1948, by these organizations on the carriers with which they have agreements requesting that a forty hour week be established with no reduction in weekly earnings for forty-eight hours, that work performed on Saturdays be paid for at the rate of time and one-half and that Sunday and holiday work be paid for at double time. The carriers were also requested to increase basic rates of pay 25 cents per hour.

In acknowledging the notices served by the organizations, the carriers countered with proposals to change or eliminate existing rules, agreements and practices affected by the employes' proposals.

As provided under the Railway Labor Act, negotiations were conducted on each carrier between representatives of the management and the organizations. Failing to reach a settlement, they authorized conference committees to represent the involved carriers and employes respectively, and to negotiate the matters in dispute to a conclusion on an industry-wide basis.

National conferences were begun on September 8 and continued until September 17 without an agreement being reached. On September 20 the carriers' conference committee invoked the services of the National Mediation Board. Mediation proceedings were conducted by the Board

from September 23 until October 6 when it was apparent that no settlement could be reached. The Board then proposed that the matters in dispute be submitted to arbitration. This proposal was accepted by the carriers but declined by the organizations. The termination of mediation proceedings by the Board would have left the organizations free to set a date for a suspension of work after thirty days, but on October 18, 1948, an Emergency Board was appointed to investigate the dispute. Hearings were conducted by the Board from October 26 until November 27 and on December 17, 1948, the Board submitted its Report to the President.

In its Report, the Board made the following findings and recommendations:

1. **With respect to the shorter workweek.**—(a) That effective September 1, 1949, the Carriers establish for all nonoperating employees represented in this case, with the exceptions noted in (5) below, a workweek of 40 hours, consisting of 5 days of 8 hours each, with 2 consecutive days off in each 7; the workweeks may be staggered in accordance with the Carriers' operational requirements; so far as practical the days off shall be Saturdays and Sundays, and in positions in which such days off are not regularly scheduled, workweeks which are rotated periodically shall be used for the purpose of making Saturdays and/or Sundays the days off on as equal a basis as is practical among employees.

(b) That in connection therewith all basic rates of pay now in effect, i.e., exclusive of the general increase recommended below, be increased by 20 percent to provide the same basic earnings in 40 hours of work as are now paid for 48 hours.

(c) That for all work performed in excess of 8 hours in a day and/or 40 hours in a week, time or rate and a half shall be paid.

2. **With respect to punitive pay on Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays as such.**—(a) That the Organizations' requests for punitive pay on Saturdays and Sundays as such and for a minimum guaranty of 8 hours for service on Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays be denied.

(b) That in all instances in which time or rate and a half is now required for work done on designated holidays under existing agreements no change be made.

3. **With respect to rules changes.**—(a) That the parties agree before September 1, 1949, on necessary rules revisions through direct negotiations, as they customarily do when they make their agreements; included among the rules which will need revision to make them conform to the staggered 40-hour workweek recommended are those dealing with the following matters:

Amount of weekly and monthly guaranties.
Sick leave.
Vacations.

Relief days, including their extension to crafts which do not now have them, and Saturday afternoon relief.

Punitive pay for Sunday as such.

Apprenticeship time.

(b) That there is no reason for changing the rules dealing with the following matters:

Holiday-pay provisions.

Deadheading, court attendance and similar matters, travel time, road work, meal periods, transfer time, make-up time.

Split shifts or tricks.

Calls.

Standbys.

Basic day.

Daily overtime.

(c) That there may be reasons for making changes in the rules on:

Distribution of overtime.

Changing shifts.

Starting time.

(d) That the working rules should conform to the revised work-week and, therefore, employees are not to have the option of continuing former rules which they may regard as more favorable but which are inconsistent with this intent.

4. **With respect to the general wage increase.**—(a) That the basic rates of pay of the employees here involved be raised by 7 cents per hour or 56 cents per day, effective as of October 1, 1948; and that all monthly, weekly or other rates be adjusted accordingly.

5. **With respect to the employees treated in Section V.**—(a) That dining-car employees have their guaranteed work month reduced to 205 hours, effective September 1, 1949, without reduction in their present monthly wages, and for all hours in a month worked by them in excess of 205 up to 240 they be given pro rata pay, and for all hours above 240 they be paid at time and a half.

(b) That employees in the longer marine operations, meaning those who do not work on schedules of six 8-hour days per week, remain on a monthly basis as heretofore, but are entitled to have an adjustment in monthly hours, effective as of September 1, 1949, with present monthly rates of pay maintained, proportionate approximately to the adjustment recommended for the dining-car employees, the details of which, for lack of sufficient information on the record, being left to the parties to work out by direct negotiations.

(c) The provisions of recommendation (1) apply to other marine employees.

(d) That no change in the workweek for yardmasters is recommended, and that they be granted a general wage increase of 10 cents per hour, effective under the same conditions and as of the same date when the 10-cent increase was put into force for other yardmasters as part of the operating group; this increase of 10 cents is to be in lieu of the general increase stipulated in recommendation (4).

Since the recommendations of an Emergency Board are not binding on either party to a dispute, negotiations between the conference committees representing the carriers and the employes were resumed on January 5, 1949, in an effort to reach an agreement on the basis of the Board's Report. These negotiations were continued until February 2 when it became evident that the conferees would need some assistance owing to a difference of opinion over the meaning of the Board's recommendations. Accordingly, the former members of the Emergency Board were requested by both parties to assist them in reaching an agreement. On February 7 they began conferences with the representatives of the carriers and the employes, seeking through mediation to bring the parties together. Failing in this, the former Board members were requested, in the role of referee, to decide the matters in dispute regarding the application of the forty-hour week, with the understanding that the parties would be bound by their decision. On March 13, 1949, they rendered their decision which served as the basis of the agreement which was finally signed on March 19, 1949, settling the controversy.

In general, the agreement increased wage rates 7 cents per hour, retroactive to October 1, 1948, and provides that effective September 1, 1949, a forty-hour work week, consisting of five eight-hour days will be established in the railroad industry for the non-operating employes. With minor exceptions, employes will work five consecutive days and have two consecutive days off; if work is performed on the rest days off, such service will be paid for at the rate of time and one-half.

So far as practicable, the days off will be Saturday and Sunday and these will be the rest days where work is required on only five days a week. Where work is required on six days a week, the rest days will be either Saturday and Sunday or Sunday and Monday, while on positions which must be filled seven days a week, any two consecutive days may be rest days, with the presumption in favor of Saturday and Sunday.

When the forty-hour week becomes effective, it will be established without reducing existing earnings for a forty-eight hour week, exclusive of the increase of seven cents per hour. This means that all hourly and daily wage rates, including any differentials, arbitraries or special allowances, will be increased by twenty per cent. After this adjustment is made, the increase of seven cents per hour will be added to establish the new rate. In order to preserve the existing method of payment

of weekly and monthly rated employes, special provisions were included for the conversion of these rates so as to give effect to the same increase.

Under the terms of the agreement, the representatives of the management and the employes on each carrier, party to the agreement, were required to meet within sixty days after the agreement was signed for the purpose of revising their individual agreements to conform thereto. Anticipating there might be some difficulty in this connection, provision was made in the agreement for the creation of a Forty-Hour Week Committee to which any disputes arising out of the revision of such agreements could be submitted for decision, provided they were filed by August 1, 1949. This Committee consists of twelve members, six appointed by the carriers and six appointed by the organizations. Where the Committee is unable to agree on a decision, the agreement provides for the selection of a referee, either by the members of the Committee, or if they cannot agree, by the National Mediation Board. The decisions of the Committee are final and binding on the parties to a dispute.

Following the signing of the agreement, negotiations were begun on the various carriers. Complete agreement on the revision of rules has been reached on a few properties and substantial agreement has been reached on many others, but there are some matters in dispute on the great majority of the carriers which have been submitted to the Forty-Hour Week Committee for decision. The Committee began its deliberations on August 8, 1949, and will continue to function until all disputes have been decided. Meanwhile, the forty-hour week will be placed into effect as provided by the agreement of March 19, 1949, and where a decision is rendered by the Committee after September 1, 1949, it will be made retroactive to that date.

Canadian Wage-Hour Movement

A national movement similar to that conducted in the United States has been inaugurated by the following Labor Organizations in Canada:

- Division No. 4, Railway Employees' Dept., A. F. of L.
- International Association of Machinists
- International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America
- International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers
- Sheet Metal Workers' International Association
- International Moulders' Union of North America
- United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada.
- International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers
- Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America
- International Brotherhood of Firemen, Oilers, Helpers, Roundhouse and Railway Shop Laborers

Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers,
Express and Station Employes
Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes
The Order of Railroad Telegraphers
Commercial Telegraphers' Union
Brotherhood Railroad Signalmen of America.
Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders' International
Union.

On June 16, 1949, a uniform notice was served by these organizations on the Canadian Railways requesting an increase in wage rates of 7 cents per hour effective July 17, 1949, and the establishment of a basic forty-hour work week effective September 1, 1949.

In connection with the latter request, the employes are seeking a forty hour week consisting of five days of eight hours each, with two consecutive days off. They state that the work weeks may be staggered in accordance with operational requirements but that so far as practicable, the days off be Saturday and Sunday. They ask that the forty-hour week be established without reducing the compensation now paid for forty-hour week consisting of five days of eight hours each, with two basis, i.e., monthly, weekly or daily, shall have their basis of payment retained and the rates adjusted to give effect to the same adjustment as for hourly rated employes. They request further that service in excess of eight hours on assigned work days and for eight consecutive hours on rest days be paid for at overtime rates of not less than time and one-half, that service in excess thereof be paid for under existing call and/or overtime rules of existing agreements but not less than time and one-half, that when any of the statutory holidays for which punitive rates of pay are established fall on an employe's assigned days off, the following day shall be recognized and paid for as the holiday, and that the adjustments requested shall not modify existing rules or practices which are more favorable to the employes.

The notice also contained a request that the matter be dealt with in joint conference with all railways on which similar notices were being served by the participating organizations.

On July 4, 1949, the carriers acknowledged the notices served by the organizations stating that they were concerned with the cumulative burden imposed by many of the rules in effect under agreements governing working conditions and stated that inasmuch as the employes had opened the agreements by the serving of notices, the carriers proposed to serve a notice, requesting the elimination or modification of such rules. Accordingly, the carriers countered with a notice on the organizations on July 8, 1949, requesting some fourteen specific changes in agreement rules.

Relief days, including their extension to crafts which do not now have them, and Saturday afternoon relief.

Punitive pay for Sunday as such.

Apprenticeship time.

(b) That there is no reason for changing the rules dealing with the following matters:

Holiday-pay provisions.

Deadheading, court attendance and similar matters, travel time, road work, meal periods, transfer time, make-up time.

Split shifts or tricks.

Calls.

Standbys.

Basic day.

Daily overtime.

(c) That there may be reasons for making changes in the rules on:

Distribution of overtime.

Changing shifts.

Starting time.

(d) That the working rules should conform to the revised work-week and, therefore, employees are not to have the option of continuing former rules which they may regard as more favorable but which are inconsistent with this intent.

4. **With respect to the general wage increase.**—(a) That the basic rates of pay of the employees here involved be raised by 7 cents per hour or 56 cents per day, effective as of October 1, 1948; and that all monthly, weekly or other rates be adjusted accordingly.

5. **With respect to the employees treated in Section V.**—(a) That dining-car employees have their guaranteed work month reduced to 205 hours, effective September 1, 1949, without reduction in their present monthly wages, and for all hours in a month worked by them in excess of 205 up to 240 they be given pro rata pay, and for all hours above 240 they be paid at time and a half.

(b) That employees in the longer marine operations, meaning those who do not work on schedules of six 8-hour days per week, remain on a monthly basis as heretofore, but are entitled to have an adjustment in monthly hours, effective as of September 1, 1949, with present monthly rates of pay maintained, proportionate approximately to the adjustment recommended for the dining-car employees, the details of which, for lack of sufficient information on the record, being left to the parties to work out by direct negotiations.

(c) The provisions of recommendation (1) apply to other marine employees.

(d) That no change in the workweek for yardmasters is recommended, and that they be granted a general wage increase of 10 cents per hour, effective under the same conditions and as of the same date when the 10-cent increase was put into force for other yardmasters as part of the operating group; this increase of 10 cents is to be in lieu of the general increase stipulated in recommendation (4).

Since the recommendations of an Emergency Board are not binding on either party to a dispute, negotiations between the conference committees representing the carriers and the employes were resumed on January 5, 1949, in an effort to reach an agreement on the basis of the Board's Report. These negotiations were continued until February 2 when it became evident that the conferees would need some assistance owing to a difference of opinion over the meaning of the Board's recommendations. Accordingly, the former members of the Emergency Board were requested by both parties to assist them in reaching an agreement. On February 7 they began conferences with the representatives of the carriers and the employes, seeking through mediation to bring the parties together. Failing in this, the former Board members were requested, in the role of referee, to decide the matters in dispute regarding the application of the forty-hour week, with the understanding that the parties would be bound by their decision. On March 13, 1949, they rendered their decision which served as the basis of the agreement which was finally signed on March 19, 1949, settling the controversy.

In general, the agreement increased wage rates 7 cents per hour, retroactive to October 1, 1948, and provides that effective September 1, 1949, a forty-hour work week, consisting of five eight-hour days will be established in the railroad industry for the non-operating employes. With minor exceptions, employes will work five consecutive days and have two consecutive days off; if work is performed on the rest days off, such service will be paid for at the rate of time and one-half.

So far as practicable, the days off will be Saturday and Sunday and these will be the rest days where work is required on only five days a week. Where work is required on six days a week, the rest days will be either Saturday and Sunday or Sunday and Monday, while on positions which must be filled seven days a week, any two consecutive days may be rest days, with the presumption in favor of Saturday and Sunday.

When the forty-hour week becomes effective, it will be established without reducing existing earnings for a forty-eight hour week, exclusive of the increase of seven cents per hour. This means that all hourly and daily wage rates, including any differentials, arbitraries or special allowances, will be increased by twenty per cent. After this adjustment is made, the increase of seven cents per hour will be added to establish the new rate. In order to preserve the existing method of payment

of weekly and monthly rated employes, special provisions were included for the conversion of these rates so as to give effect to the same increase.

Under the terms of the agreement, the representatives of the management and the employes on each carrier, party to the agreement, were required to meet within sixty days after the agreement was signed for the purpose of revising their individual agreements to conform thereto. Anticipating there might be some difficulty in this connection, provision was made in the agreement for the creation of a Forty-Hour Week Committee to which any disputes arising out of the revision of such agreements could be submitted for decision, provided they were filed by August 1, 1949. This Committee consists of twelve members, six appointed by the carriers and six appointed by the organizations. Where the Committee is unable to agree on a decision, the agreement provides for the selection of a referee, either by the members of the Committee, or if they cannot agree, by the National Mediation Board. The decisions of the Committee are final and binding on the parties to a dispute.

Following the signing of the agreement, negotiations were begun on the various carriers. Complete agreement on the revision of rules has been reached on a few properties and substantial agreement has been reached on many others, but there are some matters in dispute on the great majority of the carriers which have been submitted to the Forty-Hour Week Committee for decision. The Committee began its deliberations on August 8, 1949, and will continue to function until all disputes have been decided. Meanwhile, the forty-hour week will be placed into effect as provided by the agreement of March 19, 1949, and where a decision is rendered by the Committee after September 1, 1949, it will be made retroactive to that date.

Canadian Wage-Hour Movement

A national movement similar to that conducted in the United States has been inaugurated by the following Labor Organizations in Canada:

Division No. 4, Railway Employes' Dept., A. F. of L.

International Association of Machinists

International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America

International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers Sheet Metal Workers' International Association

International Moulders' Union of North America

United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada.

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers

Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America

International Brotherhood of Firemen, Oilers, Helpers, Roundhouse and Railway Shop Laborers

Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers,
Express and Station Employes
Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes
The Order of Railroad Telegraphers
Commercial Telegraphers' Union
Brotherhood Railroad Signalmen of America.
Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders' International
Union.

On June 16, 1949, a uniform notice was served by these organizations on the Canadian Railways requesting an increase in wage rates of 7 cents per hour effective July 17, 1949, and the establishment of a basic forty-hour work week effective September 1, 1949.

In connection with the latter request, the employes are seeking a forty hour week consisting of five days of eight hours each, with two consecutive days off. They state that the work weeks may be staggered in accordance with operational requirements but that so far as practicable, the days off be Saturday and Sunday. They ask that the forty-hour week be established without reducing the compensation now paid for forty-hour week consisting of five days of eight hours each, with two basis, i.e., monthly, weekly or daily, shall have their basis of payment retained and the rates adjusted to give effect to the same adjustment as for hourly rated employes. They request further that service in excess of eight hours on assigned work days and for eight consecutive hours on rest days be paid for at overtime rates of not less than time and one-half, that service in excess thereof be paid for under existing call and/or overtime rules of existing agreements but not less than time and one-half, that when any of the statutory holidays for which punitive rates of pay are established fall on an employe's assigned days off, the following day shall be recognized and paid for as the holiday, and that the adjustments requested shall not modify existing rules or practices which are more favorable to the employes.

The notice also contained a request that the matter be dealt with in joint conference with all railways on which similar notices were being served by the participating organizations.

On July 4, 1949, the carriers acknowledged the notices served by the organizations stating that they were concerned with the cumulative burden imposed by many of the rules in effect under agreements governing working conditions and stated that inasmuch as the employes had opened the agreements by the serving of notices, the carriers proposed to serve a notice, requesting the elimination or modification of such rules. Accordingly, the carriers countered with a notice on the organizations on July 8, 1949, requesting some fourteen specific changes in agreement rules.

Conferences between the representatives of the carriers and the Employes' Conference Committee were begun on July 13, 1949, and are still in progress as we go to press.

Conclusion

The national agreement establishing the basic forty-hour work week in the railroad industry marks another milestone in the progress achieved by the Standard Railway Labor Organizations. It is significant not only because the forty-hour week was secured without a reduction in weekly earnings for forty-eight hours, but with the wage increase which was secured simultaneously, it constitutes perhaps the greatest single gain ever made by these organizations. While this victory came only after a long and difficult struggle, it demonstrates what can be done through cooperation and by effective and complete organization of the workers.

THE PUERTO RICO FREE FEDERATION OF WORKINGMEN

The following agreements are in effect:

1—Telephone Industry: The agreement between the Puerto Rico Telephone Co., and the Telephone Industry Workers' Union of Puerto Rico which covers nearly 600 workers.

2—Electrical Industry: The Industrial Peace Treaty negotiated and signed for a period of four years between the Water Resources Authority of Puerto Rico, a governmental agency, and the Electrical Industry and Irrigation Service Workers' Union of Puerto Rico has entered its third year of existence. The Treaty has promoted the welfare of the employees and labor-management relationships. In accordance with its provisions \$150,000, or 75 percent of half of the net proceeds of the Water Resources Authority for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1949, will be distributed among employees. The agreement covers the employees (1600).

3—Waterfront: Union agreements signed between the shipping companies and the ILA have assured industrial peace in the waterfront of Puerto Rico as well as friendly adjustments of jurisdictional controversies between the two councils.

4—Bread Industry: The agreements signed in the bread industry at San Juan were renewed with important amendments and signed July 15, 1949 with a coverage of 175 bakers. The employers agreed to a hospitalization plan that will be in force during the two years life of the agreement. They also agreed to pay 15 cents daily for each baker employed in each shift. Agreements are in effect in five other cities.

5—Upholsterers' Industry: Local No. 423 of San Juan negotiated on January 18, 1949 with the Simmons International Ltd., an agreement improving their labor conditions and labor-management relationship. The wage clause is still pending negotiations that are being carried out by

the officers of the UIU and the employer in New York. Rates will be retroactive to January 18.

6—Needlework Industry: After four months of negotiations the Needlework Industry Workers' Union No. 2 of San Juan signed an agreement with the Everglade Shop Corporation providing two weeks paid vacations, check-off, union shop, double rates on extra time after the regular eight-hour work day and time-and-a-half after the forty hours regular work week. Wage rates clauses will be open to negotiations after the first six months.

Other agreements: Other agreements have been renewed with amendments in the needlework, hairnet, foundry, rum, ice, transportation, confectioneries, ice cream, laundries, beverages and construction industries. Labor conditions and salaries have been improved.

Sugar Industry: The factory workers union of Arecibo renewed its agreement with the Land Authority of Puerto Rico to cover the Cam-balache Sugar Mill with its 700 workers. The agreement fixed a minimum wage of \$5 for an eight-hour work day with double rates on extra time; a sliding scale that permits a daily increase of 18 cents per 25 cents increase in the price of sugar, starting from a basic price of \$6; proportional distributions of the benefits that may be obtained by the mill and a life insurance bond of \$1,000., the premium to be paid by the employers. It is expected that the Land Authority will distribute among the employees benefits amounting to nearly \$70,000. This union also renewed its agreement with La Cooperativa Azucarera Los Canos, a sugar mill cooperative located at Arecibo. The agreement fixes a minimum hourly rate of 58 cents, double rates after the eight-hour work day and a life insurance bond of \$1,000. to be paid by the employer and extended to those that may work not less than 1,000 hours during the life of the agreement.

Other agreements in the Sugar Industry: Other agreements were negotiated with the sugar mills Plata Sugar Corp. of San Sebastian; Coloso of Aguada; Mayaguez Sugar of Mayaguez and San Vicente of Vega Baja. Victor Barreto Ibarrondo, and Nicolas Noguerras Rivera have given their assistance to the unions.

Labor Education Program: By courtesy of broadcasting station WKAQ at San Juan, we have continued our Labor Education Program with the objective of illustrating to the workers and the public in general about the vital questions affecting our social, economic, educational and political life as part of the United States.

Romualdi's Visit to Puerto Rico: It is with great pleasure and gratitude that we report on the visit made to our Island by brother Serafino Romualdi, A. F. of L. Representative for the Latin American countries and Secretary of International Relations of the Inter-American Confederation of Workers on May 13, 1949, upon his return from the Confer-

ence of the ILO in Montevideo, Uruguay. Representatives of the Government of Puerto Rico, employers, and the organized labor movement joined in the cordial reception offered him at the Hotel New Yorker. Brother Romualdi had an opportunity to meet with the officers and outstanding leaders of our Federation and affiliated bodies.

18th Convention: The Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen held its 18th Annual Convention, July 23 and 24, 1949 at San Juan with an attendance of 276 delegates. Among the important resolutions adopted were:

1—Expressing the gratitude of our Federation to the American Federation of Labor for its continued effective and moral assistance.

2—Urging the American Federation of Labor to appoint a special committee to study the social, economic, educational and industrial conditions of Puerto Rican Labor and the potentialities of the American Federation of Labor on the Island.

3—The extension of all Federal Labor legislation to Puerto Rico. The Convention appointed delegates to the Havana Convention of the Inter-American Confederation of Workers.

The Puerto Rico Free Federation of Labor will celebrate its Golden Anniversary September 5, 1949.

CONCLUSION

In the above report covering all phases of our work you will find a dominant note—the note of concern for the future of a civilization which made its objective the freedom and responsibility of the individual man. There is in man a spiritual nature which transcends human experience and knowledge. His rights as an individual have their roots in his spiritual nature which requires that he be free to fulfill his destiny. This is the basis of our democracy. It is this interpretation of life that endows man with dignity and responsibility. The application of this philosophy to our trade union way of life, which the founder of the American Federation of Labor termed *voluntarism*, we find endangered by two diverse purposes: one a totalitarian communist party which proposes to abolish individual rights and freedom and to make all servants of an all-powerful dictatorship, and the other, regulatory provisions which would relieve individuals of responsibility and substitute decisions and regulations of outside agents. Regimentation, irrespective of purpose, robs individuals of decision as to what they want to make out of their own lives and weakens the will to achieve these ends.

Sometimes in our eagerness for results we forget that some achievements can only grow out of our own initiative and resourcefulness in using our economic power. The larger the number in our labor movement as well as in the nation that remain self-directing and responsible, the more dynamic and constructive we become.

During the past two years a considerable body of labor legislation has been enacted which was intended to underwrite and supplement eco-

nomic organization and collective bargaining. We believe it would be wise to consider the effects of this legislation upon trade unions and their responsibilities and functions, as a basis for future policy. We should evaluate our experience to distinguish between the type of problems which lend themselves to legislative action and those problems for which economic action is best. We should review our various objections to determine whether they are outdated or unwise. Our guide in this study should be the effect of the method or objective and its administration on human character and progress.

The labor movement of the United States shares the world responsibility of our nation and we must be constantly alert and informed on union policies which we approve and policies which we disapprove. The results of such an evaluation would be a practical handbook of basic principles and a guide for the immediate future.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,
President.

WILLIAM L. HUTCHESON,
First Vice President.

MATTHEW WOLL,
Second Vice President.

JOSEPH N. WEBER,
Third Vice President.

GEORGE M. HARRISON,
Fourth Vice President.

DANIEL J. TOBIN,
Fifth Vice President.

HARRY C. BATES,
Sixth Vice President.

W. D. MAHON,
Seventh Vice President.

W. C. BIRTHRIGHT,
Eighth Vice President.

W. C. DOHERTY,
Ninth Vice President

DAVID DUBINSKY,
Tenth Vice President

CHARLES J. MacGOWAN,
Eleventh Vice President.

HERMAN WINTER,
Twelfth Vice President.

D. W. TRACY,
Thirteenth Vice President.

GEORGE MEANY,
Secretary-Treasurer.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, AMERICAN
FEDERATION OF LABOR

PRESIDENT GREEN: Secretary-Treasurer Meany will now submit a summary of the Executive Council's report. That is our usual custom and practice, to summarize the report for the proceedings of the convention.

SUMMARY OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL REPORT - 1949

Secretary Meany read the following summary:

SUMMARY OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL REPORT

In the Introduction to our annual report, your Executive Council sounds a combined note of disappointment over the failure of the Democratic Party to make good its campaign pledges, and high optimism over the economic situation in our nation with regard to employment and wage levels.

The report generally relates substantial progress at home through union activity, and progress in trade union status in Europe which presages future advances for our cause.

Secretary Treasurer's Report

The sound financial standing of the American Federation of Labor is reflected in the annual accounting of the Secretary-Treasurer which reports well over a million dollars in the treasury of the Federation at the close of the fiscal year.

The Secretary's report shows that two new international unions were chartered during the past fiscal year in addition to 12 central bodies, 125 directly affiliated locals, and 44 federal labor unions.

Trustee Reports

The annual accounting of the trustees of the A. F. of L. Building, and of the A. F. of L. Employees Retirement Annuity Trust Fund, are submitted.

New International Unions Chartered and Changes In Titles of International Unions

The Flight Engineers, and the Railway Patrolmen were chartered as new international unions during the past year.

There were authorized changes in titles affecting two international unions. The organizations at interest now bear the titles of Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers International Association of the United States and Canada; and the Radio and Television Directors Guild.

Selection of Fraternal Delegates

The American Federation of Labor was represented at the 1949 convention of the British Trades Union Congress by Brothers Harry C. Bates of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union, and by Brother Dave Beck of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America.

Brother H. A. Bradley of the International Chemical Workers Union was our representative at the convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, at its recent session.

Frank Morrison

With deep sorrow, your Executive Council records the passing of Frank Morrison who served for 43 years as Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor until his retirement in 1940.

Your Executive Council records briefly but none the less sincerely the service of this distinguished pioneer in the American labor movement.

Organizing Activities

Under this caption there is presented for your information a summary of the organizing activities of the Federation during the past year, and an indication of some of organization problems which are anticipated in the immediate future.

Strike Benefits

The recommendation of the 1949 convention for an increase in strike benefits paid by the American Federation of Labor, received careful consideration by the Executive Council.

We recommend a constitutional amendment which would increase strike benefits from \$7 to \$10 per week, and an extension of 4 weeks benefits. Our recommendation is given in its entirety on page 24 of the Report of the Executive Council.

Benefit Services of Standard National And International Unions

This informative statement, based upon replies received from a questionnaire to all our affiliated national and international unions, is of great interest. It will be noted that each year we are receiving greater cooperation from our affiliates in supplying information from which this compilation is made.

Legal Activities of General Counsel

Under this title there is presented a very interesting and informative accounting of the work done by the General Counsel of the Federation during the past year.

This section of the report is of very great importance since it includes important judicial and legislative decisions and enactments which concern all wage earners.

World Situation

As indicated in the introduction to our annual report, the Executive Council is keenly aware of the importance of the international situation to America's wage earners, both as workers and as citizens.

Under the above named title, and the sub-heads under this general title, a concise but comprehensive accounting of our work in the international field is presented for your information.

The work of the A. F. of L. International Labor Relations Committee; the activities of the A. F. of L. representative in Europe; our activities in Germany and Austria; Latin America; Mexico, are submitted.

The very important activity of the A. F. of L. in the International Labor Organization is outlined in the section under this caption.

There is also included a report of the Trade Union Advisory Committee on International Affairs of the U. S. Labor Department.

It will be noted that the Federation continued its active participation in the affairs of the United Nations and its component units, wherever and whenever we have been accorded an opportunity to do so.

Economic Cooperation Administration

The work of this agency for economic reconstruction of Europe is vitally important to America's wage earners. Under the above title, there is related a brief but important statement of the work of the Economic Cooperation Administration and the policies which are being followed by our Federal Government dealing with the rehabilitation of Europe's economy.

Formation of New World Organization of Labor

Your attention is directed to the fact that the Federation is participating in efforts which are now under way to form a new world organization in furtherance of sound world unity of free labor and genuine labor solidarity and cooperation for freedom, economic well being, social justice, and lasting peace.

Your Executive Council and its International Labor Relations Committee have offered definite principles and suggested positive proposals and policies for the organization and effective functioning of such a constructive world labor federation. We were officially represented in the provisional conference to form a new world trade union movement which was held in Geneva in June, 1949. The

work of that conference is outlined for your information.

The Federation will also be represented at the meeting to be held in London, England, in November of this year for the purpose of setting up such a world organization of free labor.

Housing

As indicated in the title, this section of our report deals with the very important subject of housing for workers. We regret that inadequate housing was still a major problem for millions of families in 1949. The housing problems of workers have been additionally complicated by the rent increases resulting from the weakening of the rent control program after passage of the Housing and Rent Act of 1949.

Attention is called to the fact that the A. F. of L. Housing Committee will need the continued assistance and support of every A. F. of L. affiliate in the coming year in order to successfully carry out Labor's housing program.

Wage And Hour Administration

The very antiquated provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act are recorded in this section of the report. We therefore call for an increase in the minimum established by the 1938 Act, and adequate enforcement machinery to carry out the provisions of this important legislation.

A subheading under this general title—"Labor Standards on Government Contracts" calls attention to the fact that the U. S. Department of Labor has, during the past year, continued its program directed toward bringing up to date the wage determinations made under the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act. Your attention is further directed to the 7 new determinations issued during the past year, and the activities of our organizations in achieving these higher minimum rates for the industries concerned. The importance of this program is difficult to overestimate. We urge the Department of Labor to accelerate its program to the end that during the coming year all minimum rates under the Walsh-Healey Act will be brought up to date with the prevailing wage practices throughout American industry.

Developments in Social Security

The very important subject of security for America's wage earners commends this section of the report to the serious attention of us all.

The American Federation of Labor is conducting an aggressive campaign to broaden the scope and increase benefits under our present social security program, and our activities in this field are outlined in the section of the Council's report under the above title.

Education

The opening sentence of this section of the report—"The American Federation of Labor is deeply concerned with the whole educational process: the philosophy, the methods, the scope, and the purpose"—indicates our deep appreciation of the importance of education in the lives of us all.

The objectives of the American Federation of Labor in this highly important field, and our activities toward the realization of these objectives, is presented under the above title.

Workers Education Bureau

The annual accounting of the Workers Education Bureau is presented for your information.

National Legislation

Since Congress is still in session, the report of your Executive Council covering the field of national legislation is, of necessity, incomplete. The accounting of our legislative work under this caption covers the period up to the time of preparation of our report to this convention. The above indicated section of the report is of special concern and is commended to your careful reading and consideration.

State Labor Legislation in 1949

As indicated in the title, this section of the report presents a brief summary of the legislative situation in the several states. In the closing paragraph we direct attention to the fact that though we report progress in the state legislative field, it is obvious that progress really is very slow. With 44 state legislatures in session, we feel we should have been able to make more substantial gains. This, however, will come only when candidates sympathetic to the needs of the workers are elected to the state legislatures, and programs for improvement in basic labor standards are actively sponsored and supported by the labor movement.

Economic Developments

Under this title we call attention to the fact that during 1949 our American economy has been undergoing a period of readjustment accompanied by declines in prices, production and employment. It has been a difficult period for all concerned since for more than a million workers it has meant unemployment, several hundred thousand of whom were out of work longer than the unemployment benefit period for which benefits are allowed. Many of those who were employed have had their incomes cut by part-time work.

Attention is directed to the fact, however, that the recession has been a corrective process, not an industrial depression. The Federation recognizes that the corrective process now going on is essential to restore economic

health and that as it is completed, economic activity will of itself return to normal relationships kept sound by competition. The opinion is expressed that the future trend of business will depend primarily on steady increases in wages without turning prices upward again. Consumer buying power must increase substantially to sustain maximum production and employment particularly as the demand on American industry to supply goods for European recovery tapers off and imports increase. It will also depend on a continuation of the downward price adjustment, the reappearance of good quality, low-priced models of durable consumer goods on the market and of low cost housing to meet the needs of low income groups and bring their buying power into play. The continued capital investment on the part of American business for industrial plants and equipment is also essential to sustain demand and keep the economy at maximum employment levels.

Hours of Work

Attention is directed to the fact that now is the time to resume our traditional efforts for shorter hours and greater leisure for workers. When productivity of the labor force exceeds the power of the market to absorb the total product under prevailing and impending conditions it is appropriate to renew efforts for readjustments in the near future.

Public Relations, Radio and the Labor Press American Federationist Labor's Monthly Survey Research Report

Under these captions there is submitted a brief report on the research and information services of the Federation.

Reports of the Building and Construction Trades Department Union Label Trades Department Metal Trades Department Maritime Trades Department Railway Employes Department

The annual reports of the several Departments of the A. F. of L. are submitted for your information.

Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen

The annual report of the activities of the organized labor movement of the Island of Puerto Rico will be found under this title.

Conclusion

In terminating its annual accounting, your Executive Council directs attention to the fact that throughout their report is a dominant note of concern for the future of a civilization which made its objective the freedom and responsibility of the individual man.

A note of warning is sounded lest we forget that some achievements can only grow out of our own initiative and resourcefulness in using our economic power. The larger the number in our labor movement as well as in the nation that remain self-directing and responsible, the more dynamic and constructive we become.

We close our report with a return to the deep concern we feel for world problems and an acceptance of our share in the world responsibility of our nation.

SECRETARY MEANY: I will submit for the record a list of the subjects of the Executive Council's Report which I have just summarized, also a list of the committees to which these various subjects are assigned.

ASSIGNMENT OF SUBJECTS OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Subject and Committee

- Introduction—Resolutions.
- New International Unions Chartered—Executive Council Report.
- Flight Engineers International Assn.
- Railway Patrolmen's International Union.
- Changes of Title of International Unions—Executive Council Report.
- Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association of the United States and Canada.
- Radio and Television Directors Guild.
- Selection of Fraternal Delegates—Executive Council Report.
- Frank Morrison—Executive Council Report.
- Organizing Activities—Organization.
- Strike, Benefits—Laws.
- Benefit Services of National and International Unions—Executive Council Report.
- Legal Activities of General Counsel—Resolutions.
- World Situation—International Labor Relations.
- International Labor Relations Committee—International Labor Relations.
- Free Trade Union Committee—International Labor Relations.
- A. F. of L. Representative in Europe—International Labor Relations.
- AFL Work in Europe Continues and Expands.
- Survey of Indian Trade Unionism.
- Germany and Austria—International Labor Relations.
- Latin America—International Labor Relations.
- A. F. of L. Role in Defense of Trade Union Freedom.
- Activities of the A. F. of L. Latin American Representative.
- Joint C. I. T.-A. F. L. Investigating Committee of Labor Conditions in Canal Zone.
- A. F. of L. Supports Industrialization.
- Mexican Farm Laborers in the United States.
- The Laredo Conference.
- Inter-American Confederation of Workers (C. I. T.).
- North American Labor News—Resolutions. (Noticiero Obrero Norteamericano).
- International Labor Organization Activities—International Labor Relations.
- Trade Union Advisory Committee on International Affairs (U. S. Department of Labor) International Labor Relations.
- United Nations—International Labor Relations.
- A. F. of L. Consultants to the Economic and Social Council.
- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)—Resolutions.
- Economic Cooperation Administration — Resolutions.
- Future of ERP.
- Reparations and Dismantling.
- Point 4 (President Truman's Program for Technical Assistance).
- Formation of New World Organization of Labor—International Labor Relations.
- Housing—Building Trades.
- Wage and Hour Administration—Resolutions.
- Fair Labor Standards Act.
- Labor Standards on Government Contracts.
- Developments in Social Security—Resolutions.
- Old-Age and Survivor's Insurance.
- Public Assistance.

- Unemployment Compensation.
- National Health Insurance.
- Education—Education.
- Educational Financing.
- Federal Aid for Education.
- School Health Bill.
- Rural, Library Demonstration Centers.
- School Lunches.
- A Research Program to Help Determine the Essential Services through which the child's health and welfare may best be protected.
- Vocational Education.
- Office of Vocational Rehabilitation.
- School Construction Program.
- Assistance for Needy Students.
- Funds for Eradication of Adult Illiteracy.
- Bills for Federal Aid for Public School Teachers' Salaries and Federal Aid for Services for all children.
- Labor Extension Service.
- Recommendations.
 - Workers Education Bureau—Education.
 - Conference of A. F. of L. Educational Directors.
 - General Assistance to Labor Organizations, Labor Schools, etc.
 - Audio-Visual Activities.
 - Labor Institutes and Conferences.
 - Publications.
 - Courses on Labor in Schools, Essay Contests, etc.
 - Lang Prize Essay Contest.
 - International Educational Activities.
- A. F. of L. Contribution to Bureau.
 - National Legislation—Legislation.
 - Government Salary Legislation—Legislation.
 - Government Mileage Allowance—Legislation.
 - Government Maternity Leave—Legislation.
 - Compensation for Disability—Legislation.
 - Civil Service Retirement—Legislation.
 - Other Government Employees Bills—Legislation.
 - Retirement—Legislation.
 - The Government Employees Council—Legislation.
 - The President's Salary—Legislation.
 - Salaries for Federal Judges—Legislation.
 - Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service—Legislation.
 - Rivers and Harbors—Legislation.
 - Missouri Valley Authority—Legislation.
- Columbia Valley Authority—Legislation.
- Colorado River System—Legislation.
- Power, Development of Hydroelectric—Legislation.
- School Construction—Legislation.
- School Lunch Program—Legislation.
- Naval Shipyard Wage-Fixing—Legislation.
- Immigration and Naturalization—Resolutions.
 - Displaced Persons.
- Economic Cooperation and Appropriation—Legislation.
- Reciprocal Trade Agreements—Resolutions.
- Merchant Marine Reserve—Legislation.
- Un-American Activities—Resolutions.
- Taxation—Resolutions.
- District of Columbia—Legislation.
 - The Sales Tax.
 - District of Columbia Employes Compensation.
 - District of Columbia Teachers Leave Bill.
 - Barber's Bill (S. 941).
- Alaska—Legislation.
- Puerto Rico—Legislation.
- Canal Zone—Legislation.
 - Old Timers' Act.
 - McCarran Amendment.
 - Teachers, Police and Firemen's Salaries.
 - Canal Zone Retirement.
 - Federal Aid to Schools.
- Construction Workers on Wage, Guam and Cavite—Resolutions.
- The Taft-Hartley Act—Legislation.
- The Fair Labor Standards Act—Legislation.
- Housing Legislation—Building Trades.
- Middle-Income Housing Bill—Legislation.
- Rent Control—Resolutions.
- Overtime on Overtime—Resolutions.
- Social Security—Legislation.
- Labor Extension Service—Legislation.
- Apprentice Training—Legislation.
- The Physical Handicapped—Legislation.
- Basing Point Systems—Legislation.
- Monopolies and Trade Restraints—Legislation.
- Civil Rights—Legislation.
- Veterans Legislation—Legislation.
- Prohibition of Interstate Advertising of Alcoholic Beverages—Legislation.
- Oleomargarine—Legislation.
- President's Safety Conference—Resolutions.
- Taxation—Resolutions.

State Labor Legislation in 1949—Legislation.

Workmen's Compensation.

Safety and Health.

Anti-discrimination.

Child Labor.

Wage and Hour Legislation.

Other Important Acts.

Economic Developments—Resolutions.

Hours of Work—Shorter Work Day.

Effects of the Foreign Aid Program.

Effects of the Armament Program.

Rise in Unemployment.

American Federationist—Resolutions.

Public Relations, Radio, and the Labor Press—Resolutions.

Labor's Monthly Survey—Resolutions.

Research Report—Resolutions.

Building and Construction Trades Department—Building Trades Department.

Union Label Trades Department—Labels.
Metal Trades Department—Executive Council Report.

Maritime Trades Department — Executive Council Report.

Railway Employees' Department—Executive Council Report.

The Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen—Resolutions.

Conclusion—Resolutions.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair now recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Rules, Brother John B. Robinson.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN ROBINSON: The report of the committee will be read by the secretary, Delegate Clark.

Committee Secretary Clark submitted the following report:

Rule 1. The convention shall be called to order at 9:30 a.m., and remain in session until 12 noon, reconvening at 2 p.m., and remain in session until 5:30 p.m., on the following days: Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. The convention next week will remain in session Monday from 9:30 a.m.,

until 12 noon, reconvening at 2 p.m., and remaining in session until 5:30 p.m., reconvening at 8 p.m., and remaining in session until 11 p.m.—Tuesday, it will convene at 9:30 a.m., and remain in session until 12 noon, reconvene at 2 p.m., and remain in session until the business of the convention is completed.

Rule 2. Any delegate failing to fill in his attendance card within 30 minutes after the convention is called to order shall be marked absent, but in the event of unavoidable absence, he may so report to the Secretary and be marked present.

Rule 3. If a delegate while speaking be called to order, he shall at the request of the chair take his seat until the question of order is decided.

Rule 4. Should two or more delegates rise at the same time to speak, the chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 5. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, except to raise a point of order.

Rule 6. A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon a question until all who wish to speak have had an opportunity to do so.

Rule 7. A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon the same question without permission from the convention.

Rule 8. At the request of five delegates the mover of a motion shall submit it in writing.

Rule 9. It shall require at least 30 delegates to move the previous question.

Rule 10. A roll call on any motion shall be called at the request of 10 percent of the delegates present.

Rule 11. Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by a vote of the convention.

Rule 12. A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the chair.

Rule 13. A motion to lay on the table shall not be debatable, except as limited by Robert's Rules of Order.

Rule 14. A motion to reconsider shall not be entertained unless made by a delegate who voted with the majority, and shall receive a majority vote.

Rule 15. All resolutions shall bear the signature of the introducer and the title of the organization he represents and shall be submitted in triplicate form.

Rule 16. No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had a chance to speak upon it if he or she so desires.

Rule 17. The reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the convention, the same as other motions and resolutions.

Rule 18. When a question is pending before the convention no motion shall be in order except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time to divide or amend, which motions shall have preference in the order named.

Rule 19. When a roll call has been taken and all delegates present have had an opportunity to record their votes, the ballot shall be declared closed.

Rule 20. When a roll call ballot has been ordered, no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

Rule 21. Robert's Rules of Order shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided for.

Order of Business

1. Reading of minutes of previous session shall be dispensed with unless called for.
2. Report of Committee on Credentials.
3. Report of Officers.
4. Reports of regular committees.
5. Reports of special committees.
6. Unfinished business.
7. New business.
8. Election of Officers.
9. Selection of next meeting place.
10. Good of the Federation.
11. Adjournment.

John E. Robinson, Chairman
Joseph P. Clark, Secretary
Harry R. Williams

R. J. Petree
John C. MacDonald
Percy Ginsburg
Charles Aquadro
Frank B. Field
Joseph Lewis
Mike J. Minaden
James Deach
Allen Noel
George Holbert
Lester L. Theibert
George Edgerton
George Nolan
Al. J. Cleland
J. P. Jesse
Norman Zukowsky
J. D. McDonnell
Robert Soule
Thos. F. Holleran
R. Emmet Kelly

COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN ROBINSON:
Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of the Committee's report.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

RESOLUTIONS RECEIVED WITHIN TIME LIMIT

SECRETARY MEANY: I wish to announce the receipt of the following resolutions which have been received within the time limit specified in the Constitution and, therefore, do not require unanimous consent.

From the Illinois State Federation of Labor: Excise Taxes; Increased Benefits under Social Security; National Health Program.

(These resolutions will appear at the end of today's proceedings).

VARIETY ARTISTS—MUSICIANS

PRESIDENT GREEN: I desire to announce at this moment, when it seems to be opportune to do so, that I have just been advised this morning in a definite and accurate way that because of a jurisdictional dispute that arose between the American Guild of Variety Artists and the American Federation of Musicians the representatives of the American Guild of Variety Artists have appealed to the Court in New York for an injunction to restrain the American Federation of Musicians from alleged trans-

gression upon the jurisdiction of said organization. I am sure I voice your sentiments when I say we deplore this action and the publicity that will be given to it. It is a case where within the family of labor one organization, a member of the family of labor, has resorted to the use of the injunction for the purpose of enforcing a decision upon other members of the family of labor in a jurisdictional dispute.

All of you are acquainted with the record made in the fight originated by the American Federation of Labor against resort to the use of injunctions against labor, and as a result of that fight we succeeded in bringing about the passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Act which made labor free from the control of the judiciary of the nation throughout the United States by injunction proceedings. We celebrated when we secured the passage of that Act. It was a great event in the development of our organizing life and activities. Now it seems inconceivable that a member of the family of labor would resort to the use of that method that we denounced so many years ago and succeeded in having abolished through legislative action.

So in your name and in your behalf I want on this occasion to express our deep disapproval of the action that has thus been taken by an organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor by resorting to the use of a method which we have denounced ever since the American Federation of Labor was formed—the writ of injunction.

It is the policy of the American Federation of Labor to settle our jurisdictional disputes within the family of labor, and that is the method we insist shall be employed and the policy pursued by organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

So here on this occasion I want, as I said, to publicly declare our disapproval of this action that has been taken. We regard it as indefensible from any point of view, and in your name and in your behalf I call upon the American Guild of Variety Artists to cease and desist from following this course, and withdraw their application for an injunction against a sister labor organization.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Now I am happy to present to you one of the distinguished visitors to our convention who responded to my request wholeheartedly to come here to

St. Paul, to meet with you and to deliver an instructive message. He is no stranger to you. We have known him for years. He has been associated with our movement for a long time, in the Railway Department of the American Federation of Labor.

He is now serving in a very important capacity as Labor Adviser to the Administrator of the E.C.A. In his presence I want to say publicly that he has rendered most valuable service as a Labor Adviser to Administrator Hoffman, of the E.C.A. He has truly served labor and labor's cause, and because of the training and experience he gained in the labor movement he has been able to render this excellent service.

So now I am happy to present Brother Bert M. Jewell, Adviser to Administrator Hoffman of the E.C.A.

MR. BERT M. JEWELL

(Labor Adviser, Economic Cooperation Administration)

Thank you very much, President Green. I assure you it is with a great deal of pleasure I responded to your invitation, and in addition to having the opportunity to come back home, as it were, I have had a very great and unusual honor conferred upon me, in your behalf, in the last few minutes. My chief of my own Brotherhood, Charlie MacGowan, brought me here. If one ever had a pal, Charlie MacGowan is my pal and always has been, and I am very happy to have that honor.

This is a meeting of probably the most stable and largest labor organization in the world. For me it is returning to a rendezvous with friends. I wish here and now to express my appreciation for your services to the Government agency I represent and to the world situation during the last year and one half. You have been generous in your time, money, and talent to implement the Marshall Plan. You have sent some of your best talent abroad to aid in this work and to turn back the common enemy. You have played an active part in international labor developments through the excellent work of such men as Phillip Delaney. Your interest in world affairs has been broad and effective. I have in mind, for example, the statement the American Federation of Labor recently issued at the time of the Anglo-American-Canadian talks on the dollar shortage. Many of the ten points listed in that statement actually appeared in the final agreement. It is this kind of awareness on the part of labor in international affairs that insures the people a seat at the world bargaining table where the crucial issue of war and peace is determined.

In this current fight for European recovery, I can definitely report progress. I say this at a time when the situation seems considerably confused, but I urge you not to mistake growth pains for a serious illness. Actually, we have come a long way.

Within the memory of most of us here today we have seen a revolution taking place in America before our very eyes. Look, if you will, please, back with me to the time of the first World War.

The record of those years from 1914 to 1918 shows an unselfish people giving heavily of their resources and their lives to win a war which was forced upon them, to make the world safe for democracy.

Having won that war gloriously in cooperation with our loyal Allies, what did we do? As a nation we crawled right back into our hole of isolationism.

At the very time our foresighted President, Woodrow Wilson, was devoting all of his energies to creating a League of Nations, our people, through their Congress, were refusing to join.

Pearl Harbor came in 1941 and there we were—in the second World War. Again, as in 1914-1918, we fought side by side with our Allies to win the war.

By this time a revolution had really started at home.

By early 1947 we began to wake up to the one fact we had blindly refused to recognize in 1919 and thereafter. We could not be secure, much less progress, in a world headed for starvation. We could not prosper in a world of poverty.

Besides, we couldn't stand to see Europe starve. So out of the generous hearts of our people we proceeded to give billions of dollars in the next few months to the needy people of Europe. This was outright relief. I want to emphasize that—this was outright relief.

The European people who had humbly and only out of a feeling of desperation received our charity at the close of the war were really worse off by early 1947.

On June 5, 1947 George Marshall, the great soldier, statesman, and American, in mild but measured tones sounded the rallying call to all the peoples of America and all the peoples of Europe.

"Our policy" he said, "is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist."

He also said: "Any government willing to assist in the task of recovery will find full cooperation. I am sure, on the part of the United States Government. Any government which maneuvers to block the recovery of other countries cannot expect such help from us. Furthermore, governments, political parties, or groups which seek to perpetuate human

misery in order to profit therefrom politically or otherwise will encounter the opposition of the United States."

After stating the need for the European governments to reach an agreement on their requirements for recovery, he pointed out they should agree on what they could do to help each other, and then jointly agree what we should do to help them achieve that recovery—in other words, self-help and mutual aid.

He further declared. "The program should be a joint one, agreed to by a number if not all European nations." He promised that when Europe had thus jointly agreed they could expect our support for such a program so far as it was practical for us to give it.

That is the Marshall Plan. There you have the essence of the Economic Recovery Program, as it is often called, and of the Economic Cooperation Administration that administers the program for the United States.

Actually the Marshall Plan came into being when Congress passed and the President signed the Foreign Assistance Act on April 3, 1948.

Russia attended the first meeting held in Paris shortly after the Marshall speech, but Russia's representative, Molotov, walked out of that meeting and that ended Russia's participation in the recovery program. Russia also forced several satellite nations to withdraw or to refuse to join with Western Europe in a recovery program. It was then that the Russians declared war on recovery. They decided "to perpetuate human misery in order to profit therefrom."

Despite Russia's action, 16 countries, the occupied zones of Western Germany, and the U.S.-U.K. zone of Trieste joined to form the Organization for European Economic Cooperation. There are something over 270 million people in these countries.

Some in our country were predicting that our people could not join this recovery program and escape restoring war-time controls. They went so far as to say that a war-time controlled economy would be inevitable unless we stayed at home and minded our own business as we had after the first World War.

This great American Federation, and all labor unions entitled to such an honorable name, refused to accept this reasoning and insisted that the facts compelled our country to join and support the Marshall Plan.

A number of technical committees, together with the Congressional Committees, reached the conclusion, on the basis of the facts, that America could and must join in the European Recovery Program. As a result, Congress and the President enacted the law in acceptance of this proof.

Thus the revolution from blind isolationism to the recognition of the facts of life was well on its way.

We have now completed almost one year and a half of the recovery program. Progress toward the agreed goal has been greater than was even hoped for by those who supported this revolution.

Even the minority in our country do not claim failure for the recovery program. Some of them try to claim goals, objectives, and policies which never were and are not now a part of the recovery program.

A few special interest groups in America are currently trying to pressure our Government into requiring Europe under the guise of the recovery program to buy their goods—goods which the European people don't want or can't use. Such an unreasonable position is certain to destroy the recovery program and convert it into a relief program, despite the fact that relief in the past has proved to be insufficient.

Look at the facts. Since the war our people have given about 20 billion dollars for relief in about two years' time; whereas this recovery program, which is working, will cost us not more than 12 to 17 billion dollars over a five-year period.

These producers of some 109 different commodities, unknowingly, it is hoped, are seeking to undermine the recovery program for Europe. Surely they know without this recovery program that poverty-stricken peoples of Europe could not and would not buy even as much of our exports as now.

Under the Marshall Plan the people of Europe pay the going market price in each country for every dollar's worth of material they get from us. Part of the goods are financed through loans—good bank loans upon which interest and principle must be paid. Part come through gifts to their governments. But these are gifts to the government, not to the businessmen or to civilians. The European businessmen who receive the goods must pay their governments the full price of those goods in currency of their own country. The money they pay goes into what is called a counterpart fund.

Counterpart funds can only be used for recovery purposes with the approval of our Government, except for 5 percent which is set aside for ECA administrative expenses and for buying scarce materials within the country for the U. S. So you can see our American dollars are really doing double duty. First they purchase the goods and machinery Europe needs to recover. Then the local currency put up by the European businessmen to match the amount of dollars they receive from the U. S. can be spent by European governments for such things as public works, irrigation projects, and so on. This is one of the important reasons why this is a program of recovery and not a plan for relief or charity.

I might also add that this is the reason why there has been so little scandal about an American organization that has given away a million or a million and a half dollars in a year and a half. People don't buy things they don't need. People who have to pay their own money are careful what they buy and they use it to their own advantage.

Through this program of recovery, Western Europe has made excellent progress in re-building and re-equipping her factories. Today production in Western Europe is well above the record set in her best pre-war years.

This production has been a tremendous achievement but it has made it necessary to find markets for this increased production and if these markets are to be achieved, Europe must seek freer trade among its members together with a common currency based on real, not fictitious, values. The United States must do its share in buying goods from Europe so that in turn Europe can buy goods from us.

As you know, because you have stated it over and over again, a mass production economy cannot operate without a steadily increasing purchasing power which in turn produces a higher standard of living.

We in ECA have constantly tried to spread this fact before the technical teams from European nations who have come to the United States under our program to study American production. You have with you here at this convention, the Danish team and they are aware of this fact. Another thing, the techniques of mass production do not necessarily have to be applied to huge industries. Small shops can rearrange their schedules, provide for new cooperative relations between management and labor, and seek the necessary markets for the goods. These are the ideas we can share with our fellow workers in Europe to the end that not only Europe but the whole world may benefit from her increased production.

It is just as true today as it was one year ago or before, that our people cannot have security, freedom, prosperity and our kind of democracy with the rest of the world in poverty or headed for totalitarian government.

We cannot continue to export for long more than we import. We cannot have isolation and freedom too.

This great Federation, yes, every member of this grand convention, knows these to be the facts. Therefore, it is his and her bounden duty to preach these facts and see that they are understood.

Trade unions are created and maintained by people. They represent people, human beings. In the United States and Canada they represent about 17 million actual members who together with their families aggregate about 85 million or almost half the population of both countries.

This is the most powerful, prosperous, and free continent in the world. Not all of our people, however, have accepted another fact, that with this power we also have the solemn duty to lead, to counsel, and to cooperate.

Members of trade unions and their families who make up almost half the population of the United States and Canada must be prepared to take their place with other groups in our country in assuming this leadership.

Although labor has been playing an increasing role in international affairs, greater opportunities still exist for participation. But we need the labor people who are trained and willing to grasp these opportunities.

Our trade unions must get ready and now to take an increasing part in all world affairs. World affairs involve and affect human beings, people; trade unions are agencies of the people.

Isolationism leads and always has led to war. World cooperation will preserve peace.

Trade unions are for peace. This Federation has done its part. This Federation has done a great service to the world and to world peace. There is much, however, yet to be done, and the remaining time is short. It must not again be too little or too late.

There may not be another time.

I thank you.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Brother Jewell, I wish to thank you on behalf of the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention for the educational, inspiring and excellent address you just delivered. Mr. Jewell emphasized the position of the American Federation of Labor in that address. From the beginning we stood solidly behind and in support of the National Recovery Act and the Marshall Plan, and we made no mistake, because as a result of it we have served to help the people of Europe to rebuild, to reconstruct and reestablish themselves. It seems that there are a lot of people in America who have forgotten the great sacrifices made by the people in the free democratic nations of Europe who were our Allies. Who is it that can now even comprehend the suffering and the sacrifice of the people of Great Britain during World War II? Those who visit that country can see visible evidence now of the destructive effect of that great war upon their homes, their cities, and their communities where they live.

Unfortunately, that great movement which appreciates an ideology that we can never subscribe to opposed the Marshall Plan, as he so well said. Why I cannot understand, except that they believe that through the Marshall Plan the great philosophy of freedom, individual and collective freedom would grow. Without the Marshall Plan government domination and government control and the police state would gain support in starving Europe. I think that is the answer to it, and Bert Jewell has rendered a wonderful service in the promotion of that plan. We thank him for his visit here and we thank him for the fine address which he delivered this morning.

Now we have a rare treat for you. We have with us the Secretary of Labor whom we hold in high regard and high esteem. He has grown in our appreciation and affection right from the time he began serving as Secretary of Labor. In the New England States and particularly in Massachusetts he was well known by the membership of our movement. They admired him, they held him in high regard because he served as Chief Executive of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and he showed his broad, liberal, progressive point of view. Now as Secretary of Labor he is making a record of which all will be proud, not only the men and women of labor, but people outside the ranks of labor. We are happy because the Labor Department is being restored, rebuilt and reestablished, and I think I can truthfully say that the response of Congress to our appeal to rebuild and reconstruct that Department is due very largely to the splendid executive ability shown by the Secretary of Labor, who is here this morning.

I am glad to present him to you for the submission of his message. I take great pleasure in presenting to you the Secretary of Labor, the Honorable Maurice J. Tobin.

HONORABLE MAURICE J. TOBIN (Secretary of Labor)

President Bill Green, officers and delegates to this convention of the American Federation of Labor: I am certainly very happy and proud to make this, my second appearance as Secretary of Labor before this great convention. At the very outset I am going to say I am neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet, but I predict to you that if not in the 81st, positively in the early days of the 82nd Congress there will be a repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law.

I do not need to tell you that before this law was enacted there was a drawing closer and closer together of the management groups and the working groups of this country. But since the enactment of the law there has been a barrier placed between these groups, and I do not believe that we are making progress in the direction that we should be making it toward a more peaceful and amicable relationship between management and labor. I am confident that when we have written into the laws of this country a just, a fair and an equitable labor-management law we will then see greater and better labor-management relations than we have seen for quite some time in the past.

But what I want to talk to the American Federation of Labor about today is the great record that they have written in American history, a record that I believe that they

should tell to every group that goes to make up our economy. And I say that they should not do it alone. I think that there is a need in the United States of America for a unification of every segment of American labor. I am not going to propose to you any definite recommendation or plan, but I merely say to you that I believe that all labor should band together for the purpose of selling to the American people the contribution that has been made by organized labor down through the years.

Who was it back in the early days who took the children out of the coal mines and out of the cotton mills and woolen mills of New England? It was the fight made by the American Federation of Labor. Who was it that took the children out of these mills and put them into schools until the age of 14 in a majority of the states of this nation? It was the fight that was led by the American Federation of Labor.

Who was it that had written on the statute books of the various states the sanitary laws and the safety laws for the protection of the American workers? It was the American Federation of Labor. And then who pioneered workmen's compensation insurance? None other than the present President of the American Federation of Labor, Bill Green, as State Senator in Ohio back in 1912.

Then there were other fights, and it took a great many years to bring them to fruition. But better than three-quarters of a century ago there were those visionary leaders of the labor movement who were talking about unemployment compensation, who were talking about a just labor-management law that would guarantee the rights of workers to band together in collective organization, and in turn require that management deal with them. Those visionary men were first members of the Knights of Labor, then after that members of the American Federation of Labor. Finally in 1933 these fights of years culminated in the writing of the NRA, and then finally in 1935 the permanent writing of the Wagner Act. Then the minimum wage law; the Fair Labor Standards law in 1938, and, unemployment compensation insurance in 1936. Yes, I say that American labor has a great story to tell to the American people and there is an old Chinese proverb 'that one picture is worth 10,000 words. I saw in Massachusetts a sample of what could be done with billboards. I would like to see on one side a picture of these children—and there are pictures to be found in the labor departments of the respective states all over the union—old pictures that depict the plight of these children with sunken cheeks, grown old before the age of 12, working on coal piles, working in the mills. I would like to see on one side of a great billboard a picture of those children of 40, 50, or 30 years ago, and a picture on the other side of happy children today going where children should be going—to school; coming home in happiness with their school books over their shoulders, properly dressed and clothed because of the actions of the labor movement down through the years. One picture on one side of the billboard, and show them in 1949 or 1950 on the other. Then at the top, "This is what the labor movement of America has done for the

people of America." Or, "This is what the labor movement of America has done for the school children of America."

That kind of a story would endear you to 140,000,000 Americans, and I believe that that kind of a selling job ought to be done, and it ought to be done in the course of the next year. I believe that it will mean more than even a discussion of the many issues because it will bring home to the American people a realization of the contribution that has been made to improve the American standards from one end of the country to the other.

And who is indebted to you? Let me cite just one example: No doubt there are delegates here from the City of Lawrence, in my native State of Massachusetts. The City of Lawrence was the hardest hit municipality in this country during the period of unemployment that occurred a few months ago. In the month of June, with unemployment running better than 25 percent, retail sales in that particular city ran but three percent behind the June of the prior year and ran almost comparable to the retail sales of the nation at large. I am thoroughly convinced that the answer to it is that there were unemployment compensation payments of \$25 a week and \$2 a week for each child, and that placed the purchasing power in the hands of the mothers of the families of unemployed workers that kept those retail sales up on a high level. That contributed to the prosperity of the American bankers. It contributed to the prosperity of the American manufacturers, it contributed to the prosperity of the retailers in that local area—yes, it sustained the whole American economy from one end to the other, and that is another proposal for which this great organization can be thanked, not only by the American workers, but by the whole of the American society.

Now, there has been some criticism of President Truman's desire to expand our economy to \$300,000,000,000 national income. Well, you can remember back when President Roosevelt said that the objective was \$100,000,000,000.

They thought at that time he was visionary, but we have now a national income of better than 200 billion dollars, and the one way that we are going to meet this tremendous debt that we had to take on for the purpose of winning the greatest war that civilization has ever known is by expanding this economy, and we can do it if we can eliminate fear from the thinking of the American people. There is no need for fear. In my opinion, we are in a different kind of an economy than America has ever known before. We don't have to worry about bank deposits. Today they are insured. Amazingly, since 1933 when the FDIC law was written, only 25 million dollars has been paid out to depositors in the banks of America, and the reserve fund is thirty-five times greater or better than \$100,000,000,000 guaranteeing the deposits of all Americans in the banks of this country.

Of necessity that is naturally a great help to the economy, but the greatest help of all has been what the Wagner Act has made possible, raising the members of organized labor from three million in 1933 to sixteen

million by 1947. Yes, we have been arrested, we are on a plateau of sixteen million at the present time, but I say that there are at least nine or ten million American workers who are in economic need of help and support that can be given to them by union organization. And I am certain, as I said, that in 1951, if not in 1950, the law that hinders their banding together in collective organization will be removed and there will be established a just labor-management law, and we can go on to twenty-five million members of American trade unions. And that, I say, will be a great floor under America's economy.

Unemployment compensation has done a tremendous job, but it is ineffective in most states, it is not as effective as it should be when you stop to consider, because of inflation, that a payment of \$25 a week today is only equivalent to the payment of \$15 in 1939. A more realistic approach has to be made to the type of payments, the duration of payments, and a consideration to the number of dependents that a worker has.

In the State of Massachusetts a \$2 payment to each dependent child amounts to but 5 percent of the basic payment to the wage earner. Certainly that should not be a barrier to the establishment of that principle in every one of the forty-eight states of this Union. So I say there should be a greater endeavor made in all of the forty-eight state legislatures to carry out President Truman's program of a \$30 payment and a twenty-six week period. If this is done we will have even a greater sustaining barrier under the economy of this country.

There are many problems yet to be solved in this country. We want a sound health program, we want to see that public power is extended to its maximum potentiality; we want to see the natural resources of this country developed to the fullest possible degree. All of that is going to be necessary if we are going to expand this free enterprise economy of ours to \$300,000,000 within the course of the next six, seven or eight years. It can be done if we will all work together collectively, and I am confident the American Federation of Labor will do its part in the solving of the problems that lie ahead. We do need the cooperation and the unification, or whatever method we want to use, of all elements of labor.

I could go on and describe to you that which the American Federation of Labor has done through the years. But to get back to the selling job, I would like to see a great advertising program in the newspapers of the country, on the billboards of the country, and in magazines telling the American people of the contribution of organized labor down through the last three-quarters of a century to the improvement of American life, the improvement of America's economy, the improvement and the strengthening of this great nation. We went into the last World War a much stronger nation because of laws that were enacted as a result of the endeavors of this great organization, and I would like to see a joint approach in this problem of all segments of American labor.

We have problems not only within the borders of the nation, we have problems all

over the world, and we want to congratulate the American Federation of Labor on the contribution it has made to the strengthening of the free nations on this side of the Iron Curtain. Believe me, you have been a great inspiration to those people who indeed were discouraged, and I have confidence that you are going to do even a greater job.

Then we have taken hundreds of these trade unionists from this side of the Iron Curtain, we have brought them here to the United States of America and we have given them an opportunity to see how, under a free enterprise system, we are able to build the finest and the highest living standards of any workers in the world. Much more of that work has to be done.

Your organization can also be very helpful in the implementation of Point 4, which has for its purpose the elevation of the living standards of those in the low living standard areas of the world. We have the choice of taking those people and convincing them that our ideology and our philosophy is the right one, or inevitably they are going to go to the totalitarian order of Communism, and I know of no group in America who can make a greater contribution than the members of the great trade union organizations in the American Federation of Labor.

I am pleased to see a tendency of farmers and labor to understand each other's problems. The economic strength of the one is the greatest guarantee of the prosperity of the other—and their combined prosperity means the prosperity of every segment of our national economy.

Last November workers and farmers pulled together, not because there was an alliance, but because both groups had come to realize that the only real hope for a fair deal was the election of President Truman. We must keep alive and strengthen the community of interest which manifested itself last year. This is the road to prosperity for the worker and farmer—this is the road to a sound, stable and prosperous economy for all.

Yes, that story should likewise be told to the American people, and I sincerely hope that in this convention there will be a program started to sell to America the job that the American Federation of Labor and other trade unionists have done down through the last three-quarters of a century, not only for their own members but for all of the workers of America, for the whole economy of America, because we today are a stronger nation economically. Physically the well-being of the people is far better, and the American workers are enjoying an order of living surpassing anything in the world, because of the fight that has been made down through the last three-quarters of a century by the members of this great organization.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Secretary of Labor, our guest and friend, has measured up to the high standard which we set for him. He delivered a most educational and inspiring address. He has made a genuine contribution to the educational work of this convention.

I appreciate more than words can express the fine tribute, the deserving tribute, the well-earned tribute, which he paid to our great organized labor movement, the American Federation of Labor. I respond wholeheartedly, as I think you do, to the fine suggestion he made that the people of our own country and the people throughout the world be told of the great service, the valuable service which we have rendered toward the promotion of human values, human welfare, the protection of the children, the development of the social state based upon the American way of life.

We are happy because you came this morning, Mr. Secretary, on this auspicious occasion and brought to us your inspiring message. You are among friends. We hope your visit here will be a pleasant one and you can go back to your work in Washington fully assured that a great army of labor, eight million members, stand with you, behind and all around you in support of the measures which you have so eloquently advocated.

Now I am happy to present to you a distinguished member of the fraternal delegation from the British Trade Union Congress. Many of you know him well. I have known him for some length of time.

It must truly be regarded as wonderful when we consider for just a moment that these fraternal delegates visiting with us have traveled across the ocean miles and miles to bring to us the fraternal greetings of the great army of labor they represent in their respective countries. I know you are anticipating with pleasure the receipt of the message which they will bring to us.

I want to present to you now one of the Fraternal Delegates from the British Trade Union Congress. He is a very dear friend of ours and has visited with us here in America on several occasions.

Brother Lincoln Evans was born in Swansea. He started work in the tinplate trade at the age of 13 years. That is when children were employed, even in Great Britain.

At the age of 17 he joined the Steel Smelters' Association, which was one of the organizations from which the British Iron, Steel and Kindred Trades Association developed, (now the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation.) He has held various positions in the Union, becoming General Secretary of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation in 1940.

He has served on the National Arbitration Tribunal and was a member of the Commission of Inquiry into the Retail Distributive Trade. He is a member of the Iron and Steel Board.

In 1945 he was appointed to the General Council of the Trades Union Congress.

He is a British Workers' Delegate on the I.L.O., Iron and Steel Trades Industrial Committee, and attended this year the International Labour Conference in Geneva as one of the Advisers to the British Workers' Delegate.

He has been a member of overseas delegations, and in 1947 was a member of the T.U.C. Delegation to the British Zone of Germany.

He has taken a leading part in the work of the International Trade Secretariat—the International Metalworkers' Federation—and is the Honorary Secretary of its British Section.

As a member of the Anglo-American Council on Productivity he visited the United States in the spring of this year.

That is indeed a wonderful record, developed by a young worker who started work at the age of 13 years. I present him to you now with a feeling of pleasure and deep satisfaction—Brother Lincoln Evans, Fraternal Delegate from the British Trades Union Congress.

FRATERNAL DELEGATE LINCOLN EVANS

(British Trades Union Congress)

President Green, members of the Executive Board and fellow trade unionists: When President Green recalled to my mind that I had started work at 13 years of age it occurred to me that it was probably only a toss of a coin, as it were, that I am not down there amongst your delegates, or, at least in the public galleries and not here as a Fraternal Delegate from Great Britain.

I come from a family of tinplaters, and at the turn of the century hundreds of our Welsh families came over here following the depression which set in in South Wales when President McKinley imposed his tariff that kept Welsh tinplates out of the United States, which had hitherto been their principal market.

I was a boy at the time in a family of five girls. Mother was a widow and her brother, who emigrated here, wanted to take me off her hands and take me over with him. After many days of deep family consultation, Mother decided to keep me, being, I suppose, loth to lose the only boy of the family. That was 50 years ago.

So it looks as if I am a bit late in coming but on the principle referred to by your

President yesterday that, everything comes to him that waits, perhaps it is fitting that I should have the honour of being chosen to bring fraternal greetings from the British T.U.C.

Another reason why I am proud to be the bearer of these greetings is because I believe there is one thing of vital importance in the world as we find it today, and that is the friendship and understanding of our two peoples. For, let us make no mistake about it, the shape and pattern of the kind of world we are going to live in for the next couple of hundred years is going to be determined largely in the lifetime of many of us here today. What that pattern will be will depend upon where your country and mine stand in their relations with each other, and the extent to which we work together in international affairs.

We have many differences as all good friends do, but I believe that we agree more than we disagree on many things, and on the things which give purpose to our lives we are always found in agreement. We have the same standards of human values. Basically the same sense of right and wrong govern our relationships. We believe that the individual man and woman in the sacredness of their own personalities are something more than units in a mass to be pushed around by anybody with a big voice and a bigger stick. There is something in both our folk that would never make us tolerate a totalitarian system where a ruthless, privileged class seek to justify their brutal tyranny by the outrageous and cynical claim that they represent and are acting in the interests of the workers.

Britain today is undergoing and attempting to carry through a great social experiment in human welfare. We are doing this by the processes of democracy. In effect, we are going through a social revolution and this without the accompaniment of civil war, which is something that has rarely happened in history before. We have made some mistakes so far, and maybe we shall make many more, and God forbid that our Labor Government should claim that it is infallible. A democratic government does not need the doctrine of infallibility to buttress it; infallibility is the soul-destroying prerogative of the totalitarian states.

It has been rightly said that periodically mankind strikes its tents and goes on the march. Before it rests again great issues have been settled and new social institutions, profoundly changed ways of life established. We are in such a period now and the question with which our day and generation is faced and indeed we have to solve is whether it is possible to organize a system of social security which every civilized nation should guarantee its people while, at the same time, retaining our essential freedoms and providing the field of opportunity for enterprise and initiative which will always beckon the creative mind of man. This is the central question of this century as the fight for political freedom was the question of the 19th Century.

We think it is possible to do this. We think you can throw around every family a ring of social services to protect them against the full hazards of sickness, accidents and unemployment. Some people call this the Welfare State, and the term probably is used more here than at home. Well, what is wrong

with the Welfare State? Hasn't all the social legislation in every civilized country that has been enacted over the last 50 years or longer been aimed at the purpose of protecting the ordinary family, men, women and children from the hazards of life, enabling them to solve the problems that cannot be solved individually, but solved collectively? Surely it is the obligation of every government worth its salt to seek the welfare and well-being of its people above every other consideration, and to see in the mischances of life not only a personal problem, but also a social one.

So we are proud of our social services in Britain. They may need to be pruned in some directions and we shall have to educate some of our people up to the new obligations imposed upon them. Nevertheless, basically they are sound and should be an integral part of any state that makes the claim that it is a humane and civilized one.

We do not claim that the creation of these defences against poverty, want and ill health are the work solely of the Labour Government; that would be untrue. They are the result of the active conscience of the British people, awakened after the sordid brutalities of our industrial revolution, a conscience that has been the spur behind the Labour Movement and, indeed, the Tory and Liberal Parties in their more enlightened moments, spasmodic though these may have been.

While we have a Socialist Government, let me spend a moment defining the position of the British Trade Union Movement, because many seem to think that with such a Government the Trade Union Movement must necessarily be in its pocket and make some change in its basic functions. We do not accept that. We support the government because we believe its central purpose is the same as ours—the good of the people, but we remain independent and will continue to do so because trade unionism has a basic and a primary function to perform irrespective of the particular government in power. When all is said and done, governments after all are composed of men, and on occasions, even with the best intentions in the world, we can do some very silly and dangerous things.

Furthermore, it is doubtful whether democracy could survive in any country unless there existed within the community voluntary institutions which can marshal public opinion and apply the necessary correctives to any abuse of power by a government. A great Englishman once said very truly that the trade unions are one of the main pillars of democratic society, and you can rest assured that Britain—the cradle of trade unionism—will be the last to allow the independence of the unions to be sapped and their purpose distorted to ends that would destroy the freedom and liberty of the individual, which alone gives purpose to our activities and our lives.

Our great task at the moment, as you are well aware, is to put our country back on its own economic legs, and our effort in this direction after the devitalizing strain of two wars is nothing to be ashamed of. We have no need to apologize. I do not like quoting statistics as a rule, but let me just mention a little table which will bring out the effort we are making as compared with other European countries:

Taking 1938 as 100, for the first quarter of 1949, the indices of industrial production were:

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You will see that only two countries—Denmark and Sweden—have made a better showing than ourselves, and of these two countries one was neutral and physically untouched by the war, and Denmark, although occupied, was not called upon to make anything like the sacrifices that our own people were.

So, it is no good anyone saying that the British worker is slacking on the job and resting on the cushion of a Welfare State because the figures I have read out to you give the lie to that. And this, after 10 years of blood, tears, sweat and austerity, and 10 years is a long time. We now have this dollar crisis, with which we are all becoming very familiar. The British worker did not create this crisis any more than the American worker did. Indeed, it is something which nobody made but is the result of a chain of events that began 25-30 years ago. In the economic jargon of today, we have reached the stage where the scales of international trade have got completely out of balance. As a matter of fact, if the British people worked their fingers to the bone they could not correct the position by themselves. No country could have won the war by itself and no country acting on its own can win the peace.

There is a full appreciation in Britain of the magnificent contribution the American people have made and are making to secure a peaceful and stable world where decent men and women can live, and in spite of gusts of criticism which fly back and forth over the Atlantic, there is a deep recognition in the heart of the British people that you and your country have been a good neighbor not only to us but to many other countries.

We know that it has not been done without sacrifice on your part. We are not foolish enough to believe that every American family has yet got a full and abundant life. Yet, out of what they have, they have contributed their share.

Not only has the American trade union movement played a prominent part in the European Recovery Program, and was in the front rank of those who saw the vital need for this if the on-rush of Communism was to be stopped, but in many other ways they have helped, and many fine convalescent and rest homes that are now being run in Britain by the trade unions would not have existed but for the generosity of the rank and file membership of the A.F. of L., not forgetting the fine contribution that was made towards the development of what we at home call our trade union hospital, namely, Manor House.

Conscious of what you have done and speaking for our 8 million trade unionists, I bring to you greetings in the sure knowledge that in spite of any differences we may have in manner, temperament and in certain habits of thought, in the final analysis it is on the

friendship and understanding of both our peoples lies the only hope of the world.

PRESIDENT GREEN: And now I am pleased to present to you the friend and associate and co-fraternal delegate from Great Britain who is here with our friend, whose address you have just heard.

Brother Tom Williamson was born in Lancashire. He joined the National Union of General and Municipal Workers in 1913. In 1931, he was elected District Union Organizer for the Liverpool area and in 1937 appointed National Officer of the Union and transferred to London.

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There is a splendid record again, training, experience, education, equipment. We are fortunate in having such trained representatives from Great Britain attend the convention as Fraternal Delegates.

Now, I present to you the one whom I have just referred to, Brother Williamson, Fraternal Delegate from Great Britain.

million by 1947. Yes, we have been arrested, we are on a plateau of sixteen million at the present time, but I say that there are at least nine or ten million American workers who are in economic need of help and support that can be given to them by union organization. And I am certain, as I said, that in 1951, if not in 1950, the law that hinders their banding together in collective organization will be removed and there will be established a just labor-management law, and we can go on to twenty-five million members of American trade unions. And that, I say, will be a great floor under America's economy.

Unemployment compensation has done a tremendous job, but it is ineffective in most states, it is not as effective as it should be when you stop to consider, because of inflation, that a payment of \$25 a week today is only equivalent to the payment of \$15 in 1939. A more realistic approach has to be made to the type of payments, the duration of payments, and a consideration to the number of dependents that a worker has.

In the State of Massachusetts a \$2 payment to each dependent child amounts to but 5 percent of the basic payment to the wage earner. Certainly that should not be a barrier to the establishment of that principle in every one of the forty-eight states of this Union. So I say there should be a greater endeavor made in all of the forty-eight state legislatures to carry out President Truman's program of a \$30 payment and a twenty-six week period. If this is done we will have even a greater sustaining barrier under the economy of this country.

There are many problems yet to be solved in this country. We want a sound health program, we want to see that public power is extended to its maximum potentiality; we want to see the natural resources of this country developed to the fullest possible degree. All of that is going to be necessary if we are going to expand this free enterprise economy of ours to \$300,000,000,000 within the course of the next six, seven or eight years. It can be done if we will all work together collectively, and I am confident the American Federation of Labor will do its part in the solving of the problems that lie ahead. We do need the cooperation and the unification, or whatever method we want to use, of all elements of labor.

I could go on and describe to you that which the American Federation of Labor has done through the years. But to get back to the selling job, I would like to see a great advertising program in the newspapers of the country, on the billboards of the country, and in magazines telling the American people of the contribution of organized labor down through the last three-quarters of a century to the improvement of American life, the improvement of America's economy, the improvement and the strengthening of this great nation. We went into the last World War a much stronger nation because of laws that were enacted as a result of the endeavors of this great organization, and I would like to see a joint approach in this problem of all segments of American labor.

We have problems not only within the borders of the nation, we have problems all

over the world, and we want to congratulate the American Federation of Labor on the contribution it has made to the strengthening of the free nations on this side of the Iron Curtain. Believe me, you have been a great inspiration to those people who indeed were discouraged, and I have confidence that you are going to do even a greater job.

Then we have taken hundreds of these trade unionists from this side of the Iron Curtain, we have brought them here to the United States of America and we have given them an opportunity to see how, under a free enterprise system, we are able to build the finest and the highest living standards of any workers in the world. Much more of that work has to be done.

Your organization can also be very helpful in the implementation of Point 4, which has for its purpose the elevation of the living standards of those in the low living standard areas of the world. We have the choice of taking those people and convincing them that our ideology and our philosophy is the right one, or inevitably they are going to go to the totalitarian order of Communism, and I know of no group in America who can make a greater contribution than the members of the great trade union organizations in the American Federation of Labor.

I am pleased to see a tendency of farmers and labor to understand each other's problems. The economic strength of the one is the greatest guarantee of the prosperity of the other—and their combined prosperity means the prosperity of every segment of our national economy.

Last November workers and farmers pulled together, not because there was an alliance, but because both groups had come to realize that the only real hope for a fair deal was the election of President Truman. We must keep alive and strengthen the community of interest which manifested itself last year. This is the road to prosperity for the worker and farmer—this is the road to a sound, stable and prosperous economy for all.

Yes, that story should likewise be told to the American people, and I sincerely hope that in this convention there will be a program started to sell to America the job that the American Federation of Labor and other trade unionists have done down through the last three-quarters of a century, not only for their own members but for all of the workers of America, for the whole economy of America, because we today are a stronger nation economically. Physically the well-being of the people is far better, and the American workers are enjoying an order of living surpassing anything in the world, because of the fight that has been made down through the last three-quarters of a century by the members of this great organization.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Secretary of Labor, our guest and friend, has measured up to the high standard which we set for him. He delivered a most educational and inspiring address. He has made a genuine contribution to the educational work of this convention.

I appreciate more than words can express the fine tribute, the deserving tribute, the well-earned tribute, which he paid to our great organized labor movement, the American Federation of Labor. I respond wholeheartedly, as I think you do, to the fine suggestion he made that the people of our own country and the people throughout the world be told of the great service, the valuable service which we have rendered toward the promotion of human values, human welfare, the protection of the children, the development of the social state based upon the American way of life.

We are happy because you came this morning, Mr. Secretary, on this auspicious occasion and brought to us your inspiring message. You are among friends. We hope your visit here will be a pleasant one and you can go back to your work in Washington fully assured that a great army of labor, eight million members, stand with you, behind and all around you in support of the measures which you have so eloquently advocated.

Now I am happy to present to you a distinguished member of the fraternal delegation from the British Trade Union Congress. Many of you know him well. I have known him for some length of time.

It must truly be regarded as wonderful when we consider for just a moment that these fraternal delegates visiting with us have traveled across the ocean miles and miles to bring to us the fraternal greetings of the great army of labor they represent in their respective countries. I know you are anticipating with pleasure the receipt of the message which they will bring to us.

I want to present to you now one of the Fraternal Delegates from the British Trade Union Congress. He is a very dear friend of ours and has visited with us here in America on several occasions.

Brother Lincoln Evans was born in Swansea. He started work in the tinplate trade at the age of 13 years. That is when children were employed, even in Great Britain.

At the age of 17 he joined the Steel Smelters' Association, which was one of the organizations from which the British Iron, Steel and Kindred Trades Association developed, (now the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation.) He has held various positions in the Union, becoming General Secretary of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation in 1940.

He has served on the National Arbitration Tribunal and was a member of the Commission of Inquiry into the Retail Distributive Trade. He is a member of the Iron and Steel Board.

In 1945 he was appointed to the General Council of the Trades Union Congress.

He is a British Workers' Delegate on the I.L.O., Iron and Steel Trades Industrial Committee, and attended this year the International Labour Conference in Geneva as one of the Advisers to the British Workers' Delegate.

He has been a member of overseas delegations, and in 1947 was a member of the T.U.C. Delegation to the British Zone of Germany.

He has taken a leading part in the work of the International Trade Secretariat—the International Metalworkers' Federation—and is the Honorary Secretary of its British Section.

As a member of the Anglo-American Council on Productivity he visited the United States in the spring of this year.

That is indeed a wonderful record, developed by a young worker who started work at the age of 13 years. I present him to you now with a feeling of pleasure and deep satisfaction—Brother Lincoln Evans, Fraternal Delegate from the British Trades Union Congress.

FRATERNAL DELEGATE LINCOLN EVANS

(British Trades Union Congress)

President Green, members of the Executive Board and fellow trade unionists: When President Green recalled to my mind that I had started work at 13 years of age it occurred to me that it was probably only a toss of a coin, as it were, that I am not down there amongst your delegates, or, at least in the public galleries and not here as a Fraternal Delegate from Great Britain.

I come from a family of tinplaters, and at the turn of the century hundreds of our Welsh families came over here following the depression which set in in South Wales when President McKinley imposed his tariff that kept Welsh tinplates out of the United States, which had hitherto been their principal market.

I was a boy at the time in a family of five girls. Mother was a widow and her brother, who emigrated here, wanted to take me off her hands and take me over with him. After many days of deep family consultation, Mother decided to keep me, being, I suppose, loth to lose the only boy of the family. That was 50 years ago.

So it looks as if I am a bit late in coming but on the principle referred to by your

President yesterday that, everything comes to him that waits, perhaps it is fitting that I should have the honour of being chosen to bring fraternal greetings from the British T.U.C.

Another reason why I am proud to be the bearer of these greetings is because I believe there is one thing of vital importance in the world as we find it today, and that is the friendship and understanding of our two peoples. For, let us make no mistake about it, the shape and pattern of the kind of world we are going to live in for the next couple of hundred years is going to be determined largely in the lifetime of many of us here today. What that pattern will be will depend upon where your country and mine stand in their relations with each other, and the extent to which we work together in international affairs.

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It has been rightly said that periodically mankind strikes its tents and goes on the march. Before it rests again great issues have been settled and new social institutions, profoundly changed ways of life established. We are in such a period now and the question with which our day and generation is faced and indeed we have to solve is whether it is possible to organize a system of social security which every civilized nation should guarantee its people while, at the same time, retaining our essential freedoms and providing the field of opportunity for enterprise and initiative which will always beckon the creative mind of man. This is the central question of this century as the fight for political freedom was the question of the 19th Century.

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FRATERNAL DELEGATE TOM WILLIAMSON

(British Trades Union Congress)

Mr. President, officers, honored guests and delegates to this convention: I am privileged in speaking here, insofar as I understand I am not to be interrupted, because interruptions can be very disconcerting to a speaker, as was emphasized at a meeting of the Conservative candidate in my election in 1945. He was addressing the meeting and was continually being interrupted by a little fellow in the front who kept chipping in, and eventually the Conservative speaker looked down and said, "Look here, my man, if you keep on interrupting me I will pick you up and put you in my pocket." And a little fellow at the back got up and said, "Well, if you do, you will have more brains in your pocket than you have in your head."

It is a great honor to be elected by the British trade union movement to come on your invitation as Fraternal Delegate to your great convention, and I bring to you and all the members of the American Federation of Labor the greetings, kind regards and good wishes of the British Trade Union Movement.

It is not insignificant that the close link and friendship which has over the years characterized our two movements has contributed in no small measure to better understanding and cordial international relationship in the affairs of our two nations. I am charged, therefore, with the duty of conveying to you, Mr. President, and your fellow trade unionists the felicitations and good wishes for success and prosperity in your labors. May I also express the hope that the close and friendly relationship which has existed between our two great organizations over the years will continue in the years to come.

In Britain we admire the strong and influential trade union movement which you have forged here in this great country, and no doubt you, in turn, have a close interest in the progress of trade union organization in Great Britain. I am gratified to be able to report that this year we have attained the highest affiliated membership ever recorded, a total of 7,936,600 representing 187 affiliated unions. Taking into account the profound economic and political instability which is existent throughout the world, the continued growth of free trade union organization is not only a remarkable fact but also a factor of supreme importance which augurs well for the onward march of democratic institutions.

It is becoming more and more evident that our national trade union centers cannot confine their interest and concern to restricted domestic trade union affairs. Inter-state political relationships and agreements have a profound effect for good or ill on our fortunes. Trade union effort in building up and improving the standard of living can be nullified by retrogressive political decisions. Hence in Britain we have followed with some concern recent political negotiations between our two governments. We realize that living

standards which have been established over the years by struggle and not without hardship, can be jeopardized overnight by manipulation of international economic affairs. One of the significant features of the present relations between our two countries is the activity of mischief makers on both sides who appear to be taking every opportunity to create misunderstanding and discord. In Britain there are those who scream that the British Government, supported by the trade unions, has sold out to Wall Street imperialists, and here in America there are those, often assisted by certain British apologists, who allege that Britain is decadent, lazy and can be written off.

I remember a few years ago a trade union colleague visited the United States for two or three weeks, and on his return had the audacity to write a book on American Affairs. Similarly, we have had recently in Britain certain American visitors who in as short a time have pronounced on the whole ramifications of Britain's economic position. In neither case would it be safe to accept the conclusions from such a cursory examination.

I hasten to assure you, with all the emphasis that I can bring to bear, that the British people are sincerely grateful to the people of the United States for the generous assistance which has been freely provided since 1945. It is fully appreciated in Britain that such assistance rendered to Europe through Marshall Aid, a project backed from the start by the American Federation of Labor and other organized labor, is a sacrifice by the American people themselves.

In 1945 Britain was "broke" or "bankrupt" as Mr. Churchill described the situation at the time, and the material aid which Britain received and is receiving has averted what would surely have developed into a calamitous situation. Having said that, let there be no misunderstanding it is the foremost desire of the British people to stand on their own feet and to be free of outside aid at the earliest possible moment. Those who decry the British effort to recover are, in the first place, underestimating British pluck and tenacity, and, secondly, are guilty, either by error or deliberate design, of misrepresentation of the facts. On all the evidence, Britain has made and is now making a magnificent recovery, and in this effort no small contribution is being made by British workers.

There are certain inescapable reasons for Britain's present economic position. Early in the war the whole of Britain's productive capacity was switched over from peace to war production. Whole industries ripped out peace-time machinery and equipment, and re-equipped for war production. At the end of the war our productive industries had to revert to peace-time production as quickly as possible. The generosity of the United States and Canada in giving aid during this critical period of industrial reconstruction saved what would inevitably have resulted in a tragic economic situation.

Britain being a closely packed island, must at all times import a substantial proportion of essential food and raw materials to live.

Before the war, our foreign assets helped to meet part of our import commitments, but having exhausted our foreign assets to carry on the war, particularly when alone, we must now wholly rely on our exports to balance our imports. So much so, that new machinery which was urgently needed at home to replace worn-out and out-of-date capital equipment and so improve production, has had to be exported to pay for food and raw materials.

For instance, agricultural machinery required to equip an expanding agricultural industry has had to be sent abroad. Vitally needed electrical generating plant has been shipped abroad while we ourselves have been and still are suffering from a shortage of electrical power. Every winter since the war, industry has had to be slowed down because of the shortage of power, and only the unusually mild weather last winter saved British industry from a serious shut-down. It is known now, that should we have a cold winter this year, nothing can prevent a partial shut-down of production, and in any case, as in previous winter months, electrical power will be cut by 20 percent.

New railway rolling stock has had to be exported whilst our railroads have had to be manned by worn-out equipment.

And all this is still going on.

I would like to emphasize this point by quoting the 1948 and 1949 official figures for export of capital equipment:

| | 1948 | 1949 (7 months) |
|----------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Agricultural | 36,000 tons | 22,500 tons |
| Machinery + | 67,751 tractors | +41,579 tractors |
| Electrical | | |
| Machinery | 74,000 tons | 60,000 tons |
| Railway Locos. | | |
| Wagons and | | |
| Accessories | 186,000 tons | 132,100 tons |

These are only three of many items of exported capital equipment. If, during the past four years these could have been retained to rehabilitate British Industry, so much higher would be our industrial production. But Britain is recovering, assisted by your generous help, notwithstanding all the difficulties.

Mines are being re-equipped, and new mines sunk. Coal production is increasing. New electricity generating stations have been and are being built and equipped, and electrical power is rapidly increasing. Indeed, production of electricity has increased from 2,031 million kilowatt hours per month in 1938, to 4,000 per month in 1949, an increase of nearly 100%.

Agriculture has been substantially expanded, and so far as productive industry is concerned, production has increased by 30 per cent over 1946, and is steadily improving. In the first quarter of 1949 British production was 131 percent of the 1938 figure. In Western Europe only Sweden and Denmark have a better record and Sweden was not in the war, and Denmark's industrial production is too small to compare. We are building up our production at a substantial rate.

Our exports are 156 percent of pre-war, while we have restricted our imports to a figure below that of pre-war. We are earning a higher proportion of our dollar requirements than before the war. We are, in fact, in a far better position now to battle our way through than we were in 1945. Indeed, all the sober facts show that we are fighting our way towards independence more resolutely than was ever thought possible. And by a working population which for ten years has suffered austerity and severities unmerited by a nation which fought unselfishly to save the world from tyranny.

So when next you come across a Jeremiah who would have you believe that Britain is finished, don't believe it. Those who held that view in 1914 and 1939 lived to regret their error. Mr. Harry Bates, your Fraternal Delegate to the British Trades Union Congress said he admired the British effort to get on our feet, and conveyed what I believe is the opinion of all informed Americans when he said, "We like your guts!"

Far be it from me to convey to you that we are complacent or have nothing to learn, or have reached the pinnacle of our endeavors. There are those amongst our population—not confined to any particular class—some through ignorance and lack of appreciation of the economic situation, and others determined to sabotage if they can our economic recovery for political reasons, who are clogging the wheels.

We have had strikes, organized and conducted by Communist agents for no other purpose than to retard our economic and industrial progress. In the London docks this year we had a strike which dislocated our flow of international trade on an issue with which we had no concern at all, and in which 15,000 men were involved resulting in a loss of 260,000 working days. But while the strike weapon has been abused its extent has been misrepresented and exaggerated abroad, especially in the United States. In the three years 1946 to 1948 a total of 5½ million working days have been lost through industrial disputes, but this, serious as it is, is infinitesimal to what happened in the first three years after the first World War, 1919 to 1921, when no less than 147,373,000 working days were lost, in combatting fierce reactionary attacks on wages and the standard of living.

One essential for the success of a progressive democracy is workers' solidarity as expressed in free trade union organization. Membership of a reputable trade union carries with it great rights and benefits, and at the same time definite obligations and responsibilities. The first and foremost obligation of every trade unionist is loyalty to the union, recognition of its democratically agreed constitution, and acceptance of union decisions and policy. Without these essentials a trade union becomes nothing more than a rabble, and it is in the destruction of these essentials that the enemies of freedom and democracy see the possibility of their success. So we find a dividing and disrupting gospel being preached today. It makes a pretense of aiming at the unity of the working class, but actually it is designed to break up unity and solidarity by introducing dissension and conflict and confusion. Tactics which have succeeded in many parts of the

world are being tried in Britain. Responsible trade union leaders who used to be labelled Right-wing, then later called reactionaries, are now being called traitors. But those people who would welcome a slave state overlook one salient outstanding fact—the intelligence and sagacity of the British worker. American trade unionists can rely on the common sense of the British worker not to be hoodwinked, and recent decisions of the British Trades Union Congress, which was attended by Fraternal Delegates from your great organization, Brothers Bates and Beck, clearly indicate an awakening to the danger of taking too lightly the machinations of the totalitarian disrupters.

My organization, the National Union of General and Municipal Workers, the second largest in Britain, has had experience of the tactics employed, and has not only taken disciplinary action from time to time but has made it unmistakably clear that those within the union who act contrary to the union's constitution and policy, or attempt to use the union for Communist activities, will be dealt with in no uncertain manner.

The time has come when every trade unionist must decide a simple issue—whether he wishes his organization to be free, unfettered and outside state direction and influence, or whether his union shall be subject to the dictates of a totalitarian hierarchy.

No trade unionist has a right to the collective protection and powerful influence of his organization, and at the same time reserve to himself the right to flout the constitution, decisions and policy. In Britain, the vast majority of trade unionists realize that free democratic trade unions are the most powerful barrier against a totalitarian state, and will not allow themselves to be deluded by the subtleties of Communist propaganda directed towards capture and control of their organizations.

Great responsibility in the world situation rests on the American and British trade union movements. The free trade union world is faced with a powerful Communist dominated organization which is committed to propagate an ideological philosophy repulsive and repugnant to those who believe in freedom and democracy. The World Trade Union Organization, launched with sincere enthusiasm four years ago, has failed for reasons which are well-known to us all. The British trade union movement by democratic vote has declared in no uncertain terms its refusal to support an organization whose policy and direction is dictated by power politics. The recorded history of the World Federation will go down as a pitiful example of the degradation which accompanies subservience to state influence and domination. Free trade unions, with all their glorious traditions cannot live in the stifling atmosphere of totalitarian confinement. Great responsibility, therefore, rests on the American and British trade unions to rally and organize free trade unions everywhere, and in this task our two great organizations will not fail.

May I conclude, Mr. President, by wishing you and your colleagues all success and prosperity in your endeavors, and for my wife and myself, thank you for your cordial reception and generous hospitality which has been af-

forded us during our visit to this historic convention.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I am pleased to make reply just briefly to the Fraternal Delegates. The addresses delivered by the Fraternal Delegates from Great Britain have measured up to the high standard set by Fraternal Delegates from Great Britain who have attended previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor. We value most highly the educational information submitted in these inspiring addresses, and the facts that they have stated here, which will be given wide publicity, not only through the distribution of these addresses in our printed proceedings, but also in our journals and in our magazines.

We have maintained a warm, cordial, extremely friendly fraternal relationship with the British Trades Union Congress over years and years. We have exchanged fraternal delegates every year, and as a result of this friendly relationship and this exchange of fraternal delegates we have developed understanding, goodwill, cooperation and friendship that is an objective commendable and must be maintained between these two great English-speaking nations. I want to assure the fraternal delegates that it is the fixed and unalterable purpose of this great organized labor movement in America, the American Federation of Labor, to serve day in and day out in the promotion, maintenance and perpetuation of friendship, goodwill, understanding and cooperation between the workers of Great Britain and the workers of the United States of America.

Just one other thing. There have been statements in the reactionary press of the nation critical of the government of Great Britain. Charges that are ill-founded have been made that the workers are lazy and are refusing to serve and for that reason this economic situation has developed. That theory has been supported by reactionary commentators on the radio, by reactionary columnists in our country. It is the same group that is opposing us in our fight to maintain a free, democratic trade union movement in America.

But right now I want to publicly state in answer to these fine addresses that we are not in accord with that point of view. We believe that the people of Great Britain have a right to shape, formulate and carry out their own economic and political policies free from interference from the outside anywhere

or anyplace. We claim that right for ourselves and it would be deception on our part if we would claim that right for ourselves and then criticize the democracy of Great Britain for exercising it there freely.

So these statements made are not the statements of labor. They are not approved by us. We denounce them as misrepresentative of the attitude of the American people toward Great Britain, and let me assure you that whatever form of government you want to establish we shall say you have the right to do so, so long as it is not a totalitarian form of government.

Now, I want to strengthen you and strengthen this great organization in Great Britain that realizes they are passing through an economic crisis and are contributing in a wonderful way toward rebuilding their nation. These statements made in the reactionary press do not reflect the judgment and the mind and heart and soul of the workers of America. We are standing with you and will stand with you all through your great fight until you build Great Britain back to the proud pinnacle it has always occupied in the international life of the workers.

Thank you so much.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Secretary-Treasurer Meany announced that I.B.E.W. Locals 292, 160, 23, and 110, cordially extend to all I.B.E.W. delegates and their wives an invitation to attend a banquet and dance on Saturday, October 8th, at 6:30 p.m. in the I.B.E.W. Hall, at 157 North Dale Street.

PRESENTATION

At this time Delegate A. S. Reile, Secretary of the Central Labor Council of Honolulu presented orchid leis to President Green and Secretary Meany.

MR. REILE: President Green, Secretary Meany, members of the Executive Council, delegates to the convention and friends of the American Federation of Labor: The people of Hawaii have asked me to bring a bit of Hawaii to this convention by presenting these beautiful leis to you and to the wives of the members of the Executive Council that are in attendance at this convention. We would

like to present one of these to each of the ladies who are here, but that would be impossible.

However, I will make this promise that if you will come to Hawaii you will get more than your share of them.

These orchid leis were procured by the Hawaii Business Bureau at the request of the Central Labor Council of Honolulu and flown here through the courtesy of the Northwest Airlines. These orchids were still on the vine Sunday morning.

With these leis go an invitation to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and to all National and International Unions to hold some of your meetings in Honolulu. We have everything that you need.

I have heard of some of the attractions of the great commonwealth of Minnesota, and of the various other areas like Florida, and California. I think we have everything that they have and we don't have to knock ourselves out traveling to get them.

I would like to explain: In Minnesota they brag about the 11,000 lakes. I think that is a wonderful thing. We don't need it. We have the whole Pacific Ocean for a backyard. The State of Minnesota has Senator Humphrey. He is something. We have Senator Thelma Akana. You possibly have heard about her if you have listened to Arthur Godfrey's program. She can do as well at speaking as Senator Humphrey. Besides, she sings Hawaiian songs and dances the hula hula, and she is a doggone sight better looking.

Florida says, "Hold your conventions here. We have wonderful climate during the winter months." They are bragging about our climate, the one that we have 365 days a year.

The State of California has rugged mountains and beautiful scenery. It might surprise you to learn that the Islands are mountainous and we have scenery to match any that you will find in California.

People travel all the way to Naples in Italy to see the Volcano Vesuvius erupt. In Hawaii we have the most active volcano on earth, Manna Loa, which erupted in January. You come out there and we will arrange a show for you.

San Francisco has its wharf, but we have a fisherman's wharf that is just as colorful.

The French brag about their bathing beach. Did you ever hear of Waikiki Beach? That is equally as famous.

They say the fishing in the Gulf of Mexico is wonderful. The fish you catch in the Gulf of Mexico are simply the gulls from Hawaii that swam to the Gulf of Mexico for protection.

Arizona says come out there and see the Grand Canyon. It may come as a shock and a surprise to you, but we have a grand canyon in Hawaii that is equal in beauty and grandeur to any that you will find in Arizona. I also want to mention about Niagara Falls. That is a wonderful thing, but the water there goes over the cliff and follows the natural law of gravity. We have one in Hawaii that goes over the cliff and up. If

you don't believe me come out there and I will show it to you.

In closing I want to say to all of you "Aloha."

PRESIDENT GREEN: We are happy to have these flowers from Hawaii. It is a great country. Perhaps we will hold a convention there sometime.

It now seems that we have completed the work for this morning's session. If there are no announcements to be made at this time we will stand recessed until 2:00 o'clock this afternoon.

(At 12:30 o'clock, p.m. the convention adjourned to reconvene at 2:00 o'clock, p.m.)

SECOND DAY—TUESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order at 2:15 o'clock, p.m., by President Green.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I am happy to announce to the delegates, visitors and friends in attendance at the convention the President of the United States transmitted to you through me a very pleasing and interesting message. He was invited to attend this convention as our guest, but expressed regret that he was unable to do so. Instead he has sent us a message that I know will please you. So at this appropriate time I am going to call upon Secretary-Treasurer Meany to read to you the message from President Truman addressed to the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention.

MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT TRUMAN

Secretary-Treasurer Meany read the following communication:

THE WHITE HOUSE

Washington

September 21, 1949

Dear Mr. Green:

Thank you for your cordial invitation to attend and address the Sixty-Eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. I regret it will be impossible for me to do so but I am taking the opportunity to extend my hearty greetings to the officers, delegates, and members at the St. Paul meeting and my best wishes for a successful convention.

The American Federation of Labor through all its long history has been a leader in championing the rights of wage earners and helping to gain for them better and safer working conditions, greater social security, and an increasingly high standard of living. Particularly since 1933 has your organization cooperated with the national administration for the enactment of a wide program of forward-looking legislation in the interest of wage earners, farmers and in the public interest as well.

Such legislation has been a most important factor in making the American standard of living the highest in the world. We are the best fed, best clothed, and best housed nation in all history. With approximately sixty million men and women at work and with the profits of industry high we can, and we will, maintain our living standards and improve them for those of our people who are under-privileged.

Many additional Americans need the protection of adequate minimum wages, of agricultural price supports, of more and better housing and of greater educational opportunities. They will have their needs satisfied through the cooperation of wage earners and farmers with their government. Be assured your unions and all progressive Americans will have my full support in rounding out much needed programs to insure the Fair Deal goal for the benefit of all the people of our nation.

That is the cause to which we are dedicated. It may be delayed by the tactics of those who live in the dark ages of social thinking and oppose anything to benefit their less privileged fellow men but in the end it will triumph if we continue to stand together and meet the challenge in the best interest of all patriotic American groups.

Since your last convention the U. S. Department of Labor, which had been stripped of its power and influence by the 80th Congress, has been largely restored to its proper status as I pledged you it would be. However, the Taft-Hartley Labor Law has not yet been repealed although the nation voted for such action in accepting the forthright platform of the Democratic Party last November.

That is a matter of unfinished business which we can agree will be finished to the satisfaction of working men and women in response to the voice and wishes of the American people.

Very sincerely yours,

(s) Harry S. Truman.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair now recognizes the Secretary of the Credentials Committee for a supplemental report.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Committee Secretary Gallo submitted the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials have examined credentials and recommend that the following be seated:

National Brotherhood of Operative Potters:

James M. Duffy, 56 votes.

Joseph P. Brown, 55 votes.

Hazel Brown, 55 votes.

T. J. Desmond, 55 votes.

Frank P. Converse and Victor S. Swanson, each with 214 votes, as additional delegates to represent the International Union of Operating Engineers.

Matthew W. Davis, 15 votes to represent Aluminum and Tin Foil Workers' Union No. 19388, Louisville, Kentucky.

H. L. Mitchell, 36 votes; Arthur C. Churchill, 35 votes, representing the National Farm Labor Union.

Harry Cohen, 1 vote, representing the Hagerstown, Maryland, Central Labor Union.

Lawrence T. Bregante, 2 votes, representing the Packers and Preserve Workers' Union No. 20989, San Francisco, California.

R. E. James, 1 vote, representing the Beet Sugar Refinery Employees' Union No. 21767, Brighton, Colorado.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY GALLO: Your committee moves the adoption of this report and recommends that the delegates be seated.

The motion was seconded and carried.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Now I have the privilege and pleasure of presenting to you the Fraternal Delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. You are acquainted with him because he was introduced to you along with the other Fraternal Delegates when the convention convened yesterday morning. We are happy to extend to him a warm and cordial welcome to this convention. It is pleasing to know that there still continues to exist increasing strength, a friendly fraternal relationship between our great organized labor movement and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. Because of our geographical location the line of distinction between the two countries is indiscernible. One can hardly tell where the geographical line extends between the United States and the Dominion of Canada. There are no soldiers guarding the line. There are no fortifications. There are no guns; there are no explosives, no dynamite. It seems that it is just one great country, and the geographical line is scarcely discernible. That augers well. It is very deeply significant and susceptible of a most friendly interpretation. So our labor movement in Canada and the United States is one. We are united thoroughly, one great organization.

Now, with these few remarks I take pleasure in presenting to you Mr. Robert Rintoul, rep-

resentative of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. He is a member of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees of America and has been for 22 years. He is Vice-President of the Calgary Trades and Labor Council and he is also President of the Calgary Civic Employes Federation.

Brother Rintoul, Fraternal Delegate of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

MR. ROBERT RINTOUL

(Fraternal Delegate, Canadian Trades and Labor Congress)

Mr. President, distinguished guests, fellow delegates:

It gives me very great pleasure, on behalf of the affiliated organizations and membership of The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, to bring to you fraternal greetings. It is a great honour to have this opportunity to address this great assembly representing the working people of a great democratic state. It is as well a high privilege to have been elected to do so on behalf of your brothers in the far-flung democracy to the north—the Dominion of Canada.

On this occasion it might be well to recall how thoroughly we, the working citizens of these two great nations of North America, are brothers. We are brothers in our strong and firm resolve to foster and develop our democratic methods of government and our democratic ways of living. We have been more than once brothers in arms in defense of these cherished things. We are brothers in the working men's organizations whether they be of local, national or international character, striving shoulder to shoulder in the common struggle for a fair share of the fruits of labor; for a high standard of living; for a greater measure of happiness in the homes of all of our people within the broad compass of the democratic ideal. The confraternity between our several groups and national centres lives and gains its energy and strength from fundamental and indestructible brotherhood that runs like a golden thread through the hearts and minds of our organized workers regardless of country, race or creed.

I come to you bringing these fraternal greetings almost, you might say, directly from the floor of the 64th annual convention of The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. That convention completed its deliberations only a few days ago, on September 24th.

While I have taken my part in the affairs of the Federation of Labor in my home Province of Alberta, and in the Trades and Labor Council of my home city of Calgary, I am a working man. And, as such, I have long been active in the affairs of my own union—The Amalgamated Association of Street, Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees of America.

Delegates assembled here, Mr. President, from the wide and populous areas of the United States of America will not mind if I pause for a moment to pay tribute to the organizing genius of the workers of this continent. In the convention of The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada just closed there were delegates in person from the Island Province of Newfoundland in the Atlantic, from Vancouver Island in the Pacific, from the growing industrial areas of the south along our common border, and from the important mining centres of the north just outside the Arctic Circle. In my country with an area greater than that of yours yet with a population not more than a tenth of yours thus providing vast distances between populated and industrial areas, it is little short of the miraculous to discover that the membership in the various union organizations affiliated to The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada now numbers close to the half million mark.

This year our Canadian Confederation was extended to include a tenth Province, Newfoundland. Subsequently the organized labor bodies of that new province affiliated to the Newfoundland Federation of Labor voted to join with our Congress bringing into the fold another Federation of Labor and an additional 22,000 members.

Today we can proudly state that we are "the most representative body of labor" in Canada claiming a membership of at least one and one-half times that of any other congress or confederation.

This growth in the membership affiliated to The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada has occurred in all sections of the movement: in the International Unions, the Nationals, the Provincial Organizations, and the Federal Local Unions. These latter have been chartered during the last year at the rate of more than one a week.

This growth in our membership is a healthy growth. It is not a mushroom, neither is it sterile. It is a growth in line with and commensurate with the steadily increasing activity and expansion of our economy. Just a couple of figures will indicate what I mean.

Recent surveys completed by our Dominion Bureau of Statistics, a federal government department, show that in the last four years we have invested our own Canadian capital in all sorts of useful economic projects quite apart from houses and housing to an amount equal to the total investment of capital from the United States in our history. The result is that today capital investments in Canada by people and institutions in your country represent considerably less than 25 percent of the total, and even in manufacturing enterprises where your investors have been most concerned the percentage is now only slightly greater than 30 percent of the total.

I have given you these up-to-date figures for a further reason: I want you to know that your brothers in the north are with you in your struggle and that they are dependable. As we grow and expand our common desires and needs for the protection and development of the democratic way of living will be the quicker attained and the more easily satisfied.

You and I, all of us, who believe in democracy; and there is nowhere outside of the trade union movement where the practice of democracy is so much a part of the very institution and day to day operations; we live under the continuous threat of totalitarian attack. Our unions by their very nature are open to capture by those, despite their fine phrases, who would control or destroy.

Our people in Canada, and this goes for the members of our trade unions, have a tendency to appear at times rather complacent. From my own observations, I am convinced that this is only an appearance. The truth, I believe, is quite the opposite. But we are, on the whole, a people given to tolerance. Thus we are perhaps a little slow to move; but when we do take a situation in hand we leave nothing further to chance. Whatever be our differences of opinion, when faced with a definite enemy we can and have moved in a common wholehearted way.

In a few sections of the trade unions affiliated to The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, the Communists or their fellow travellers have been able to gain footholds. But it must be said that the total of unions and people involved was a very small minority within our Congress. However, it is no new discovery that even a small number of these externally-controlled fanatics can cause widespread damage and confusion within our ranks.

In the true Canadian worker's style our Congress has dealt a series of body blows to these disrupters within our movement.

In one of the greatest conventions of our Congress's long history the Communist-controlled Canadian Seamen's Union has been permanently suspended. Delegates elected to positions on the Executive Council of the Congress must from now on take an oath of allegiance to the Crown. Unrestricted trade with countries including the U.S.S.R., "New China" and the Soviet Satellites has been looked upon with disfavour.

And, in addition, our convention has declared that no known Communist may hold office in the Congress, in any provincial federation of labor, labor council, or be a member of any convention committee. It has gone even further and encouraged all unions to remove these people from executive positions; and setting a wholly new example has asked all unions to expel from their ranks any and all known Communists. Thus you can see how determined our officers and members are to remove this cancerous growth from the otherwise healthy body of our trade unions.

But we are just as convinced that this is not the whole answer, as we are determined to proceed in this fashion against the Communists and fellow travellers in our ranks. In effect this is a very negative approach. If we are to succeed in removing not only the scourge of Communism but also in assuring the non-recurrence of it, we must proceed in positive fashion as well.

We, your brothers in Canada, are convinced that the full exercise and practice of

democracy is the only real and effective antidote to Communism. That is why we in convention have again urged upon our federal government need for the early institution of a complete cradle-to-the-grave social security scheme including old-age pensions without the iniquitous means test. We want this to be established on a contributory basis so that everyone will feel that he has a share in it, and that there will therefore be no stigma attached when retirement comes and the pensions become payable, or when, at other times, other benefits become effective. There is no stigma to cashing an insurance policy or an annuity. Under the social security scheme our Congress is proposing there will be no stigma either.

Our membership is just as serious in its desire for the early enactment of a National Health Services measure which will provide complete health services of all kinds without any payment at the time that the service is required. We know that these schemes are being successfully operated elsewhere, and we are determined to have them provided for our people.

Often, of course, we are criticized by our opponents as visionaries, unmindful of the cost of such schemes. But we answer, and rightly, that the cost of not having such humane measures is far in excess of the monetary outlays required to operate them. The greatest cost our economy has to bear every year and every day of the year is the ill health of our people. By that I do not want to suggest that we are in any way a peculiarly unhealthy country. I would be fair in saying that this is true of every country.

It has become abundantly obvious in Canada that the social security measures we now have, however restricted, have improved our economic and social stability.

And it is also true that nothing has contributed more to that new stability in our country than the existence from one end of the country to the other of thousands of wage agreements entered into through peaceful negotiations and lived up to by both the employers and the organized workers.

I am not unaware of the gloomy suggestions being made concerning the possibility of another depression with its attendant evils of unemployment and want. I am not an economist. But I am convinced of one thing. Come what may, the existence of a strong trade union movement, as now exists in both of our countries, coupled with the present network of collective wage contracts is the greatest and most effective bulwark against any rapid or disastrous decline into the depths of despair and despond such as most of us remember in the hungry thirties.

It was the trade union movement that developed the collective agreement. In this, as in most fields of social legislation, the leadership came from the ranks of our own workers' organizations. Our members in Canada are asking for an extension of this idea.

During the years of World War II we in Canada had what has been described as one of the most effective measures of price con-

trol. Unfortunately soon after the fighting stopped price control stopped too. Our members want price control re-established.

But we want more than just the former measures. We are desirous of the establishment of a Price Control Board which will have the power to prevent any change in price without first consultation with the Price Control Board. In other words, we are asking that prices no longer be allowed to run up and down at the whim of individuals seeking little more than just a profit, but rather that they be changed by agreement after negotiation in much the same way as we have become accustomed in the union movement to alter wages.

The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada presented this request to the Royal Commission on Prices late in 1948, and this received the unanimous endorsement of our convention a few days ago.

Those who clamour loudest against the control of prices in the main are the very same people who fix prices arbitrarily through the medium of cartel and other financial combinations and arrangements. Our membership is determined to see established a means whereby such price fixing shall be in the interests of the whole public and not just for the privileged few. And when we have achieved this economic goal, a new stability will have been added to our Canadian economy equally, if not more, significant compared with that added by the collective wage contract.

Despite many difficulties, sometimes almost super-human difficulties, we, in Canada, as you have here in the United States, have built a movement second to none in strength, solidarity and influence. We in Canada are determined to use our strength and influence not in any narrow way designed to help only some special group at the expense of others, but rather in the interests of all of our people in the hope and with the goal in view of establishing living and working conditions in which the welfare of man is the first concern.

The struggle for the forty-hour work week is not yet over. Recent surveys serve to suggest that approximately seventy percent of our workers enjoy the forty-hour week. Representations are still being made to our various governments to enact laws to fix the maximum work week at forty hours. Our convention again went on record commending these efforts on the part of our Congress Executive and those who carry on this very important work in the Provinces. Many of our affiliated members enjoy two weeks' vacations with pay, and some have gained the similar right in regard to as many as eight and nine statutory holidays. But this is still not general throughout our industries and trades, and our convention strongly urged continued and unrelenting efforts in this regard.

Yet while we push forward our demands for greater economic and social benefits, it is well for us to pause for a moment and recall that our strength and solidarity by and through which we are able to reach the successes that have and will be ours is only

possible because of our assertion and retention of the basic truth that what hurts one hurts all. The rights and freedoms we ask for one we ask for everyone.

Although it has been our way in Canada to broaden freedom down to include all within the scope of the law, and to make all equal before the law, we have not as you have done: write the fundamental rights and freedoms of man down in a positive way as in the thirteen amendments to your Constitution. We too want a positive statement of these fundamental rights and freedoms. We are still urging upon our governments the early enactment of a Bill of Rights.

Our membership also wants enacted by our federal and provincial governments laws that will assure our people against discrimination in employment. We would like to have these laws modelled in a broad way after your very successful laws governing Fair Employment Practices now operating in several states.

It is safe to say that almost from the very first time that organized labor met in Canada in a national body one of the financial improvements requested was the establishment of Workmen's Compensation laws. This took a long time, but finally laws of a practical and reasonably comprehensive nature did reach the statute books. Since then the struggle has centered around amendments that would broaden their scope, their benefits, and their humane administration. Today our membership is asking for a higher rate of compensation without any waiting period on the highest prevailing rate at the time of the accident. At the moment the best rate paid in any province, all of these laws being provincial, or for that matter in any part of North America, is 75 percent.

I could go on enumerating the many changes organized labor as represented by The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada is requesting of federal and provincial governments. I do not intend to proceed with any such unnecessary recitation.

On the other hand, we in Canada have been watching with more than usual interest your valiant struggle to lift the onerous and restricting Taft-Hartley Law from your statute books. We all wish you Godspeed and every success. And as we do we cannot fail to recall that so far we have resisted such a catastrophe in Canada.

We came very near to it earlier this year when in one Province a vicious anti-labor law was proposed. Fortunately for all, organized labor in Canada in a solid front put up by the various organized labor groups in that Province forced the government to withdraw the bill before it could become law.

We have a federal labor code in Canada. And this law has been copied in many Provinces. In others, laws governing union recognition and collective bargaining, more or less similar, are in existence. None of these laws are perfect, but none are repressive. Our members are continually seeking amendments, particularly in respect to the rights of civil servants and the employees of our numerous municipalities; but the fundamental rights of unions and union members are

to a large extent protected in all of these laws. And it is no small satisfaction to our officers and members to hear Ministers of the Crown reiterate the statement that no Taft-Hartley Law will be enacted in Canada.

We are also watching with very considerable interest your excellent efforts to take political action spearheaded by your great efforts to remove this hampering law. Our Congress has long held to its non-partisan position in politics. And again in this year's convention our membership has reiterated this non-partisan stand.

This does not mean, Fellow Delegates, that we do not take a very intense interest in politics as individuals. Nor does it mean that we do not reserve the right to criticize our various governments on any or every important issue affecting the welfare of our members or organizations. And it should be emphasized here that our convention decision to require an oath of allegiance to the Crown from all elected Executive members and officers does not in the slightest degree reduce their ability to criticize the government in power, or impede their efforts to gain new laws or the amendment of existing laws or their administration.

I have spoken at some length concerning legislative conditions in Canada. And I have tried to highlight for you some of the main areas in which our membership is currently most concerned. I have done so because it is my belief that the most valuable contribution I can make to the discussions of this great convention is in providing up-to-date and accurate information concerning the struggles, the failures and the successes of your brother unionists in the growing and friendly nation which stretches along the full length of your northern boundary.

But it would neither be fair nor accurate to leave the impression that our membership in Canada is alone concerned with purely domestic affairs. The international scene grips their attention and exercises their minds and emotions as well.

Not without the deepest interest and concern did our Congress provide an official observer at the preliminary discussions concerning the formation of a new international center of free trade unions which could function as a clearing house for those of us who live and work in the free nations of the world; and at the same time offer a counter to the propaganda machine known as the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Our Congress never was affiliated to the W.F.T.U., although it did sit in at the preliminary sessions in London in 1945. But our convention this year instructed the Executive Council to take an active part in the formation and development of the new Free Trade Union Centre. And it is more than likely that a significant delegation will be present from The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada when this new body meets in London later this year. Our Congress is deeply concerned that every effective effort be made to protect the trade unions of the world from the inroads of the stunting virus of Communism.

We in Canada have not decided to sweep communists and Communistic practices from our free trade unions simply because at the moment it is a popular thing to do. We mean business, as our convention resolutions strongly indicate.

May this convention be your springboard to greater and greater successes on behalf of the workers of your country. In your struggle for a new and better social order in which the vast army of your working people and their families may march proudly and triumphantly in the knowledge and enjoyment of the fullness of their reward, I, on behalf of the affiliated membership of The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, wish you Godspeed; and the very best luck. To the officers, executive council and delegates to this convention of the American Federation of Labor I bring you the sincere and friendly fraternal greetings of your Canadian brothers in The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I thank Brother Rintoul for the excellent address which he has just delivered. It is inspiring and educational, and I am sure every word of it is deeply appreciated by the officers and delegates in attendance here.

I thank you, Brother Rintoul, from the bottom of my heart for your splendid address, for your attendance at this convention and for the services you render as a fraternal delegate.

Now, I want to present to you an outstanding international representative of labor. He comes from Hungary, one nation that is now behind the Iron Curtain. He was persecuted by the Fascist and Bolshevist regime. He was subjected to their persecution because he believed in freedom, individually and collectively, and in our free trade union movement. He was forced into exile under the Nazis, and now under the Hungarian Communist regime.

He is a leader of the free trade union movement in exile working for the restoration of democracy behind the Iron Curtain.

The American Federation of Labor has been working with these exiles and supporting their movement. No one can even comprehend or understand the suffering and the persecution to which he has been subjected and the sacrifices which he has made. He will speak to you in the Hungarian language, and his address will then be translated and read to you by Secretary-Treasurer Meany. I take great pleasure in presenting to you Charles Peyer, leader of the Hungarian labor movement for the past 25 years.

(Mr. Peyer delivered his address in the Hungarian language, and Secretary Meany followed with the English translation.)

MR. CHARLES PEYER
(Former President, Hungarian Trade Union Federation)

I am glad of the opportunity to greet you in the name of the workers of the countries behind the Iron Curtain and permit me to wish you success in the deliberations of your convention. This reminds me that in the past we used to have conventions in Hungary—of course, in smaller numbers, but with the same firm conviction to defeat all obstacles in order to pave the way for the workers' prosperity.

The years from 1918 to 1944 were the hardest for us. Our task was, despite the failure of a revolution following the last war and in the face of a reactionary government to force the enactment of a program of social legislation. Among these the most important was the legalization of the eight hour day. As a government commissioner for the miners as early as 1918 I had reduced the twelve hour day to an eight hour day, simultaneously achieving a rise in wages.

I can very well appreciate these results because I myself had worked from six in the morning until 10 at night and on Sundays from six in the morning until ten in the morning. This was when I myself held down the job of a young mechanic.

In World War II, to be exact in 1944, Hitler's German hordes invaded Hungary, occupied it and their first act was to dissolve the trade unions and arrest their leaders. Many of these were murdered and I myself was taken to the Mauthausen concentration camp where I spent 14 dreary months. Finally, the U. S. Army liberated me.

After the defeat of the Nazis, Hungary along with other countries came under Russian influence. When I returned to Hungary from a Nazi concentration camp my post as Secretary-General of the Hungarian Trade Unions which I held for 20 years was filled by an individual appointed by Moscow. The same fate had been meted out to other leaders of the trade unions. Works Councils had been set up in all factories, but these key positions were all filled by Communists. Within the space of a few months the leadership of all trade unions and factories passed into the hands of Communists, which constitutes the first step in the annihilation of the Social-Democratic party.

Shortly after the Russian occupation, all factories, businesses and banks were taken over by the State. Now the workers only have one boss—the State, the leadership of which became completely monopolized by the Communists. Before taking over power the Communists announced that they were going to put an end to capitalist usurpation and abolish class differences. Now let us examine what they actually did. The land, the factories, the mines, the banks, and business

enterprises were taken away without paying a penny to the owners. What did the worker get out of this and how did the consumer benefit by this? Was there any lowering of prices under the Communist system of production?

The first gift to the workers was the abolition of all strikes. Not only the strikers but even those who had propagated the strike are being punished by jail terms ranging from 1 to 5 years. The worker must not leave his job voluntarily, but should Communist production demand it he can be transferred to another work shop, to another branch of work even to a distant township separating him from his family. His wages are no longer based on free collective bargaining with his employer, since his employer is the State itself, which, together with the government trade unions, fixes all wages without bothering to consult the worker. So called norms or "standards" are established for the work to be done and these are gradually being increased, without raising the wage level. Competition is arranged between the individual factories and professions. They graciously permit the workers to accept "voluntarily" smaller wages. They pick out a few individuals who are particularly good at producing more. These persons are hailed as so called "top-workers" and consequently feted. They are given large sums of money, trips to the sea-shore for vacations, and while in town free tickets to the movies and theatres. This is the speed-up system of Hungary today.

While the working day is officially eight hours, actually they are made to put in "voluntarily" an extra hour of work for the sake of the Greek revolutionary army, the French miners on strike, or the Chinese revolutionists. Recently workers were cheated out of another hour by making them appear one hour before the job starts. The time is devoted to a Russian lesson. With the exception of Monday, every evening the workers attend a political seminar, a party-meeting, workshop discussions, or other functions where their appearance is obligatory. So it happens that the workers can only rarely get back home to their families before eight or nine o'clock in the evening. After such courses there is an examination and those who fail to pass are fired from their jobs. In the factories, there is a spy to every ten workers who is forced to report in the most detailed manner on all that happens or is said in the work-shop. If somebody makes a remark about the higher-ups, or is too slow in finishing his work, or rushes away after his work is done, he gets a summons from the political police. He can call himself lucky if he gets away after a thorough beating, or if he is not tried before the so called Peoples' Court. All is known to the workers and that is why they distrust each other and live in terror.

The living standard is constantly falling. While a skilled worker in America can buy eight suits of clothes for his monthly wages, all Hungarian workers would have to give two months' wages to buy an inferior type of suit. In Hungary a skilled worker gets 100 forints per week which equals approximately 8 to 10 dollars in American money. Despite the fact that food prices are lower

than in the States, the worker can buy meat very seldom for himself or his family.

Although wages are low, the socialized factories have a great deficit. Bureaucracy far exceeds the old one; and in every case it is not expert knowledge that is a decisive factor but whether the man picked for the job is a reliable Communist Party member or not.

Class differences are much greater today than under the old capitalist system in Hungary. Apart from the few people who enjoy a big income, the income of the members of the present ruling class exceeds several times that of the worker. The capabilities of the men occupying leading positions do not justify their income. These chosen aristocrats run about in smart foreign-made automobiles, and live in fashionable apartments requisitioned from their former owners. These are the marks whereby the new Communist ruling class can be easily recognized.

Despite this terror, discontent is making itself felt on certain occasions. A few months ago, for instance, the workers of the Diogyor Iron-Foundry and of the Cspel Works, the greatest ammunition factory, revolted against this unheard of exploitation. Since the regime could not fully trust the Hungarian police, they rushed Russian soldiers to the plants to combat the unruly workers. Their leaders and everybody who dared to protest were thrown into concentration camps. Some of them were even taken to Russia, from where they will probably never return.

In present-day Hungary, people can be kept in jail for years without being tried and sentenced. There are some cases when the person in question has been acquitted and yet, after several years, is still in a concentration camp.

It is impossible to relate in detail all the horrors committed against the workers by this system which tolerates no discussion or differences of opinion. Look at me, who for four decades fought for the workers' rights and higher living standards. I was forced into exile lasting one year under the Horthy regime, which sentenced me to six months prison. I was interned by the Germans at the Mauthausen concentration camp for fourteen months. Now I have been forced to flee from the persecution of the Communists. They sentenced me in absentia to eight years in jail as an "agent of American Imperialism." Going over things I find that today I am in a better position than Laszlo Rajk himself, who never opposed the regime but was their Minister of Interior, one of the pillars of their system and who has now been sentenced to death and will be hanged. I at least am still alive.

This system hates liberty and democracy. That is why every honest person must combat it.

I want to say something else. I want to point out that certain people, mostly intellectuals, have a strange way of sizing up Communism. I have had many discussions abroad with these fellow travellers. They usually compare the so-called Russian Social-

ist Republic with American Imperialism. And they say although the Russians still have certain faults they will overcome them and that the Russian system is the wave of the future. This Communist system of Hungary has nothing to do with Socialism. It is a far more vicious imperialism than the czars of Russia ever dreamed of. America has not increased her territory, but Russia has swallowed and incorporated many countries, making millions homeless and subjecting half of Europe to vassal states. Socialism is based on liberty, democracy and humanitarianism. The Communists do not tolerate such notions. Under peace propaganda slogans the Communists invade China and are now engaged in turning their armies and tanks against Yugoslavia. Not even Hitler himself tried as many propaganda tricks as the Communist regimes employ in order to dupe the workers.

I rose from the bottom. I worked with both my hands and became the chairman of a big labor movement in my country. I was a Cabinet Minister three times. I have no prejudices against those who also rose from the bottom. But it is quite easy to be a Communist in New York, Paris, or Rome, demanding dictatorship abroad and abusing the rights of liberty under democracy — rights unknown to Communism. Let these individuals go to Budapest, Bucharest or Prague, where they will see and feel what Bolshevik Communism really means.

Those who think that their countries cannot be invaded are all wrong. We also thought that we could resist it. There were people who thought that they could strike a bargain with this system. The results show that they were mistaken.

Hungary is not a people's democracy which free men strive for. We cannot live under such a terroristic system which exploits workers in the interests of a foreign, imperialistic nation. What we do want is to live in a country and a world which is based on liberty, culture and prosperity which guarantees to every person a life free from fear and want.

We Hungarian workers forced into emigration are grateful to the American trade unions for the great help they are giving us and which has enabled us to fight for the aims of our country. The Hungarian worker will never forget the sacrifices of the American people to liberate the suppressed peoples of my country and the world.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I thank Brother Peyer for his visit with us and for the enlightening address which he has just delivered. As you all know, it will appear in the printed proceedings of today's convention. I am told that it will be broadcast behind the Iron Curtain by the Voice of America, so that the workers and the people in Hungary will be permitted to listen to this address.

PRESIDENT GREEN: We have with us an outstanding representative of the American

Federation of Labor who travelled all the way from Europe to attend this convention, who is prepared to submit to us a most interesting and educational address. The speaker this afternoon is our A. F. of L. representative in Europe who has been serving in that capacity since 1945. I recall when the important group of the Automobile Workers made application to come with the American Federation of Labor, he was one of them. They were granted an International charter and are functioning as an International Union. Recognizing his ability, I employed him as an organizer for the American Federation of Labor and he served in that capacity here in the United States for some considerable length of time. Then he was sent to Europe because it was made clear in his actions and in his statements and in what he knew we understood that he could serve us in a very valuable way in Europe. He served as deputy to Joseph Keenan during the war period on the War Production Board during the last war, and that was in Germany largely.

He has visited both Europe and the Far East. He has visited in more than 20 different countries and over 85 different cities in Europe. He has participated in conference in the development of trade union agreements and so forth in those countries, and contacted them in behalf of the A. F. of L. He is a member of the preparatory committee for the formation of the new International Federation of Trade Unions.

I might add to that that when he left here he spoke only the English language. Now I don't know how many languages he has learned since he has been in Europe, but he speaks the French language more perfectly than most Frenchmen that were born and reared in France. That is a wonderful achievement. But he has been in Europe long enough representing us to have gained a knowledge of the different languages in Europe.

You have read about him in the papers, and he made a wonderful impression as the American Federation of Labor representative throughout Continental Europe. He can tell us a lot. He can't tell us all he knows this afternoon, but I am going to ask him to tell us what he thinks he should tell us on this important occasion.

I present to you Brother Irving Brown, our A. F. of L. representative in Europe.

MR. IRVING BROWN

(European Representative of the
American Federation of Labor)

President Green, Secretary Meany, members of the Executive Council, and delegates to the convention:

I have always made it a habit when reporting to the American Federation of Labor to be very frank and to be very blunt as to what I think is happening in Europe and in the world. I do not intend to change that procedure today because I think that the international situation in the last couple of months has quickly taken a very serious turn for the worse. We are living today in a grave and critical time. The Chinese Communists' march continues unchecked and it is beginning to dominate the entire southeast Asia. The whole Far East is ablaze and there is not a cold war but a very hot war. Western Europe and England are on the eve of, and have been in the process of, going through grave economic developments. On the borders of Yugoslavia today the Soviet Union is engaging in war-rattling moves that Hitler himself never engaged in without going to war. The Soviet Union has made a very serious and a very menacing decision, in my opinion, in terms of the future of world peace and that is that Tito and the present regime of Yugoslavia must be liquidated even at the risk of war.

Eastern Europe under the Soviet domination is being whipped into a totalitarian system dedicated to economic warfare against the west based upon forced labor, based upon forcing labor into a slave-mold. Penetration and infiltration into the western European trade union movement continues to threaten the French and the Italian economy, menacing all the democracies of Western Europe and our own.

I say very frankly and very sadly that we stand in the shadow of a new world tragedy and the cold war is being dangerously transformed into one of increasingly warm temperature. Let no one have any illusions about the situation in the world today, no matter how many speeches about peace Mr. Vishinsky makes. Once again the world is in danger of war. Once again aggression is threatening from a single totalitarian nation, and once again it is my opinion that in the world the labor movement must speak up and act now or face the inevitability of a new and more horrible world conflict.

For the International labor movement the so-called cold war is neither recent nor temporary. It is an old and permanent phenomenon dating back to the days of 1917 and the formation of the Communist International. Russia's declaration of war against the free trade unions of the world goes back to the early days of the Communist International. There has never been an armistice or a peace treaty between the Soviet Union and the free trade union movement of the world. No matter what the twist or turns in Soviet foreign policy, appeasement may come and go, foreign policies may shift from talk of war to talk of peace, from talking softly to a get-tough policy, but in the world of labor there has been and there is no letup. There is no alleviation. There is

permanent cold war on the part of world Communism to capture control and dominate the international labor movement. It is our job now in conjunction with the free trade unions to rebuild a world labor movement that cannot only resist the Cominform, but begin to build the economic foundations upon which the workers of the world can resist the siren calls of world demagogues.

After the first World War the Soviets devised the Red International of Labor Unions to accomplish these aims and objectives. It was an open, unashamed attempt to create a Red Internationale of Trade Unions to destroy, first, the trade unions, and then the democratic world.

But after the second World War they were a little more clever and a little more diabolical. In their opinion a better International was designed in the form of the WFTU, which they could operate under the camouflage of respectability contributed by some of the western trade union movements. From 1945 until January, 1949 the WFTU served Soviet interests through the ability to paralyze the world of free trade unions. In eastern Europe the trade unions were captured by the Communist Party and their agents in order to attain and maintain power. In western Europe Communist penetration of the trade unions aimed at the preventing of economic recovery. Thus you have the formula in Europe today. Trade unions in eastern Europe are the means of consolidating Communist Party power, while in western Europe the Communists hope, through their influence in the trade unions, to deny power to the forces of democracy.

But in recent times the free trade union movement, since January of this year, has made a great and I believe a decisive decision, a decision to break this sham, to break this camouflage and to leave the World Federation of Trade Unions as a new Red International for the Russians and their satellites to dominate, while we in the western world, with our friends in the Orient, in the Middle East and in South America are beginning to create this new world labor movement which will meet in its first World Congress on November 28th of this year in London.

We will have represented at that Congress delegates coming from more than 35 countries in the world and representing more than 45,000,000 trade unionists. This figure represents actual trade union organization with a belief in the principles of free trade unionism and really has a membership of that character. This new world labor movement is today being created as the result of the working together and the uniting of the efforts of the trade unions of Western Europe, of England, and of the United States with the trade unions of the rest of the world in order as I have pointed out, to meet two problems which we cannot avoid. The first is to resist and throw back the attempts of the Cominform to utilize the labor movement in order to achieve the objectives of the Soviet Union. They are attempting through the Cominform to dominate the labor movement and win the world without firing any shots.

Secondly, we will have as our task the dealing with the economic as well as the political problems that the Communists have forced upon the workers in various parts of the world.

This new international labor movement and the European labor movement, which I would like to say a few words about, have made certain progress in spite of this difficult world situation. There has been real progress in the struggle between totalitarianism and democracy during the past year. It has been a progress which is slow and halting, but the fight to maintain and expand free trade unionism goes on.

Communism has been hit hard. It has suffered defeats on every front in Western Europe. But let no one have any illusions, in the light of the world political situation and in the light of Communist strength in the Western labor movement, a rocky road lies ahead. The road is mined at every turn, since Cominform's strength, although diminished, remains a serious menace to Western Europe, beset with grave economic problems.

You have just heard a speaker here like Charles Peyer. No one here can realize, no one here can grasp what it means to have a man like Peyer speak to this convention and to have his voice heard on the Voice of America, so that the Hungarian workers, the workers of Eastern Europe can still feel that they are not left alone. No one can understand what that means to people who have gone through prisons under their own Fascist regimes, under the Fascist regimes of the Nazis, and now under the Bolshevik regime. And if this world labor movement is to do anything it must bring courage, it must bring support of every kind so as to assist these people in the eventual overthrow of the totalitarian dictatorship.

This new world labor movement will either be an aggressive, dynamic, fighting world labor movement for the restoration of free trade unionism, or it will not succeed in the light of the present world situation which is so charged with war and aggression.

In Western Europe the non-Communist labor movement has been fighting with everything at its command to resist and to break the Communist control of the French and Italian trade union movements. They have made progress. They have broken the Communist monopoly in France and Italy. There is a non-Communist labor movement in France and in Italy that can prevent those countries from going Communist or totalitarian. The American labor movement has played an important role in the building up of these forces.

Secondly in this new world labor movement we must seriously meet the problem which we are facing in Western Germany. Unless there is greater control and greater power given to the German trade unions we are now in danger of German nationalism, we are in danger of an alliance between German nationalism and the Soviet Union. Unless Western Germany becomes a part of the western European economy, and unless we give

economic power to our friends, unless we reward our friends and punish our enemies in the Ruhr of Western Germany, we will force Western Germany into the economic orbit of the Soviet Union. This is the danger of Western Germany today. This is the problem that we face, and this is what the new world labor movement must face up to and accept as an important task.

Third, the new world labor movement must put all of its weight behind the development of a wider European economy and a more unified European economy which can permit a greater margin to increase the standard of living of the masses. Unless we have a wider, a more unified and a more continental type of economy in Europe and in other parts of the world we will not be able to improve basically the standard of living of the workers.

These are some of the problems that we will face in Western Europe. We will also face the necessity of meeting the challenge in the Far East about which I spoke. It will be necessary for this new world labor movement to begin to assist in the organization of the tremendous masses of unorganized in the colonial areas of the world, which are becoming subject to the advance of Soviet domination. We must begin to support, as much as we possibly can, the free labor movements in these countries which are supporting non-Communist nationalism. We must rip the mask off of the Russian exploitation of nationalism in the Far East and expose it for what it is—a new form of imperialism. The international labor movement will have a tremendous task to assist these new forces that are rising to the surface.

We must begin to expose this campaign of propaganda that is being directed against one nation, because there is only one nation, in the thinking of the Russians, that stands between them and their objectives, and that is the United States. The entire political campaign, the entire political policy of the Soviet Union today is to destroy the moral position, the ideological position of the United States throughout the world. That is why in Germany the Nazi Fascists are now being welcomed back into the Communist Party of Germany and into the Soviet military administration. When the Russians talk about denazification in the West, that is a sham, because the Nazis of Eastern Germany are in the leading positions of the Soviet military administration.

That is why in the Far East and in the Philippines the Communists can support a man who was Mayor under the Japanese occupiers on the ground that American imperialism is of greater danger to the Russians than Japanese imperialism. That is the logic of the position of the Soviet Union and its agents in attempting to dominate and conquer the world and destroy the moral position of the greatest economic power on the face of the earth today. If they succeed there will be nothing anybody can do to resist Soviet aggression.

Therefore, it becomes necessary for the world labor movement to engage in this ideological conflict, in this propaganda campaign

and expose the fact that the workers are facing dangers far greater than they have ever faced in the history of the world. That is a problem that is especially important in the colonial areas where they are so subject to Russian and Communist propaganda.

This will also mean that the world labor movement must help the native labor movements in the humanization of the industrial process which is now going on in the Far East and other areas. Yes, we must support Point No. 4 of President Truman. We must support the industrialization of these areas, because it is a humanitarian gesture and it is also in our own interests to do so.

It is necessary, when we support these economic programs abroad, that this new world labor movement insist upon the participation, the active participation of these trade unions so that the social and economic welfare of the workers will be protected.

That in a very capule form is what faces us in that part of the world where we can still operate freely and openly. But we will have to continue our campaign to assist those who have been destroyed, those who have been driven out of the totalitarian areas. We must assist men like Peyer and others who are now through the free trade union center in exile, using radio, using leaflets, using individual contacts to keep alive the spark in eastern Europe. There is economic crisis going on in Europe today. Unemployment in eastern Europe is solved by prisons, by concentration camps and this must be exposed. Slave labor must be exposed and the new world labor movement must demand that in addition to having international committees that investigate atomic energy we should have international committees examining the wages and working conditions of workers throughout the world including the Soviet Union and eastern Europe.

If peace is to be maintained it is not only through a world-wide attempt to outlaw the atomic energy or the atomic bomb. There should be also a world-wide attempt to outlaw slave labor and to alleviate the international conditions of the working class of the world.

This in a very short capule form is what we face in London, in my opinion, on November 28th. The American Federation of Labor has played a great role in bringing about this new world labor movement. It will play a great role, I am quite sure, at the London Congress. It should be our task, our objective, to remember that we cannot solve this problem through slogans of peace, through slogans of passivity, but only by an active, dynamic, energetic program by which the world labor movement, yes, challenges the threat of Communism and the Cominform but also seeks the solution of the economic problems which are facing the workers in every part of the world.

PRESIDENT GREEN: That was highly educational, conveyed much information we desired and which we had never yet obtained. I know we will value it very highly. I thank Brother Brown for his address and the in-

formation which he brought to the convention.

Now, we have with us another speaker, another special European representative who has served for a number of years as our representative in Europe and particularly in Germany and Austria. I am of the opinion that he is an expert so far as knowledge of the economic and industrial situation is concerned in these two countries. He has been living close to it, working with the workers, he has been identified with them during the period when they have transferred apparently from a dominated people to a free people now exercising governmental control.

I present to you Brother Henry Rutz, Special European Representative of the A. F. of L., who is a former Vice-President of the International Typographical Union, member of the American Federation of Teachers, and for the last three years representing the American Federation of Labor in Germany and Austria.

I know you will be pleased to receive his message and address. Brother Henry Rutz.

MR. HENRY RUTZ

(Representative of American Federation of Labor in Germany and Austria)

President Green, Secretary Meany, members of the Executive Council, delegates and friends.

I am extremely grateful to have the privilege of again reporting to this convention on the past year's development in Germany, and the activities of the American Federation of Labor in that country.

Three major events have taken place in Germany, each of which will have its influence in the shaping of the country's future. The cruel and infamous Russian blockade of Berlin has been lifted; a government for Western Germany has been set up and the first parliamentary elections have been held; and all preparatory work has been completed for the convention of the first post-war German Trade Union Federation.

The Russian failure to drive the Allies out of Berlin has given new heart to all Germans who want to keep their country free. Credit for the breaking of the blockade must go to the remarkable achievement of the airlift which, until it ended officially last Friday, flew in 1,350,000 tons of food and fuel. But credit must also go to the brave people of Berlin, who were willing to make all sacrifices rather than to capitulate to Russian totalitarianism. Berlin, however, is still in a bad state.

Being an island in the middle of the Russian zone, the city is deprived of the normal sources of raw materials, while trade and commerce has dropped to but a fraction of their former activity. This has resulted in serious unemployment and a bankrupt city treasury.

The anti-communist Berlin Trade Union Federation, whose railroad section put up such a great fight against the Russian-managed elevated system a half year ago, is also hit hard because tens of thousands of unemployed find it increasingly difficult to keep up their dues. Incidentally, as you might have expected, the Russians are paying no attention to the agreement negotiated by the military governments which ended the Berlin rail strike. Over two thousand of the original 16,000 strikers have been fired during the last months although non-discrimination against strikers was a main clause in the settlement. Neither are the Russians paying the railroaders in west marks, as agreed, but are continuing to pay in their east zone marks which are worth only one-fifth of the west mark.

Highly appreciated during the strike was the American Federation of Labor's moral and material assistance. Five hundred CARE packages were distributed to railroaders' families. The Russians hereupon banned CARE from further use of the land and water transportation systems into Berlin as the Russians claimed CARE was being used for political purposes.

The Berlin situation is grave. We have licked the blockade. We must now lick unemployment. We should insist that Western Berlin be given a larger cut of Germany's quota of Marshall Plan aid, and means should be found to get raw materials to Western Berlin's factories. The Allies should modify their stand in regard to Berlin's status and work for the inclusion of Berlin's three democratic western sectors into the newly-created democratic Western Germany. Berliners have shown by their continued resistance to Russian oppression and Communist threats that they are deserving of democracy's support.

And now permit me a few minutes to report on the recent German elections. The three Western Allied Military Governors have finally approved a German constitution, written by the Germans themselves, but written within restrictions imposed by the Allies. Under the new constitution the Germans in the three Western zones will have more self-government than they had under military government rule, but the allied authorities reserved to themselves certain rights designed to prevent the rise of a new militarist clique or a new Hitler. Consequently, the control of Germany's foreign affairs, disarmament, demilitarization, reparations, restitution, decartelization, displaced persons, foreign trade and exchange remain with the High Commissioners who have succeeded the Military Governors.

On August 14th the first election to the Parliament, provided for under the new constitution, was held. Eighty percent of eligible Germans participated. The result of the vote was a defeat for both the extreme Right and the extreme Left, with the Communists bare-

ly getting five percent of the vote. In forming the new government, however, the Christian Democratic Union, a right of the center group which emerged as the largest single party, formed a coalition with the extreme Right. This coalition is dominated by big business, which contributed liberally to the campaign funds. This new ruling element cannot be termed Fascist or Nazi. Rather it is nationalist and conservative in the pre-Nazi sense. Its leaders have been anti-labor, and up to now have not shown too much activity or interest in the work of building towards a real German democracy. This coalition's allies are the former steel and coal barons who did not join the Nazi Party, and consequently, did not have to be "denazified," but who made Hitler's war possible by furnishing the finances and the war production machinery.

In my opinion, this reactionary coalition does not represent the will of the majority of the German people. The trade union wing of the Christian Democratic Union, the Social Democratic Party which ran a close second to the C. D. U., and one or two minor parties represent a greater portion of Germany's population, although their will will not be expressed in the actions of the German parliament as now organized.

You have here a situation similar to the one in our United States, where a reactionary Congress is flouting the wishes of the majority of its citizens.

And herein lies a new danger for Germany. I have said before that the Communists received a bare 5 percent of the vote. This is partly due to the reaction of Germans to the Russian attempt to starve Berlin into submission and partly due to the stories told by hundreds of thousands of Germans who have fled from the police state which is eastern Germany. But if the policies of the new government are going to be those of the big German industrialists and reaction, if unemployment is not solved, if prices are not regulated or reduced, if homes are not built before unnecessary business enterprises, then you will create a situation in which Communism thrives. The job of containing Communism is a perpetual one. Right now the Communists in Germany are planning an all-out sabotage of the Marshall Plan as soon as the plan comes into full swing.

With this picture of the German scene in mind it is imperative that the three Allied High Commissioners use wisely the controls which the Allies have retained for themselves for the occupation of Germany.

During the past six months military government has shown a better understanding of German labor's aims than formerly. For example, it has approved equal representation of workers with management and government on the board set up to decentralize the steel industry and has approved several other bills for the protection of labor. But in other instances military government still supported the policies of the reactionaries who are now taking over. Up to this date U. S. authorities have refused to approve a law passed by the parliaments of the German states which would have given labor more co-determination

in the democratization of industry. On the other hand military government has encouraged the German Economic Council which preceded the new Bonn government, not to re-introduce price controls although prices of some necessities have gone beyond the reach of average workers. Other laws introduced by labor and passed by the state parliaments failed to get the necessary military government approval. Military bureaucracy has disapproved entry permits for labor leaders to visit the United States claiming them to be "security risks," while in each case the individuals in question have had long anti-Nazi and anti-communist records. One overzealous military investigator reported that German unions were distributing Communist literature in Bavaria. The "Communist" literature was our own Free Trade Union Committee's International Free Trade Union News. Some of these incidents may have been minor but they have left the impression among some German organized workers that U. S. policies have been hostile to labor.

The German trade union movement has often appealed to the American Federation of Labor for assistance in getting military government policy changed. President Green's intervention on several occasions for a review by the Allies of their destructive dismantling program, and Vice President Woll's letter, as chairman of the International Labor Relations Committee, to the former U. S. Military Governor, in which anti-labor acts have been protested, have been warmly appreciated by our German trade union friends. Many other examples of assistance by the International Labor Relations Committee and by our Free Trade Union Committee have placed the American Federation of Labor in the foreground of international organizations which have consistently worked towards the real democratization of Germany.

And in Germany itself the labor movement is still the greatest force for democracy. It has been built up from the local level and is now organized into 16 three-zonal-wide industrial unions. There are no communists in leading positions. These 16 industrial unions have now made arrangements to organize the first post-war German Federation of Trade Unions. The convention will be held in Munich, October 12th to 14th and your Special European Representative has been selected to represent the American Federation of Labor at this organizing congress. The new movement will have over 5,000,000 members making it the second largest in Europe, being out-ranked only by the British Trade Union Congress. The 16 unions will keep their autonomy but will pay into the national office 15 percent of the dues collected in addition to a 15 pfennig quarterly contribution per member for a defense fund. For the 15% paid into the national treasury the national office will take care of the national legislative interests of the organization, provide research assistance, publish regular periodicals, and pay for the salaries and office expenses of state and city federations. State and city federation officials are elected by these respective bodies but must be approved by the national executive board. The main function of the labor movement, namely, that of collective bargaining for wages, hours and working conditions remains with the 16 industrial unions.

Last year's currency reform which wiped out most of the unions' treasuries, together with wide-spread unemployment—at the moment about 9 percent of employables—has made it necessary for the unions to adopt policies of most careful spending of the unions' funds. Following is an example: An expense of the delegates attending the Munich convention are to be borne by the new national federation, the preparatory committee has decreed that none of the 485 delegates be allowed to drive autos to the convention city but must travel by rail. An agreement has been reached with the national railroad system to cut the fares to half price for the delegates. Thus a saving of 40,000 German Marks has been made for the new organization.

The main problem confronting the new organization will be to present a united effort for combating growing unemployment; to work for legislation to roll back prices; to work for improved social security so as to bring this field up to at least pre-Hitler standards; to fight for labor representation on those government boards on which labor up to now has been ignored; to work for changes in the civil service law to prevent the present "closed corporation" from perpetuating itself; to assist in integrating about 9,000,000 refugees from eastern countries into the reduced German economy; to fight the growing practice in some states of placing former Nazis into their former government positions; and to demand a greater share of responsibility in the administration of the Marshall Plan, which the German union movement has supported from the start.

In the tremendous job outlined above the unions will need the help of the liberal members of the new German parliament. But it will also need the support of the Allied High Commissioners and their advisors. American policy in regard to Germany must become one of supporting liberalism rather than reaction. If we want the democratic elements in Germany to gain in influence American policy must be definitely against reaction.

The German worker wants his country to have real industrial democracy. The German worker wants to belong to a free trade union movement. He is now organizing this free union movement in Munich. And this free trade union movement will join with other free trade union movements from all of the six continents in the coming London conference to organize an international body of workers which can play the decisive role for securing peace in the world.

As your representative in Germany, having been on the scene for the past 3 years, I can say that the American Federation of Labor through the work of its officers; of its International Labor Relations Committee, and the Free Trade Union Committee, can be justly proud of its accomplishments thus far towards building democracy in Germany.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I thank Brother Rutz very sincerely for his interesting and instructive and helpful address. We are glad to have him here at this convention and I am sure if there are any of you here who wish

some detailed information upon the situation in Germany and Austria he will be glad to give it to you in response to any requests you may make.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Meany read the following communications:

New York, N. Y.
Oct. 3, 1949

William Green, AFL Convention, St. Paul, Minn.:

Please extend to the convention of the American Federation of Labor the greetings of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. We congratulate you upon your determination to elect a Congress committed to fair labor, Social Welfare and Civil Rights Legislation. These are also the goals of our legislative program. Effective action on the part of the A. F. L., the N. A. A. C. P. and other true liberals can contribute greatly to the election of a Congress truly representative of the interests of the American people as a whole. We trust that this objective will be achieved in 1950 to bear full fruit in the 82nd Congress.

ROY WILKINS,
Acting Secretary
N. A. A. C. P.
Minneapolis, Minn.
Oct. 3, 1949.

William Green, President American Federation of Labor, A. F. L. Convention, St. Paul, Minn.

Please convey to your Delegates my heartiest good wishes for a successful convention in the best traditions of a free labor movement.

PAUL M. HERZOG
Chairman, National
Labor Relations Board
Washington, D. C.
Frankfurtmain
Oct. 4, 1949.

American Federation of Labor Convention, St. Paul, Minn.

On behalf of their five million members the trade unions of the German Federal Republic send to the president and delegates of A. F. L. Convention fraternal greetings and best wishes for their work.

Trade Union Council for the Combined Zones.

HANS BOECKLER
Chairman.

Stockholm
Oct. 4, 1949.

American Federation of Labor Convention St. Paul, Minn.

Please convey my greetings and best wishes to delegates Sixty-Eight International Convention American Federation of Labor. Deeply gratifying to note profound concern of A. F. L. for economic and political welfare of people of Western Europe. We who are working for Marshall Plan are grateful for your inspiration and support.

MICHAEL HARRIS
Chief E. C. A.
Mission to Sweden.

LABOR'S LEAGUE FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION

SECRETARY MEANY: I have been requested by the Administrative Committee of Labor's League for Political Education to request that the convention adjourn at 3:30 o'clock tomorrow afternoon and immediately go into session as a national committee for Labor's League for Political Education, at which time a full report will be made by the Administrative Committee of the League on the work that has been on the past eleven months and on the plan to continue this work in the future.

ESCORT COMMITTEES

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair wishes to announce that tomorrow morning the Economic Cooperative Administrator, Mr. Paul Hoffman, will be with us to deliver an address at 10:30 o'clock.

At 11:30 o'clock the Director-General of the International Labor Organization, David A. Morse, will address the convention. Those are the two speakers assigned for tomorrow.

I wish to appoint on the committee to escort Mr. Paul Hoffman to the convention Brother William Birthright, of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, Brother Carl Mullen, President of the Indiana State Federation of Labor and Brother Lee Minton, of the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association.

The committee to escort Director-General David A. Morse will consist of Brother George Harrison, Member of the Executive Council, Brother John P. Redmond, of the Fire Fighters' International Association, and Brother Martin Durkin of the United Association of Plumbing and Pipefitting Industry of the United States and Canada.

Now I am advised by Chairman Woll, of the Committee on Resolutions, that he has been directed by the committee to come to this convention and submit some special matter for your action immediately.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Vice-President Woll, Chairman of the Committee, submitted the following report:

Your Committee on Resolutions has given special attention to that section of the Executive Council Report appearing on pages 168-170, which contains an analysis and recommends an endorsement of a specific bill (H. R. 6000) which is being considered by the Congress this week. We now submit a partial report on this section of the Executive Council Report due to the urgency of the present congressional situation.

Based on our study of the broad liberalizations of the Social Security program contained in this measure, including extension of coverage, raising of benefits, relaxation of eligibility requirements and provision for disability protection and in view of the probability that it will be voted on this week, your committee recommends the adoption of this section of the Executive Council Report.

We further recommend that President Green be authorized to forward immediately by telegram the action of the convention to the appropriate congressional leaders urging the Congress to adopt without further delay the improvements in Social Security called for in H. R. 6000.

Committee Chairman Woll moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

REASSIGNMENT OF RESOLUTIONS NOS. 5 and 12.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WOLL: The Committee on Resolutions requests that Resolution No. 5 be re-referred to the Committee on Organization and Resolution No. 12 be referred to the Committee on International Labor Relations.

The committee further requests that the three sections of the Executive Council's Report under the titles, "North American Labor News," "UNESCO," and "Economic Cooperation," be referred to the Committee on International Labor Relations.

No objection was offered and the resolutions and sections of the Council's report were reassigned as requested.

Secretary Meany announced that Brother Currier, a disabled member of the Iron Workers Union, had a display of union-made ties for sale in the Auditorium.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

COMMITTEE SECRETARY GALLO: Your Credentials Committee recommends the seating of Dave Beck as an additional delegate representing the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, with 781 votes.

I move adoption of this partial report.

The motion was seconded and carried.

PRESIDENT GREEN: It seems that that completes the work of the convention. Are there any announcements? If not, and there is no objection the convention will stand adjourned until tomorrow morning at 9:30 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 4:40 o'clock, p.m., the convention was adjourned to reconvene tomorrow morning, October 5, 1949, at 9:30 o'clock, a.m.)

RESOLUTIONS

The following resolutions were received and referred to the appropriate committees:

EXCISE TAXES

Resolution No. 98—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Many items in our daily use are taxed under excise taxes, and

WHEREAS, Many of these items are necessities to our daily life, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor make an effort to have the President of the United States and Congress remove all excise taxes.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

INCREASED BENEFITS UNDER SOCIAL SECURITY

Resolution No. 99—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Social Security Act was sponsored by the American Federation of Labor with the intent of providing security, and

WHEREAS, The Social Security Act has been in for the past twelve years, and

WHEREAS, This amount is not sufficient to maintain a standard of living desirable to the American workman, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reiterate its stand for a full social security program:

An increase in the social security tax to 2½ cents each employer and employee.

An increase in death benefits of at least two hundred percent (200%).

An increase in old-age benefits of at least two hundred percent (200%).

Lowering of retirement age to 55.

A medical insurance program.

A hospital insurance program.

A substantial widows pension upon death of the husband, until remarriage or death.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

NATIONAL HEALTH PROGRAM

Resolution No. 100—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Adequate medical care for all people must be the cornerstone of any program designed to meet the health needs of the nation, and

WHEREAS, A highly inequitable cash barrier now keeps medical care from millions of our citizens, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor assembled in St. Paul, Minnesota, go on record favoring the enactment of national compulsory contributory insurance against costs of medical care, including payments to physicians, dentists, nurses, hospitals and laboratories, druggists for expensive medicines, with provisions for free choice of doctor and patient.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Sixty-Eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor 1949 Proceedings

Saint Paul, Minnesota, October 5, 1949



Report of

THIRD DAY—WEDNESDAY MORNING SESSION

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:45 o'clock, a. m.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I am pleased to announce that Dr. W. Gunther Plaut, Rabbi of the Mt. Zion Temple, St. Paul, is here and will pronounce the invocation. I am pleased to present him to you now.

INVOCATION

(Dr. W. Gunther Plaut, Rabbi of Mt. Zion Temple, St. Paul, Minnesota)

Our God and Father, we ask Thy blessing upon these men who have come here bearing upon their shoulders the hopes and aspirations of millions of men whose hands move the mighty machinery of our nation. Let Thy wisdom rest upon them and their chosen leaders, upon their deliberations and decisions.

In a world torn by unrest and fear, may they contribute toward the re-establishment of confidence and stability. In a world beset by much poverty and injustice, may they help to raise the banner of human dignity for all men; proclaiming that the earth and its full-

ness can yield enough for all to live without want, in decency and security. In a world in which too many are as yet unfree, may they strengthen the spirit of liberty, in all its phases.

In a world searching for remedies to its age-old political and economic ills, may they, by their actions, proclaim that free men can freely solve their problems.

In a world which still pays a premium for individual selfishness, may they enhance the spirit of brotherliness and tolerance, and the fundamental truth that all men can live together only as they recognize their responsibility for the security and freedom of others.

Thus, we pray: May this convention be a milestone in the building of that true democracy which, instead of making labor a mere drudgery, makes it into a means of raising our standards of living, so that we, as free men, may enjoy the fruit of our labors, proudly and confidently looking to the morrow. Amen.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Meany for the submission of messages.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary-Treasurer Meany read the following communications:

Athens
October 4, 1949

68th Convention American Federation of Labor
St. Paul, Minn.

We extend hearty fraternal greetings, wishing resolutions to be taken may further improve American workers' standard of living and promote world free labor movement for whose enlightened and right guidance A. F. of L. strive unrelentingly.

DOTIS MAKRIS
General Labor Confederation of Greece

Denver, Colo.
October 4, 1949

William Green,

President American Federation of Labor
St. Paul Hotel, St. Paul, Minn.

I extend to you greetings of my membership and my best wishes for a most successful convention.

Air Line Dispatchers Association
M. C. MERRILL, President.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair recognizes Delegate Gallo, Secretary of the Credentials Committee, for a supplemental report:

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT
COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Committee Secretary Gallo submitted the following report:

In accordance with communication, dated October 4, 1949, received from Lewis M. Herrmann, Secretary-Treasurer of the International Labor Press of America, we recommend the seating of Frank B. Powers as Fraternal Delegate to the American Federation of Labor Convention to represent that organization.

Your Committee on Credentials have examined credentials and recommend the seating of the following:

John W. Quimby, representing the San Diego, California, Federated Trades and Labor Council, with one vote.

Gregory Wallig, representing two additional Local Unions located in Kenosha, Wisconsin:

Federal Labor Union No. 19322 with 9 votes.

Brass Employees' Union, Specialty, No. 19788, with 1 vote.

Committee Secretary Gallo moved adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Meany for the submission of resolutions.

RESOLUTIONS REQUIRING
UNANIMOUS CONSENT

SECRETARY MEANY: The following resolutions, requiring unanimous consent, are presented for your consideration. Unanimous consent has been recommended for these resolutions by the special sub-committee of the Executive Council:

From the Seafarers International Union of North America: U. S. Commercial Fishing Industry; International Commission for Fishing Industry.

From Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen: Application of Wage-Hour Law to Puerto Rico Without Exemptions; Extending Full Benefits of Social Security Act to Puerto Rico; Committee to Study Conditions in Puerto Rico; Sugar Act of 1948.

From the Cigar Makers International Union of America: Increase Benefits Under Social Security Act; Proposed Taxation on Labor-Saving Machinery.

From the International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union: Housing; Minimum Wage; Taft-Hartley; Extension of Social Security and Health Insurance; Civil Rights Program; Unity in Labor Movement; Excise Tax on Handbags, Luggage and Leather Goods.

From the delegation of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union; Chicago Federation of Labor; Vermont State Federation of Labor; Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor; Pennsylvania Federation of Labor; Illinois State Federation of Labor; Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders' International Union; New York State Federation of Labor: Israel.

From the International Association of Fire Fighters: Fire Fighters Local Union in Canal Zone.

From the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor: Partition of Ireland; Discrimination Against Workers Because of Age.

From the New Jersey State Federation of Labor: Opposing H. R. 3067 and H. R. 4898; Adequate Insurance Benefits for Workers; Daily Labor Paper; Study to be Made on Bene-

fits for Permanent Disability; Prohibition.

From the Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers' International Union: Prohibition.

From the New York State Federation of Labor: Return to Former Parcel Post Regulations Regarding Maximum Weight.

PRESIDENT GREEN: You have heard the report of the Secretary on these resolutions that have been presented, and under the rules it is required that unanimous consent be accorded for their introduction and consideration. Any objection to the receipt and consideration of these resolutions? Hearing none, they are accepted for consideration of the convention, and each of them will be referred to appropriate committees.

(The resolutions above referred to, numbered 101 to 126, inclusive, will be found at the end of today's proceedings.)

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair presents Brother Frank Powers, representative of the International Labor Press for a report—Delegate Powers.

REPORT OF INTERNATIONAL LABOR PRESS ASSOCIATION

Delegate Powers submitted the following report:

By Frank B. Powers, Fraternal Delegate to AFL from ILPA.

St. Paul, Oct. 5, 1949.

It is an honor to represent the labor press of the American Federation of Labor at this convention. The recognition of the International Labor Press of America by the American Federation of Labor as a part of the great labor movement, with official status, was received with a great deal of satisfaction by the membership of our organization. It was most inspiring, and it is certain to have a fruitful effect on the work performed by the editors of local, national and international publications.

We have just concluded our 38th annual convention. It was the largest attendance in history. We estimate the combined circulation of member publications is more than 8,000,000.

This is an occasion which stands out as an unforgettable landmark in my experience. I was in attendance in this same auditorium in 1918 as a visitor to my first convention, and heard the vibrant, never-to-be forgotten voice of Samuel Gompers boom out like a voice of an ancient prophet in denunciation of anti-American elements in the labor movement of 1918.

But to get back to the present, our 38th annual convention here in St. Paul last week

made history. We had a total membership of 191, with 161 papers fully paid up for 1949. Those paid up included 101 local papers and 60 national and international journals.

We had a balance of \$5,800, with all bills paid.

The convention gave consideration to the recognition of a news service known as Labor Press Association, a cooperative, which took over the former group of associates which has gathered and distributed labor news for a period of five years. The matter was referred to the incoming officers for further study and a report to the next convention.

Since the last convention of the International Labor Press of America, two new regional conferences of editors have been organized. We now have the Eastern Labor Press Conference, the Southern Labor Press Association and the Mid-West Labor Press Association, comprising AFL editors in those regions. It was recommended that more regional branches be set up, one for each state if possible, so that state-wide problems may be considered from time to time between annual conventions of the parent organization.

Our convention urged that all member publications pay up their dues so that necessary work may be carried on.

Perhaps the most important phase of our work in the past year has been the protest against drastic increases in second-class postage. The convention protested the increase in postage rates affecting editorial, reading, and news matter. Our convention faced the grave necessity of fighting for the very lives of many of our papers.

The margin between black and red in their books is so close that even a small increase in postage rates will mean death to scores of essential and valuable labor papers.

On Sunday evening, the International Labor Press of America awarded prizes in its annual Journalistic Award Contest. President Green, Vice President Woll, who also serves as president of ILPA; Vice President Harrison, the Fraternal Delegates from Great Britain, United States Senator Hubert Humphrey and many others attended the ceremonies.

The general appearance of labor publications has improved to a noticeable degree in format, attractiveness and readability since this program of annual awards was started some years ago. We believe this contest has contributed to this happy situation.

Our convention spent considerable time in exploring the methods of combatting so-called racket sheets, which are basking in the limelight of the success of the official and legitimate labor press. Practical steps were taken to continue the battle against these parasites on the labor movement. And I might add that state-wide regions will be able to handle political affairs in a very much more practical manner than through a regional conference.

A standing committee was set up to study the possibilities of securing national advertising for those publications which ac-

cept advertising. A bulk package rate for advertising in all our monthly Journals and another for all of our weeklies was discussed.

The convention reaffirmed its opposition to the so-called racket or good will advertising, but recommended that ethical and legitimate advertising be sought, particularly advertisements of union label goods.

A greater volume of business than ever before has been handled by the secretary-treasurer's office, indicative of the growing interest and value of the services which have been rendered.

During 1950 the American Federation of Labor will celebrate with appropriate ceremonies the 100th anniversary of the birth of the late Samuel Compers. Our convention pledged that all affiliated publications give full cooperation in order to boost all such celebrations as may be arranged by the American Federation of Labor, International unions, or state and central bodies to honor the great founder of the federation.

Special symposiums of editors of local papers as contrasted with international and national monthlies were held to discuss a permanent plan for the solution of problems incident to each group. Frank X. Martel, Sr., editor of the Detroit Labor News, was selected as temporary chairman for the local editors and E. A. Moore, editor of the Butcher Workman, for the monthly journals. Each group will study the situation and report to the next convention.

The convention received the report of a survey on "Desirability for a News Service," conducted by Secretary-Treasurer Herrmann, and reaffirmed its desire for the setting up of a comprehensive service. Specifically it was hoped the AFL can start a weekly news letter, supplementing the present clip sheet.

In concluding this report, the International Labor Press of America has asked me to express sincere appreciation for the fine cooperation which has been received from the general membership, as well as the officers of the American Federation of Labor.

The year 1950, with its prospects of an all-out struggle by the labor movement to secure the election of a friendly Congress, and to back up the activities of the American Federation of Labor to repeal the vicious Taft-Hartley Slave Act, presents the labor press with a responsibility and a duty which we shall endeavor to fulfill.

We feel that we have been given a challenge to show the effectiveness of the labor press, both in organizing and in educating the workers and their families.

We have proof that in many sections of the nation the labor press has been most helpful in electing friends and defeating enemies in Congress. We feel that it is almost unnecessary to state that the labor press has been most helpful in organizing activities on a local and national scope.

We have pledged ourselves to show even the most skeptical that the labor press can

do a good job in the organizing, the educational and the political field for labor.

With this high goal before us, we are prepared to give everything we have, consistent with financial resources, to aid and assist the American Federation of Labor in carrying out its program during the coming year.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I know we all deeply appreciate this illuminating report that has been submitted by Delegate Powers. It reminds us that the labor press of the nation has grown and expanded in a most wonderful way and we are proud of that fact, because it is contributing in a very large way toward the promotion of our policies and particularly our legislative policies.

I want to thank Brother Powers and those he represents for the excellent service rendered and for the fine report submitted here this morning.

The Chair now recognizes Brother Lynch, Chairman of the Auditing Committee, who is prepared to submit the report of that committee.

REPORT OF AUDITING COMMITTEE

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN LYNCH: Mr. Chairman, your Committee on Finances has made a complete and detailed audit of the finances of the Federation, and Secretary Gallo will now give you that report.

Committee Secretary Gallo submitted the following report:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Sixty-Eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

The undersigned, representing your Auditing Committee appointed pursuant to Article III, Section 5, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, present the following report for the consideration of this Convention.

We have examined and audited the books and records of the American Federation of Labor, covering all the financial transactions for the period beginning September 1, 1948 and ending August 31, 1949.

Your Committee desires to report that it found all books and records correct in every respect. The total receipts for the twelve-month period beginning September 1, 1948 and ending August 31, 1949 amounted to \$3,571,481.90, while the expenses for the same period amounted to \$3,258,519.84, an excess of receipts over expenses in the amount of \$312,962.06.

We have counted the securities recorded on the books of Secretary-Treasurer Meany as being owned by the American Federation of Labor, and found them correct as recorded. We are listing in this report these securities. We have verified the cash balances on hand through the medium of letters written by the banks where funds are on deposit. These letters certify as to the amounts on deposit to the credit of the American Federation of Labor at the close of business August 31, 1949. We found the amounts certified to by the banks to be in agreement with the cash balances shown by the books of the American Federation of Labor.

The total receipts and total expenses under each classification are as follows:

Receipts

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Balance on Hand, August 31, 1948 | \$ 910,720.49 |
| Per Capita Tax | \$2,881,236.51 |
| Paid Subscriptions, Am. Fedst. | 3,703.88 |
| Per Capita Tax Subscriptions, American Federationist | 361,834.16 |
| Per Capita Tax from Locals Allocated to Defense Fund | 205,793.71 |
| Initiation Fees | 50,509.97 |
| Reinstatement Fees | 2,004.00 |
| Supplies | 15,583.33 |
| Interest on Bonds of Officers of Unions Bonded thru A. F. of L. | 34,540.47 |
| Disbanded and Suspended Unions and Miscellaneous Receipts | 15,025.87 |
| Total Receipts | \$3,571,481.90 |
| Grand Total | \$4,482,202.39 |

Expenses

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Organizing Expenses | \$1,044,615.97 |
| Organizers' Salaries | 840,512.29 |
| Office Employes' Salaries | 332,479.38 |
| Administrative Salaries | 108,131.64 |
| Miscellaneous General Bills | 671,517.06 |
| Printing and Publishing American Federationist | 173,061.34 |
| Defense Fund | 60,691.00 |
| Premiums on Bonds of Officers of Unions Bonded thru A. F. of L. | 27,511.16 |
| Total Expenses | \$3,258,519.84 |
| Balance on Hand, August 31, 1949 | \$1,223,682.55 |

Recapitulation

| | |
|----------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| In General Fund | \$ 842,522.59 |
| In Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions | 381,159.96 |
| Balance on Hand August 31, 1949 | \$1,223,682.55 |

The securities owned by the American Federation of Labor consist of \$200,000 in U. S. Savings Bonds, Series G, and 700 shares of Union Labor Life Insurance Stock, book value of which is \$15,000. We are listing below the serial numbers of the bonds, and the certificate number of the Union Labor Life Insurance Company Stock.

The serial numbers and the denominations of the Series G Bonds are as follows:

| | |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| X 886 025 G \$10,000 | X 957 803 G \$10,000 |
| X 886 026 G \$10,000 | X 957 804 G \$10,000 |
| X 886 027 G \$10,000 | X 957 805 G \$10,000 |
| X 886 028 G \$10,000 | X 957 806 G \$10,000 |
| X 886 029 G \$10,000 | X 957 807 G \$10,000 |
| X 886 030 G \$10,000 | X 957 808 G \$10,000 |
| X 886 031 G \$10,000 | X 957 809 G \$10,000 |
| X 886 032 G \$10,000 | X 957 810 G \$10,000 |
| X 886 033 G \$10,000 | X 957 811 G \$10,000 |
| X 886 034 G \$10,000 | X 957 812 G \$10,000 |

The Union Labor Life Insurance Company Stock Certificate number is 47-5.

Monies deposited and invested as follows:

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------|---------------|
| U. S. Treasury Bonds 2½% Maturity, May 1, 1960 | \$ 100,000.00 |
| U. S. Treasury Bonds 2½% Maturity, May 1, 1961 | 100,000.00 |
| Union Labor Life Insurance Co. (Stock) | 15,000.00 |
| Federation Bank & Trust Co., N. Y. (Subject to check) | 2,000.00 |
| City Bank (Subject to check) | 5,000.00 |
| Union National Bank, Newark, N. J. (Subject to check) | 10,000.00 |
| Riggs National Bank (Subject to check) | 991,682.55 |

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------|----------------|
| Secretary-Treasurer's Balance August 31, 1949 | \$1,223,682.55 |
|-----------------------------------------------|----------------|

Gompers Memorial Fund

| | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|
| Receipts from December 20, 1924 to and including August 31, 1949 | \$ 136,375.30 |
| Expenses, January 12, 1925 to and including August 31, 1949 | 122,728.87 |
| Balance on Hand Aug. 31, 1949 | \$ 13,646.43 |
| Funds deposited as follows: | |
| Riggs National Bank Checking Account | \$ 13,646.43 |
| Balance on Hand Aug. 31, 1949 | \$ 13,646.43 |

American Federation of Labor Building Fund Receipts

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------|
| Cash Balance on Hand August 31, 1948 | \$ 14,412.48 |
|--------------------------------------|--------------|

| | |
|----------------------------|--------------|
| Transfer from Defense Fund | 15,000.00 |
| Rents— | |
| 901 Massachusetts Ave | \$44,627.17 |
| Rents— | |
| 1525 H St., N. W. | 10,080.00 |
| Total Receipts | \$ 54,707.17 |
| Receipts and Balance | \$ 84,119.65 |

Expenses

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| Maintenance — 901 Massachusetts Avenue: | |
| Pay Roll (Building Employees) | \$29,912.60 |
| Taxes | 3,426.60 |
| Electricity | 2,614.55 |
| Fuel (Coal) | 1,254.13 |
| Supplies | 2,041.75 |
| Plastering and Painting | 3,076.12 |
| Cleaning Windows | 540.00 |
| Upkeep and Repairs | 4,692.05 |
| Elevators | 1,268.17 |
| Hauling Ashes and Trash | 240.00 |
| Miscellaneous Expenses | 825.00 |
| Water Rent | 160.88 |
| D. C. Unemployment Compensation | 22.08 |
| A. F. of L. Employees Retirement Annuity Trust Fund | 860.84 |
| Social Security Tax: | |
| Old Age Benefits | 305.17 |
| Total | \$ 51,239.94 |

Expenses

| | |
|---------------------------------|--------------|
| Maintenance—1525 H St., N. W.: | |
| Pay Roll (Building Employees) | \$ 1,872.00 |
| Gas | 754.47 |
| Trash Removal | 105.00 |
| Telephone Service | 97.87 |
| Snow Removal | 12.00 |
| Electricity | 855.45 |
| Supplies | 456.58 |
| Cleaning | 18.00 |
| Cleaning Windows | 300.00 |
| Taxes | 14,984.20 |
| Water Rent | 37.31 |
| Upkeep and Repairs | 2,289.68 |
| Total | \$ 21,782.56 |
| Total Expenses | \$ 73,022.50 |
| Balance on Hand August 31, 1949 | \$ 11,097.15 |

Recapitulation

| | |
|---------------------------------|--------------|
| Receipts and Balance | \$ 84,119.65 |
| Expenses | 73,022.50 |
| Balance on Hand August 31, 1949 | \$ 11,097.15 |
| Monies deposited as follows: | |
| Riggs National Bank | \$ 11,097.15 |

In conclusion, we wish to express our appreciation to Secretary-Treasurer Meany and his assistants for the cooperation extended to us in making this audit.

Respectfully submitted,

Robert F. Lynch, Chairman
L. B. Snedden
Toney Gallo, Secretary

AUDITING COMMITTEE.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY GALLO: Mr. Chairman, your Committee moves adoption of this report, and I so move.

The motion was seconded and carried.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF AUDITING COMMITTEE

Committee Secretary Gallo submitted the following report:

American Federation of Labor Employees' Retirement Annuity Trust Fund

For the Period September 1, 1948 to August 31, 1949

Receipts

| | |
|------------------------------------|---------------|
| Balance on hand, September 1, 1948 | \$ 324,242.38 |
| A. F. of L. weekly contributions | \$ 12,696.39 |
| Employees' weekly contributions | 12,696.39 |
| Interest on U. S. Treasury Bonds | 8,250.00 |
| Other interest received | 1.56 |
| Total Receipts | 33,644.34 |
| Total Receipts and Balance | \$ 357,886.72 |

Disbursements

| | |
|----------------------------------|---------------|
| Benefits paid | \$ 668.28 |
| Withdrawals paid | 1,651.54 |
| Death benefits paid | 188.87 |
| Total Disbursements | \$ 2,508.69 |
| Balance on hand, August 31, 1949 | \$ 355,378.03 |

Allocation of Interest Investment Earnings Clearing Account

| | |
|------------------------------------|-------------|
| Balance on hand, September 1, 1948 | \$ 4,108.83 |
|------------------------------------|-------------|

| | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|----------|
| Receipts—September 1 to | | |
| December 31, 1948 | 3,576.56 | |
| Excess Interest on Withdrawals | 3.19 | |
| Total | \$ 7,688.58 | |
| Less: Allocations made | | |
| December 31, 1948: | | |
| To Prior Service | | |
| Liability | \$ 6,917.85 | |
| To Federation | | |
| Accumulations | 811.04 | |
| To Members | | |
| Accumulations | 294.33 | |
| To Annuity Reserve | 165.36 | 7,688.58 |
| | | <hr/> |
| Receipts, January 1 to | | |
| August 31, 1949 | \$ 4,675.00 | |
| Excess Interest on | | |
| Withdrawals | 16.45 | |
| Balance, August 31, 1949 | \$ 4,691.45 | |

Balance Sheet

For the Period September 1, 1948 to August 31, 1949.

Assets

| | |
|--------------|----------------------|
| Investments | \$ 355,000.00 |
| Cash | 378.03 |
| Total | \$ 355,378.03 |

Liabilities and Income

| | |
|------------------------------|----------------------|
| Prior Service Liability | \$ 291,856.19 |
| Federation Accumulations | 27,577.10 |
| Members Accumulations | 25,069.82 |
| Annuity Reserve | 6,183.47 |
| Investment Earnings Clearing | 4,691.45 |
| Total | \$ 355,378.03 |

The securities owned by the American Federation of Labor Employees' Retirement Annuity Trust Fund consist solely of United States Treasury Bonds bearing 2½% interest. We visited the bank where these bonds are kept in a safe deposit box, counted same, and found them to be correct as listed.

Respectfully submitted,

Robert F. Lynch, Chairman
L. B. Snedden
Toney Gallo, Secretary
AUDITING COMMITTEE

COMMITTEE SECRETARY GALLO: Mr. Chairman, your Committee moves adoption of this report.

The motion was seconded and carried.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Now, I assure you that I esteem it a very great privilege and pleasure to present our honored guest speaker of this morning. I previously announced the

name of the speaker and told you that he would address this convention at 10:30 o'clock this morning. He is here, and I know that you, like myself, are anticipating the pleasure of listening to him. He represents a great enterprise and undertaking in which the eight million members of the American Federation of Labor are deeply interested. The record shows that from the beginning, from the initiation of this great enterprise the American Federation of Labor immediately announced its support of it, and I am pleased to say that we have continued to give it unflinching and uncompromising support through all the weeks and months and years that have intervened since it was launched.

You who attended the convention in Cincinnati one year ago will recall that our guest speaker attended that convention and delivered a very wonderful address. I know, because many have reported to me, that the address included in the records of the convention was read and re-read by the delegates who attended that convention and by many of our representatives when they returned home.

We have cooperated fully with our guest speaker in the administration of his duties, and I assure you that I am pleased beyond measure in having him here with us this morning to speak to you.

Now, I have the pleasure of introducing to you an honored and a great American, the Administrator of the ECA, Mr. Paul Hoffman.

HONORABLE PAUL G. HOFFMAN
(Administrator, Economic Cooperation Administration)

Mr. Green, ladies and gentlemen, and may I pay my very particular respects to Mr. Lincoln Evans and Mr. Tom Williamson, friends of mine from Great Britain. It is a very great pleasure indeed to be invited back to speak to this annual meeting of the American Federation of Labor because, as Mr. Green said, the American Federation of Labor was one of the very first organizations to understand the vital part the Marshall Plan could play in the winning of an enduring peace.

Not only has the American Federation of Labor given full support to the Economic Cooperation Administration, but men from your organization are participating in carrying forward its program. Bert Jewell is one of my most trusted associates. May I say that no man was ever better named, because I have found him a very real jewel when it comes to carrying out the very great responsibilities of ECA.

Boris Shiskin heads up the Labor Division of ECA in Paris. John Gross is chief of our mission in Norway. And we have very many other A. F. of L. men serving ECA in various positions.

That is why I am grateful for this occasion to thank you personally for your support and to report to you on the progress of the Marshall Plan.

Moreover, I am glad that I can bring you an item of good news. It is tidings of what shall surely be a better day for Europe, and if a better day for Europe, a better day for the world.

For three European nations have just taken an historic step. Italy, Great Britain and France are lifting quantitative restrictions and import quotas as much as 55% of their total imports from other Marshall Plan countries. This is a practical move towards creating within Western Europe the same sort of free intercourse that has proven so fruitful among the forty-eight states in our own country.

We, all of us here in America, do not realize how much the fact that there is free intercourse, free movement of goods and services of people among our 48 states contributes to our prosperity. This move brings the dream of European unity one step nearer realization. Of special interest to you, I believe, is the fact that it brightens the hopes of European workers for a higher standard of living, because there is an intimate relationship between lower trade barriers and lower costs. The realization of that hope for a higher standard of living on the part of the European workers is, I am convinced, the most effective way to combat the false promises of Communism.

I have just recently returned from Europe. I want to give you a very quick progress report. I want to tell you why I think we have earned your continued support.

First, the Marshall Plan is making up the food deficit of Europe, so that the men, women and children of Britain and of western Europe now have a sustaining diet. It is far from a luxury diet, but it is the necessary food on which to work and grow.

And let me tell you, when the Marshall Plan first started operating in Europe there were many countries in which the diet was not sufficient for men to work and grow.

That is, I know you will agree, a human accomplishment to warm the pages of history.

Second, people are working in Europe. That is the human meaning behind the figures that western European production, including Western Germany, is now 15 percent above prewar and that British production is up 32 percent. Don't let anybody tell you that the workers of Britain and of western Europe are not working hard. Some people love to say that, you know. Well, maybe they are the same sort of people who say it about American workers.

Don't you believe it. I have seen what they turn out, all too frequently with out-moded tools in inefficient plants.

But I don't think they are going to be inefficient long. As you know—you know because many of you have helped us with it—the ECA is sponsoring a program of technical assistance. Under this program, teams of workers and managers and trade union representatives come over here and study our methods. Indeed, a group of Danish workers whom I recently greeted in Washington are present with us here today, and, I might add, a study of our methods and to teach us quite a number of things about production. This technical assistance program of ours has proven to be a two-way street, and no man has contributed more to the success of the new American Council on Productivity than Lincoln Evans, who is here with us today.

Take it from me, these people are determined to improve their productivity. They are working hard not only to earn their way day by day but also to build for the future. As proof of this, we have only to look at France. During the interwar years France was using up her capital equipment faster than she was replacing it. Today she is investing 20% of her national income in new productive facilities in transport, factories, and tools. As a matter of fact, the figures say that there was a minus investment in capital assets, the kind of assets that make jobs in France in the inter-war years.

To me that is convincing proof that the people of Europe are looking forward. You don't fix up your factory and you don't build new plants unless you expect to be around a while to make a profit.

And there are still other proofs that must be reassuring to us. I mentioned earlier the lifting of import restrictions, and said it was a wise move towards the same sort of free trade we enjoyed between our states. But I did not point out that this step had followed closely upon another equally momentous step, namely, the devaluation of the British pound and other European currencies.

We watched the development of the British monetary crisis with growing alarm. There were loud voices in England calling for a sort of economic isolationism. We hear voices like that over here sometimes. I was afraid Britain would start down the primrose path of trying to create and to live within a "sphere of influence" comprised of her commonwealth and sterling creditors. If this had happened, it would not have been long before our much-abused globe was divided into three non-cooperating, distrustful, and rival segments: the sterling bloc, the ruble bloc, and the dollar bloc.

However, Britain did not choose that path. She decided to cut her prices and to compete in the sort of effort that we here know pays off in better living standards. Her government did so even though it might mean temporarily harder conditions for the British people.

The true significance of the British decision to devalue is that instead of going her separate way she chose the way of working with us and with all of Western society in building **ONE BETTER WORLD WITH NO "KEEP OUT" SIGNS POSTED AGAINST ANY HUMAN BEING OF GOOD WILL.**

So here is where we stand now: Europe is no longer hungry. Europe is at work; she is investing in new plants and her production is expanding. She has begun the painful task of unspinning the web of restrictive barriers which were for a quarter of a century in the spinning. She has demonstrated her eagerness to compete and yet cooperate with the free nations of the Western Hemisphere.

I believe I can factually report to you today that the people of Europe have more confidence, more hope, more expectation of good, than they have had at any time in the past two decades. No wonder they are saying **NO** to Communism in election after election in western Europe. No wonder the Kremlin is reduced to a ridiculous frothing while viewing all this.

My own feeling is that Europe's resurgence is the most encouraging thing for the peace of the world and the happiness of man that has occurred in this century. I say this not because I like to wear rose-colored glasses. I say it because I want to emphasize how utterly needful it is that Europe's hopes be nurtured; how essential it is that those hopes be brought to fullest possible fruition.

Credit for the spectacular progress made in Europe toward recovery belongs to the Europeans themselves, although it is true that this accelerating chain reaction of European improvement has been sparked by United States aid. It is likewise true that all the accomplishments of the first 18 months of the Marshall Plan could be nullified, reversed, and wiped out within six months—with Europe again vulnerable to the false propaganda of the Kremlin—were our aid to stop tomorrow.

I am not afraid our aid will stop tomorrow, or any time before we have said it would stop, June 30, 1952, but I am concerned as to what will happen to Europe after Marshall Plan aid ends unless Europe's ability to earn dollars is greatly increased and unless we are willing to let her earn those dollars.

Even after the reconstruction period has passed, if Europe is to have the food and tools she needs, she is going to have to buy at least four billion dollars worth of goods from the Western Hemisphere which can be purchased only with dollars. She must have wheat and cotton, machine tools and hundreds of other products from the U.S.A. At the present time two-thirds of the dollars she needs are given to her.

To replace those gift dollars with earned dollars, Europe must first increase her exports to the U.S.A. from approximately one billion to not less than 2½ billion dollars annually. That 2½ billion dollars, by the way, is just one percent of our gross national income. She must also increase her exports to other nations that have dollars. Further,

she must greatly expand tourism. That industry is presently supplying Europe with approximately 300 million dollars, and I am convinced that there is a potential there of not less than 800 million dollars. It is going to take a lot of doing, but Europe can earn those four billions of dollars if we will let her.

I say "if we will let her" because the greatest fear I have found in Europe is that we will not let her earn her way. She has had some bitter experiences in the past which have persuaded her that if she starts obtaining any volume of business from the U.S.A. we will erect barriers of one kind or another to keep her goods out. That must not happen, because if Europe is to get on her feet and off our back, she must export, and we must import. Trade is a two-way street.

Remember we are talking about goods from Europe, which represent one percent only of our total gross national income. By no stretch of the imagination can our absorbing that one percent of goods hurt us. As a matter of fact, by buying more of each other's goods, both Europe and the United States stand to gain from increased production and lower prices. The net effect is certain to be a mutually higher standard of living for the people on both sides of the Atlantic.

We dare not discourage the hopes that are now building up in Europe that we will let them earn their own way. For in those hopes of becoming self-supporting and even prosperous members of a progressive Western society lies our best hope for peace. I make this statement because I cannot envisage any enduring peace unless Western Europe remains free and becomes prosperous.

We know now that the Russians have exploded the atom. This knowledge certainly brings no joy, but perhaps a useful purpose will be served if it has exploded the notion that by reason of our exclusive possession of the atomic bomb our security was assured.

Without in any way deprecating the need for weapons for defense or for war, such weapons give no assurance that we can remain at peace. Quite recently a scientist was asked as to the weapons upon which we should place our major reliance in World War III. His reply was, "I do not know. The development of weapons for destruction is now going on at such a pace that no one could make such a selection with assurance. However, this I do know—the weapons for World War IV will be bows and arrows." May I suggest that there must be no hopeless acceptance of the terrifying idea that World War III is inevitable. The one great fact that stares us in the face is that we can avoid that war if the free nations of the world are not only prepared for war, but if they are ready, unitedly to fight to win the peace. If we, the free people of the world, continue to work together, help each other and stick together, we can win the peace—and that peace must be won!

PRESIDENT GREEN: You have expressed yourselves in a most forceful way and you have shown that you deeply appreciate the

visit of Administrator Hoffman here this morning. He has brought to us a thought-provoking message, filled with information, education and inspiration. We are grateful to him for his visit. We thank him for coming to this Northwest city, traveling as far as he has for the purpose of visiting with us for a short period and bringing to us this extremely important message.

No one can adequately appraise the value of the wonderful service rendered by the government agency which is administered by Mr. Hoffman. It was necessary for us to contribute in some large way in order to promote and preserve international peace and security. I know of no agency created by this government that has contributed more toward the establishment of international peace and security than this E.C.A. agency administered by Mr. Hoffman.

Poverty and peace are contradictory. No one can comprehend a situation where peace can be established throughout the world if poverty reigns.

And so Mr. Hoffman is dealing with a situation that is directly connected with the development of international peace and security throughout the world. There can be no peace if there is a poverty stricken Europe, in countries that were almost totally destroyed by the war, where hunger, poverty, and distress prevails. In order to establish international peace and security our own country decided to carry out the Marshall Plan.

There is one more thing I wanted to emphasize in expressing our gratitude to our Director for his administrative wisdom, and that is that under the administration of this plan he has brought to America teams of working men from the different European countries. They come here and meet with representatives of the workers here. Then they visit the mines, the mills, and the factories in the production centers of our nation. Can anyone fully appreciate the value of that?

I am proud of the fact that this idea originated with Administrator Hoffman. That in itself represents a great contribution toward cooperation, understanding, good will and international peace throughout the world.

I wanted to make these one or two observations in extending your appreciation and

thanks to Administrator Hoffman, for his visit here this morning. He has rendered a great service, and all our delegates, visitors and friends sincerely appreciate it.

Now the Chair wishes to announce that President Randolph and his associates of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters wish to perform a pleasant duty. It seems that now is the appropriate time that they be accorded that privilege. I do not know myself at the moment just what it is, but I know I have aroused your curiosity by making this announcement. You, too, are wondering what it is. I will present President Randolph, of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and he can tell you what it is.

PRESENTATION OF PLAQUE TO PRESIDENT GREEN BY THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

DELEGATE RANDOLPH: President Green, officers, members and delegates to the Sixty-Eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor: On behalf of the officers and members of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the delegates to this convention, Milton P. Webster, First International Vice-President, and Frank Boyd, Secretary-Treasurer of the Twin Cities Division, we take the highest pleasure and privilege and honor in presenting to you, President Green, a symbol of the esteem, affection and love of the officers and members of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters entertain and hold for you. We hold you in high esteem because of your support and cooperation with our organization in the days of its darkest struggles, and also because of your fight for the elimination of discrimination because of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

Division in the ranks of labor because of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry weakens the labor movement and disarms it in its fight to achieve higher wage rates, improved working conditions, shorter hours of work, democracy and peace. You, Brother William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, have given of your talent and ability and the prestige and power of your office, as the head of the great American Federation of Labor to help eliminate all forms of discrimination and segregation from the labor movement. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, which is committed to protect and safeguard the rights and advance the cause of its members, and also dedicated to fight to abolish racial and religious discrimination, takes great joy in presenting to you this plaque as a token of appreciation of the important, far-reaching, constructive and uncompromising role you have played and are playing to fulfill the historic mission of the trade union movement in seeking to achieve the well-being of all wage earners regardless of race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry.

In the early days of the struggle of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, you, whenever called upon for support and cooperation, never failed to respond.

A cursory examination of the problems of minorities and labor will reveal that the struggle to exterminate racial and religious discrimination cannot be separated from the fight against inequality and insecurity, as well as the social and psychological uncertainties and frustrations that arise therefrom.

We of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters are happy to take this occasion to express our thanks for the fact that you, along with other officers of the A. F. of L., have invariably and consistently made it known that the A. F. of L. regards racial and religious intolerance, bigotry and discrimination as a grave menace to the trade union movement.

In your speeches to the annual conventions of the A. F. of L., and at conventions of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, you have pointed out in unmistakable terms, that the practice of playing upon prejudices, racial, religious and national, is followed by brutal attacks upon the labor movement itself.

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters congratulates you and the A. F. of L. on the fight you are making for the enactment of federal legislation for a Fair Employment Practice Committee.

We honor you because you have fought and still fight to abolish the Poll Tax that all men may vote.

We honor you because you have fought and still fight to eradicate the disgrace of lynching from our land.

We honor you because you stand against jim-crow and discrimination in our armed forces, believing that every boy who gives his life for our country should have the right to die as a free man.

We honor you because of your support of federal aid to education, without discrimination.

We honor you because of your uncompromising opposition to Communism and Fascism that are bent upon the destruction of free trade unionism everywhere.

Our Brotherhood realizes that the fight against racial discrimination and segregation cannot be separated from the fight against discrimination and hatred against all groups, Jews, Catholics, Orientals, Mexicans, foreign born and labor.

Anthropological and psychological studies of prejudice unequivocally establish that in the main, people who are prejudiced against one minority group, are hostile to other minority groups. Thus, an attempt to fight discrimination on account of race, while disregarding movements of anti-Semitism, anti-Catholicism, anti-foreignism and anti-liberalism, would be ineffective, futile and naive. So long as a Jew in Poland, or a Catholic in Czechoslovakia, or a Japanese in California, or a Hindu in

Vancouver, Canada, or a Mexican in Texas is denied fundamental human and civil rights, the security of the Negro, or for that matter, a white-Protestant in the labor movement or anywhere, cannot be assured.

Verily, the fight for justice and freedom for minorities and labor is indivisible, because freedom and justice are indivisible.

Because of the aforementioned reasons and facts, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, seeing that the powerful and menacing forces of Communism in the United States, Europe, Asia and Africa are seeking to split or control the labor movement and minorities, white and colored, takes this occasion of viewing this presentation of this plaque to you, President Green, as a challenge and refutation to the vicious misrepresentations and violent psychological warfare being waged by totalitarian Communist Russia and her satellites against a free trade union movement, the Negro liberation movement and the cause of the Western democracies in general and the democracy of the United States of America in particular.

We believe that labor's and democracy's best answer to Communism is to be true to itself, true to its traditions and struggles, its hopes and faiths. Democracy can only answer Communism with a frank and honest recognition of the essential worth, value and equality of every human personality, without regard to race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry. Any equivocation of this principle of equality will be fatal to the cause of democracy.

Neither armies nor atomic bombs are as potent in the protection of democracy and our judeo-Christian heritage as the high moral principle of the Brotherhood of Man and the decent and honest respect for every human being, whether he be Catholic or Jew, native or foreign, white or black, brown or yellow, man or woman, rich or poor.

The grave question before the workers today is which ideology, democracy or Communism, will win the minds, wills, hearts, allegiances and souls of the millions of workers in America and Europe; which ideology will capture the imagination and minds of the teeming millions of the peoples of color in the United States, the West Indies, Africa, Asia and the Isles of the Sea.

Let us be warned that this is the issue and we don't have long to decide. The sands are running out and if we fail to build a bastion of freedom among the peoples of color of the Americas and the world and the workers everywhere outside the Soviet orbit, we may not be able to withstand the rising tides of red tyranny.

Mighty militant ideas are on the march across the world. This is an ideological war. We are in the midst of an ideological war. A program of mere anti-Communism is not enough. We need a dynamic program of democracy; yes, Christian democracy not only political but industrial, economic and ethnic.

Verily, labor still has some way to go to remove all barriers of race or color, but thank God, we are on our way.

Let us weld our diversities into a creative unity for the victory of the principles of a free trade union movement and the dignity of the human spirit over the deadening forces of materialism, hate and war.

It is possible that this occasion of expression of the simple and common principles, ideals and values of love, respect, cooperation and unity, with high moral purposes between representatives of two great racial groups, may at this time of great world tension, serve as one of the decisive factors in directing the destiny of peoples of color and labor along the path of democracy and human rights.

Men of all races, colors, religions and climes are hungry for peace. They are hungry for love. They are hungry for a living faith in themselves and their fellow men. Yes, millions, too, hunger for bread. They stretch out their arms to our great country, and they look to the mighty millions of men of labor in our land for hope and help.

But, we cannot give them peace. We cannot give them faith. We cannot give democracy. We cannot give them leadership and love until we create and nourish and practice them here, ourselves; practice them with each other.

Yes, we are rich in land and machines. We have powerful unions in members and money. We excel in material resources. But, this is not sufficient. We need riches of the spirit. We need new and vital, dynamic resources of the soul. Yes, we must develop a moral rearmament which can and will conquer the arrogant, ideological minions of Stalinist Russia and give man the fresh, living waters of peace and good will toward all mankind.

Humble Porters, and their officials, on the trains that cover the nation, giving of themselves for service, salute you, President Green. Forward with the torch of human dignity and liberty under the banner of the American Federation of Labor and the free trade union movement of the world.

At the conclusion of his remarks Delegate Randolph presented to President Green a plaque with a copper engraving mounted on mahogany and bearing the following inscription:

For Distinguished Service in the Fight for the Abolition of Racial Discrimination in the Labor Movement. Presented to William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, Sixty-Eighth Annual Convention, October 3, 1949, Saint Paul,

Minnesota, by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters International Union, Affiliate, A. F. of L.

In the center of the plaque was a replica of a sleeping car porter in uniform.

PRESIDENT GREEN:

President Randolph, Mr. Webster, and associates: I am deeply touched by the eloquent statement you made and by your presentation to me of this beautiful plaque. I cannot find words or language at the moment that will adequately express my thanks, gratitude and appreciation for this plaque which you have presented me on this occasion.

But aside from that, I am sure that every delegate in attendance at this convention was tremendously impressed by the impressive and eloquent address which you delivered. Coming as it does from you, the President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters' organization, and those you represent, it must be regarded as most significant and wonderful. I ask you, fellow delegates, isn't it wonderful?

Here is a splendid organization made up of colored workers organized in the American Federation of Labor some few years ago, that has grown and expanded and developed until it is now a very vital and effective force in collective bargaining, and in our great organized labor movement. Surely we must interpret this impressive address as meaning that as a result of affiliation with our great movement there has developed among these colored workers who make up this splendid organization, a new, a keener, and more comprehensive sense and understanding of the economic, social, and industrial philosophy of the American Federation of Labor.

Along with my colleagues connected with the Federation of Labor we have learned and understood early in life that it was impossible to establish the brotherhood of man—and our organization is based upon that principle—until we first recognize that every man of character and standing, regardless of creed, color, or nationality, must be permitted to join and work with all other workers in the nation. I cannot conceive of the establishment of that principle and that organization anywhere or anyplace until those who advocate brotherhood practice brotherhood and express themselves repeatedly over and over again as opposed to discrimination because of creed,

color, or nationality anywhere, in anyplace in the United States of America.

We have grown and developed and expanded, serving in that capacity and preaching that unchallenged doctrine. We are advocating it. We stand for it. We are united. We are going to make it more effective in the future than we have in the past.

I want these brothers to carry that message back, tell them that they can rely upon this brotherhood, the American Federation of Labor, to practice and preach brotherhood everywhere, every place, and to fight against discrimination because of race, creed, color, or nationality anywhere or any place.

I want to thank you from the bottom of my heart for this beautiful plaque you presented me this morning, and I want to assure you that I shall always retain it among my priceless possessions, placing emphasis upon its intrinsic value and still more, upon the sentiments which I know it expresses.

Thank you so much.

I am happy now to announce that we have with us another honored guest who is prepared to present to you an address and a message which will stir us and move us very deeply. This opinion is based upon the fact that he has been permitted to experiment in the development of ideas and ideals while serving as the Director-General of the International Labor Organization at Geneva, Switzerland. Serving in that capacity he has had an opportunity to visit practically all the countries throughout the world, to meet people of all nationalities and all races, to appraise their thinking, their points of view, their ideals, to learn something about their economic situations in Asia, Africa, Europe, and throughout the world. Isn't that a wonderful experience? It is very few who are accorded that wonderful opportunity of gaining firsthand knowledge of racial problems and national problems by meeting the people of all races and all classes throughout the world.

I knew him before he took charge of the office at Geneva. I learned to admire him because of his ability, sincerity and devotion to principle.

So, without any further ado, I am happy to present to you our friend, a friend of the workers throughout the world, David A. Morse, Director-General of the International Labor Organization, who came here to address

the convention from Geneva, Switzerland. David A. Morse.

MR. DAVID A. MORSE (Director-General, International Labor Office)

President Green and delegates to the Sixty-Eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, distinguished visitors and ladies and gentlemen:

I have come here this morning, Mr. President,—in grateful response to the Federation's generous invitation—to discuss a phase of international cooperation which I know is of deep interest to you all.

I am particularly pleased that my appearance coincides with the Thirtieth Anniversary of the International Labour Organization and that I can point to the fact that this tripartite organization, composed of governments, employers and workers, which has survived two world wars and the liquidation of the League of Nations is the organization which deals with the conscience of mankind; and that it has persevered in its objectives of social justice. I am proud, too, that the sixty nations which comprise the ILO today give even greater support to its objectives than ever before. They fully and finally realize that world peace and international stability can only be achieved and maintained by the constant improvement of world standards of living and social conditions. This point of view is today in the forefront of decent and intelligent foreign policy—and the ILO is the agency through which its major premise can be effectuated.

It has always been our view that world peace is inseparable from the objectives of the ILO. Perhaps that is why, when all else was shattered and the world was plunged into darkness, the conscience of mankind willed that we continue uninterruptedly to kindle the flame of hope which burns so deeply in the breasts of ordinary people wherever they may be.

It is fair to state that this point of view and collaboration among nations for the improvement of labor conditions has consistently been advocated and supported by the American Federation of Labor. The A. F. of L., through your president's distinguished predecessor, Samuel Gompers, and with the consistent farsighted support of President Green, was one of the principal architects of the ILO's structure, and during the span of its first 15 years when the United States was not a member of the ILO, the Federation was the instrument through which the ILO was kept before the eyes of the American people.

Another 15 years have gone by since the United States joined the ILO, a decision which—perhaps more than was realized at the time—indicated the path of international cooperation which this nation was to follow with constantly increasing wholeheartedness in subsequent years.

The ILO has played a large role in the development and channeling of world currents during its years of existence and the A. F. of L. has played an important part in the shaping of that role.

In so doing, the Federation has spoken and voted with the consciousness of responsibility which has always characterized its actions. This has been accomplished in the International Labour Conference through such able spokesmen as your Secretary-Treasurer, George Meany; and in the Governing Body through representatives who were heroes in the struggle for decency and democracy among men—the late Bob Watt and Frank Fenton; and now, through your international representative, George Delaney, I could add many additional names to these, men who in each instance, have given vital leadership in the discussion of the complex social problems with which we have been and are now called upon to deal.

Since I was elected Director-General of the ILO, a little more than a year ago, I have visited eighteen countries which are members of the Organization. I have talked with presidents, and kings in their palaces; with miners in the mines; steel workers and builders and garment workers; I have talked with agricultural workers in the fields; with women and children in the textile mills; and with employers' representatives and business executives in their offices.

I have seen much that is right and good, but I have also seen much that is wrong.

I find that there is still too much poverty in the world today, too much misery, too much insecurity—and fear. There is insufficient confidence and hope. It is these things which need to be set right.

What has struck me particularly in my travels is that men want to live in peace—but that anxiety, insecurity, poor living conditions, disease, ignorance, inevitably fertilize the seeds of war. A man living in these unemancipated conditions is the prisoner of any unscrupulous political leader who can gain control. He has neither voice nor stamina. This is the threat to the peace. These are the basic conditions which we constantly prod and attack; and it is because of your support in these efforts that I am so happy to be here today. These efforts are not only in the field of social justice—they mean even more—they create the general foundation for democracy without which social justice is impossible of attainment. For, after all, social justice without civil liberties and the elimination of fear and ignorance is an unhealthy unbalanced human diet and is but a shortsighted and short-term illusion.

As a result of what I have seen in this past year, I believe more profoundly than ever before that the ILO must act as a positive force in the mainstream of the social and economic life of the world today. And I can say that the ILO is inspired by a sense of urgency about getting the job done. What the world needs is action that will benefit men and women who are alive today, and the confidence and hope that it will benefit those whom they hold dear and who will have to

grapple with the problems of life tomorrow.

When the International Labor Conference in Geneva this June discussed the report I presented to it, 95 speakers took part in the debate—including ministers of labor from many countries, prime ministers, parliamentarians, labor leaders, employers—the greatest number of speakers on record for any Conference. They warmly supported my thesis that the Organization must be geared so that it can constantly meet the great challenges of our time.

It cannot be stated too often that the problems connected with the improvement of labor conditions are inseparable from the vast complex of economic and political questions that confronts the world. Social justice—the goal of the ILO, as it is the goal of labor—cannot be achieved except in a world of peace and increasing productivity and prosperity. Labor cannot appreciably improve its working and living conditions on a world scale unless the supply of goods and services is increased. It follows, therefore, that labor must interest itself in every effort to organize a world in which it will be possible constantly to augment the production of the things that will provide higher living standards.

Such a world is a world of full employment in which people have the jobs which they are best equipped to perform. It is a world of expanding international trade between complementary national economies. It is a world without marked inequalities among the nations in productive capacity. It is a world in which there are no artificial restrictions on necessary production. It is a world of industrial peace, of personal liberty, of educational opportunity, of unfettered scientific inquiry, and of freedom for the individual to make his maximum contribution to the common welfare.

The interest of labor in the achievement of such a world is evident. But perhaps the interest of United States labor and its attainment is not seen as clearly as that of labor elsewhere—in, for example, the economically under-developed countries.

American workers enjoy a standard of living higher than that of the workers of most countries. United States productive capacity is immense and expanding. While no one would claim that American labor's goals have everywhere been attained, the worker in this country in many ways is incontestably better off than most of his fellow workers elsewhere.

It is for this very reason, I suggest, that the American worker has a compelling interest in the attainment of an expanding economy throughout the world. For you cannot have enduring prosperity amid poverty. Or, as the ILO's historic Declaration of Philadelphia puts it, "Poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere."

There is no need to underline that truth to this audience. As the representatives of organized workers, you know only too well that inferior wages, hours of work and conditions in one area or locality of the U. S. consti-

tutes a threat to conditions elsewhere in the U. S. That is why you work constantly to bring trade unionism to those who have not yet benefited from it. For you are well aware that the sub-standard conditions that often accompany an absence of organization constitute an ever-present danger to the conditions that have been won elsewhere through organization.

But what holds true for the United States is equally true for the world community. The existence of impoverished nations carries a threat to the continued well-being of prosperous ones. And if workers elsewhere live in hunger, fear and want, the well-being of the American worker is in peril.

No one today can escape the consequences of life. A disturbance in a national economy can spread like a disease until it infects all other economies, and all the people who comprise them. The world has become a unit in which the economic health of the whole depends upon each part.

These truths have become, in the years since the end of the war, the foundations of the policy of your government in its relations with the rest of the world. They are the basis of its foreign aid programme. They underlie the participation of your government in many international agencies. They were, I am sure, the inspiration for the "fourth point" of President Truman's inaugural address—his demand that the industrially advanced countries provide technical assistance for the economically less developed areas in the world.

I have heard persons in industrially developed countries express the fear that the industrial development of the backward areas will threaten the markets of the advanced countries. It should be evident that this fear is unfounded. As a matter of fact, the industrially advanced countries represent the largest markets for the products of the United States.

Some figures from a United States study recently came to my attention. This study council divided 53 countries, representing 85 percent of the world's population, into three groups—developed, transitional and underdeveloped. To the first group, whose average annual income for the years 1936 to 1940 was \$389, the U. S. exported goods valued at \$5.80 per person per year. To the second group, with an average annual income of \$150, exports amounted to \$1.25 per person per year. And to the third group, with an average annual income of \$41.00, exports were only 70 cents per person per year.

Figures like these make the case plain. The industrially advanced countries like the United States, and their working populations, have everything to gain by the development of the under-industrialized areas. And they should, therefore, in their own interests, which is at the same time in the interest of world peace, lend their support to every effort which will hasten industrial expansion throughout the world.

The leaders of your Federation were among the first to recognize these truths, and to translate their recognition into decisions of policy. I am quite sure that the A. F. of L.'s work for the establishment of the ILO, and

its strong and consistent support of the organization, stemmed in large measure from the realization that relatively low productivity and its consequent inferior working conditions constituted a threat to the welfare of the American worker.

These axioms underlie the increasing attention that the ILO has given in recent years to economic questions. They explain why the Declaration of Philadelphia asserted that it was a responsibility of the ILO to examine and consider all international economic and financial policies and measures in the light of the organization's fundamental objective.

I have been laying increasing emphasis on those areas of activity lying within our competence which will contribute to the expansion of productivity. In the past year I have put particular stress on our work in the field of manpower. The problem here has been to devise plans and programmes to assist the world to make the most productive use of its labor resources. This work has fallen into three main categories—the fields of employment service organization, technical training and migration. In the area of technical training we have begun to undertake what is a departure for the ILO by embarking on which may be called an operational programme. That is, we have been doing the job ourselves, as well as advising others on how to do it.

In line with this new emphasis on practical, operational work, I have adopted a policy of decentralization of our activities in the manpower field. A field office whose principal function is to give assistance to the countries of Asia and the Far East in the development of technical training programmes has been opened at Bangalore in India. We have decided to establish a similar office for Latin America, and we hope it will be possible to get it in operation by the end of the year. For several months a manpower field mission has been at work in Rome assisting the Italian government in the solution of the pressing manpower problems with which that country has to deal.

I emphasize in each step taken by the ILO that our programmes must relate to the real needs of the working man and woman today and to their aspirations for the future. This is true of our every effort. It is true of our research work, of our legislative work in the field of labor standards; it is true in every phase of our world-wide activities which includes social security, labor relations, co-operatives, maritime questions, agricultural labor, questions relating to women and children, industrial safety, industrial health, wages, hours, conditions of employment, vocational training and guidance, training of supervisors, industrial committees, indigenous labor, etc. We place ourselves squarely in the vanguard of world progress—and we have a battle cry, too—which is, ATTACK!

I have labored my general thesis here today because men and women ask me and my colleagues, as we travel throughout the world, what contribution they can make to world peace. These inquiries come consistently from the ranks of labor. While the world is smaller—and international effort more intense, people somehow find themselves farther away from real contact with their fellowman, and feel that they are less able to influence the course of

world human events. Basically, they fear war—they are apprehensive lest economies crash and their destinies, by force of uncontrolled circumstances, be placed in irresponsible hands. They recognize that ideological tensions may cause conflict. They sense the threat to their civil and personal liberties.

These fears have in considerable measure resided with man since the beginning of time. Today man's main chance and hope can come from two fronts. The first is the maintenance of a wholesome, stable, democratic national existence. The second is vigilance and constructive action on the international front which has as its objective world understanding and peace and the extension of international democracy.

These ends will be accomplished if people in democratic nations will exercise their rights as citizens in participating fully in both national and international affairs. In recognizing that democracy cannot survive or rise in areas in which people have insufficient food or are illiterate or unemployed. This is why your role in the ILO is important. It is important because, as I have stressed throughout this statement, every significant development outside the United States affects you and your future. And there is no escape from this fact.

To people who inquire about the part they can play in contributing to world peace, there is no single answer. Essentially, the answer is the very simple one—that they must participate fully and with the knowledge of all available facts, in the affairs of their nation and all nations. This is simpler, though still difficult, in your daily life at home than in your international responsibilities. But always remember that events outside of the United States determine in large part your own future personal well-being and destiny. Failure to participate in international affairs means quite simply that you have waived your right and opportunity to help yourself. This has always been true. Failure to be steadfast to this principle has been one of the basic historical causes of world failure to attain and keep the peace. This was true in 1919 when the ILO was created; as it was in 1934 when the United States joined and at which time you decided to participate in lifting world standards, both in the interest of peace and to ensure economic stability in the United States. It is, of course, even truer today when a just world peace must be arranged as an alternative to the barbaric consequences of a new world war. No one has a greater stake in such a peace than you and your brothers throughout the world.

It is for this very reason that the ILO has today gone on the offensive. It is for this reason that today we deal more extensively in the field, send our missions to the remotest parts of the world, have intensified our work with governments, grapple with the problems in backward and under-developed areas, expose the true facts of life to the world and press for improvement. It is for this reason, too, that I neglect no opportunity to appear before great audiences such as this so that I may mobilize full international consciousness and support for our efforts.

The ILO is the instrument which attacks the social diseases which underlie the causes of

war. It is your instrument for international effort and world peace. I beg of you—use it!—use it to the full.

If you do—if people elsewhere will—the question which is constantly being put to me, namely, what contribution can we make to world peace and to the preservation of what we hold dear, will answer itself.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I think I can truthfully say that Director Morse, of the International Labor Organization, has made a genuine contribution to the educational work of this convention. Embodied in his address there is much of value, and I know the delegates in attendance will read it and re-read it in order to grasp it fully and to understand it, so that they can help carry out at least the suggestions and recommendations he made. He philosophizes in a wonderful way regarding the economic, social and industrial situation throughout the world and the need for concentrated effort on the part of those who believe in social justice and the preservation of world peace and security to become active, to serve, to work, and to do everything that lies within our power to make the work of the International Labor Organization successful.

I know I can tell him, in behalf of the American Federation of Labor, that he can count on our support, our assistance and our cooperation. We will work with him and do everything we can to help carry on the work of this great International Labor Organization. We are happy to have him here.

Thank you so much, Director-General Morse.

Labor's League for Political Education

PRESIDENT GREEN: Because of the status of our work and the character of it I want to make this suggestion to the officers and delegates. It was reported that we planned to meet for a brief period in the afternoon session today and then convert the convention into a meeting of Labor's League for Political Education at about 3:00 o'clock this afternoon. Now, because of the point we have reached in our work and other matters that we have to attend to, I want to suggest that when we recess at noon we recess until 3:00 o'clock this afternoon, and then we come back and take up the work of Labor's League for Political Education at this time. It seemed that there was very little for us to do between the time we meet after lunch and the time we would go into the meeting of Labor's

League for Political Education, so if there is no objection on your part it will be understood that when we adjourn at noon we will reconvene at 3:00 o'clock this afternoon as a meeting of Labor's League for Political Education. Is there any objection to that policy? Hearing none it will be so ordered.

The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Meany for announcements.

Labor Mass

SECRETARY - TREASURER MEANY: I wish to announce that as usual during sessions of the American Federation of Labor there will be a special labor Mass at the Cathedral, Dayton and Summit Streets, at 11:00 o'clock next Sunday morning, October 9. The sermon will be preached by the Reverend Father Francis Gilligan of the St. Paul Seminary.

Meeting of State Federations of Labor

VICE PRESIDENT BIRTHRIGHT: I have been requested to announce that there will be a meeting of the representatives of the various State Federations of Labor in the Mirror Room of the St. Paul Hotel Thursday evening at 8:00 o'clock.

PRESIDENT GREEN: It now seems that we have reached the end of our business for this morning's session, and if there is no objection we will stand adjourned until 3:00 o'clock.

At 11:50 o'clock, a.m., the convention was adjourned to reconvene at 3:00 o'clock, p.m. as a meeting of Labor's League for Political Education.

RESOLUTIONS

The following resolutions, introduced by unanimous consent of the Convention, were received and referred to the appropriate committees:

U. S. COMMERCIAL FISHING, INDUSTRY

Resolution No. 101—By Delegates Harry Lundeberg, Paul Hall, Morris Weisberger, James Waugh, Patrick McHugh, Seafarers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The United States market for fishery products changes very little from year to year as indicated by official Federal

Fish and Wild Life statistics; the per capita consumption of canned fish in 1933 of 3.9 lbs. dropped to 3.8 lbs. in 1947, and

WHEREAS, Increased imports together with decreased exports, a situation which now exists in the fishing industry, make available a greater supply than the demand, a condition that can only result in the elimination of production, either domestic or foreign, and

WHEREAS, Foreign exports of fishery products into the United States continues to increase, witness the more than 12,750,000 lbs. of fresh, frozen and canned tuna which have entered this country during the first six months of this year, and

WHEREAS, These increasing imports and decreasing exports are one of the difficult problems confronting the United States fishing industry today, with little prospect that the situation will improve, but rather grow progressively worse, just so long as we continue to allow cheaply produced, sub-standard labor products to enter this country in unlimited quantities and under low tariff regulations, and

WHEREAS, These cheap foreign products, produced with sub-standard labor and under the poorest of conditions, constitute a major threat to the high standards established for the organized fishermen and fish cannery workers in this country, as well as a very strong threat to the very economy and prosperity of the domestic fisheries, and

WHEREAS, Some of the American facilities, fishermen and fish cannery workers have already been idled on the West Coast because of these increased imports from foreign nations, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we hereby set on record in favor of limiting foreign fishery products imported into the United States to the extent that these products imported into this country will not compete unfairly with the domestic product just as long as the home production of the fishery products can supply the consumption demands of the United States, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be forwarded to the United States Department of Interior Fish and Wild Life Service, Branch of Commercial Fisheries and Department of State Washington, D. C. at the proper time.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION FOR FISHING INDUSTRY

Resolution No. 102—By Delegates Harry Lundeberg, Paul Hall, Morris Weisberger, James Waugh, Patrick McHugh, Seafarers' International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The organized fishermen of New England, affiliated with the Seafarers International Union of North America of the American Federation of Labor, have for the past ten years championed conservation of

the North Atlantic Fisheries by International Agreement and in 1948 persuaded the State Department to undertake an International Conference for such International Agreement, and

WHEREAS, Pursuant thereto, the United States, together with ten other nations, did in February, 1949 conclude an International Convention for the conservation of the fishery resources of the North Atlantic Ocean, and

WHEREAS, The International Commission to be set up under such convention will regulate the areas of fishing, the period of employment and other fishing operations of fishermen, and the amount of fish to be caught, and

WHEREAS, Such Commission will seriously encroach upon and, in effect, take over, in good part, functions of labor and management and thereby regulate wages and working conditions of American Fishermen who are organized in the Atlantic Fishermen's Union of the Seafarers International Union of North America, and

WHEREAS, The State Department is publicly sponsoring prospective legislation whereunder two out of the three United States representatives on the International Commission shall be government officials, federal and state, and the third representative to be one out of the public-at-large, so called, and

WHEREAS, This pattern of legislation so sponsored by the State Department is an abandonment of the wisdom and experience of the War Labor Board and other government agencies, to wit: participation by organized labor in the day-to-day administration of policies affecting employment relations is an assurance of both efficiency and justice, and

WHEREAS, Such scheme of legislation so sponsored by the State Department will contradict the avowed policy of President Truman that organized labor should, because of its new status in international affairs, be represented on policy-making international agencies, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled does hereby denounce such State Department's pattern of legislation and its failure to include provisions assuring the designation of a representative of the organized fishermen on the United States Commission, and be it further

RESOLVED, That President William Green be empowered and he is hereby instructed to urge upon President Truman the justice and need for a representative of the organized fishermen as a member of the United States Panel on the aforementioned International Commission, and be it further resolved that a copy of this resolution be forthwith sent to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State and other interested Government Agencies.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

APPLICATION OF WAGE-HOUR LAW TO PUERTO RICO WITHOUT EXEMPTIONS

Resolution No. 103—By Delegate Nicolas Nogueras Rivera, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen.

WHEREAS, In 1940 the Wage and Hour Law was amended by Congress, through a rider, so as to permit the Federal Administrator of the Law to appoint Industrial Committees for Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands with the power to recommend wages below the minimum established in said law, and

WHEREAS, Due to this loophole in the law there are some old and new industries paying wages as low as 15c, 20c, 25c, 30c and 35 cents an hour thus condemning almost to starvation thousands of employes, and

WHEREAS, This discrimination of the law, together with other factors is creating an unfair labor competition which annuls the objectives of the law and gives way to unrest and misunderstanding among employes and employers in Puerto Rico and in continental United States, and

WHEREAS, Pressure is being made by reactionary forces to maintain the status quo with respect to the application of the Wage and Hour Law in Puerto Rico, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By The American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in the City of St. Paul, Minnesota, that inasmuch as it has been the policy of the American Federation of Labor to raise the living standards of all workers under the American flag to such levels that may meet the exigencies of modern civilization, and the people of Puerto Rico belong to the American society as well as any group within the United States of America and deserve fair treatment in the application of federal legislation destined to promote the American way of living, this convention declares itself in favor of the extension to the Island of Puerto Rico without discrimination or exemptions of the Wage and Hour Law that may be approved by the U. S. Congress for the Nation, and that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be instructed to carry out the purpose of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

EXTENDING FULL BENEFITS OF SOCIAL SECURITY ACT TO PUERTO RICO

Resolution No. 104—By Delegate Nicolas Nogueras Rivera, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen.

WHEREAS, Titles V and VI of the Social Security Act were extended to the Island of Puerto Rico some years ago through the efforts of Brother Santiago Iglesias while Resi-

dent Commissioner of Puerto Rico in Washington and with the cooperation of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, Social Security for the workers should run parallel to industrial development and mechanization, and

WHEREAS, Unless the Social Security Act is promptly extended to Puerto Rico with a full coverage as it is in force in continental United States there will be economic distress and starvation in the homes of thousands of workers who are loyal American citizens in the American territory of Puerto Rico, and

WHEREAS, The desirability and urgency of extending the Social Security Act to Puerto Rico has been expressed by the head of the Social Security Board of the United States in his recent visit to Puerto Rico, and

WHEREAS, The Government of Puerto Rico is ready to receive the benefits of the full extension of the Social Security Act through proper implementation already established by law, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By The American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in the City of St. Paul, Minnesota to vigorously reiterate its demand to Congress for the urgent extension to Puerto Rico of the Social Security Act as a means to improve social and economic conditions of said American territory and provide the Island with an appropriate legislative measure that may permit the people of Puerto Rico to face the problem of social insecurity and unrest.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

COMMITTEE TO STUDY CONDITIONS IN PUERTO RICO

Resolution No. 105—By Delegate Nicolas Noguera Rivera, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in assuming the high responsibility of being the champion of democracy and social justice in America has assumed also the moral obligation to foster the general welfare of the toiling masses not only in the forty-eight States of the Union but also in the territories under the American flag, and

WHEREAS, The Island of Puerto Rico has achieved new advancements in its political relationships with the Government and the people of the United States that demand a closer and better approach of its problems and possibilities on the part of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The favorable attitude of the immense majority of the people of Puerto Rico toward American ideals and democratic principles and the American way of living has been developed through the constructive and sound propaganda and educational efforts of

the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen as an affiliate of the A. F. of L. since 1901, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in the City of St. Paul, Minnesota:

1. To express its firm determination to continue giving all necessary moral assistance and effective cooperation to the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Labor so that it could carry on successfully its difficult and delicate task of promoting the American standard of living among the working people of Puerto Rico through organized labor as represented by the A. F. of L. and vigorizing the faith in the virtuality and soundness of American democracy, principles and ideals.
2. That in order to make more practical and effective such assistance and help to be given to Puerto Rican labor, this convention entrust and empower the Executive Board of The American Federation of Labor to appoint a special committee composed of the members it might deem advisable to carry on a thorough investigation of the social, economic, political and industrial conditions of the working people of Puerto Rico so that said special committee may render a report with the necessary recommendations to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. for appropriate action.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

SUGAR ACT OF 1948

Resolution No. 106—By Delegate Nicolas Noguera Rivera, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen.

WHEREAS, In the warehouses of the sugar mills of the Island of Puerto Rico there is nearly \$25,000,000 worth of sugar which is the surplus produced under the actual quota system established by the Department of Agriculture of the U.S.A. in accordance with the Sugar Act, and

WHEREAS, Due to technicalities this surplus has not been assimilated by the Marshall Plan because it is alleged that it was produced in excess of the quota assigned to Puerto Rico, and

WHEREAS, Cuban surplus is easily assimilated by the Government of the United States, something that helps to maintain the good neighborhood policy, and

WHEREAS, If this surplus is not sold on time it will constitute a great handicap to next crop and perhaps thousands of tons of sugar cane will not be cut thus limiting the income of thousands of employees and even creating unemployment far beyond the actual limits, and

WHEREAS, Brother H. L. Mitchell, president of the National Farm Labor Union could

personally verify this situation in his visit to some Puerto Rican sugar mills the employees of which are organized with the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen, and

WHEREAS, The sugar industry in Puerto Rico is the main source of living and social betterment for the people of this Island, and

WHEREAS, The Island population increases in more than 60,000 inhabitants per annum, and, in spite of the efforts of the Government of Puerto Rico to develop new industries, sugar has shown to be the more soundly dependable source of occupation, although its development has been restricted by the Federal Sugar Act of 1948, thus depriving the Island from an expansion of its most important industry in accordance with the increase in population, and

WHEREAS, The sugar industry directly employs 140,000 workers, not including labor employed by banking institutions, foundries, transportation concerns, and others, nor what it means for other small industries depending on sugar for its livelihood, and

WHEREAS, Under the Federal Sugar Act of 1948, Puerto Rico is entitled to a quota of 910,000 tons of sugar for the continental United States market, but under Section 204 of the Federal Sugar Act of 1948 Puerto Rico is not entitled to share any deficit in the quota assigned to the Republic of the Philippines (95% would be shared by Cuba and 5% by other foreign countries other than Cuba and the Republic of the Philippines), neither out of any increase that the Secretary of Agriculture may eventually authorize in the consumption estimate established under Section 201 of the Sugar Act of 1948 (98.64% would be given to Cuba and 1.36% to other foreign countries other than Cuba and the Republic of Philippines), and

WHEREAS, These advantages and privileges granted to Cuba in the Federal Sugar Act of 1948 have created a serious problem to the sugar industry in Puerto Rico, inasmuch as we now have nearly 160,000 tons of excess sugar which cannot be marketed, while Cuba, which is a foreign country, has practically sold all of its sugar out of one of its biggest crops, and

WHEREAS, The population of continental United States is increasing at the rate of more than two million inhabitants per annum, which would mean that in the course of ten years the population would have increased in nearly 25,000,000 sugar consumers of Cuban sugar exclusively under the terms of the Sugar Act of 1948, unless such situation be remedied through amendment by the Congress of the United States, and

WHEREAS, Puerto Rico, as an organized territory, is a part of the United States of America, and the people of this Island have demonstrated their loyalty to the nation to which their destiny is linked each time that the nation has been threatened, sharing with their northern fellow countrymen all the sacrifices which were encountered in defending the

principles which are the foundation of the democratic institutions of the American people, and

WHEREAS, The sugar industry represents for Puerto Rico much more than it could represent for any state in the Union producing cane or beet sugar, in view of the enormous difference between the natural resources of Puerto Rico and the resources of the sugar producing states, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in the City of St. Paul, Minnesota:

1. That in view of the prevailing economic conditions of the Island of Puerto Rico and the restrictions that have been unjustly imposed to the sugar production especially to the refined sugar in behalf of other areas, it vigorously and earnestly urges from the U. S. Department of Agriculture and from the Marshall Plan Organization that steps be taken so that the American territory of Puerto Rico could find the way to sell its surplus production of sugar through the channels of said Marshall Plan Organization or through those that could be appropriately fixed by the U. S. Department of Agriculture.
2. That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be instructed to order a thorough study of the Sugar Act of 1948 in order to recommend to the U. S. Congress the corresponding amendment to said Act to protect not only the domestic area of Puerto Rico but thousands and thousands of workers employed in the sugar industry in the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

INCREASE BENEFITS UNDER SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

Resolution No. 107—By Delegates Mario Azpeitia, A. P. Bower, S. F. Lopez, Cigar Makers' International Union of America.

WHEREAS, Because of inadequate compensation laws, the unemployed workers do not receive sufficient amounts during unemployed periods to pay for the necessities of life, in fact, the maximum allowed in some states is only \$15.00 per week and for only sixteen weeks out of each year, an amount wholly inadequate to take care of the needs of even the smallest family, and

WHEREAS, Social security laws of our Federal Government provide for payment of benefits to persons having attained the age of 65 years, when such age limit should be 60 years instead, and the amount of the benefits paid are entirely too small to take care of the minimum needs of such aged persons, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this convention of the American Federation of Labor duly assembled in St. Paul, Minnesota:

1. That the age limit under Social Security laws of the United States of America should be reduced to 60 years, and that the benefits paid to persons qualifying under the Act be increased to an amount sufficient to provide for the needs of our aged workers.
2. That the Congress of the United States of America be requested to pass necessary legislation reducing the age limit from 65 years to 60 years and increase the benefits of those qualifying under the Act to an amount sufficient to provide for their needs.
3. That the states be requested to pass necessary legislation to bring about a reduction of the age limit from 65 years to 60 years and to increase the benefits of those qualifying under the act to an amount sufficient to provide for their needs.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

MINIMUM WAGE

Resolution No. 108—By Delegates Jack Wieselberg, Norman Zukowsky, Herbert Otto, Edward Friss, International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The minimum wage law under the Fair Labor Standards Act recognized the necessity for providing a minimum wage sufficient to maintain a decent American standard of living, and

WHEREAS, The minimum provided for in the said Act was 40c an hour, and

WHEREAS, The said Act was passed during a depression period, and the cost of living has risen tremendously since then, and therefore the present minimum is unrealistic and insufficient to maintain a decent American standard of living, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 68th convention of the American Federation of Labor that we urge the passage of an amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act so as to establish a 75c minimum hourly wage and that it shall be made to cover all workers throughout the land.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

TAFT-HARTLEY

Resolution No. 109—By Delegates Jack Wieselberg, Norman Zukowsky, Herbert Otto, Edward Friss, International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The struggle of organized workers for the protection of their fundamental rights has been marked by the most determined opposition of reactionary elements, and

WHEREAS, The recognition of the right to freely organize and to collectively bargain for

workers was finally realized in the enactment of the Wagner Act, which appropriately enough was called labor's Magna Charta, and

WHEREAS, The reactionary elements which dominated the 80th Congress and which represented a combination of Tory Republicans and Dixiecrat Democrats dealt a severe blow to all labor, organized and unorganized, by enacting the infamous Taft-Hartley Act, and

WHEREAS, The voters of our country expressed their collective indignation against this infamous law by successfully electing Harry S. Truman as President upon his pledge to repeal this infamous Taft-Hartley Act, and

WHEREAS, The present 81st Congress has shown an utter disregard for the expressed will of the people, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 68th convention of the American Federation of Labor that we demand the forthwith and immediate repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and the reenactment of the Wagner Act, in the manner recommended by President Truman in his message to the 81st Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

EXTENSION OF SOCIAL SECURITY AND HEALTH INSURANCE

Resolution 110—By Delegates Jack Wieselberg, Norman Zukowsky, Herbert Otto, Edward Friss, International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The full realization of an American standard of living is impossible without healthy and sound minds and bodies, since it has been shown time and again that the problem of health for the wage earners is an economic problem, and

WHEREAS, The security of the worker as he or she grows older is a medical hazard to the full productivity of all those gainfully employed to the extent that the worry and concern over old-age security affects the health and welfare of workers and members of their families, and

WHEREAS, Under our present system of private medicine low and even medium income families can afford only limited medical attention, not to any extent as they urgently may require it, and

WHEREAS, Voluntary prepayment plans to cover medical costs demonstrate clearly that medical insurance is feasible, but also establish that such voluntary methods cannot possibly serve more than a fraction of all those who should be covered, and

WHEREAS, The chief opposition to federal compulsory health insurance comes from the reactionary medical trust and the highly profitable drug industry, both concerned only with their own narrow, selfish interests, and

WHEREAS, The chief opposition to the extension of social security benefits comes mainly from reactionary and shortsighted elements in our industrial and political life, and

WHEREAS, Present social security benefits are grossly inadequate to meet the urgent needs of those who receive the same, and

WHEREAS, Under the present law a great portion of the working population receive no benefits under the law, and

WHEREAS, President Truman has asked the 81st Congress to enact a program which will broaden the coverage of the social security law, increase the amount of benefits, and for the enactment of laws which will provide low cost overall coverage for medical, surgical and dental services and for disability insurance to cover loss of earnings during illness and disability, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 68th convention of the American Federation of Labor that we go on record in full support of President Truman's program to broaden the social security law to cover all persons gainfully employed, to extend and increase old-age benefits so as to make it possible for those who receive these benefits to live a decent life, and to enact laws which will provide for low cost health protection.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRAM

Resolution No. 111—By Delegates Jack Wiesenberg, Norman Zukowsky, Herbert Otto, Edward Friss, International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, During the last war and the succeeding period it has become apparent that there are certain flaws existing in our fundamental democratic rights, and

WHEREAS, It has become increasingly necessary to remove the inequities, prejudices and archaic and sectional incumbrances upon the fundamental rights of large portions of our population, and

WHEREAS, The Constitution of the United States guarantees the equal protection of the law to all our people, and

WHEREAS, Civil rights have been denied to many citizens because of their color, race or creed, and

WHEREAS, The denial of such rights to minorities has been accompanied by restrictions upon their opportunities to be gainfully employed and also to exercise all the rights, privileges and prerogatives of American citizens, and

WHEREAS, These deprivations of rights to minorities constitutes a threat to the collective rights of all citizens, and

WHEREAS, It is essential for our great country in discharging its obligations as a

world leader for democracy and democratic rights to set an outstanding example to which the people of the world will respond, and

WHEREAS, We have confidence in our collective ability to remove injustices existing in our democracy, and

WHEREAS, Both major parties pledged to enact an adequate civil rights program to extend democratic and civil rights to all peoples and to remove archaic restrictions against minorities, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 68th convention of the American Federation of Labor that we endorse without qualification the full and complete civil rights program which was presented to the Congress by President Truman in his message and urge that this program, which was subscribed to by both major political parties in their platforms.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

UNITY IN LABOR MOVEMENT

Resolution No. 112—By Delegates Jack Wiesenberg, Norman Zukowsky, Herbert Otto, Edward Friss, International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, So long as American labor is divided into separate and competing camps it will be unable to assume its rightful role in the economic and political life of our country, and

WHEREAS, The continued division of the workers leads to strife and bitterness in the ranks of organized labor, is demoralizing to the workers, and such division gives great satisfaction to the forces of reaction, and

WHEREAS, More than 15 million workers, organized under a single militant labor federation would have the power and prestige to challenge the forces of reaction, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has been the great magnetic force around which organized labor is rallying and such federation is free from the contaminating taint of Communism, and

WHEREAS, A systematic and continued campaign and appeal to the membership of the C.I.O. on behalf of labor unity shall strike a responsive note made to all patriotic elements therein, except those who seek confusion for subversive reasons, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 68th convention of the American Federation of Labor that we go on record to express our desire and hope that all the organized workers be united under one great federation so as to present a solid front against reaction, against communism and totalitarianism, and against all threats to democracy and civil liberties, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we go on record as urging the C.I.O. to return to the A. F. of L. and be it further

RESOLVED, That we go on record as appealing to the responsible leadership of the C.I.O. to answer this call for labor unity in America and that the necessary procedure to bring about a genuine united labor movement which will contain all organized labor in one strong organization be set in motion.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

EXCISE TAX ON HANDBAGS, LUGGAGE AND LEATHER GOODS

Resolution No. 113—By Delegates Jack Wieselberg, Norman Zukowsky, Herbert Otto, Edward Friss, International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The International Handbag, Luggage, Belt & Novelty Workers Union, A. F. of L. has been advocating and conducting a campaign for the elimination of the 20% wartime excise tax upon luggage and handbags, and

WHEREAS, It is common knowledge that these items are basic everyday necessities and were taxed by Congress during the recent war as a conservation measure and a war measure, and

WHEREAS, Maintenance of the 20% excise tax on such essential commodities causes irrevocable loss in that it destroys the consumers' ability to buy and threatens the very existence of an American industry which employs many thousands of workers throughout the country who, together with their families, constitute an important section of the workers of our country, and

WHEREAS, This inequitable tax results in an ever increasing loss and not in a gain in government revenue because the income of both employer and employee is deteriorated because of loss of production, and the result would be that the government will have to pay out large sums of money in relief and other appropriations because of curtailment in production and employment in the leather goods industries directly traceable to the tax, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 68th convention of the American Federation of Labor that we pledge our complete support to the International Handbag, Luggage, Belt & Novelty Workers Union, a constituent and integral part of our Federation in its campaign for the elimination of the 20% wartime excise tax on handbags, luggage, personal leather goods and allied products, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all our international unions, state federations, city central bodies, federal unions and local unions persist in this campaign in every way possible and extend full support to the International Handbag, Luggage, Belt & Novelty Workers' Union in its national campaign for the elimination of such wartime excise tax on the items mentioned, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the appropriate committees of the House of Representatives and Senate.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

ISRAEL

Resolution No. 114—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Luigi Antonini, Israel Feinberg, Charles S. Zimmerman, Isidore Nagler, Louis Stulberg, David Gingold, George Rubin, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union; Morris Bialis, Federation of Labor, Chicago, Illinois; Max Wexler, Vermont State Federation of Labor; Frank X. Martel, Federation of Labor, Detroit and Wayne County, Mich.; James L. McDevitt, Pennsylvania Federation of Labor; Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor; Hugo Ernst, Ed. S. Miller, Emanuel Koveleski, Louis Koenig, Dave Siegel, Larry Sarricks, George Holbert, Anna Rimington, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Bartenders' International Union; Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, On May 11, 1949, the newly created State of Israel was duly elected as the fifty-ninth member of the United Nations, ready to assume all the rights, privileges and responsibilities of such membership, and

WHEREAS, The United States Government has played a vital part in the sponsoring of this membership of the State of Israel, having been the first to grant de facto recognition of the state upon its proclamation of national independence on May 14, 1948, and

WHEREAS, The State of Israel has proven, during its eighteen months of existence to be a true democracy, conducting a general national election with universal suffrage for all its citizens, and choosing freely a parliament which rules the state in a manner that gives credit to the young nation, and

WHEREAS, The State of Israel has this year succeeded in signing terms of armistice with all its neighboring Arab states in the Middle East, bringing to a close the regrettable military operations that followed the initial proclamation of national independence, and

WHEREAS, The State of Israel has concentrated its principal resources to the cause of peaceful development of the country, bringing in 300,000 immigrants from lands of former Nazi persecution and other depressed areas within the past eighteen months, and

WHEREAS, The State of Israel has pledged itself to continue to bring into its territory at least one million needy immigrants, to provide them with the basic needs of life, homes, jobs, social security, education, health care, and a decent standard of living, and

WHEREAS, The Israeli government has offered to do its proportionate share in alleviating the plight of the so-called Arab refugees who left their former homes in Israel, and

WHEREAS, The notable progress of the State of Israel is due in large measure to the untiring efforts of the Israeli Labor Federation—HISTADRUT—which plays a vital part in the rehabilitation of the immigrants, in fostering economic cooperatives in agriculture and industry, in advancing the education and vocational training of youth, in proclaiming mutual understanding between all sections of the working population of the land, regardless of race or religion, and

WHEREAS, The organized labor movement is a dominant factor in the first government of the new-born state, its leaders holding the majority of portfolios in the Cabinet, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has consistently supported the efforts of the Jewish people to attain their national independence in Palestine and was its staunch supporter since the days of the Balfour Declaration of 1917, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 68th convention of the American Federation of Labor, in reaffirming its solidarity with the Jewish people who, having at long last succeeded in creating their own State, in their ancient homeland, does hail the State of Israel upon its election this year as a member of the United Nations, a position which it rightfully enjoys as an equal among the family of freedom-loving, democratic peoples, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention commend the President of the United States for his high moral stand in support of the fledgling state of Israel, and be it further

RESOLVED, To urge upon the United States Government to give friendly consideration and support to the State of Israel in its just territorial claims in the execution of a final peace plan for the Middle East, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention reaffirms its long-standing record of friendship and its bonds of solidarity with its fellow trade unionists organized in the HISTADRUT, and pledges its continued aid in the vital efforts to develop the young democratic state as a stronghold of freedom, as a haven for the hundreds of thousands of homeless Jews who still await the opportunity to enter their homeland, and in this connection, we endorse the general aims and activities of the American Trade Union Council of the National Committee for Labor Israel.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

FIRE FIGHTERS LOCAL UNION IN CANAL ZONE

Resolution No. 115—By Delegates John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, Local union No. 13, located on the Canal Zone, was chartered by the International Association of Fire Fighters on

February 28, 1918, and has been in continuous operation since that time, and

WHEREAS, Since that date this local has been recognized by all Governors of the Canal Zone, and

WHEREAS, In recent months the present Governor, General Newcomer, has denied recognition to this local because its members dared to present ideas in conflict with those of the Governor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the action of Governor Newcomer in withdrawing recognition from local union No. 13 of the International Association of Fire Fighters be condemned, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the administrative officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take this question up with Secretary of the Army Gordon Gray, Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson and, if necessary, President Truman and have appropriate orders issued to correct this complaint which, if not adjusted, may set a far-reaching precedent in all government agencies.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PARTITION OF IRELAND

Resolution No. 116—By Delegate Kenneth J. Kelley, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There still exists throughout the world, governments that do not recognize the rights of people in regard to their majority rights of free, self-government, and

WHEREAS, There is a government in Northern Ireland being perpetuated by a foreign power which is breeding bigotry and tends to destroy the unity of a race of people, and

WHEREAS, The Irish people have contributed, over the centuries, more aid to the freedom of oppressed people than any nation in the world, and

WHEREAS, Organized labor has always raised its voice to espouse the cause of freedom and the rights of government that is of, for, and by all its people, and

WHEREAS, The partition in Ireland is not a healthy or natural condition, and

WHEREAS, The present government in Great Britain is controlled by the Labor Party, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 68th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor record itself against the continuation of the partition dividing all of the people of Ireland and call upon the President of the United States, the State Department and the Congress of the United States to do all in their power to end once and for all this unjust condition to the end that the government of Eire will truly represent all of its people within its natural bor-

ders so that she may take her rightful place among the family of nations.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PROPOSED TAXATION ON LABOR-SAVING MACHINERY

Resolution No. 117—By Delegates Mario Azpeita, A. P. Bower, S. F. Lopez, Cigar Makers' International Union of America.

WHEREAS, The number of unemployed in this country is steadily growing, caused mainly by the replacing of manpower by machinery, and

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States should enact necessary tax measures to adequately tax said machines so as to increase the tax monies available for the payment of benefits to unemployed workers, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this convention of the American Federation of Labor duly assembled at St. Paul, Minnesota:

1. That the increased number of unemployed workers of these United States is principally due to the increased number of installations of machinery taking the place of manpower.
2. That such machinery is not taxed sufficiently. That the said machinery taking the place of manpower should be sufficiently taxed; thereby requiring same to contribute to the unemployment fund to provide increased benefits to unemployed workers.
3. That the Congress be urged to adopt necessary tax measures to adequately tax such machines, and make such tax available for increased benefits for unemployed workers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WORKERS BECAUSE OF AGE

Resolution No. 118—By Delegate Kenneth J. Kelley, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, With the onset of unemployment in industry, many employers are returning to the evil practice of refusing to hire older workers, or laying off older workers, and

WHEREAS, Men and women of 45 years of age are being classified as older workers and being denied employment because of their age, and

WHEREAS, As a result of this policy many wage earners are being discriminated against because of age many years before they become eligible for retirement under the Old-age and Survivors' Insurance program of the So-

cial Security Act, or under the Railroad Retirement Act, or other retirement programs in effect, therefore be it,

RESOLVED, That the 68th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in St. Paul, Minnesota, go on record as favoring the introduction of national legislation that would make it an unfair labor practice charge for any employer to discharge any employee or to refuse to hire any applicant for employment because of advanced age unless the employee or applicant is eligible for retirement benefits either under the social security laws of the United States Government or a private plan or a combination of such plans.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

OPPOSING H. R. 3067 AND H. R. 4898

Resolution No. 119—By Delegate Vincent J. Murphy, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is now before the Committee on Veterans' Affairs the House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., H. R. 3067 introduced by Mr. Teague, Texas, and H. R. 4898 introduced by Mr. Wheeler of Georgia, and

WHEREAS, Said Bills would authorize veterans who are pursuing full-time institutional trade courses to build homes for veterans, buildings for charitable organizations, veterans' organizations and tax-supported institutions and also will authorize veterans to construct, improve and repair public buildings for which work the said veterans shall receive no pay, and

WHEREAS, The purpose of these two Bills would destroy the on-the-job apprentice training course authorized in 1937 as Public Law 308, and

WHEREAS, The purpose of said Bills are inimical to labor, would destroy the economy of the United States and would disturb the existing program now being operated in connection with the Department of Labor and various representatives of management and labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled strongly opposes the passage of these two Bills and that all of the various locals and Building Trades Councils affiliated with this organization so notify the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this Resolution be sent to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs at Washington, D. C.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

ADEQUATE INSURANCE BENEFITS FOR WORKERS

Resolution No. 120—By Delegate Vincent J. Murphy, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Social Security in all of its forms is a matter of national concern and importance, in that economic depression cannot be limited to one particular state or locality but spreads to include all of the States in our Nation, and

WHEREAS, The history of social security in the United States is proof that the individual states will not and cannot handle adequately so vast a problem, since it is clear that unemployment compensation was not adopted by our states until they were forced to do so by Federal action, and since even now Old-Age Insurance and Survivors' Insurance are handled on a Federal basis and

WHEREAS, Under the slogan of "state's rights" many of the reactionary Congressmen and Senators are opposing the extension of social security on a Federal basis, preventing adequate social security for employees of the Federal Government, and going so far as to obstruct even the underwriting by the Federal Government of the solvency of the State Unemployment Reserve Fund, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as condemning in no uncertain terms those Senators and Congressmen who are opposing Federal legislation to enforce the adequate payment of proper social security so that all workers shall be entitled to such protection; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we go on record urging the immediate adoption by the Federal Congress of legislation designed to cover all workers on an actuarially sound basis, so that proper insurance benefits may be received for unemployment, sickness, health and other disability, together with the adequate payments for old-age insurance and survivors benefits insurance; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon all Senators and Congressmen to support legislative bills such as those proposed by President Truman, which are designed to broaden the coverage and expand the benefits provided by the Social Security Laws.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

DAILY LABOR PAPER

Resolution No. 121—By Delegate Vincent J. Murphy, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The vast majority of the public press in this country, dominated by big business interests, spreads anti-labor propaganda to members of organized labor and to the general public, and

WHEREAS, This distortion of the truth has resulted in the passage of such legislation as the Taft-Hartley Act, endangering not only the existence of the labor movement, but threatening American democracy itself, and

WHEREAS, Any effective means of combatting the anti-labor propaganda of the National Association of Manufacturers and other big business interests can only be made on a national scale, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor establish a national daily newspaper which shall make available to all the people of this nation the true facts concerning organized labor and its fight for a free America.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

STUDY TO BE MADE ON BENEFITS FOR PERMANENT DISABILITY

Resolution No. 122—By Delegate Vincent J. Murphy, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Social Security legislation has already provided benefits for unemployment, for injury resulting from accidents while at work, for old age and death dependency, and

WHEREAS, Organized labor has already gone on record demanding benefits for temporary disability resulting from illness, and public consideration is now being given to the adoption of such a program, and

WHEREAS, As yet, there appears to have been given little or no consideration to the needs of the chronic sick, those who are permanently and totally dependent due to disability or illness, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we call upon the American Federation of Labor to cause a study to be made and legislation introduced into the Federal Congress for the purpose of providing benefits for dependency due to permanent and total disability or illness.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions

PROHIBITION

Resolution No. 123—By Delegate Vincent J. Murphy, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The prohibition forces of our country are working continuously for the return of prohibition, and

WHEREAS, The Glass Blowers' Association and thousands of our workers in allied trades would be seriously affected by loss of job opportunities by the return of prohibition, and

WHEREAS, We feel the return of prohibition would also bring the return of bootleg-

ging, gangsterism, and many other evils, therefore, be it

RESOLVED. That this convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as being strongly opposed to prohibition and to vigorously oppose the dry forces in any or all local option elections.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

RETURN TO FORMER PARCEL POST REGULATIONS REGARDING MAXIMUM WEIGHT

Resolution No. 124—By Delegate Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The membership of Railway Express Employees, Local 808, I.B. of T., has suffered disastrous losses in employment and will continue to suffer the same as a result of Parcel Post operations, and

WHEREAS, Over a period of years the Post Office has increased its maximum weight allowance on shipments from 11 lbs., to 70 lbs., it has become an unfair competitor in the general transportation industry, and

WHEREAS, During this period of time no appreciable increase in cost of Parcel Post rates has been affected, while of necessity rates of private and common carriers have been greatly increased, a large amount of business has been diverted to Parcel Post at the taxpayer's expense, and

WHEREAS, The rates of pay to Parcel Post employees do not compare with those of private and common carriers it is a very unfair advantage for the Post Office to have and to hold, therefore, be it

RESOLVED. That the American Federation of Labor condemn and oppose the present Parcel Post operation and insist upon the return to the 11 lbs. maximum weight per parcel and increase the rates of same to at least cover the cost of handling same, so that the taxpayer will get such much needed relief.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

RELIEVING SEASONAL UNEMPLOYMENT IN DISTILLING INDUSTRY

Resolution No. 125—By Delegates Joseph O'Neill, Sol Cilento, James Dever, Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The goal of President Truman's economic program is a sustained prosperity, and

WHEREAS, A basic factor in attaining such a goal is the maintenance of a high rate of purchasing power by this nation's greatest consumer, the working man, and

WHEREAS, In order to promote such maintenance of purchasing power, continuous high employment must be first established, and

WHEREAS, Such employment is largely dependent upon the ability of industries, subject to seasonal production fluctuations, to adjust their production schedules and regularize employment the year around insofar as is possible in order to reduce labor turnover to a minimum thereby giving job security to their regular employees, and

WHEREAS, The distilled spirits industry, is so subject to such production fluctuations due primarily to antiquated provisions of the Internal Revenue Code which require collection of federal excise taxes on distilled spirits at the time of withdrawal in bulk from the warehouse before rectification and bottling processes, and

WHEREAS, Under such present provisions, the basis for a regularized employment program, (the establishment of bottling for stock schedules), would subject the producer to penalty of having to carry prepaid excise taxes as stock inventory which would mean a dormant cash investment of hundreds of thousands of dollars, and

WHEREAS, Inasmuch as producers are agreeable to the establishment of regularized employment in the industry which would thereby considerably reduce the burden of increased production costs caused by excessive labor turnover, provided such provisions of the Internal Revenue Code could be amended to relieve them of the above penalty and permit them to establish bottling for stock schedules, and

WHEREAS, There are now before the Senate Finance Committee and the House Ways and Means Committee, identical bills, S-1399 and H. R. 5192 respectively, which propose amendment to certain provisions of the Internal Revenue Code to permit collection of the federal excise tax on distilled spirits after rectification and bottling processes at the time of shipment, and

WHEREAS, By enactment of such amendments, thousands of members of the Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers' International Union as well as the members of other A. F. of L. Unions employed in the industry would be assured of year-around employment thereby promoting a sustained purchasing power in many communities throughout the country, therefore, be it

RESOLVED. That this convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its Executive Council and its legislative representatives in Washington to use every effort to promote the enactment of Bills S-1399 and H. R. 5192 at the next session of Congress, and be it further

RESOLVED, that this convention request that all international unions, state and local labor bodies petition their respective Senators and Congressmen for support of the aforementioned bills.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

HOUSING

Resolution No. 126—By Delegates Jack Wieselberg, Norman Zukowsky, Herbert Otto, Edward Friss, International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The restrictions of wartime necessity following closely on the heels of the great depression have prevented the construction of more than a small proportion of the millions of homes needed during the last 15 years, and

WHEREAS, The premature abandonment of government controls over scarce building materials after the war has resulted in an inflationary soaring of building costs which threatens to result in an extension of the housing crisis for years to come, particularly for wage earners and veterans, and

WHEREAS, The real estate lobbies are now endangering even the modest attempts of the federal government to initiate an emergency housing program by pressuring Congress to

eliminate federal subsidies necessary to encourage the construction of low cost housing and to prevent further disastrous increases in building costs, and

WHEREAS, Private construction and real estate interests have shown by their shocking disregard of anything but their own selfish thirst for profits, that they have neither the intention nor the ability to carry out on their own initiative a nation-wide large scale low cost housing program in the public interest, and

WHEREAS, Federal action is necessary to provide a large volume of low cost housing and to prevent speculation and hoarding of scarce construction materials, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 68th convention of the American Federation of Labor that the Congress of the United States enact an emergency housing program providing low cost government housing for American workers.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Sixty-Eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor 1949 Proceedings

Saint Paul, Minnesota, October 6, 1949

17  17

Report of

FOURTH DAY—THURSDAY MORNING SESSION

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:30 o'clock.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I am pleased to present to you for the invocation this morning the Rev. Benjamin N. Moore, Minister of the St. James African Methodist Episcopal Church of St. Paul. I know we appreciate his visit and I am pleased to present him to you.

INVOCATION

(Rev. Benjamin N. Moore, Minister,
St. James African Methodist
Episcopal Church)

Our gracious Heavenly Father, we thank Thee for the privilege of assembling in this convention hall this morning. We come, Dear Lord, to invoke Thy divine blessing upon the proceedings of this meeting of this day.

We come this morning asking for Thy spiritual help in the avenues of life and living, and with recognition that Thou art

the foundation stone of all that is good and perfect and holy.

We invoke Thy divine blessings upon the American Federation of Labor and upon the efforts which they have made from the Knights of Labor in Samuel Gompers' day down to William Green.

We recognize, as Thy devoted sons and daughters, that we are created to glorify Thee and to show forth a spirit of goodwill and helpfulness among all the people.

We thank Thee this morning that Thou would give us new dignity in doing our work well among the people not only in this country but around the world. Give us a new vision to add to the vision of the fathers of unionism.

Help us to lose ourselves in the interest of others. Help us to break down the barriers of discontent and discord and discrimination wherever we find it, and recognize God as our Father, Jesus as our Redeemer, and man as our brother wherever we find ourselves.

We pray for accord in union and in management and among them.

We pray for the unification of the arms of the labor movement wherever it is found.

We pray for the support of the cause of peace and good will around the world. We pray for tolerance and for understanding among those and with those who differ from us.

We pray for strength to the United Nations and to the united church of Jesus Christ around the world, and to the united union movement around the world.

We pray for the heads of the nations everywhere. We pray for the President of the United States, who has given so wonderfully of his support for the cause of the union movement in these, our United States.

We pray for the Congress, and we ask, O God, that in the efforts to bring about a greater good to a greater number, that all of them might be blessed and be helped in that direction.

We pray for our judiciary and for all those to whom we look for help and for strength.

We pray, Dear God, that Thou would help us to do good to those that despitefully use us, for we know that is the Christian way.

We pray for the President of the American Federation of Labor, William Green. We pray for his official family and those who support him on all sides.

We pray for the International Unions and the local organizations and those in similar positions around the world. Give us bigness of spirit. Help us to lift ourselves from the quagmire of smallness to the height of dignity and interest in all men.

Help us to work for not only the social and political good of mankind, but to work for his spiritual uplifting around the world.

Help us, O God, to bring about unity in the midst of discord. And when the tumult and the shouting dies and the captains and the kings decrease, help us to be a part of those not only who are interested in bringing in the kingdom but who will actually work so that some day, somehow, and soon, the kingdoms of this world will be the kingdom of our Lord and His Christ, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.—Amen.

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

PRESIDENT GREEN: I am pleased to make the following announcement. During the last few years the Department of the Church and Economic Life of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America has been attempting to deepen the interest of the Protestant Churches in the organized

labor movement. To aid in this program a seminar for church leaders is being held here in St. Paul today and tomorrow.

We have invited these church leaders to visit with us. They are here this morning, seated in the far corner of the hall to my right. I am sure you will want to make them welcome.

In your behalf I extend to them a cordial and sincere welcome to this session of the American Federation of Labor convention.

This noon at 12:30 o'clock there will be a seminar luncheon at the St. Paul Y.M.C.A. The subject will be "The American Federation of Labor—What It Is and How It Works." Delegates who wish to attend are welcome to do so.

Please keep this very kind invitation in mind. I know you will be pleased to know that the ministers of the Protestant churches, many of them are here this morning to watch our work and become acquainted with our aims, our policies and our objectives.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I want to announce the appointment of the committee to escort the speaker who will address us sometime during the forenoon. I will appoint on that committee Brother Arnold Zander, President of the State, County and Municipal Employes, Brother C. J. Haggerty, representing the California State Federation of Labor, and Brother Frank Coleman, delegate from the Maryland and District of Columbia State Federation of Labor.

I ask that the committee arrange to meet with former Congressman Voorhis, representing the Cooperative movement of the country, who will address the convention at a later hour this morning.

Now the Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Meany for the submission of messages and announcements.

Secretary Meany read the following messages:

Washington, D. C.
October 4, 1949

Honorable William Green
President, American Federation of Labor
St. Paul Hotel
St. Paul, Minnesota

Please convey my greetings to those in attendance at the Sixty-Eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. Your organization at all these regular meetings through the years has adopted many constructive programs in the interest of organized labor, wage earners in general, and for the public good. The American Public can look to the American Federation of Labor for a continuation of these progressive policies in the best tradition of trade unionism. I wish you well in your present deliberations and every success to the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor in the year that lies ahead.

JOHN R. STEELMAN
The Assistant to the President

Washington, D. C.
October 4, 1949

William Green, President
A. F. of L.
St. Paul Hotel
St. Paul, Minn.

Heartiest greetings to you and to delegates assembled for AFL Convention. Minnesota is proud to play host to this distinguished gathering and I deeply regret I cannot extend welcome in person. Only effective political action can safeguard labor's rights through Taft-Hartley Repeal and insure passage of legislation to raise living standards and improve national welfare. I salute the AFL for leading the way through LLPE and pledge my continued support.

JOHN A. BLATNIK, M. C.

Stockholm
Oct. 5, 1949

President William Green
American Federation of Labor Convention
St. Paul, Minnesota

The Central Organization of Salaried Employees in Sweden TCO sends you the most cordial greetings and wishes you all success in your important work.

WALTER AAMAN

CONFEDERATION GENERALE DU TRAVAIL DE GRECEE

Athens
September 16th, 1949.

Mr. William Green
President of the A. F. of L.
Washington, USA.

Dear Mr. Green:

In behalf of Greek workers and white collar workers, I extend hearty fraternal greetings to fellow workers of America on the occasion of this year's convention of the American Federation of Labor and wish its decisions should be beneficial not only to American workers but also to workers throughout the world.

The American Federation of Labor has been the untiring and intransigent champion of free

unionism, never having conceded conciliation or cooperation with totalitarians so called unionists, because has at all times held that it is impracticable any honest cooperation with them even for a well defined and immediate object.

Such irreconcilability, faithfully followed up also by Greek free unionism soon after the liberation of our country, has been fully justified by recent developments in world trade union movement. People, who believed in the practicability of cooperation with Communists and advanced to such an extent their belief as to give an organized shape to such a cooperation by participating in the constitution of the World Federation of Trade Unions, have reaped disappointment and disillusion and have been obliged to withdraw, since this organization turned out to be an undisguised propaganda machine of international Communism and Russian foreign policy.

In the efforts that are developing with the object of creating a new international organization of free labor, whose constitutive Congress is holding next November 28th-December 9th, in London, the courageous struggles and the militant spirit of the American Federation of Labor have undoubtedly played a decisive role. Greek free unionist, who soon after the liberation searched for kindred ideological orientations by free labor movements of other countries, found out the most genuine and constructive representatives of free democratic unionism in the leaders of the American Federation of Labor. In all their activities and in laying down their directives, Greek unionists have abundantly drawn on the spirit of militant unionism that American Federation of Labor has turned out in its long-lived history.

Greek workers, however, have other motives yet to feel themselves closely linked with their American brethren. Greek Trade Union Movement in Greece has gone through hardships. Labor Unions were completely disorganized by dictatorship, occupation and lastly by Communist seizure. Reorganizing them has been a painstaking and difficult task. In their carrying out this task you came helpful and rendered precious services. We shall never be forgetful.

In this opportunity, it should be an ingrate omission if we had not underlined the precious assistance we have been founding, not only in rebuilding Greek Labor Movement but also in settling down labor problems by the Labor and Manpower Division of the American Mission, so worthily headed by Messrs. Alan Strachan and John Heath. These brethren have been all the time cooperative, and we would like that our thanks for them should be extended to the organized workers throughout the United States, since theirs are the mandates and instructions so conscientiously and constructively carried out by them.

I would like, however, in this occasion to be allowed to recall you a request our Executive made—i. e. to have the assistance of the A. F. of L. in convening the 10th National Labor Congress, in order to prevent it being defamed abroad and secure it being held in free and democratic way. We have had reiterated discussions on this item with Messrs. Strachan and Heath; the latter will inform you in de-

tail since he has a conception of his own and is well abreast.

Along with our Greetings to your convention, I request you kindly to transmit the immense gratefulness of Greek people and especially of Greek workers for the inestimable aid of American People to Greece. Greek people fully availed of such aid and justified the prospects of the Great Democracy of the United States and pushed outside the National borders totalitarian invaders. Our National Army, faithful to his heroic traditions, has rendered service not only to fighting and bleeding Greece but also to the whole free mankind.

I am sure I shall be favored with your answer and you will keep me informed of the resolutions to be taken by your convention.

Fraternally yours,

(s) FOTIS MAKRIS
Secretary General
Greek General Confederation
of Labor.

September 20, 1949.

Mr. William Green,
President of A. F. of L.
The Annual Convention of American Federation of Labor.

Dear Sir and Brother:

More than four hundred thousands members of the National Federation of Industrial Organization, New Sanbetsu, send greetings of hearty fraternity to the members of the American Federation of Labor. The democratic trade unions of Japan are deeply grateful for the unselfish friendship and aids of the American Federation of Labor and Free Trade Union Committee.

At the recent Convention of New Sanbetsu held on July 14, 15, the greetings of the vice president of A. F. of L., Mr. Matthew Woll, have given all the members of New Sanbetsu deep emotions. By more than six hundred delegates of the convention the resolution of sending A. F. of L. greetings declaring our gratitude was passed among a overwhelming applaud.

We have been struggling literally a life and death battle against the Communists' domination in the red Sanbetsu, Japan Congress of Industrial Unions, the leading force of Japan for these two years. We have been combating to eliminate the Communists' control from Japanese labor movement for the sake of the reconstruction of genuinely democratic trade unions under the slogan of "Return Unions to Members." In these bitter and hard struggles, the workers of Japan have begun to learn the bona fide democratic way of life and they will be able to become strong enough to overcome the dark age rule of the Communists. We are now full of pride to go to the bitter campaign to achieve above aims.

It becomes recently an evident matter that the ultra-leftist force in the labor movement is going to retreat day by day. Whether the trade union movement can become powerful

to break through the tremendous disorder and obstacle or not, which are gradually displaying themselves along with the retreat of the Red-force, is completely depending on the strong stridings of the democratization force.

Of course, the establishment of New Sanbetsu decisively splitting Sanbetsu in July 1949, was the strongest attack on the Red-labor front for these four years. Day by day in all the important national unions in New Sanbetsu and other national unions, democratic forces are achieving brilliant progress and the future united front of all the democratic forces becomes more and more hopeful.

Nevertheless, in the young non-experienced trade union movement of Japan, a new menace of ultra-right fascists are newly arising beside the ultra-left invasion. Most of them were in wartime in the camp of the militarism with some experiences in labor movement.

We genuinely democratic unionists are now standing at a grave mission to smash these two union robbers.

New Sanbetsu is now engaged in the most militant and effective campaign against these union robbers.

Free World Labour Confederation now under preparation concentrating all the democratic forces of the world is the biggest hope for the democratic unionist of Japan. New Sanbetsu has already made the resolution to affiliate it at the convention and hand in hand with all the democratic unionists of Japan New Sanbetsu is now developing an effective movement to promote the affiliation to F.W.L.C. as an independent constituent of the international society.

With the friendly assistance of all the democratic unionists of the world, we surely promise to all the members of A. F. of L. that we have a strong will to reconstruct the peaceful Japan and do our best for the maintenance of peace in the far east.

We all appreciate and thank deeply for the goodwill of A. F. of L.

Fraternally yours,

(s) MATSUTA HOSOYA,
Chief of International Affairs
Division of New Sanbetsu.

Berlin, Germany
October 3, 1949

President William Green:

At the 68th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, meeting in St. Paul, Minnesota, we wish to extend to you best wishes for success in the struggle for Social Progress and Peace.

With democratic fraternal greetings,

UGO BERLIN-SCHARNOWSKI

INDIAN NATIONAL TRADE UNION CONGRESS

17, Queens Way
New Delhi
16th September, 1949

Dear Brother Green:

The Working Committee of the Indian National Trade Union Congress is grateful for the invitation sent to our Organization through your representative in India, Mr. Richard L.G. Deverall, in regard to your next annual convention to be held on the 3rd October, 1949.

The occasion is a matter of great rejoicing to the Indian working class as represented by our organization. The American Federation of Labor, with a great leader of international repute like you, has played a most brilliant and heroic part on the building of a free trade union movement, not only in America but in fact on an international plane. The Indian National Trade Union Congress, which is deeply wedded to the principles of free trade unionism, aspires to walk shoulder to shoulder with the American Federation of Labor in pursuit of our common goal.

Long live American Federation of Labor!

Long live free trade union movement!

With cordial greetings:

Fraternally yours,

(s) **HARIHAR NATH SHASTRI**
(Harihar Nath Shastri)
General-Secretary.

WESTERN UNION

Washington, D. C. 1949 Oct. 3.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
St. Paul Hotel,
St. Paul, Minnesota.

The officers, delegates and members of the Government Employees' Council extend best wishes for a most successful convention.

THOMAS G. WALTERS,
Operations Director.

WESTERN UNION

New York, N. Y.
Oct. 4, 1949.

William Green, President,
George Meany, Secretary,
American Federation of Labor, AFL Con-
vention,
St. Paul, Minn.

Behalf National Committee for Labor Israel
and its Trade Union Council extend fraternal

greetings and best wishes to Sixty-Eighth Annual Convention American Federation of Labor. We take this opportunity to express deepest appreciation to the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated International Unions, State Federations, City Centrals and many local unions which have given invaluable assistance morally, politically and financially to the Republic of Israel and to its free and democratic trade union organization, The Histadrut. We hope and pray for your continued support.

American Trade Union Council
Joseph Breslaw, Chairman,
Isidor Laderman, Executive Di-
rector,
National Committee for Labor
Israel.
Joseph Schlossberg, National
Chairman.
Isaac Hamlin, National Secretary.

HIND MAZDOOR SABHA

Bombay 2
September 24, 1949.

William Green, Esq.,
President,
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Brother:

The HIND MAZDOOR SABHA, the Central Organization of free and democratic trade union movement in India, sends the American Federation of Labor, on the occasion of its Annual Conference, fraternal greetings and good wishes. The Sabha has watched with interest and satisfaction the increasingly important part the Federation has been playing not only in the USA but in other free countries of the world. The Sabha is deeply grateful to the Federation for sending to India such a distinguished representative as Mr. Richard Deverall. Mr. Deverall's presence in our country has brought about, even in such a short time, closer relations between the free and democratic labour movements in the USA and in the great sub-continent of India. We hope that through the efforts of Mr. Deverall, who brings to India varied experiences in the States and in Japan, intimate and abiding cooperation will be realized between the western and eastern labor movement.

The Indian working class has to fight against not merely the forces of monopoly and capitalism but also against the remnants of feudalism, reactionary communalism and incipient totalitarianism dangerously growing in a number of political parties in the country. Against such perils the responsibility of seeking and developing a free and democratic climate falls, to a large extent, on the shoulders of the working class. It can fulfill this high responsibility only if it receives, in an abundant measure, the goodwill and cooperation of stronger and more experienced working class organizations outside the frontiers of our country. We are confident of getting such cooperation from you.

There is the danger of Indian capitalists striving to strengthen themselves by enlisting the help of American capitalists. Our country undoubtedly needs foreign aid for economic development but we will not have private investments in our country. Such investments are harmful not only to India but even to the USA. The American capitalists are probably anxious to export capital because they expect to get a higher return in less developed countries. Such export of capital will be carried out at the expense of pressing needs of "Distressed Areas" in the USA themselves. In your country unemployment is reported to be more than 12 percent. If these areas are left in neglect it is with a view to extract a high rate of profit obtained by exploiting, in cooperation with native capitalists, the less developed parts of the world, such as our country.

Indian Labor desires that whatever aid for rehabilitation and reconstruction India receives should come through governmental channels and not through private investments which would be at the expense of American workers and would strengthen the domination of Indian capitalists over Indian workers. We hope organized Labor opinion in the USA will resist the export of private American capital to Asian countries.

We greet you once again and assure you of our cooperation in the building up of a free and democratic labor movement in the world.

Yours fraternally,

(S) ASOKA MEHTA,
General Secretary.

1949 Oct. 4.

New York N. Y. 3,
William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
St. Paul Hotel, St. Paul, Minn.

It is a privilege for me personally and also as Chairman of The Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons to extend cordial greetings to you, to Secretary Meany, and to all the other delegates to the 68th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. Representatives of the AFL throughout the country have fought unstintingly for the admission of our fair share of European displaced persons through the instrumentality of non-discriminatory and workable legislation. Because of this splendid effort there is still hope that the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 severely criticized by the 67th Convention of the AFL will be favorably amended to conform with established liberal American tradition. On behalf of the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, please accept my many thanks and deepest gratitude for your superb cooperation.

EARL G. HARRISON,
CHAIRMAN,
Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons,

303 Lexington Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

RESOLUTIONS REQUIRING UNANIMOUS CONSENT

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Meany for the submission of resolutions which require unanimous consent.

SECRETARY MEANY: The following resolutions requiring unanimous consent, are presented for your consideration. Unanimous consent has been recommended for these resolutions by the special sub-committee of the Executive Council:

From the Ohio State Federation of Labor: Observe State and National Election Day as a Holiday.

From the Government Employes' Council: Observance of Flag Day.

From the United Textile Workers: Jewish Labor Committee.

From the International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers Union: Displaced Persons.

From Photo Engravers: Child Labor.

PRESIDENT GREEN: You have heard the report of Secretary Meany on the resolutions submitted late and which require unanimous consent. Is there objection to the acceptance and consideration of these resolutions?

Hearing none, the resolutions are accepted and are referred to the appropriate committees.

(The resolutions referred to, numbered 127 to 131 inclusive, will be found at the end of today's proceedings.)

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL (Amendment to Section 1, Article 3, Constitution)

Secretary-Treasurer Meany submitted the following report on behalf of the Executive Council:

In order that all members and officers of the American Federation of Labor may, in the future, give full participation to the very necessary political activities of organized labor during the weeks immediately preceding election day, the Executive Council recommends that the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended in order that future annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor should be convened each year on the

third Monday in September instead of the first Monday in October.

It is, therefore, recommended that Section 1 of Article 3 of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor which now reads:

"Section 1. The convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 a.m., on the first Monday in October, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding convention, except during the years when a Presidential election occurs, when the convention in those years shall be held beginning the third Monday of November. If the proper convention arrangements or reasonable hotel accommodations cannot be secured in that city, the Executive Council may change the place of meeting."

shall be amended to read as follows:

"Section 1. The convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 a.m., on the third Monday in September at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding convention. If the proper convention arrangements or reasonable hotel accommodations cannot be secured in that city, the Executive Council may change the place of meeting."

Referred to Committee on Law.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

(Seafarers' International Union)

Secretary-Treasurer Meany submitted the following report on behalf of the Executive Council:

Since the printing of its report and at the urgent request of the Seafarers International Union of North America, the Executive Council, at its meeting held in St. Paul, immediately prior to the convening of the convention, gave serious consideration to the plight of American seamen, who, although civilian employees, are in the unique position of being under the regulation and control of a semi-military establishment of the United States Government, the United States Coast Guard.

The administration of numerous provisions of Federal law affecting the rights and obligations of American seamen, by the United States Shipping Commissioner and the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation, traditionally and for over fifty years until 1942, has been a function of the United States Department of Commerce, effectuated by civilian personnel. Early in 1942, as a temporary war measure, these offices were, by Executive Order of the President of the United States, transferred from the United States Department of Commerce to the Commandant of the United States Coast Guard, then under the direction and supervision of the Secretary of the Navy.

At the end of the year 1945, the United States Coast Guard was returned to the Department of the Treasury, but the office of the United States Shipping Commissioner and the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation

were not separated from the United States Coast Guard nor returned to civilian control under the United States Department of Commerce, but, on the contrary, were, by Executive Order, embraced permanently within the United States Coast Guard.

As a consequence, American seamen, formerly and for many years under the regulation and control of civilian personnel of the Department of Commerce are and will continue to be subject to the extremely rigid regulation and control and wholly unsuitable and often arbitrary and unrealistic processes of a semi-military establishment in respect to matters which should be regulated by civilians in accordance with principles and procedures adapted to civilian employees.

We, therefore, recommend that this convention go on record as fully supporting and endorsing the position of the Seafarers International Union of North America in this matter and in favor of requesting the President of the United States to take appropriate measures to separate the Office of U. S. Shipping Commissioner and the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation from the U. S. Coast Guard and to return these offices to civilian supervision and control within the U. S. Department of Commerce, where they traditionally have been and rightfully belong, and that this convention go on record further as advocating and supporting whatever legislation may be needed to effectuate such transfer.

Referred to Resolutions Committee.

PRESIDENT GREEN: These supplemental reports by the Executive Council are referred to the appropriate committees for consideration and action.

SOCIAL SECURITY

PRESIDENT GREEN: Before presenting the representatives of the Committee on Education who are ready to report, it seems fitting and appropriate that I should comment for you upon the fine reports that appear in the morning press, which show that the House of Representatives passed a Social Security measure originated, sponsored, and submitted to Congress by the American Federation of Labor, by a decisive vote of 313 for and only 13 against.

This is the outstanding legislative victory for labor during this session of Congress. We have been fighting for years for the enactment of an adequate modern-day requirement Social Security law, but our appeals up to this time seem to have fallen on deaf ears. But now the time has arrived when we can celebrate personally and collectively. You are happy, I know, I am happy, and I am sure that those we have the honor to represent who work in the mills, in the mines, in the factories, and on the transportation lines of the nation, living in their homes and their communities are happy beyond measure, over the action of Congress.

For once, at least, during this session of Congress the members of that great legisla-

tive body seem to be moved by a desire to promote human and spiritual values. It seemed commercial and material interests had influenced their action in other ways.

May I ask this simple question: what would become of our great country and how can it grow and expand unless we attach more importance to the advancement of social, human, and spiritual values? These are the things that go to make up a mighty nation. It is not so much what profits shall be. It is how can we enlarge and strengthen and develop those indestructible, intangible values that go to the makeup of a mighty nation.

That is the interpretation we place upon this legislation by Congress.

Now, we are going to concentrate our efforts to prevail upon the Senate of the United States to act upon this measure before it adjourns this session of Congress. In addition to that we are going to concentrate our efforts, keep up our fight, until we win, to prevail upon Congress to pass a health measure sponsored by the administration now in control of our government and approved by the labor organizations of the nation.

I am happy that we are meeting this morning when this progress is made. I am glad to make this announcement this morning. It seems fitting and appropriate for me to do so.

Now the representatives of the Committee on Education are ready to report. I am pleased to present Brother George Harrison, Chairman of the Committee on Education.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN HARRISON:
Mr. Chairman and delegates: The Committee on Education met at the St. Paul Hotel Tuesday afternoon, organized and elected Brother Irvin Kuenzli of the Teachers' organization as the Secretary of the Committee. We then undertook the work of the Committee, and we are now prepared to present through Secretary Kuenzli the unanimous report of the Committee.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY KUENZLI:
Mr. Chairman and delegates:

To the Committee on Education the following matters were referred:

- 1—The Report of the Executive Council on the subject of education
- 2—The Report of the Executive Council on the Workers' Education Bureau
- 3—Resolutions 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 69, 70, 71

Education

(Executive Council's Report, pages 177-178)

Under the general caption of "Education," the Executive Council points out once again the vital importance of education as the indispensable foundation of our democratic society. The Executive Council states,

"The tremendous problem for education today is to better equip man to help himself and his fellowmen in a free society: in fact to understand and appreciate what a free society is."

Your Committee calls attention to the fact that the American Federation of Labor is assisting large numbers of persons, not only in the United States, but in many other parts of the world, to understand and appreciate what a free society is. Only when men have an understanding and appreciation of what freedom means can they strive intelligently to create a world of peace through international brotherhood.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this section of the Executive Council's Report.

Committee Secretary Kuenzli moved adoption of the Committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

The Committee reported jointly on that section of the Executive Council's Report under the caption, "School Finances," and Resolution No. 58.

SCHOOL FINANCE

(Executive Council's Report, pages 178-180)

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

Resolution No. 58—By Delegates John M. Eklund, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Selma M. Borchardt, Arthur A. Elder, Mary R. Wheeler, American Federation of Teachers.

(Executive Council's Report, pages 178-180)

Under the captions of "Educational Financing" and "Federal Aid to Education" the Executive Council points out the need for federal support for education and outlines the principles under which such support should be given. The declarations of the Executive Council on this subject are in accord with previous declarations of the American Federation of Labor on the problem of federal aid to education.

Resolution No. 58 also pertains to the general subject of federal aid to education. This resolution reiterates the stand previously taken by the American Federation of Labor and urges that adequate support be given by

the federal government to provide better salaries for teachers in the public schools and to provide health and welfare services for all needy children of the nation regardless of race, creed or color.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in the sections of the Executive Council's Report which have to do with the subject of federal aid to education and with Resolution No. 58 which deals with the same subject.

Committee Secretary Kuenzli moved adoption of the Committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

INCLUSION OF CANAL ZONE IN FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION PROGRAM

Resolution No. 59—By Delegate Walter J. Jones, Central Labor Union, Balboa, Canal Zone.

(Page 57—First Day's Proceedings).

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION FOR TERRITORIES

Resolution No. 69—By Delegates John M. Eklund, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Selma M. Borchardt, Arthur A. Elder, Mary R. Wheeler, American Federation of Teachers.

(Page 61—First Day's Proceedings)

The Committee reported jointly on Resolutions Nos. 59 and 69 as follows:

Resolutions 59 and 69 advocate that federal aid to education, if and when adopted, should be extended to the Canal Zone and other outlying possessions of the United States. Your Committee agrees that any federal aid to education program adopted by the United States should be extended to all of its territories and possessions.

Your Committee, therefore, recommends concurrence in these two resolutions.

Committee Secretary Kuenzli moved the adoption of the Committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Services for Children

(Executive Council's Report, pages 180-181)

The following sections of the Executive Council's Report deal especially with services for children:

1—School Health Bill

2—School Lunches

3—Research Program in the Field of Child Health and Welfare.

Since services of this kind are essential, not only to the welfare of children, but ultimately to the welfare of the nation itself, your Committee recommends concurrence in this section of the Executive Council's Report.

Committee Secretary Kuenzli moved the adoption of the committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Assistance for Needy Students

(Executive Council's Report, page 183)

In this section of its report, the Executive Council calls attention, in a few words, to one of the most vital problems in American education and in the promotion of the national welfare and the national security. The 1948 Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in Cincinnati, declared, "It has been the position of the American Federation of Labor, over the years, that every child, regardless of race, creed or the economic status of his parents, should have the right to ascend the educational ladder as far as his interest and his ability urge him to climb." Yet a study, recently completed by the American Council on Education, has shown that there is greater discrimination against students who wish to enter college because of poverty than because of any other reason. It has been the contention of the American Federation of Labor over the years that children and youth should not be denied educational facilities because they happen to be members of families which do not have the economic means to keep them in high school or to send them to college. For the sake of children and youth and for the sake of the welfare and security of the nation, it is important that scholarships and work opportunities be provided to assist needy students in securing the education in which they are interested. One of the greatest factors in promoting the national security is the development of the individual abilities of children and youth to as high a degree as possible. This is particularly true in vocational, technical, and scientific fields.

World War II proved the extent to which adequate educational facilities for all children, rich and poor alike, constitute the first line of defense of the nation. The costs of providing facilities for keeping children in school should be considered not merely an expenditure, but a sound investment in the future welfare of the United States.

Your Committee, therefore, recommends concurrence in this section of the Report of the Executive Council.

Committee Secretary Kuenzli moved the adoption of the Committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

School Construction Program

(Executive Council's Report, page 182)

In relation to the important problem of providing adequate school buildings for the educational institutions of the United States, the Executive Council reports that the legislative agencies of the American Federation of Labor have given active support to legislation introduced by Senator Hubert Humphrey in this field. The Council recommends that federal funds for this purpose should be allocated to the states on a basis of need, and that sound standards of construction should be established by the Federal Works Agency or by some other qualified federal agency.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this section of the Executive Council's Report and urges all affiliated bodies to survey the needs for new school buildings and additions to existing buildings in their respective areas.

On motion of Committee Secretary Kuenzli, the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Rural Library Demonstration Centers

(Executive Council's Report, page 180)

Under this heading, the Executive Council urges city central bodies to cooperate with farm organizations and other civic groups in working out discussion courses through the services of rural library demonstration centers. The Executive Council further recommends that an exploration be made of the possibility of extending such library services to certain urban areas which are not able to support them.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this section of the Executive Council's Report.

Committee Secretary Kuenzli moved the adoption of the committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Vocational Education

(Executive Council's Report, pages 181-182)

The 1948 Convention of the American Federation of Labor recommended that the Permanent Committee on Education of the A. F. of L., in cooperation with the vocational department of the United States Office of Education, should make a study of the pre-

sent status of vocational education in the United States, and make recommendations for improvements in this vital phase of American education. The Executive Council reports that this study is now being conducted under the direction of the Permanent Committee on Education. The Executive Council recommends that every possible aid should be given in the conduct of this study and that, if necessary, additional funds be sought from Congress for this purpose.

The Committee commends the Permanent Committee on Education for its excellent work in initiating this important study and recommends concurrence in this section of the Executive Council's Report.

Committee Secretary Kuenzli moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Office of Vocational Rehabilitation

(Executive Council's Report, page 182)

The Executive Council calls special attention to the opportunities for assistance to handicapped workers through the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation. The Permanent Committee on Education has appointed a special committee under the chairmanship of Martin P. Durkin, to aid in improving this important service. All affiliated organizations of the American Federation of Labor are urged to take advantage of the services which are available for handicapped workers.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this section of the Executive Council's Report.

Committee Secretary Kuenzli moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Funds for Eradication of Adult Illiteracy

(Executive Council's Report, page 183)

In this section of its report, the Executive Council urges that federal funds be provided to attack more vigorously the problem of eliminating adult illiteracy in the United States. It is a disgraceful fact that there are still in the United States, several millions of citizens who cannot read and write at all or who cannot read and write sufficiently to participate in the affairs of a democratic society. During World War II many thousands of men were rejected for military service because the level of their education was so low that they could not participate in any part of the program of the armed forces. The United States will be a better and a stronger nation when illiteracy among adults has been eliminated to the fullest possible extent.

Your Committee, therefore, recommends concurrence in this section of the Executive Council's Report.

Committee Secretary Kuenzli moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

The Committee reported jointly upon that section of the Executive Council's Report under the caption, "Labor Extension Service," and Resolution No. 60.

LABOR EXTENSION SERVICE

(Executive Council's Report, page 183)

FEDERAL SUPPORT FOR WORKERS EDUCATION

Resolution No. 60—By Delegates John M. Eklund, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Selma M. Borchardt, Arthur A. Elder, Mary R. Wheeler, American Federation of Teachers.

(Page 57—First Day's Proceedings)

This section of the Executive Council's Report advocates support of legislation to provide federal funds for educational extension services for organized labor in the colleges and universities of the United States. The purpose of such legislation is to provide services for unions similar to those provided for the farmers of the country by the Department of Agriculture and for industry by the United States Department of Commerce. Legislation, in recent years, to provide educational services of this kind for trade unions emanated from the 1942 convention of the American Federation of Labor. This convention emphasized the fact "that the schools belong to all of the people" and that "government agencies also belong to all of the people, and both universities and agencies of the government should offer services to the millions of members of organized labor."

While strongly recommending services of this kind, the 1942 convention also emphasized "the fact that organized labor must own and control of its own educational program." On this same subject, which is a vital consideration in relation to legislation now before Congress, the 1942 convention also stated:

"It is the responsibility of labor to educate its own membership in the history and principles of organized labor. Labor's request to the universities and to state and national governments is that these agencies provide facilities for meetings, research services, and such information on social problems—unemployment, social security, war problems, taxation, price controls, etc.—as labor groups may request from time to time. The educational program, however, must remain in the hands of organized labor and be controlled by organized labor."

The Report of the Executive Council on this subject indicates the manner in which these objectives may be obtained and outlines the type of educational services desired from the government by the American Federation of Labor.

Resolution No. 60 conforms to the same objectives and purposes set forth in the Report of the Executive Council on this subject.

Your Committee, therefore, recommends concurrence in this section of the Executive Council's Report and Resolution No. 60.

Committee Secretary Kuenzli moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL FOR CITIZENS OF THE WORLD

Resolution No. 61—By Delegates John M. Eklund, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Selma M. Borchardt, Arthur A. Elder, Mary R. Wheeler, American Federation of Teachers.

(Page 58—First Day's Proceedings)

This resolution urges the establishment of inexpensive tours abroad so that members of organized labor will have an opportunity to visit other countries as a means of promoting international brotherhood and good will. It has been pointed out in the program of UNESCO that too much of the travel among the citizens of the world has been left to persons who are interested only in the profit motive and often in the exploitation of the peoples of foreign countries, rather than in the cultivation of their friendship. While rapid travel in this modern age is increasing the possibility of world wars, the same rapid travel may also be used as a means of creating good will and implementing world peace.

Your Committee, therefore, recommends concurrence in this resolution.

Committee Secretary Kuenzli moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

WORKERS' EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Resolution No. 62—By Delegates John M. Eklund, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Selma M. Borchardt, Arthur A. Elder, Mary R. Wheeler, American Federation of Teachers.

(Page 58, First Day's Proceedings)

This resolution urges all affiliated bodies of the American Federation of Labor to participate in programs of workers' education provided by the colleges and universities of the United States; to seek to establish additional

services of this kind; and to guard against attempts of certain powerful groups which are trying to destroy workers' education services provided by the colleges and universities.

Your Committee, in approving this resolution, felt that attention should be called to the fact that every effort should be made to provide bona fide workers' education courses in the colleges and universities of the United States. It was reported to the Committee that in many colleges and universities funds which theoretically have been allocated for educational services to unions are being used for so called "labor-management courses" which are heavily weighted on the side of management rather than on the side of labor. This situation doubtless results in part from the fact that teachers are not available who have a comprehensive knowledge and a sympathetic understanding of the basic principles and objectives of the labor movement. All affiliated bodies of the American Federation of Labor are urged, therefore, to be on the alert to see to it that funds voted by legislatures or allocated by universities for educational services for unions are actually used for this purpose and not for purposes which are of little value to the labor movement or actually detrimental to the cause of organized labor.

Labor groups, in consultation with the Workers' Education Bureau, should decide what kind of educational services they desire from the universities and should request the universities to provide services of this kind. If and when the initiative in establishing educational services comes from the trade unions rather than from the universities, much will be done to provide the type of services which the unions want, rather than the type which the colleges and universities want the unions to have. In many instances the colleges and universities have offered impractical courses of little value to labor—and often to students who were not sincerely interested in the problems of organized labor—largely for the reason that the unions did not indicate the type of courses which would be most valuable to labor, and did not provide the students who would profit most, from the standpoint of organized labor, from taking such courses.

With these comments, your Committee recommends concurrence in Resolution No. 62.

Committee Secretary Kuenzli moved adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

STUDENT LITERATURE

Resolution No. 70—By Delegates John M. Eklund, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Selma M. Borchardt, Arthur A. Elder, Mary R. Wheeler, American Federation of Teachers.

Referred to Committee on Education.

(Page 61, First Day's Proceedings)

This resolution urges that the Permanent Committee on Education of the American

Federation of Labor study the possibility of providing suitable literature describing organized labor's program of objectives and accomplishments for use in the high schools, colleges and universities of the United States.

Your Committee, recognizing a rapidly growing need for literature of this kind, recommends concurrence in Resolution No. 70.

Committee Secretary Kuenzli moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Workers' Education Bureau

(Executive Council's Report, pages 186 to 194) and

RESOLUTION NO. 63

Resolution No. 63—By Delegate Ted Williams, Federation of Labor, Birmingham.

(Page 59, First Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee recommends to every delegate at this convention a careful reading of the Report of the Executive Council on the Workers' Educational Bureau, pages 111 to 119. The report describes the work of the Bureau under the headings of:

- 1—Conference of A. F. of L. Educational Directors.
- 2—General assistance to labor organizations, labor schools, etc.
- 3—Audio-Visual activities.
- 4—Labor institutes and conferences.
- 5—Courses on Labor in schools, essay contests, etc.
- 6—Lang Prize Essay Contest.
- 7—International educational activities.

These several fields of activity in themselves indicate the wide scope of the activities of the Bureau which has long been known as the educational arm of the American Federation of Labor. The Bureau has sponsored and participated in numerous labor conferences in colleges and universities; has carried on extensive research activities in the field of labor education; has carried on educational conferences in 15 different states; has cooperated in establishing labor courses in a number of universities; has assisted in setting up educational programs and departments in numerous international unions, state federations, and city central bodies; and has participated in international activities in the field of workers' education.

As a major educational agency in the United States, the Bureau has carried out these far flung educational activities with an amazingly small budget. In fact these national and international activities carried on by the educa-

tional arm of the American Federation of Labor have been conducted on a budget which is no larger than that of a single small village school system in the United States.

Your Committee highly commends the Executive Council for following out a recommendation of the Committee on Education at the 1948 Convention of the American Federation of Labor and that the necessary financial support be given by the American Federation of Labor to the Workers' Education Bureau. In examining the report of the activities of the Bureau during the last year, the Committee feels that the additional funds granted by the Executive Council to the Bureau were well expended in increasing the strength and enhancing the prestige of organized labor in the United States. The Committee, however, recognizes that there is a serious need in the American Federation of Labor for far greater educational services than are now possible under the present budget of the Workers' Education Bureau. Your Committee recommends, therefore, that the Executive Council explore the desirability and the possibility of establishing, within the structure of the American Federation of Labor, a Department of education into which could be integrated the present Workers' Education Bureau, and for which there should be provided an adequate staff to carry on the educational activities of the American Federation of Labor. While this study of an expanded program is being carried on, the Committee respectfully recommends that funds necessary to carry forward the present activities be provided.

The Committee desires to commend Director John D. Connors for his devotion to the cause of workers' education and the able manner in which he has conducted the affairs of the Bureau during the past year. Mr. Connors has striven constantly to organize the Bureau so that it will function as a practical service agency for trade unions. In this effort Mr. Connors has been eminently successful. He is assisting to strengthen the workers' education movement which, in the United States, has been recognized for many years as grossly inadequate in comparison with the size and influence of the organized labor movement in our great nation.

Resolution No. 63 deals with the same problem of financial support for the Workers' Education Bureau and urges that necessary funds be provided so the Bureau may foster and effect a greater educational program during the coming year.

Since the general purposes of this resolution are in accord with the recommendations of the Committee that more extensive educational services be provided by the American Federation of Labor, your Committee recommends concurrence in the general purposes of Resolution No. 63 and with those sections of the Executive Council's Report which pertain to the Workers' Education Bureau.

Committee Secretary Kuenzli moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Audio-Visual Education in the American Federation of Labor

Resolution No. 71—By Delegates Lester Washburn, George Grisham, Anthony Doria, Earl Heaton, Frank Evans, International Union United Automobile Workers of America.

(Page 61, First Day's Proceedings)

This resolution urges that a labor film producing and distributing unit be established by the Workers' Education Bureau for assisting unions in educational work. The resolution proposes that this program of film production and distribution be financed by a grant from the American Federation of Labor and by grants from international unions which make use of the films.

Your Committee calls attention to the fact that the Workers' Education Bureau has already done a considerable amount of research in the field of labor films, film strips, labor records, etc., and has assisted directly and indirectly in the actual production of a number of films and film strips. The Bureau publishes a bibliography of available films and film strips.

Your Committee concurs in the general purposes of this resolution and urges the Executive Council to give consideration to the problem of producing labor films, film strips, etc., as part of the general educational program of the American Federation of Labor.

Committee Secretary Kuenzli moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY KUENZLI: That concludes the report of the committee, Mr. Chairman, and it is signed by:

George M. Harrison, Chairman
Irvin R. Kuenzli, Secretary

Carl H. Mullen
Louis Vogland
Edward J. Hillock
Charles S. Fleming
Foree Kurtz
Kenneth J. Kelley
James Petrillo
A. L. Spradling
C. F. Strickland
Harry H. Cook
David Gingold
Harry Lundeberg
James J. Doyle
W. L. Allen
Anthony Doria
A. P. Bower
H. A. Bradley
H. L. Mitchell
G. A. Sackett
Frank P. Barry
Pat Somerset
Anna Rimington
Joseph Morris

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Committee Secretary Kuenzli moved the adoption of the report of the Committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair desires to thank the members of the Committee for the excellent service rendered, as shown in the report submitted.

PRESIDENT GREEN: You will recall I advised you yesterday that the Honorable Jerry Voorhis, Secretary-Treasurer of the Cooperative League of the United States of America, would attend this session of our convention and deliver an address. I am pleased to advise you that he is here on the platform now. He arrived just a little while ago and is prepared to submit his message to you.

I know that most of us either know Mr. Voorhis personally and directly or by reputation, and this is particularly true of the representatives of labor on the Pacific Coast. He served with distinction and honor as a Member of Congress. With our friends he fought the battles of labor always. He supported labor's program and labor's measures when he was in the Congress of the United States, and this action on his part can be interpreted as evidence of his deep and sympathetic interest in the aims, purposes, and objectives of labor.

I know you are pleased as I am to have him here this morning, and I know you are anticipating with pleasure the privilege of listening to his address.

I take great pleasure in presenting to you the Honorable Jerry Voorhis, Secretary-Treasurer of the Cooperative League of the United States of America.

MR. JERRY VOORHIS

(Executive Secretary of the Cooperative League)

President Green and delegates to this convention of the American Federation of Labor: It is hardly necessary for me to say that I consider it a very great honor to be asked to occupy this platform for a few moments.

Before I start on some of the things that I'd like to say, Mr. Green, I want to offer my congratulations and thanks to you as an American citizen on three counts. First of all, for the fine work that has been done

and is being done by the Committee on Cooperatives of the A. F. of L. headed by Mr. Arnold Zander.

In the second place for the announcement that you made this morning of the passage by the House of Representatives of the Social Security Amendment Bill where, I think, you were entirely justified in all of the things you had to say about the significance of that legislation.

And in the third place to congratulate you and the A. F. of L. and Mr. Joe Keenan on that excellent paper that is now being published called "The League Reporter," which I fancy will have a good deal to do with not only this legislation that has just been passed but with other progress in the future.

Now we are meeting here today in this great convention in one of the most critical periods in the history of mankind. I did a little calculation and I found out that if we take a 24 hour day for the period of time that mankind has been upon this earth, we have only had institutions which can remotely be described as democratic institutions for the last three-tenths of a second. Democracy as you know it on this earth has been built out of the sweat and the sacrifices and sometimes the blood of people who believe in people and it has come to this earth only in the most recent hours. Today that democracy is threatened as perhaps it has never been threatened before, and you men and women represent here what is probably as great and as powerful a force for true democracy and freedom as exists in the world today.

Every such organization carries a responsibility therefore of almost staggering importance for the future of mankind because there are two great choices that are going to be made by humankind within the next few decades upon which everything is going to depend.

First of all, the world is divided in two between nations where institutions of freedom still exist and nations where they do not. Within the course of the next few decades mankind will somehow or another make a choice between the institutions of freedom, democracy and constitutional government on the one hand and the police state, dictatorship and totalitarianism on the other. Within those critical decades it will also be decided whether or not man will prove capable of controlling the very weapons of mass destruction which he himself has invented and brought into being. As has been the case at all such times in history, the decision in both these matters will depend upon the ability of free men and women to establish social, economic and political institutions for good among men which are stronger in their appeal to distressed people than either the propaganda of the forces of dictatorship and serfdom or the destructive forces that lead toward war.

Any person who believes as we all must do in the existence of an Almighty Power that wishes mankind well must also believe that we do have the resources and capability

ties to meet successfully the dangers which we now confront. The only question is whether we will use those resources well enough, whether we will reach deep enough into our own hearts and minds for basic and simple answers.

There is one answer which the common people of the world have always given when they have been confronted with great problems or great dangers. That answer has been mutual aid, a joining together of many people, and organization of people around common needs and desires. There was a time when the workers of the world were unorganized, when they yielded to the arguments of their economic masters and were temporarily persuaded that each family could individually solve its economic problem without either concerning itself about the problems of other workers' families or seeking their cooperation in solving common problems. Those were days of suffering and misery and distress. It is well to observe that they were also days when political democracy did not exist in any of the nations where the workers found themselves helpless. And it is most important to point out that during those same times farmers too, like the wage earners, were deceived into believing that each individual could continue to go his own individualistic way, buying and selling in competition with millions of other farmers and still maintain his economic independence and control of his family farmstead.

As time passed, bitter experience has taught both workers and farmers that the basic law of human life—namely, the law of mutual aid—is the only hope, either of economic justice, rising standards of living, or the preservation of democracy in the political and governmental life of man. Upon this realization and upon the years of hard and too often unappreciated labors of resolute pioneers have been built the organizations of the people as we know them today, at the very forefront of which stands the great American Federation of Labor.

As long as the American Federation of Labor and other organizations of the people similar to it stand strong and firm, it will be impossible for the forces of either Communism or Fascism to engulf this country. By the pursuit of wise and statesmanlike policy on the part of labor unions, organizations of farmers, cooperatives and political organizations of the people, we can build here in the United States and in the countries which are allied with us in the struggle for freedom the kind of social, economic and political institutions which the times demand. Our goal must be nothing less than the preservation of free political and economic institutions for our children and the creation of a warless world. It is upon the economic bargaining power of the people joined together that economic liberty alone can be built, and it is upon the economic freedom of the people that political freedom must necessarily rest. The two are inextricably bound together; therefore, any man who attempts to weaken or destroy such economic institutions as the labor movement or the cooperative movement and at the same time pretends to be devoted to the democratic

political system of America or to the other basic institutions of this country is either self-deceived or else he is engaged in a deliberate attempt to confuse and mislead the people at a time when such an action is indefensible. Neither the reactionaries nor even the honest conservatives can save this country or the other free nations of the world from a further spread of world Communism. Today, as always, it is only the organizations of the people which offer them a continuously better life which can accomplish that purpose. As a matter of fact, the best friends the Communists have are those who seek by legislative enactment and false propaganda to undermine either the democratic labor movement, the democratic organizations of the nation's farmers, or the people's own businesses represented by their own cooperatives.

The international unions that go to make up the American Federation of Labor are a monument to the organization of workers as producers. No one of those workers individually and standing alone before his employer is of very great consequence to that employer or to the economy of the nation as a whole. All those workers standing together are of unlimited importance, both to their employer and to the nation. By the application of the principle of mutual aid and economic cooperation, they gain a bargaining power which is the best assurance we have today of continued liberty. The farmers of the country pursue a like course. Finding themselves compelled to sell in markets over which they had absolutely no control and hence to sacrifice their crops continually at below cost of production, they organized cooperatives, so that they might gain for their labor a fair return. There is a kinship between the farmers' marketing cooperative on the one hand and the workers' labor union on the other which is inescapable to any observant person. In both cases they seek to see to it that the common people of the nation shall be fairly rewarded for the invaluable service which they perform for our society and that they shall be able to maintain their standards of living and their buying power for the welfare, not only of their own family but for the whole of society.

We are, however, confronted with a great economic problem which requires that we go even further than the organization of the people as producers. It is no accident that the same reactionary forces attack the labor movement on the one hand and cooperatives on the other and seek to so weaken both these institutions that the march of economic monopoly in our country may proceed on its destructive way unhampered by the people's strength. The one thing which the forces of world Communism as well as the forces of Fascism are hoping for today is a collapse of the American economy, and a private monopoly of economic power in any industry contains within itself the germs of economic collapse growing in the rank soil of enforced artificial scarcity. No thoughtful person will fear that we will lose our liberties simply because a democratically-elected government seeks by wise and prudent measures to improve the lot and life of the common people of this country. But far better will it be if, instead of relying on governmental

measures, the people themselves can gain an economic bargaining power for themselves as people, which will enable them to combat monopoly wherever it exists and to literally enforce a full production, full employment economy through the year. The workers, the farmers, and everybody else in our society need a bargaining power as consumers and buyers just as much and more than we need it as sellers of our labor or our products. Cooperatives exist for just one purpose: to give to the people economic power as citizens, to draw them together for the meeting of common needs, and to enable them to have something to say about what is produced, how much is produced, and the quality and price of goods and services. If the bargaining power of the people, through their cooperatives, can be made great enough, we can even save this nation from the danger of economic collapse at any time in the future. Wherever the people join together to meet a common need for credit, for health care, for household supplies, for insurance, for recreation, for fuel, for petroleum products, or for a thousand and one basic necessities of life, those people express the general public interest of all Americans and beyond that the economic interest of the nation as a whole. The principal thing which cooperatives can do for members of the American Federation of Labor is precisely what they can do for the country as a whole. If we can build cooperative membership to a point where 15% of the nation's business is done by them, the competition of cooperative enterprise would be able to prevent either a serious deflation or a severe depression from ever taking place again.

It is my personal belief that it will also be necessary that we alter our present monetary system, which is based on the debt of the people, to make it possible for us to maintain purchasing power in line with production without the necessity of increasing debt, but even more fundamental is this matter of the economic bargaining power of the people as a whole. I am not going to say that, if a few people join some small cooperatives tomorrow, it will immediately solve our problem, but I am going to say that if even a quarter of organized labor, along with a good percentage of other people, were to join cooperatives in the next three years, then democratic, economic and political life would be safe for them in the United States, and we would have an economy that was fairly proof against the ups and downs of the business cycle. What is more, if the people were doing 15% to 20% of the nation's business through cooperatives which belonged to them, real economic freedom could be restored, because with that much of the people's buying power offering an assured market, the co-ops could challenge any monopoly in the country—could break its stranglehold simply by competing with it in processing and manufacture. This very thing has happened in countries where the co-ops do as much as one-fifth of the business, provided that one-fifth is well balanced and includes not only retailing but wholesaling and manufacture as well. Take petroleum, for example, where our country is presently threatened with complete control of this God-given resource by twenty-two major oil companies.

If the people of the cities, notably the membership of organized labor would duplicate

on their own behalf what the farmers have done in the way of ownership of their own oil wells, refineries, pipe lines and filling stations, a quarter of the petroleum business of the country would be in the hands of the people's own cooperatives, and an even larger percentage of the extortionate profits which have been derived by petroleum companies would be plowed back into the buying power of the people. Nor is there a single good reason why this could not be done if only the buying power of a part of the people represented by this great convention were mobilized to that end.

Cooperatives have reduced the cost of insurance as much as 40% in many lines. Cooperatives have made credit available to millions of people through credit unions and other cooperative institutions where it was not available to them before. Interest rates have been cut to a fraction of what they formerly were. Electricity has been brought to rural America by cooperatives, whereas formerly the farmers had no electricity. In one Wisconsin community where a strong cooperative including both workers, farmers and other citizens in its membership was started some eighteen months ago, the cost of living has come down approximately 7%. Today we can point to a very respectable number of successful cooperative shopping centers in the cities of the nation serving the interests of organized labor along with other people. All that is required for their outstanding success is a substantial increase in their volume of business.

On the purely economic side there is no magic about co-ops. They must be as efficient, as well run, with as good a merchandising program as any of their competitors. They must have an economic distribution pattern. They must have as large a volume; they must have a large enough volume so that they can do an efficient job of wholesaling and also enter the field of processing and manufacture if they are to fully succeed. Cooperatives need not, nor do they expect to control all the business of the nation, or even a major part of it. They should be built to a point where they are doing a fifth of the business perhaps and they should be accorded a full and free chance to compete with other businesses in the market place. Co-ops ask no special advantages or favors beyond those they naturally have due to the fact that they belong to the very people whose needs they serve.

So far as taxes are concerned, our position is very simple. We say that any business—cooperative or otherwise—should pay income taxes on any earnings they may make. Cooperatives do that right now, and cooperatives also pay all the other taxes there are under the same laws as any one else. But we also say that if a business suffers a loss or doesn't make a profit, it ought not to be taxed on something that is non-existent. And we point out that neither should a business, whether it is a cooperative or not, be taxed if it deliberately foregoes profit and obligates itself to pay back to its customers the margins between selling prices and costs. All the co-ops want is a chance to compete with other businesses without political favoritism either way.

But there is a magic in cooperation when it comes to building a democratic nation, because co-ops spread ownership and responsibility to millions of people who could not have them otherwise and because they make

it possible for these millions of people to have a share in what is called "free enterprise." Labor unions, plus farm marketing cooperatives, plus consumer cooperatives can give back to the people control over their own economic destiny. Co-ops are the natural device for a democratic people to use. There can be no true cooperatives in any totalitarian countries; they are the very antithesis of Communism and Fascism, because cooperatives depend upon the voluntary action of the people and upon the ownership by people of their own resources. There can no more be a true cooperative under the control of a totalitarian government than there can be a true labor union in a Communist or Fascist state. Repeatedly, cooperatives like the labor movement have received the blessing of the Catholic Church. They have also received the strongest kind of support from Protestant denominations and from outstanding representatives of the Jewish faith. The organizations of the people are the hope of mankind today. In their hands and in their hands alone rest the hope of making a demonstration that democracy is capable of solving mankind's problems and pointing the way toward a world at peace, but as I said before, we must reach deep into the convictions of our own hearts and minds for simple and basic solutions.

We must build institutions upon the fundamental rock of mutual aid and build them stronger and stronger through the years. If we do so, our efforts will receive a blessing and a strength which in and of themselves they cannot have. In this solemn hour let us go forward with faith in our own ability to meet our own needs and solve our own problems through our own strength, our own ownership and our own responsibility.

This is the essence of democracy; it is the heart of the American spirit and the American tradition. It is the hope of the world.

It is the hope of organizations like this which I have the honor to address today and other sister organizations throughout this nation.

Thank you very much.

PRESIDENT GREEN: We thank our very dear friend for his visit this morning and for his very instructive and educational message. I know it will be helpful to us. Included in the proceedings of this convention, it can be read and reread and studied so that we can all of us comprehend and appreciate a new and better understanding of the cooperative movement and the need for the mobilization of our strength into organized effort.

Thank you, Mr. Voorhis, for your visit.

The Chair now recognizes the Secretary of the Credentials Committee for a supplemental report.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Committee Secretary Gallo submitted the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials begs to report that they have received the following credentials and recommend the seating of the delegates:

Brockton, Mass., Central Labor Union — Henry J. Brides, with 1 vote.

Eau Claire, Wis., Trades and Labor Council—James S. Voll, with 1 vote.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY GALLO: Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of the Committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair presents to you President McCurdy of the United Garment Workers, Chairman of the Industrial Relations Committee, who is ready to submit a report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN McCURDY: President Green, your Committee on Industrial Relations did not have any resolutions referred to it by this convention. However, your Committee is of the opinion that the question of industrial relations is of very great importance at the present time. Not only is the system of voluntary collective bargaining affected by the enemies of labor who are attempting to do everything within their power to destroy our faith in our great leaders, not only those who are presently with us but those great leaders who have departed into the Great Beyond. Your Committee feels that the question of industrial relations should be brought to the attention of delegates to this convention in order that proper cognizance may be given of what we must do when we go back to our homes, our unions, in order to preserve the fundamental and basic principles upon which this American Federation of Labor itself has been founded and the very way of our American life.

I am going to ask Secretary Warfel of the Special Delivery Messengers to read the report.

Committee Secretary Warfel submitted the following report on behalf of the Committee:

MR. PRESIDENT: Your Committee on Industrial Relations, having had no resolutions assigned for consideration, but realizing the tremendous importance of industrial relations at this time, respectfully submits the following report:

The membership of The American Federation of Labor have made great progress in the field of industrial relations. This statement is obvious to all who have analyzed the record. Practically all of our Federation membership are working under well planned contracts which operate smoothly because of the voluntary understanding and good will which has been obtained after many years of sincere and honest cooperation between the representatives of our trade unions and fair employers. Strikes and lock-outs, with consequent loss of production, have been reduced to a minimum because of this voluntary program of industrial relations prevailing among the respective International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of labor and management.

The progress made in industrial peace can be attributed to the acceptance and practice by both management and labor of important basic principles of democracy and industry, such as: A sense of responsibility for the public interest as well as for what is mutually fair and just; bargaining collectively and in good faith; fidelity in the observance of agreements and contracts mutually entered into between labor and management; adherence to procedures agreed upon in advance for the peaceful settlement of issues which may arise in the interpretation and application of the terms of the contract or agreement.

Your Committee is of the opinion that industrial peace is basically determined by character and voluntary procedures on the part of both management and labor with the least possible interference of government supervision or regulation. Your Committee recognizes that the present disturbing and unstabilized condition of industrial relations can be directly attributed to the enactment of such vicious and destructive legislation as the infamous Taft-Hartley Act, which has been designed to destroy free voluntary collective bargaining; The ultimate destruction of our free trade union movement and our free enterprise system, thereby striking at the very heart of our American institutions.

Your committee recognizes that satisfactory Labor-Management relations have been successful for many years because of the voluntary action and good will which has stood the test of time for generations. We therefore recommend: That in order to continue the American Federation of Labor's policy of free collective bargaining and voluntary labor-management relations, and in the interest and preservation of our American institutions, that the membership of The American Federation of Labor do everything within their power to bring about the outright repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, so that it may no longer be a disturbing factor to voluntary collective bargaining and industrial relations.

Joseph P. McCurdy, Chairman
George L. Warfel, Secretary

James C. Stocker
Walter M. Matthews
Edwin A. Smith
John O'Rourke
John R. Owens
Jos. J. Kehoe
H. R. Flegal
Jack Wieselberg
James McNabb
Edward Carlough
James M. Kennedy
Charles Sullivan
E. J. Plondke
Wm. A. Curtis
A. J. Eberhardy
John W. Bailey
Patrick McHugh
Dave Siegel
T. J. Desmond
Leo F. Lucas
Joseph F. Boyen

COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Committee Secretary Warfel moved the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The report of the committee is adopted, and the Committee is discharged with the thanks of the convention for its splendid report.

The Chair now recognizes Chairman Gray, of the Building Trades Committee.

REPORT OF BUILDING TRADES COMMITTEE

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN GRAY: President Green and delegates, your Committee on Building Trades has carefully considered all of the matters referred to it by this convention, and Secretary McDevitt, of the Committee, will read the report.

Committee Secretary McDevitt submitted the following report:

Housing

(Page 161, Executive Council's Report)

Housing Legislation

(Page 225, Executive Council's Report)

In these two sections, the Executive Council reports on the housing problems confronting the members of the American Federation of Labor.

The most important development during the past year has been the passage of the Housing Act of 1948. Enactment of this legislation represents a signal victory for the American Federation of Labor. Beginning in 1944, when the American Federation of Labor postwar housing program was first approved, we have been fighting steadily for passage of an adequate public housing and slum clearance program.

Victory this year was the result of determined efforts by the A. F. of L. Housing Committee, the Building and Construction Trades Department, and other interested public interest organizations. Passage was not easily won, for in the House of Representatives, sustained pressure from the real estate interests succeeded at one point in eliminating the public housing section of the law by a three-vote margin. It was only by the most determined efforts that this decision was later reversed with only five votes to spare.

The most important provision in the new law is its public housing section under which 810,000 low-income families will be able to find decent living quarters. Its slum clearance features mean that American cities will be able to make a start towards eliminating these blighted areas.

However, the fight for public housing and slum clearance is not yet over. Up to now, the scene of battle has been confined to the U. S. Congress. The fight now shifts to the various cities and localities throughout the country which wish to construct public housing projects or undertake slum clearance operations. It is clear from past events that local real estate interests will do everything within their power to thwart and frustrate attempts by citizen groups to start these projects in their communities. We urge all Central Labor Bodies to take an active interest in housing development within their own community so that labor's victory in the passage of this bill will bear fruit in the form of fewer blighted areas and more healthful surroundings for our nation's families.

Important as this legislation is, it will not automatically solve the acute housing problem confronting the nation. As the Executive Council points out, the legislation is aimed only at the very lowest income groups in our population. At the present time, the average income for tenants in public housing projects is only \$1,600.

The personal housing problems of the great majority of trade union members in the American Federation of Labor will remain untouched by this legislation. As the Executive Council Report indicates, what is needed at the present time is legislation to solve the housing needs of so-called "middle income" families. The Executive Council points out that 40 percent of American families have incomes falling above \$2,000 and below \$3,750. These families find themselves in a position where they cannot afford the homes being constructed by private builders but at the same time their incomes make them ineligible for any of the public housing units to be constructed under new law. The time has

come when housing legislation must turn to fit the needs of these families.

The Executive Council's Report details the efforts of the AFL in behalf of the bill recently introduced by Senator John Sparkman (Dem.—Ala.). In its original form, this bill contained a section specially designed to solve this "middle-income" housing problem. This section of the bill would have made possible long-range loans direct from the federal government at low interest rates to cooperative and any other non-profit housing organizations. This program would involve not one cent of subsidy from the government because interest on the loans would cover the cost of money to the government as well as an additional charge for administrative expenses. This lending program would be roughly equivalent to the successful Rural Electrification Program for the farmers of the country.

Although the Senate Banking and Currency Committee expressly approved these "middle-income" housing provisions, the Democratic Policy Committee felt that such a controversial question could not be brought to the Senate floor so late in the current session of Congress. As a result this part of the bill has been reintroduced as a separate bill, approved by the Committee, and will be placed on the Senate calendar for early action in the next session of Congress beginning in January.

The following telegram has just been received:

"Senate passed joint resolution yesterday extending FHA until March 1, 1950. S. 2246, including Title 111 remains on calendar for next session."

In its report the Executive Council endorses the Sparkman middle-income housing bill. We reaffirm this endorsement.

A careful study of the payments which an average union family must spend for housing indicates that almost one-half of their housing expense must go towards meeting principal and interest payments on the money which made possible construction of their home.

Under the Sparkman bill, direct loans by the federal government would make possible a 3 percent interest rate, compared to the 4½ or 5 percent rate now prevailing on real estate loans. Savings made possible by the reduced interest rate, the cooperative non-profit form of organization, and other provisions in the Sparkman bill would enable 4½ room units constructed under this program to rent from \$50-\$60 a month. This compares with the actual average rent of \$96 a month for the same size apartment under the existing FHA loan provisions.

The Executive Council report also comments on developments in the administration of the rent control program. Under the existing rent control law, many communities and a few states have utilized the "local option" provision to eliminate rent controls in their area. In several cases, this has led to extreme hardship in which union families have found their rents raised by as much as 80 percent.

Although we wish rent controls to be terminated as soon as practicable, it is vitally necessary that these controls be effectively maintained in those areas where the supply of new housing accommodations is not yet equal to the demand.

These recent developments in the field of housing make it abundantly clear that AFL unions must maintain particular vigilance on these matters during the coming year. Your Committee is convinced that the most practical method of handling problems of housing is through community-wide activity by local trade union groups. In particular we urge each Central Labor body and each Building Trades Council to establish a Housing Committee. As we view it, these Housing Committees would have the following functions:

1. To take an active interest in local public housing and slum clearance projects under the new law, making certain that organized labor is fully represented,
2. To follow developments in rent control, seeing that the interest of union families is protected,
3. To stimulate interest in labor's "middle-income" housing program.

With these recommendations, we ask for approval of these sections of the Executive Council Report.

Committee Secretary McDevitt moved adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I might report to you that an invitation was extended Senator Sparkman, author of the measure referred to in the committee's report, to come here and address the convention. He accepted the invitation and then suddenly it appeared that some change in the legislative program had taken place in the Senate of the United States, and he advised me for that reason it would be impossible for him to be present. I know you would have been pleased to have listened to his analysis of the bill which he has sponsored and which has been approved and is being approved by representatives of the Building and Construction Trades Department and the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was continued, as follows:

Building and Construction Trades Department

(Page 261, Executive Council Report)

The Report of the Building and Construction Trades Department presents a vivid description of its many activities during the past year.

The Department was particularly active during the passage of the Housing Act of 1949. Since the enactment of the law the various Building and Construction Trades Councils throughout the country have actively participated in measures to implement the public housing and slum clearance program. Action of this sort is particularly important so that labor's interest in these programs can be fully protected.

The Department's Report emphasizes its decisive action early this year against the so-called Economy Housing Program. This Committee commends the Department for its refusal to endorse this program which in effect is nothing more than an attempt to enforce sub-standard housing upon the middle and low income groups of our population.

Developments concerning the National Joint Plan for the Settlement of Jurisdictional Disputes are fully discussed in this Report. Arrangements have now been made under which this plan for settling jurisdictional disputes in the construction industry will be continued for the coming year. The Department is to be congratulated for working out this problem under the very difficult circumstances of the Taft-Hartley Act.

During the past year the Department has been concerned with numerous violations of the Davis-Bacon Act by various branches of the armed services. This Committee feels that complete and effective enforcement of this law is absolutely essential for maintaining labor standards in the construction industry. There is no excuse for any part of the federal government, and in particular the armed forces, to violate or evade the provisions of this statute. Yet the Army Corps of Engineers and other branches of the Armed Forces have flagrantly violated the Act through the subterfuge of hiring temporary civil service employees.

The Department also comments on the need for the advanced planning of public works program. This Committee feels that advance planning of this type is absolutely essential and should involve not only the federal government but also the various state and local agencies charged with responsibility for local public works activities. We urge that Congress pass adequate legislation on this problem making it possible for federal money to be advanced to states and localities for necessary planning of public works projects. The need for this action is emphasized by the recent increase in unemployment to over four million in July, 1949, indicating clearly that an adequate "shelf" of public works is absolutely necessary in the event of a future depression.

In other sections of its Report, the Department discusses economic developments in the construction industry, relations with the NLRB under the Taft-Hartley Law, and its important apprentice training activities. All these activities indicate that the Department has spent a fruitful and prosperous year.

In conclusion, we wish to commend the officers of the Department for their excellent work in helping to pass the Housing Act, in energetically seeking enforcement of the

Davis-Bacon Act and in carrying out their many other activities.

Committee Secretary McDevitt moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

SPARKMAN-SPENCE HOUSING BILL

Resolution No. 75—By Delegate C. J. Hagerty, California State Federation of Labor.

(Page 63, First Day's Proceedings)

This Committee fully endorses this resolution, which calls for the enactment of the "middle-income" housing program of direct federal loans at low rates of interest to cooperative and other non-profit housing organizations. However, because the legislative situation has altered considerably since this resolution was proposed, this committee suggests a few minor changes in wording so that the resolution would read as follows:

WHEREAS, Housing continues to be one of the most critical problems facing the American people, and

WHEREAS, The woefully inadequate record of the private building industry still leaves us with an accumulated shortage of at least 10 million homes and with a minimum requirement of 15 million homes to be built within the next ten years, and

WHEREAS, 10 million families in the United States are still living under overcrowded and substandard housing conditions, and

WHEREAS, The Housing Act of 1949, which makes possible for the first time construction of adequate homes for low-income families, still leaves 40 percent of American families, with incomes of \$2,000 to \$3,750, the so-called moderate income families, largely untouched by any housing legislation, and

WHEREAS, These families, which include most workers and their families, have incomes too high to be eligible for public housing and too low to be able to afford the houses now being built by private builders, and

WHEREAS, There was introduced in the 81st Congress a Middle-Income Housing Bill specifically designed to meet the housing needs of moderate income families, and

WHEREAS, Because the Middle-Income Housing Bill has come up for consideration so late in the session, this cooperative housing part of the bill has been withdrawn and introduced as a separate bill, and

WHEREAS, This bill will provide long-term direct loans at a low interest rate—entirely without subsidy—to cooperative housing groups and other non-profit housing projects organized by and for union members, veterans, and other moderate income families, and

WHEREAS, This program would bring the cost of housing down to about \$50-\$60 a month, an amount which moderate income families can afford, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at St. Paul, Minnesota go on record as calling upon the Congress to enact at the earliest possible moment the cooperative housing bill for moderate income families which would make it possible for thousands of average American families to secure decent housing for family living, and would thereby round out a truly comprehensive housing program to meet the needs of every group in America.

With these changes, the committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

Committee Secretary McDevitt moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

URGE IMMEDIATE ACTION BY HOUSING AUTHORITIES

Resolution No. 76—By Delegate C. J. Hagerty, California State Federation of Labor.

(Page 63, First Day's Proceedings)

This resolution concerns action taken by local housing authorities to implement the public housing and slum clearance provisions of the new Housing Act of 1949. A number of housing authorities, particularly in the State of California, have decided to ignore the benefits of the new law and have refused to ask the Federal Government for help in solving their housing shortage.

This committee is quite surprised that certain housing authorities have chosen to take this action, thereby rendering a disservice to their community. The committee urges adoption of this resolution which urges all housing authorities to take advantage of their full rights under the new law.

Committee Secretary McDevitt moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

USE OF BUTTON BY BUILDING TRADES CRAFTSMEN

Resolution No. 74—By Delegate George A. Haberman, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

(Page 63, First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Building and Construction Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor for further study.

Committee Secretary McDevitt moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

JURISDICTION AND CONTROL OVER CONSTRUCTION WORK ON DAMS, RIVER AND HAR- BOR IMPROVEMENT, ETC.

Resolution No. 97—By Delegate Richard J. Gray, Building and Construction Trades Department.

(Page 70, First Day's Proceedings)

This resolution calls for the transfer from the Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army to the Reclamation Service, Interior Department of all construction work relating to all types of river and harbor improvement work.

At the present time, construction work involving river and harbor improvements is handled by these two competing agencies. This system has proved not only administratively impractical but also particularly harmful to the interests of construction workers.

Under the existing law, enforcement of the Davis-Bacon Act is left to the agency of the federal government with contracting authority. Yet, the Corps of Engineers have repeatedly refused to take the necessary measures to assure compliance with this statute and to assure protection of minimum labor standards on projects for which it has contracted. As a result workers on projects under contract with the Corps of Engineers have had to suffer serious loss of earnings and reduced protection on the job.

Both President Roosevelt and President Truman have expressed themselves in favor of transferring these functions from the Corps of Engineers to the more efficient Bureau of Reclamation. The Hoover Commission report includes a specific recommendation endorsing this transfer.

Your committee recommends adoption of this resolution.

Committee Secretary McDevitt moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

HOUSING

Resolution No. 126—By Delegates Jack Wieselberg, Norman Zukowski, Herbert Ott, and Edward Friss, International Handbag, Luggage, Belt, and Novelty Workers Union.

(Page 346, Third Day's Proceedings)

This resolution deals with the need for a comprehensive housing program by the federal government. Although this committee endorses the objectives of this resolution, it feels that the subject matter it contains has already been included in resolutions already

adopted. For this reason, the Committee does not recommend any action on this resolution.

Committee Secretary McDevitt moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDEVITT: This completes the report of the committee, and it is signed:

Richard J. Gray, Chairman
James L. McDevitt, Secretary

William J. McSorley
Joseph V. Moreschi
F. B. Comfort
Charles B. Gramling
John H. Lyons
Martin P. Durkin
John J. Murphy
C. W. Sickles
Pete Yablonski
Frank C. Riley
Homer J. Nevers
Walter A. Reimond
John J. Conway
Ted Merrill
William J. Kelly
Laurence Foley
James J. Ryan
Paul A. Givens
Joseph Rourke
C. A. Fink

COMMITTEE ON
BUILDING TRADES.

Committee Secretary McDevitt moved the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair thanks the members of the committee for their splendid report, and they are discharged with the thanks of the convention.

ESCORT COMMITTEES

Tomorrow the newly-elected Commander of The American Legion will attend and address the convention. He is scheduled to speak at about 11:00 o'clock tomorrow morning, and I wish to appoint as an escort committee to the National Commander Brothers Dave Beck, of the Teamsters, Maurice Hutcheson, of the Carpenters, and William Maloney, of the Operating Engineers.

In the afternoon the Honorable Oscar Ewing, head of the Federal Security Agency of the United States, will attend and address the convention at 2:30 o'clock. I wish to appoint

on that escort committee Brothers David Dubinsky, International Ladies' Garment Workers, Leo George, National Federation of Postal Clerks and Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor.

CHURCH SERVICES

Secretary-Treasurer Meany announced that an invitation had been received from the Reverend Louis J. Kovar, Pastor of Central Presbyterian Church, extending to the delegates a welcome to attend church services. The Central Presbyterian Church is located at Cedar and Exchange Streets in downtown St. Paul.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I am pleased to announce that our representative of the A. F. of L. in South America is here this morning to submit to you an interesting report of the work being done in Latin America. I take pleasure in presenting to you Brother Romualdi, the A. F. of L. representative for Latin America, Secretary of the Inter-American Confederation of Workers. You have heard him before. He is here now, and I am pleased to present him to you.

MR. SERAFINO ROMUALDI

(A. F. of L. Representative for Latin America)

President Green, Secretary Meany, Chairman Woll of the International Relations Committee, members of the Executive Council and delegates to this convention: I regret to announce that Brother Francisco Aguirre, General Secretary-Treasurer of the Inter-American Confederation of Workers who was scheduled to bring to this convention the greetings of our Inter-American organization has been taken suddenly ill and is not able to appear. He has asked me to convey to you the best wishes of not only our Inter-American group, but also the most sincere appreciation for the part played by the American Federation of Labor in building our Inter-American organization and in strengthening the cause of the free trades union movement south of the border.

You know, of course, that the first week of September we had our second convention in Havana, Cuba. It was attended by 142 delegates representing forty-seven organizations from twenty-two countries and territories. In addition there were eleven organizations represented by fraternal delegates. This marks a substantial increase over the number of organizations and countries that were represented at Lima, Peru in January of last year when our C.I.T. was organized.

I shall not take much time in telling you of the accomplishments of our Inter-American convention because we have published extensive reports in the current issue of the American Federationist and in the October issue of the International Free Trade Union News which has been distributed to you this morning.

I may add, however, that during the last year the C.I.T. was able to establish itself in Paraguay, British Guiana, in Trinidad, Santa Lucia, the Virgin Islands and Ecuador. We have also gained the affiliation of the powerful Confederation of Labor of Venezuela with more than 400,000 members. Negotiations are now in progress for the affiliation of the dominant labor group in Jamaica, El Salvador, Uruguay. These groups were represented in Havana by fraternal delegates.

The Confederation of Labor of Bolivia, Costa Rica and Chile during the past year have successfully supported their respective democratic governments in resisting totalitarian groups. As a result their prestige is greatly increased and expanded.

Our affiliation in Colombia has gained so many members during the last few months that it is now successfully challenging the Communist-controlled Confederation of Labor as the dominant labor group in that country. In addition to that, last month it received judicial recognition, a privilege which heretofore had been enjoyed only by the Communist-controlled group.

In Panama we have added the affiliation of the Federation of Agricultural Workers, the dominant labor group of that Republic, the U.G.T., although still outside the C.I.T., is definitely anti-Communist and will soon be numbered among our members. We are holding our own in Peru, as I will tell you later. We have added to our membership Haiti, and we have strengthened our position in Brazil where our affiliated unions have a combined membership of over 3 million. In Puerto Rico the Free Federation of Workmen is one of our best affiliated groups. In Dutch Guiana, the 20,000 bauxite miners are solidly with us, so is the General Workers' Union of that territory.

No change in Argentina where we have the symbolic affiliation of a small minority group that is battling for its very existence. And we have nothing in the Dominican Republic and in Nicaragua.

In Honduras the labor movement, practically speaking, is not yet born. But the C.I.T. is planning to send organizers in the near future. As to Guatemala, I regret to say that Guatemala is the only country where the Communists are still in control lock, stock and barrel.

Now we come to Mexico and Cuba, the two countries that until recently were considered the strongholds of the Communist movement.

In Mexico Lombardo Toledano has been expelled from the C.T.M., the union he himself organized. He has hastily thrown together a dozen of small labor groups which he has affiliated with C.T.A.L. and with the

W.F.T.U., but their combined membership does not reach 5 percent of the total number of Mexican organized workers. His Popular Party has failed to elect a single congressman at the last July elections.

On the other hand, the General Secretary of the C.N.F., which is our Mexican affiliate, was elected Congressman for the Federal District.

At our recent Havana convention two Mexican national labor organizations, in addition to our regular affiliates, were represented by fraternal delegates.

I want to say that the Communists are through in Mexico. They are through with the Mexican labor movement for good. I make this statement in the most emphatic manner.

Now, as to Cuba let me read a small excerpt from the article of our International Representative, Brother George Delaney, on the C.I.T. convention which was published in the current issue of the American Federationist:

"The convention was closed with a stirring speech of Brother Mujal, General Secretary of the Confederation of Cuba. He revealed that the labor movement in Cuba, which once was regarded as the stronghold of Communism in the Western Hemisphere, out of a total of 1,808 local unions comprising the whole labor movement of Cuba, the democratic elements now control 1,740 locals and the Communists hold less than 40."

Incidentally, I wish to inform you that the headquarters of the Inter-American Federation of Labor are now located in Cuba. Who would have thought of that two years ago when it was considered rather unhealthy for me to set foot on that island?

Now, allow me as your representative for Latin America to add a few comments about the role of the American Federation of Labor in that part of the world.

During the past year, the American Federation of Labor has had many opportunities to express its point of view in reference to the economic task of trade unionism in Latin America. In official conferences, in our publications and statements, in our constant contacts with our fellow trade-unionists the most important point we have emphasized has been the need to improve the conditions of the wage earners south of our border in order to raise their standard of living. Although Latin America, with its twenty republics, does not offer a uniform pattern, in practically every country the working population is still condemned to a miserable existence, in some cases far below the subsistence level.

Low wages have been the curse of Latin America, because they have led to economic stagnation, have prevented the expansion of markets, have kept down the purchasing power of the population. And I would say, also, that low wages are depriving the worker of that necessary incentive to give all that is needed in order to increase production and thus contribute to the welfare of his industry. I can never forget the remarks of a South American worker from whom I had sought to learn the causes of an impending strike. "What

difference does it make"—he replied. "When we work, we starve; so better starve without working."

The job of improving this situation is quite difficult and greatly complicated, first of all. Latin American Labor itself needs to realize fully its potential strength in the interplay of factors and forces that determine the economic climate. Then it is necessary to dispel the notion, still widespread among Latin-American employers, that the economic and industrial expansion they so eagerly advocate, can be achieved by retaining the policy of low wages upon which until now they have based all their calculations.

The A. F. of L. lost no opportunity to advocate the adoption by employers and governments alike of a new economic doctrine—our American economic doctrine—the principle of the "saving wage," which offers the only logical basis for an expanding economy and for the success of any industrialization program.

We do realize, of course, that other factors are involved, that other measures are needed in order to bring about the economic changes we so earnestly advocate. Manpower training is one; greater supply of capital is another; and, of course, modernization of agriculture, better transportation facilities, better sanitation, more technical knowledge, more modern equipment, etc.

During the past year we have offered concrete suggestions to our own government in connection with the application of Point IV of President Truman's program and other aspects of our Latin-American economic policy; to the I. L. O. in reference to its program of manpower training; to the Pan-American Union in regard to the application of the Bogota Economic Agreement; to the United Nations in connection with the work of the Economic Commission for Latin America; and above all, to our fellow trade-unionists whom we want very much to help in attaining that position of strength and influence equal to that of the Labor Movement in the United States.

No need for me to remind you, of course, that in helping 150 million Latin Americans to attain a higher standard of living we help the North American workers to preserve and improve their own standard of living. By helping 150 million Latin Americans to increase their purchasing power we prepare the ground for an expanding foreign market for our own surplus industrial products. Does anybody know a better way to protect the jobs of American industrial workers than by building up an expanding market for their products right near home, in our own backyard? Surely not by encircling our nation with an impregnable tariff wall that will invite retaliation, will further clog the international avenues of commerce and will eventually have disastrous repercussions in the volume of our exports.

The workers in Latin America are beginning to appreciate our approach to their economic problems. The theories of revolutionary syndicalism, totalitarian Communism or of self-sufficient economic nationalism have supplied lots of excitement for the Latin imag-

ination. But they have not worked in the past, and they are not going to work in the present, or in the future. The theories of gradualism, reformism and intelligent and responsible class cooperation—as opposed to the theory of reckless class warfare—which were so much abused and misunderstood in the past, are now being discovered and appreciated in Latin America as the export product of the American Federation of Labor.

And so, through the vehicle of trade-unionism we are actually demonstrating the superiority of the democratic way of life. Through the living example of our successful trade union movement we are strengthening Latin-American labor to resist the siren songs of the neo-Fascist charlatans and the fallacious arguments of the Communists.

Another aspect of Latin-American trade unionism, which needs immediate attention, concerns the violation of the right of association, the freedom of trade union organization. While this situation is getting better in a number of countries, we are still faced with oppressive government interference in Peru, Venezuela, Argentina, the Dominican Republic and few other countries.

Recognizing the potential strength of organized labor and its influence in determining the trends of the social, economic and political developments, the governments of these countries are using every means at their disposal—including police persecution, jail and exile—to break the resistance of democratic labor groups and force them to toe to the government line. Absolute regimentation of labor is their goal. Complete submission of labor to the will of the dictatorship is their manifest plan. For instance, in Argentina and the Dominican Republic regimented organized labor is being used as the spearhead of every move to curtail democratic freedom, to curb parliamentary prerogatives, to cultivate among the masses the notion that everything labor is getting, including the air that the workers breathe, is the munificent gift of the supreme national leader, upon whom are bestowed virtues that are almost divine.

However, the resistance to such government intervention is still heroically strong in Peru and Venezuela. The overwhelming majority of workers and peasants remain faithful to the teachings of their democratic union leaders, most of whom are in jail, in hiding or in exile.

The solidarity shown by the American Federation of Labor with those noble fighters for the cause of trade union freedom; our potent voice raised time and time again in defense of their rights—of which the report of the Executive Council gives a vivid chronological account—has contributed immensely in strengthening the will to resist among the labor people of Peru and Venezuela. I venture to say that when the doors of the jails in Lima and Caracas were opened in the last few weeks to let out a number of trade union leaders—even if they were promptly escorted to the border and sent into exile—this has been in great part the result of the relentless campaign waged in their behalf by the American Federation of Labor.

If our example had been followed by other important sectors of our American public opinion, and had found an imposing echo in the American press, in our legislative chambers and in the Executive Departments, perhaps there would be no military Fascist regimes today in Latin America.

However, let not this be cause for discouragement. I am in fact confident that things might soon change. The support given by the Communists to the anti-democratic, dictatorial regimes of Argentina, Peru, Venezuela, etc., will perhaps open the eyes of those who have scandalously remained indifferent to the fate of democratic organized labor, and have conveniently forgotten the constant violation of human rights committed by those governments.

The Communists are supporting the dictatorial regimes of Peru, Venezuela and Argentina because these regimes are basically anti-American, even if they may occasionally favor the interests of some private American corporation. And everything that is actually or potentially anti-American is good grist for the Communist mill. Let us always remember that.

During the first week of September an inter-American meeting took place in Mexico City. It was the Latin-American version of the Waldorf-Astoria affair. The meeting was primarily concerned with violent criticism of Uncle Sam and his foreign policy. The show was run by Lombardo Toledano, the bankrupt Moscow Commissar for organized labor in Latin America. Most prominent among those present were delegates from Peru, Venezuela and Argentina,—all of them Communists or well-known fellow travelers—who received regular passports from their respective governments. Naturally, the Mexico City meeting, while attacking with venom and violence, the Government of the United States, did not utter a single word of criticism of the anti-democratic policies of Peron, Odria or the military triumvirate that runs Venezuela. On the other hand, let's not forget that while those countries have suppressed the democratic press, confiscated printing plants and jailed or exiled editors, the Communists are able to publish freely daily newspapers, weeklies and monthly magazines in great quantity. In Peru, workers have been sent to jail for having been caught reading the *Noticiero Obrero Norteamericano*, which is the Spanish-language clippingsheet of the American Federation of Labor!

The feeling of revulsion against this Communist-neo-Fascist alliance is widespread among the bona fide trade unionists of Latin America, among honest intellectuals, sincere democrats and even representatives of business—the intelligent type that takes a long-range view of the situation and worries about the possible consequences of tomorrow. More and more people realize how right has been the position of the A. F. of L. in Latin America, where we have fought, consistently and courageously, the Communists and the Fascists, every brand of totalitarianism, every kind of dictatorship.

This has been the secret of our success, not the personal merit of one or more individuals.

nor the organizational abilities of the general staff. We have gained friends, collaborators and supporters by the power of our simple and consistent message of faith and devotion to the cause of social justice, democracy and freedom. Period!

In conclusion, as your representative for Latin America I can safely say to you, President Green; to you, Secretary Meany; and to all the members of the Executive Council and the delegates here assembled, that the cause of free trade unionism has made some good progress in Latin America, and that its prospects for the future are brighter than ever!

PRESIDENT GREEN: We thank Brother Romualdi for his most impressive address. It will be included in today's proceedings and you can digest it and read it and gain a new understanding of it.

Thank you very much.

The Chair now recognizes Chairman Doherty of the Committee on Organization.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN DOHERTY: The report of the Committee is very brief, but nonetheless informative, and it will be delivered by the very able Secretary of the Committee, Brother Arthur Elder.

Committee Secretary Elder submitted the following report:

ORGANIZING ACTIVITIES

(Executive Council's Report, pages 96-99)

The section of the Executive Council's Report on Organizing Activities will be found on pages 96 to the end of the paragraph at the top of page 99.

Your committee recommends the substitution of the number "one hundred sixty-nine" for the number "one hundred fifty-four" on the second line of the fifth paragraph on page 96 of the Executive Council's Report because 169 rather than 154 is the number of federal labor unions that have been established during the past year under American Federation of Labor jurisdiction.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this portion of the Executive Council's Report with the above mentioned correction.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY ELDER: Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of the Committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF WHITE COLLAR WORKERS

Resolution No. 5—By Delegate George A. Haberman, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for appropriate action to carry out its intent of increasing emphasis on extending organization among white collar workers.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY ELDER: Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of the Committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE PAUL HUTCHINGS, Office Employees: I would like to speak very briefly, Brother Chairman. First, I would like to thank the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor for its concern in the continued growth and development of the white collar organization as it affects office employees, the persons coming under our International banner. We are one of the younger organizations in the white-collared field within the fold of the American Federation of Labor with a charter that is still less than five years of age.

There are vast multitudes of yet unorganized office employees throughout the United States and Canada. We deeply appreciate the splendid cooperation which we have thus far received, from President Green, Secretary Meany, from the members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, from Director of Organization O'Reilly and the members of his organizing staff. We also deeply appreciate the splendid cooperation received from many of the splendid State Federations of Labor, City Central Labor Unions and from many of the National and International Unions who are awake to a recognition of the fact that organization in any establishment is not complete and secure until the office and clerical staff of such establishment has been brought within the fold of the American Federation of Labor and its appropriate International Unions.

We concur in the recommendation of the Committee, firm in our belief and knowledge that the Executive Council, the officers of the Federation and its Director of Organization through their knowledge and skill will give further impetus to organization of employees throughout the two countries.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee was carried unanimously.

ORGANIZING STAFF IN STATE OF INDIANA

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate Carl H. Mullen, Indiana State Federation of Labor.

(Page 60, First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee is of the opinion that the Executive Council has responsibility for assigning additional Organizers where it considers such Organizers may be needed.

This resolution emphasizes the need existing in Indiana for continued and intensified organizational efforts.

Your committee, therefore, recommends that Resolution No. 67 be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and appropriate action.

Committee Secretary Elder moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

AID FOR AFL UNIONS IN TERRITORY OF HAWAII

Resolution No. 68—By Delegate A. S. Reile, Central Labor Council, Honolulu, T. H.

(Page 60, First Day's Proceedings)

Delegate Reile appeared before your committee on behalf of this resolution.

Your committee was impressed by the serious nature of the problems confronting our brother trade unionists in Hawaii. The strong organized opposition of employers' groups to bona fide union organization and the tactics of calculated confusion created among workers by non-AFL Communist dominated organizations were ably described by Delegate Reile. Brother Irving Brown in his address Tuesday afternoon also underscored the need for the united and sustained efforts of labor to combat the infiltration of Communists in the Far East and in the Pacific area. Your committee makes further reference to this problem in its recommendations.

However, because of the fact that it is the responsibility of the Executive Council to approve specific requests and plans for assistance in organization, your committee recommends that Resolution No. 68 be referred to the Executive Council for the consideration and action that the situation confronting the A. F. of L. in Hawaii seems to demand.

Committee Secretary Elder moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE REILE, Honolulu Central Labor Council: I wish to thank the committee for its very fine report, and I would like to impress the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with the seriousness of the American Federation of Labor situation in the Territory of Hawaii.

The resolution calls for a specific sum of money. I believe it was \$6,000. I don't know whether that is enough, but it was certainly the minimum we could get along with. I do not claim that the investment of \$6,000 per month will bring great financial returns to the American Federation of Labor, but I do want to say this, that the territory of Hawaii is faced with a proposition way beyond the scope of labor organizations. We today are faced with the threat of Communism. We have a Communist-dominated organization—and they have not too successfully denied it,—on the one hand, and a group of reactionary employers who have done business with that organization on the other.

I would like the Executive Council to deliberate on this resolution soon. Within the past year we have lost five American Federation of Labor local unions, and we will probably lose that many more in the next six months unless something is done about it.

Hawaii and the Philippines represent the last barrier to the spread of Communism from Asia. We, the people of Hawaii, do not want it used as a springboard for Communism in the Western world.

We don't want another Pearl Harbor.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried unanimously.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY ELDER: This concludes your committee report on those portions of the Executive Council's Report and the resolutions referred to it for consideration.

RECOMMENDATION

Your committee on Organization notes that organizing activities are still seriously handicapped by continued resistance of employers to union recognition and their tendency to take advantage of any and all provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act that provide any pretext for refusing or side-stepping efforts of unions to secure such union reorganization. Director of Organization O'Reilly and his staff are to be commended for their assistance to federal and international local unions in connection with processing petitions for representation, union shop elections and the filing of unfair labor practice charges.

The committee notes further that the restrictive provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act have also taken additional time of organizers in the organizations of new unions and the servicing of existing unions. In spite of these restrictive and handicapping effects of the Taft-Hartley Act on organization, the Executive Council's statement that 169 new federal labor unions have been chartered during the

year indicates substantial achievement. The reference to progress in the organization, among insurance agents is particularly significant.

Your committee recommends that the campaign to organize this group and other white-collar workers' groups be continued and be given the support of all affiliated groups.

The section of the Council's report dealing with organizational program and progress in various sections of this country and in Canada on page 22 deserve the attention of all the delegates and members of the affiliated organizations they represent. It should suggest the need for such cooperative action and support we can give to the particular organizing activity that may be underway in our section of the country. Further, it should bring to our attention the need for making further suggestions regarding possible new areas of organization and ways and means of developing them to Director O'Reilly and members of the organizing staff.

Reference is made in the Executive Council's report to continued progress in organization activities in Newfoundland, Alaska and Hawaii. These activities as well as the program of organization in Puerto Rico and Canada must be intensified and expanded. The responsibility of the American Federation of Labor for extending an appreciation and understanding of the benefits of democratic labor organization has been reiterated by officers of the Federation at this convention and in the opinion of your committee should be again reaffirmed by delegates to this convention.

The serious problems of organization confronting the American Federation of Labor in Hawaii have been presented to this convention in a resolution which has been referred to the Executive Council for action. Your committee recognizes that problems of long standing and complicated situations that have developed over the years, cannot be completely corrected in a few months or even a year. However, there is the probability that the present Communist dominated non-A. F. of L. organization will eventually be discredited. There is also the real possibility that workers in Hawaii will turn in increased numbers to the American Federation of Labor for support and assistance if we are willing and prepared to give it. This would suggest the need for doing everything possible to win the understanding and support of Hawaiian workers.

Your committee, therefore recommends that the Executive Council consider and adopt as speedily as possible all measures it may consider practical directed at intensifying and expanding still further the program of organization in Hawaii. In making this recommendation, your committee recognizes, and is assuming, that any such program of organization must be given the wholehearted support and cooperation of all international unions which may have members in Hawaii as well as union officers and members resident in Hawaii.

Your committee believes that the reference in the Executive Council's Report to the con-

tinued need for aid of international unions, central labor unions, state federations of labor and trade councils in carrying on organizing activities should be emphasized. Good public relations programs, sound community action programs and intelligent political action will combine to create the climate of opinion that makes the formation of new organizations and the maintenance of active established organizations increasingly less difficult. Cooperative planning and the holding of conferences under A. F. of L. auspices regarding specific problems of state labor legislation, developments in collective bargaining and current issues relating to organizations at all levels in various parts of the country, for organizers and representatives of affiliated organizations would, in the opinion of the committee, do much to stimulate more general interest in organization.

Your committee also recommends for consideration of the Executive Council the feasibility of holding a conference for organizers under A. F. of L. auspices at which methods, problems, experiences and objectives in organization might be discussed.

Your committee recognizes that efforts at cooperation in the economic and legislative fields as in the political field can be only partially successful as long as division within the ranks of labor continues. If we are to organize with maximum effectiveness; if we hope to achieve maximum benefits through such organization, it is essential that we reiterate our continued interest and support for all moves of a positive nature in the direction of achieving unity within the labor movement.

Your committee, therefore, recommends that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor continue to make known its readiness to initiate and support efforts to reunite all bona fide labor unions in our Nation.

I move the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY ELDER: This completes the report of the Committee on Organization, which is respectfully submitted by the undersigned committee members:

William C. Doherty, Chairman
 Arthur A. Elder, Secretary
 John H. Bakken
 G. E. Leighty
 John P. Burke
 Paul Dullzell
 Patrick H. Reagan
 Vincent Castronova
 John W. Garvey
 Hyman Powell
 Earl W. Jimerson
 A. Philip Randolph
 Curtis Sims
 W. J. Bassett
 J. Belton Warren
 A. Shoemaker

Charles T. Lindgren
Lester Washburn
Glen Thom
Lewis M. Herrmann
Thomas Durian
C. F. May
Louis Stulberg
I. M. Fisher
H. A. Schneider

COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN DOHERTY: Mr. Chairman, I move that the report of the Committee on Organization as a whole be adopted.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair thanks the committee for the excellent service rendered.

President Schoenberg, of the Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers International Union, has a matter to present to the convention. The Chair recognizes Brother Schoenberg.

CEMENT WORKERS CONTRIBUTION TO L. L. P. E.

DELEGATE SCHOENBERG, Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers: Mr. President, on behalf of the United Lime, Cement and Gypsum Workers International Union I want to hand you a check for \$3,100, the balance due Labor's League for Political Education from our membership, and I desire to pledge our International Union that we will do just as well or better, in connection with the same program, as far as the voluntary \$2 contribution is concerned.

It is indeed a pleasure to give you this check, George, and I know it will be used for the best interests of the trade union movement in the field of political education.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Thank you and the members of your splendid organization, Brother Schoenberg, for this check you have presented this morning.

The Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Local Entertainment Committee.

Chairman Joseph Okoneski announced that arrangements had been completed for the delegates to visit one of the most modern Brew-

eries in the City of St. Paul and to partake of a Dutch lunch immediately following adjournment.

Delegate Ornburn, of the Union Label Trades Department, announced that a showing of the motion picture in color of the Union Industries Show held in Cleveland last May, would be had at the Labor Temple, Thursday night at 8:00 o'clock, and invited all delegates and visitors to attend and see the picture.

PRESIDENT GREEN: If there are no further announcements and no further business the Chair will declare the session adjourned to meet tomorrow morning at 9:30 o'clock.

(At 12:45 o'clock, p.m., the convention adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Friday morning, October 7, 1949.)

RESOLUTIONS

The following resolutions were received by unanimous consent and referred to the appropriate committees:

OBSERVE STATE AND NATIONAL ELECTION DAY AS HOLIDAY

Resolution No. 127—By Delegate Phil Hannah, Ohio State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The past few years has shown the need for a change in legislative matters due to the determination of big business interests to force anti-labor legislation, and

WHEREAS, Labor is forced to adopt new approaches and plans to combat anti-labor legislation, beyond that which has now become law, and also fight for the repeal of the present anti-labor laws now on the statute books of this Government, and States, and

WHEREAS, Statistics clearly show a percentage of those eligible to vote do not take an active interest to support Labor's program, and

WHEREAS, The time has come to prepare for concerted action against those elected officials who have deliberately opposed all labor's wishes and desires, and

WHEREAS, We believe that we must encourage the membership to vote for its friends and defeat its enemies, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this American Federation of Labor go on record through all its affiliated unions demanding that all agreements in the future declare State and National Election days a holiday, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this 68th annual convention here assembled in the City of St. Paul, should adopt and work to the end that all local unions incorporate the same in all of their agreements, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention declare that the State and National Elections be observed as a holiday, starting January 1, 1950, trades serving the public to be excluded.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

OBSERVANCE OF FLAG DAY

Resolution No. 128—By Delegates James G. Yaden, Bernice B. Heffner, A. E. Eisenmenger, American Federation of Government Employes; Lee B. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers' Union of N. A.; R. A. Rice, J. L. Reilly, Jerauld McDermott, Railway Mail Association; John R. Haggerty, Robert E. Hafkin, Mary G. Morley, Joseph Denny, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, John J. Nolan, Charles S. Fleming, James Stocker, Edward Benning, National Association of Letter Carriers; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, L. G. Nygren, Office Employes International Union; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, James Desch, Glen Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters; William L. McPetridge, William H. Cooper, David Sullivan, George Hardy, George W. Matthews, Building Service Employes' International Union; J. H. Lyons, Joseph F. Boyen, C. F. Strickland, E. M. Woods, Leslie L. Myers, Stanley Rounds, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meaney, Charles M. Rau, Peter T. Schoenmann, Robert Lynch, G. J. O'Donnell, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry; Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Bernard M. Egan, Horace L. Imeson, Lewis M. Herrmann, J. Arthur Moriarty, International Typographical Union; Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo-Engravers' Union of N. A.; Leo E. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Charles Ryan, Force Kurtz, Alvin Tschirley, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Stanley W. Oliver, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. Delaney, Charles B. Gramling, International Union of Operating Engineers; John A. McMahon, Enoch Nelson, John D. Ryan, National Association of Postal Supervisors; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers Union; Delegates, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; Delegate, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; Delegates, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Delegates, American Federation of Teachers.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE AS AN ANNUAL OBSERVANCE ON THE MONUMENT LOT AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

WHEREAS, In such times as these when loyalty to the principles of free men are continually under pressure from without and, in some instances from within, and

WHEREAS, Complacency is the worst form of support any form of government can possibly have, and

WHEREAS, The Governments of the United States and of the several states cannot possibly be any stronger under attacks of those who would continue to wage the so-called cold war, than the faith of those men and women who, in high station and low, daily perform the task of operating those governments to prove that our Nation, mighty though it be, must never falter for lack of enthusiastic demonstration of faith on the part of those who serve this Republic, and

WHEREAS, It logically is the opportunity on each Flag Day annually to lead United States and all its people in a re-dedication of ourselves and our ambitions and our energies toward ever building this Nation even higher in the esteem of the Family of Nations, and

WHEREAS, All unions affiliated to the Government Employes' Council of the American Federation of Labor have declared that it is their intention, jointly, severally and actively in whatever appropriate fashion deemed best by the Government Employes' Council to request permission for use of the Washington Monument Lot in the City of Washington, D. C., on the Fourteenth Day of June of each year or any day nearest that date deemed best suited and, that starting in 1950 the Council will supply a mammoth American Flag of such material as may be durable and to be draped from strong light metal materials suspended from the Washington Monument as a backdrop for the public observance of Flag Day, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 68th convention of the American Federation of Labor give full and wholehearted approval to this patriotic and meritorious project of the Government Employes' Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

Resolution No. 129—By Delegates Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, Joseph Jacobs, Francis Schaufenbil, Burt Hyman, United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The Jewish Labor Committee, consisting of 500,000 American workers of Jewish origin and faith, has a consistent rec-

ord of active support to the free labor movement throughout the world, and

WHEREAS, The Jewish Labor Committee was among the first to arouse the American people and the American labor movement to fight the menace of Hitlerism and Fascism abroad, and

WHEREAS, The Jewish Labor Committee was foremost in giving aid to and maintaining contact with the underground democratic trade union movement of Europe during the dark days of Hitlerism, and

WHEREAS, The Jewish Labor Committee was responsible for rescuing from the clutches of Fascism and later from the scourge of Communism thousands of trade unionists and their families, bringing to this country hundreds of active labor men and women, and contributing to the rehabilitation of many others so that they might take their place in rebuilding the free labor movement of Europe, and

WHEREAS, The Jewish Labor Committee is responsible for the establishment of producers' cooperatives, children's homes, immigration programs, relief activities and a widespread labor child adoption program to aid the democratic survivors of Nazi and Communist oppression, and

WHEREAS, The Jewish Labor Committee is carrying on a program in cooperation with the unions of the American Federation of Labor designed to promote better relations and increased understanding among workers of all races, creeds and religions in order to eliminate discrimination and prejudice, and

WHEREAS, The Jewish Labor Committee has always maintained a close relationship with the American Federation of Labor and its leaders, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reiterates its endorsement of the Jewish Labor Committee and its activities; and further urges all constituent unions, state federations and city central bodies to expand their cooperation with and give full support to the Jewish Labor Committee's program to further the cause of democracy at home and abroad.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

DISPLACED PERSONS

Resolution No. 130—By Delegates Jack Wiesenberg, Norman Zukowski, Herbert Ott, Edward Friss, International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers Union.

WHEREAS, The 67th convention of the American Federation of Labor went on record in favor of amendment and revision of the

Displaced Persons Act in order to eliminate its illiberal and discriminatory features, and

WHEREAS, Such revisions and amendments are embodied in the McGrath-Neely Bill and the Cellar Bill, and

WHEREAS, The House of Representatives has passed the Cellar Bill but the Senate has been denied the right to vote on the McGrath-Neely Bill through failure of the Sub-Committee on Immigration to report this bill out of committee, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor assembled in its 68th convention go on record in favor of the Cellar and McGrath-Neely Bill and urge the United States Senate to discharge the Sub-Committee on Immigration from consideration of the McGrath-Neely Bill so that effective positive action may be taken on this matter at this session of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CHILD LABOR

Resolution No. 131—By Delegates Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The health, education and well-being of children are matters of vital concern to a democracy, and

WHEREAS, There are approximately two million boys and girls, 14 through 17, employed full time and part time in the factories, fields, stores, and service industries of the nation, many of them working under conditions which detrimentally affect their health, education, and welfare, and

WHEREAS, Child labor constitutes unfair cheap competition and is a constant threat to the wage standards of organized labor, and

WHEREAS, The employment of children under harmful conditions still continues to exist to an alarming degree, particularly in large-scale agriculture, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor condemns the existence of child labor; commends the work of the National Child Labor Committee in its efforts to eliminate harmful employment and provide greater educational opportunities for young people, and demands that adequate funds be appropriated by the state and federal governments for the vigilant enforcement of child labor laws.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Sixty-Eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor 1949 Proceedings

Saint Paul, Minnesota, October 7, 1949



Report of

FIFTH DAY—FRIDAY MORNING SESSION

The convention was called to order at 9:45 o'clock, by President Green.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I am pleased to announce that Rev. Louis J. Kovar, of the Central Presbyterian Church, is with us and will deliver the invocation this morning.

INVOCATION

(Rev. Louis J. Kovar, Central
Presbyterian Church)

O Thou Master Workman of the universe, who hast commanded that no man should be idle, we invoke Thy blessing upon this convention not only in its efforts and deliberations for this day but as it continues to administer the affairs of labor through the days and years to come.

Give strength, courage, and wisdom to the leaders of this vast arm of our civilization that in making and executing decisions they may do justly, love mercy, cherish purity,

and walk humbly with their God. Give to each laborer a desire to apply himself honestly and efficiently; and to the employer the realization that the laborer is worthy of his hire.

Help us, we beseech Thee, to be mindful of Thy concern for free men everywhere: to give release to the captives and to set at liberty them that are bruised and oppressed. Deliver our minds, we pray Thee, from hatred, prejudice, and contempt that we may think without confusion clearly and act from honest motives purely. Deliver us from strife and contention between those who are engaged in the labors of industry and those who employ their labor. Help us to rise above greed and covetousness, that great weakness of the human race, and grant that we may seek only that which is just and right, that we may live and work together for the glory of God, the prosperity of our nation, and the well-being and brotherhood of man, through Jesus Christ our Lord—Amen.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair recognizes Secretary Gallo, of the Credentials Committee, for a supplemental report.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT—COM- MITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Committee Secretary Gallo submitted the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials desire to report that we have examined the following letter received today from President Harry Lundeberg of the Seafarers' International Union of North America:

"George Meany,

Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of Labor.

Dear Sir and Brother:

It is imperative that the Seamen's delegates go back to their respective ports due to pending beefs. I would appreciate if you would issue Duke Dushane credentials as an alternate for us.

For a successful convention, I remain

Faternally

Harry Lundeberg."

In accordance with request of President Lundeberg we recommend the seating of Duke Dushane as alternate delegate to represent the delegation of the Seafarers' International Union of North America, previously reported, with 450 votes.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair recognizes Secretary Meany.

RESOLUTIONS REQUIRING UNANIMOUS CONSENT

SECRETARY MEANY: The following resolutions requiring unanimous consent are presented for your consideration. Unanimous consent has been recommended for these resolutions by the special sub-committee of the Executive Council.

From the New York State Federation of Labor: Italian-American Labor Council; Free Trade Unionism in Italy.

No objection was offered to receipt of the resolutions, and they were referred to the appropriate committees.

The resolutions referred to Nos. 132 and 133, will be found at the end of today's proceedings.

SUBSTITUTION

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair wishes to announce the substitution of the name of John J. Murphy, delegate from the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union, for that of Brother Leo George, on the committee to escort the Honorable Oscar R. Ewing to the convention hall this afternoon. Brother George has to leave the city and it is impossible for him to serve.

ADDRESS BY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE LOUIS A. JOHNSON

PRESIDENT GREEN: I want to announce that the Secretary of Defense, Honorable Louis A. Johnson, will address the convention on Monday afternoon at 3:30 o'clock, instead of 2:30 o'clock. This change has been made because the Columbia Broadcasting System has arranged to broadcast the address at that time.

We will now receive the report of the Committee on Legislation. I am pleased to present to you Brother Leo George, Chairman of that Committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN GEORGE: Mr. Chairman and delegates, the Legislative Committee has held three meetings and deliberated at length upon the work assigned to it. Secretary Oliver, of the Committee, is prepared to report on the work referred to the Committee up to date.

Committee Secretary Oliver submitted the following report:

President Green and delegates—The Committee on Legislation has carefully considered the resolutions and sections of the Executive Council report referred to it and is prepared to submit the committee recommendations to the Convention.

National Legislation

(Executive Council's Report, Page 195)

Beginning on page 195 of the Executive Council's report, a review of the national legislative activities of the American Federation of Labor is given. Although considerable progress has been made in some fields in the passage of favorable legislation, generally speaking the American Federation of Labor has found the 81st Congress to be just as difficult from a legislative standpoint as was the 80th. Despite

the fact that many more liberals were elected to Congress, the coalition of Southern Democrats and Republicans have been able to hamper and delay the work of Congress. Of particular significance, this coalition was able to prevent a repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and its replacement with a fair labor law.

Government Salary Legislation

(Executive Council's Report—Page 195)

In the field of federal and postal salary legislation, the Federation worked actively in support of measures which have passed the House and Senate and which are now before the conference committees. Although these measures do not provide all that is to be desired, they do provide substantial salary increases and other benefits which, undoubtedly, could not have been obtained without the active and coordinated effort put forth by the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated national and international unions.

Government Mileage Allowance

(Executive Council's Report, Page 197)

In recent years efforts have been made to relieve the financial hardship endured by employees of the Federal Government while in travel status, caused by the wholly inadequate travel expense allowance. The energies of one House member, a pronounced anti-labor legislator, had prevented passage of a suitable measure in the 80th Congress. The enactment of Public Law No. 82, which increases the per diem allowance from six dollars to nine dollars, is the direct result of our untiring efforts in this field.

Government Maternity Leave

(Executive Council's Report, Page 197)

The support of the American Federation of Labor to the principle of granting maternity leave to women in the Federal Government service was continued into the Eighty-first Congress. In the former Congress testimony had been submitted in support of the legislation.

S. 85 would grant as many as 60 days leave in any consecutive 12 months. This bill has been reported by the Senate Committee, though there is no companion House bill, thus permitting the House, in event it sees fit, to pass the Senate bill.

Compensation for Disability

(Executive Council's Report—Page 198)

For twenty-two years government employees have waited for an adjustment of the rates of benefits paid in the Federal Service for injuries incurred in line of duty. During the 80th Congress, efforts were made by the American Federation of Labor and the affiliated unions to revise the rates for injury and death payments. Those national and international unions having membership, wholly or in part, in government service, joined hands to bring about these reforms.

Several bills were introduced during the 80th Congress, although the measures never approached completion. It was not until the House Committee on Education and Labor in the 81st Congress, following the outlines and principles enunciated by the American Federation of Labor, took the matter in hand, that action was assured. The long standing record of the American Federation of Labor and its Unions, and the personal interest taken by President Green in the subject of disability compensation were related before the Congressional Committees. The result will be that an entirely new law will go onto the statute books to cover this field and to provide a far more realistic consideration of disability and death claims in the government service.

H.R. 3191 represents the longest step forward in ministering to the stricken men and women in Federal Government service. For the first time, the rates of benefits will be in direct ratio to the active pay of the individual and death payments and funeral expenses will be higher and more directly in line with today's costs.

This measure has now passed both the House and Senate and is awaiting action by the Conference Committee.

Civil Service Retirement and Other Government Employee Bills

(Executive Council's Report—Page 199)

The American Federation of Labor presented testimony and worked for the enactment of several bills affecting Civil Service retirement. The enactment of Public Law 997 was secured which is of great interest and benefit, particularly, to our members employed as skilled tradesmen in the military establishments. Further efforts were made to perfect the Langer-Chavez-Stevenson Civil Service Retirement Act of the 80th Congress, and several notable improvements have been secured.

The Committee on Legislation commends the Executive Council and the legislative staff for the very excellent results obtained in the field of government-employee legislation—results obtained under extremely difficult circumstances. The Committee recommends acceptance of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Government Employees' Council

(Executive Council's Report—Page 200)

In 1945 there had been created the Government Employees' Council of the American Federation of Labor to consider at the top levels among the respective unions, the methods for campaigning for and developing details of legislation relating to Government employment. In 1949, for the first time, a member of the Legislative Committee of the American Fed-

eration of Labor was assigned, in addition to his other duties, to work with the Government Employees' Council and its affiliated unions in the formulation of policies and strategy. This activity has been of immeasurable benefit in coordinating efforts all down the line.

The Committee on Legislation recommends that this activity be continued and recommends acceptance of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

The President's Salary

(Executive Council's Report—Page 201)

In line with a resolution approved at the Cincinnati Convention, the 81st Congress promptly enacted legislation adjusting the salary of the President of the United States under the provisions of Public Law No. 2. Likewise, the salaries of the Vice President and of the Speaker of the House of Representatives were similarly adjusted.

Support was also given by the American Federation of Labor on the Executive Salaries legislation, H. R. 1689 and S. 498. This legislation has now passed and has been sent to the President for signature.

Salaries for Federal Judges

(Executive Council's Report—Page 201)

In line with the policy of the American Federation of Labor to support legislation favorable to improve conditions for Federal Government officers and employees, the Federation has supported proposals to adjust the salaries of Judges on the Federal bench. Two bills have been introduced, H. R. 241 and S. 637. It is fair to assume that, now that the Executive Salary legislation has been approved, prospects for passage of the Federal Judges' Salary bill will be improved.

The Committee on Legislation recommends acceptance of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

FEDERAL MEDIATION AND CONCILIATION SERVICE

(Executive Council's Report—Page 202)

For the fiscal year 1950, the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service requested \$2,740,000 from Congress to cover its operations during the year. The amount approved by Congress was \$40,000 less than the amount

requested. This reduction is not justified in view of increased travel expenses. The American Federation of Labor has supported the recommendation of the service and is of the opinion that the amount appropriated is inadequate.

The Committee on Legislation recommends that this portion of the Executive Council's report be concurred in and accepted.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

RIVERS AND HARBORS

(Executive Council's Report—Page 202)

As usual, the American Federation of Labor took a great deal of interest in the Rivers and Harbors legislation, H. R. 5472, due to the fact that it carries authorization for many hundreds of projects throughout the country and also because of the beneficial effects rivers and harbors improvements give to the country. The bill passed the House on August 22nd by a vote of 202 to 1.

The Committee on Legislation recommends acceptance of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

MISSOURI VALLEY AUTHORITY

(Executive Council's Report—Page 202)

COLUMBIA VALLEY AUTHORITY

(Executive Council's Report—Page 203)

COLORADO RIVER SYSTEM

(Executive Council's Report—Page 204)

DEVELOPMENT OF HYDRO-ELECTRIC POWER

(Executive Council's Report—Page 204)

The position of the American Federation of Labor in support of the creation of a Missouri Valley Authority remains unchanged. To date, no Committee or Subcommittee of Congress has begun hearings on this subject. The broad program of unified resource development and water control provided for in H. R. 3522 and S. 1162 has the endorsement of the American Federation of Labor and the bills will be supported by appropriate testimony whenever hearings are scheduled.

During the 81st Congress the view of organized labor was presented to Congress on the proposed Columbia Valley Authority. The American Federation of Labor has endorsed S. 1645, which would establish in the Pacific Northwest a Columbia Valley Administration, subject to several suggested changes in the bill directly affecting organized labor groups. Hearings on this legislation will be resumed probably in the next session of Congress.

With regard to the Colorado River System, the action of the 1948 Convention has been presented to the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. Legislation on this subject in the Senate (S.J. Res. 4) is now pending on the Senate Calendar. Hearings on the companion bill in the House, H.R. 934, have been concluded but the committee has not yet considered the bill in executive session.

The acute shortage of electric power in the west is well known. The American Federation of Labor has endorsed the President's program for the development of the west. The Interior Department appropriation, as passed by the House, carried out the President's program. In the Senate, however, the private utilities carried on their biggest fight in years against public power and the President's program. Their strategy was to attempt to force the Federal Government to limit its activities in this field to the generation of power at its huge dams, with all distribution to be done by the private electric companies. The Senate committee considering the Interior appropriation yielded to the pressure by drastically reducing the appropriation on all of the power projects for the west. This action would completely wreck the plans of the Administration respecting public power and would constitute a major victory for the private utilities in the west.

The American Federation of Labor vigorously opposed this action and contacted its friends in the Senate, urging the adoption of the full amount of appropriation necessary to carry out the program for the development of the west. Despite the pressure of private utilities, the cuts recommended by the committee were restored by the Senate. This much-needed program should now go forward to a speedy completion.

The Committee on Legislation commends the action of the Executive Council in securing restoration of the necessary funds and recommends that this section of the Executive Council report be accepted.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved adoption of the Committee's report.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION

(Executive Council's Report—Page 205)

SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM

(Executive Council's Report—Page 205)

The American Federation of Labor has continued to support Federal assistance for the construction of schools and free lunches to school children during the past year. The Committee recommends that this portion of the Executive Council's report be accepted.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the Committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Naval Shipyard Wage-Fixing

(Executive Council's Report, Page 205)

The American Federation of Labor was prepared to support proposed legislation designed to establish procedures of establishing the wages of per diem employees of the Navy in a manner satisfactory to our organized labor groups. In the meantime, however, the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor has been able to negotiate with the Department of the Navy and secure administrative action which is expected to accomplish the same result as would have been obtained legislatively.

The Committee on Legislation recommends that the officers of the Metal Trades Department be commended for the results that they have obtained and that the negotiated agreement with the Navy be considered for the time being as satisfactory to all concerned. However, the Committee recommends that the American Federation of Labor reserve the right to cooperate with the Metal Trades Department and International Unions affected (in seeking suitable legislation) if at any time it is determined that the Navy's procedures established by administrative authority are unsatisfactory to Labor.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the Committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Economic Cooperation Appropriation

(Executive Council's Report, Page 209)

The American Federation of Labor has continued to support the European Recovery Plan and appropriations required for its operation through the Economic Cooperation Administration.

The Committee on Legislation recommends that this support be continued in the future and that this section of the Executive Council's Report be accepted.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the Committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Merchant Marine Reserve

(Executive Council's Report, Page 211)

The American Federation of Labor has taken the stand that there is no need to authorize the United States Maritime Service to develop and maintain a peace-time Merchant Marine Reserve. There is evidence to indicate that the underlying purpose of the Merchant Marine Reserve would be that of a strike breaking agency.

The Committee on Legislation recommends this part of the Executive Council Report be concurred in and that the Federation continue to oppose the enactment of HR 4448.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the Committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

District of Columbia Sales Tax

(Executive Council's Report, Page 212)

D. C. Employees Compensation

(Executive Council's Report, Page 213)

D. C. Teachers Bill

(Executive Council's Report, Page 213)

Barbers Bill

(Executive Council's Report, Page 213)

The American Federation of Labor vigorously opposed the introduction of that vicious form of taxation, the Sales Tax, into the District of Columbia. Although the plan was forced through Congress by the same group that has been demanding elimination of rent controls, the American Federation of Labor will continue to fight this measure and support its repeal.

Public Law No. 151 has been placed on the statute books which was drafted with the assistance of the American Federation of Labor and similarly aided by the A. F. of L. in its passage. This law provides a retroactive salary increase of \$330 per annum. The A. F. of L. also supported House Joint Resolution 302 and Senate Joint Resolution 119 to increase annuities of retired employees of the Metropolitan Police, the U. S. Park Police, the White House and the D. C. Fire Department.

Passage has been secured in both House and Senate of H. R. 4381 which provides cumulative sick and annual leave with pay for D. C. teachers and attendance officers.

This measure is now in conference and is virtually assured of passage.

This section of the Executive Council Report states that efforts will be continued to secure legislation requiring D. C. barber shops to be closed one day in seven.

The Committee recommends that these portions of the Executive Council Report be accepted.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the Committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Alaska

(Executive Council's Report, Page 214)

This portion of the Executive Council's Report summarizes the legislative activities of the American Federation of Labor in the interest of the people of Alaska. The Committee recommends acceptance of the report.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the Committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Puerto Rico

(Executive Council's Report, Page 215)

This part of the Executive Council's Report summarizes the legislative activities of the American Federation of Labor to advance enactment of appropriate legislation to meet the needs of the workers of Puerto Rico. The Committee recommends acceptance of the Executive Council's Report.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the Committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Canal Zone

(Executive Council's Report, Page 217)

This portion of the report outlines the legislative activity in the interest of our members in the Canal Zone. The Committee recommends acceptance of the report.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the Committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

The Taft-Hartley Act

(Executive Council's Report, Page 218)

This section of the Executive Council's Report gives chronological history of the legislative efforts made by the American Federation of Labor to secure repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and enactment of a fair labor law. The Committee recommends that every delegate read this section of the report in full in order to have a complete understanding of the factors involved. In acting on this portion of the report in this brief manner the Committee on Legislation anticipates that the convention will adopt a policy of action for the future to deal with this abominable legislation. The committee recommends acceptance of the report.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the Committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Fair Labor Standards Act

(Executive Council's Report, Page 223)

The Committee on Legislation commends the Executive Council and the legislative staff for the great effort that has been made to improve the minimum wage and extend coverage under the Wages and Hours Act. The Committee recommends that efforts be continued toward liberalizing this Act and recommends that the report be accepted.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the Committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Middle-Income Housing Bill

(Executive Council's Report, Page 227)

This part of the report is a recap of the legislative program to date. The committee recommends acceptance of the report and recommends that efforts be continued to secure adequate housing aid for the middle-income group.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the Committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Social Security

(Executive Council's Report, Page 230)

Inasmuch as the AFL Social Security Committee is making a detailed report on this subject, the committee recommends that this portion of the Executive Council's Report be accepted without further comment.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the Committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Labor Extension Service

(Executive Council's Report, Page 231)

The American Federation of Labor strongly supports the need for a Labor Extension Service within the Department of Labor and wholeheartedly endorses the proposal that such a service be established as speedily as possible.

Most of the A. F. of L.'s recommendations have been embodied in H.R. 3785 which is being considered by the House Committee on Labor and Education; however, no action will be taken in this session of Congress on this legislation.

The Committee recommends acceptance of the Executive Council's Report.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the Committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Apprentice Training

(Executive Council's Report, Page 232)

For many years the American Federation of Labor has taken the lead in establishing apprentice training programs. The Federation has continued to carry on this program during the past year.

The Committee on Legislation desires to call the attention of every delegate to H.R. 5833, which was introduced in the present session of Congress.

This bill passed the House with an amendment limiting its application to the construction of schools, but this is still not satisfactory from labor's standpoint. Every effort should be made to defeat this bill in the Senate, as recommended by the Executive Council. The Committee recommends acceptance of the Executive Council's report.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the Committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

The Physically Handicapped

(Executive Council's Report, Page 234)

In connection with this matter, attention is called to the special subcommittee of the American Federation of Labor's permanent Committee on Education, headed by Martin P. Durkin, President of the United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the U. S. and Canada. This subcommittee is referred to on page 182 of the Executive Council report

and is to study the problems of rehabilitating the physically handicapped.

The Committee on Legislation recommends acceptance of the Executive Council's report and further recommends that final recommendations by the American Federation of Labor on such bills as H. R. 3095 and S. 1066, together with other bills introduced on the same subject, be held in abeyance until the special subcommittee has had an opportunity to complete its studies and recommendations.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the Committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Basing Point Systems

(Executive Council's Report—Page 236)

This portion of the Executive Council's Report outlines the many complex problems arising under certain freight pricing practices.

The Committee on Legislation recommends that the Executive Council make further studies on this subject, confer as necessary with the affiliated organizations involved, and take whatever action is appropriate on proposed legislation.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved adoption of the Committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE EKLUND, American Federation of Teachers: I wish to amend the section with the following sentence: "That the Executive Council be also directed to commend our friends in Congress in this and in other situations where they have directly represented the interests of American workers and consumers." I would like to speak on that amendment if it is seconded.

PRESIDENT GREEN: You offer that as an amendment?

DELEGATE EKLUND: To that section.

PRESIDENT GREEN: You have heard the amendment offered to the Committee's report by Delegate Eklund. The question is on the adoption of the amendment. Do you wish to speak now on the amendment?

DELEGATE EKLUND, American Federation of Teachers: This happens to be a situation which is typical of many situations in Congress, where we have yeoman service on the part of Senators and Representatives who are representing directly our interests. I am not particularly concerned with the Carroll

amendment on the basing point system. This just seemed to be a good time to illustrate a point that I think is rather well taken, that we ought to direct the Executive Council to commend those people for the jobs they are doing from time to time that are particularly significant.

This particular Congressman, I might say, did a yeoman job, probably an outstanding job in the enactment of social security legislation, working through the House Ways and Means Committee. This particular Congressman was the man who was probably most instrumental in defeating the Wood Bill in the House by one vote. This particular Congressman was the gentleman who fought and brought through the extension in the House of the public power project, and he has fought against monopoly consistently, as is indicated by his position on this bill.

One of the reasons that I rise at this point to offer this item of commendation by way of amendment is that we are going to unseat a certain member of an unholy alliance by the name of Eugene Milliken from the Senate, and replace him with John Carroll, of Colorado, and I would like to speak of my amendment in that fashion, that we do direct the Council to commend members of the Congress in those situations where they represent us so well.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Are there any further remarks? If not, the question will recur upon the amendment offered by Delegate Eklund, of the American Federation of Teachers. As I understand it, there is no objection on the part of the committee to the adoption of the amendment.

All in favor of the adoption of the amendment will please say "aye." Those opposed, "no."

The "ayes" have it, and it is so ordered.

Now the question comes on the adoption of the Committee's report as amended. All those in favor of the adoption of the report as amended will say "aye." Those opposed, "no."

The "ayes" have it, and it is so ordered.

The report of the committee was continued, as follows:

Monopolies and Trade Restraints

(Executive Council's Report—Page 238)

The Committee on Legislation does not believe action should be taken by the convention on this matter without further detailed study, and therefore recommends that the subject be referred to the Executive Council for such study.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Civil Rights

(Executive Council's Report—Page 238)

That section of the Executive Council's Report under the caption, "Civil Rights," reads as follows:

A number of civil rights bills were introduced covering F. E. P. C., Anti-Poll Tax and Anti-Lynching. The House Committee on Labor and Education held extensive hearings on the fair labor practice proposals and reported a bill, H. R. 4453, upon which a rule for its consideration has not as yet been granted. If the bill is permitted to come before the House it will pass by a large majority. The Anti-Poll Tax bill, H. R. 3199, was passed by the House on July 26 by a vote of 273 to 116. Many bills regarding anti-lynching were introduced and S. 91 was reported, but no further action has ensued.

It is generally conceded that none of these civil rights bills will become law during the present session of Congress, which is apparently reaching its final days and therefore a filibuster or even a threat of one will prevent their passage. We shall continue our efforts for the enactment of these proposals.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Veterans Legislation

(Executive Council's Report—Page 235)

This section of the report deals with the continued support of the American Federation of Labor for veterans' legislation. The Committee on Legislation recommends acceptance of the report.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Prohibition of Interstate Advertising of Alcoholic Beverages

(Executive Council's Report, Page 239)

This is the type of activity which might conceivably lead to other restrictions on personal freedom. The Committee on Legislation recommends that the Convention go on record as being opposed to restrictions of this kind.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Oleomargarine

(Executive Council's Report, Page 239)

For many years, by unanimous Convention action, the American Federation of Labor has favored the repeal of this tax on oleomargarine. The Committee on Legislation recommends that the Convention reiterate this stand.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE HUBBARD, Alexandria, Virginia Central Labor Union: The International Conference of Dairy Employes has appeared before two committees in Washington in opposition to the removal of the tax from oleomargarine. We wanted that left up to the states instead of leaving it up to the Federal Government.

Another thing, the reason for the removal of the tax and the taking away of the color and coloring of margarine yellow, was that it would be something that would have to be policed by the Federal Government. We found in many instances that margarine was going to be colored, in imitation of butter, so that it could be used to defraud the American people. So the International Conference of Dairy Employes is on record as being opposed to the coloring of margarine yellow. We would rather see that left up to the individual states.

The motion to adopt the committee's recommendation was carried unanimously.

State Labor Legislation in 1949

(Executive Council's Report, Page 242)

This section of the Executive Council's Report outlines the major activities in the various State legislatures of direct interest to labor. The Committee recommends that the report be accepted. It is further recommended that attention of the State Federations of Labor and Central Labor Unions be called to the

many benefits which have been obtained for Federal employees through national legislation and with the support of the American Federation of Labor. The American Federation of Labor also endorses the same benefits and conditions of employment for employees of State, county and local governments. Many of these benefits could be obtained for these people with the active support and activity of the State federations and local councils.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

FREE TRANSPORTATION FOR CANAL ZONE SCHOOL CHILDREN

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate Walter J. Jones, Central Labor Union, Balboa, Canal Zone.

(Page 48—First Day's Proceedings)

The Committee recommends adoption of this resolution.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

FULL SUBSISTENCE FOR VET- ERANS IN ON-THE-JOB TRAINING

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

(Page 49—First Day's Proceedings)

The Committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

BACON-DAVIS ACT

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate Walter J. Jones, Central Labor Union, Balboa, Canal Zone.

(Page 49—First Day's Proceedings)

A question has been raised as to whether a simple amendment to the Bacon-Davis Act, as proposed, would bring about the desired results. Therefore, the Committee on Legislation recommends that this subject be referred

to the Executive Council for study and whatever legislative action is appropriate.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

EQUAL TREATMENT FEDERAL EMPLOYEES ON CANAL ZONE

Resolution No. 40—By Delegate Walter J. Jones, Central Labor Union, Balboa, Canal Zone.

(Page 49—First Day's Proceedings)

The Committee recommends adoption of this resolution.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

EX-SERVICEMEN'S RATES IN GOVERNMENT HOSPITALS AP- PLIED TO EMPLOYEES AND RE- TIRED EMPLOYEES OF PANAMA CANAL AND PANAMA RAILROAD AND THEIR DEPENDENTS

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate Walter J. Jones, Central Labor Union, Balboa, Canal Zone.

(Page 50—First Day's Proceedings)

The Committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried.

RECOGNITION FOR MARINE EMPLOYEES OF PANAMA CANAL AND PANAMA RAILROAD

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate Walter J. Jones, Central Labor Union, Balboa, Canal Zone.

(Page 50—First Day's Proceedings)

The Committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

COMPENSATION FOR DEATH OR INJURY IN LINE OF DUTY

Resolution No. 43—By Delegate Walter J. Jones, Central Labor Union, Balboa, Canal Zone.

(Page 50—First Day's Proceedings)

The Committee recommends adoption of this resolution.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

RECOGNITION OF MARITIME SERVICE FOR RETIREMENT PURPOSES

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate Walter J. Jones, Central Labor Union, Balboa, Canal Zone.

(Page 51—First Day's Proceedings)

The Committee recommends adoption of this resolution.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

TEN PERCENT NIGHT DIFFERENTIAL

Resolution No. 45—By Delegate Walter J. Jones, Central Labor Union, Balboa, Canal Zone.

(Page 51—First Day's Proceedings)

The Committee on Legislation recommends non-concurrence in the resolution as submitted. The Committee does not recommend inclusion of Wage Board employees in legislation designed primarily to cover only employees under the Classification Act of 1923, as amended. It is recommended that this matter be referred to the Executive Council for whatever legislative or administrative action is appropriate.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

SAFETY CODE PANAMA CANAL

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate Walter J. Jones, Central Labor Union, Balboa, Canal Zone.

(Page 51—First Day's Proceedings)

The Committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

PANAMA CANAL EMPLOYEES SUBSTITUTING IN SUPERVISORY POSITIONS SHOULD RECEIVE STANDARD WAGE RATES

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate Walter J. Jones, Central Labor Union, Balboa, Canal Zone.

(Page 51—First Day's Proceedings)

The Committee recommends adoption of this resolution.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

JONES ACT

Resolution No. 48—By Delegate Theodore B. Erickson, Alaska Territorial Federation of Labor.

(Page 52—First Day's Proceedings)

The Committee recommends adoption of this resolution.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

REMOVAL OF FISH TRAPS IN TERRITORY OF ALASKA

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate Theodore B. Erickson, Alaska Territorial Federation of Labor.

(Page 52—First Day's Proceedings)

The committee recommends that this matter be referred to the Executive Council.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

LIABILITY COVERAGE FOR DRIVERS OF GOVERNMENT OWNED VEHICLES

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate E. M. Weston, Washington State Federation of Labor.

(Page 52—First Day's Proceedings)

The Committee recommends adoption of this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

ACCUMULATED SICK LEAVE FOR VETERANS

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate E. M. Weston, Washington State Federation of Labor.

(Page 52—First Day's Proceedings)

The Committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

WORKING HOURS FOR POSTAL EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 52—By Delegate E. M. Weston, Washington State Federation of Labor.

(Page 53—First Day's Proceedings)

The Committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

PROTECTION OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 53—By Delegates James G. Yaden, Berniece B. Heffner, A. E. Eisenmenger, American Federation of Government Employes; Lee B. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers' Union of N. A.; R. A. Rice, J. L. Reilly, Jerauld McDermott, Railway Mail Association; John B. Haggerty, Robert E. Hafkin, Mary G. Morley, Joseph Denny, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, John J. Nolan, Charles S. Fleming, James Stocker, Edward Benning, National Association of Letter Carriers; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, L. G. Nygren, Office Employes International Union; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, James Deach, Glen Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters; William L. McPetridge, William H.

Cooper, David Sullivan, George Hardy, George W. Matthews, Building Service Employes' International Union; J. H. Lyons, Joseph F. Boyen, C. F. Strickland, E. M. Woods, Leslie L. Myers, Stanley Rounds, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Peter T. Schoenmann, Robert Lynch, G. J. O'Donnell, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry; Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Bernard M. Egan, Horace L. Ineson, Lewis M. Herrmann, J. Arthur Moriarty, International Typographical Union; Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo-Engravers' Union of N. A.; Leo E. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Charles Ryan, Foree Kurtz, Alvin Tschirley, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Stanley W. Oliver, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. Delaney, Charles B. Gramling, International Union of Operating Engineers; John A. McMahon, Enoch Nelson, John D. Ryan, National Association of Postal Supervisors; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers Union; Delegates, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; Delegate, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; Delegates, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Delegates, American Federation of Teachers.

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The Committee recommends adoption of this resolution with the following amendment:

Item 2 to read: The extended employment of temporary employees in the Federal Government Service in positions which should be filled by permanent employees.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 54—By Delegates James G. Yaden, Berniece B. Heffner, A. E. Eisenmenger, American Federation of Government Employes; Lee B. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers' Union of N. A.; R. A. Rice, J. L. Reilly, Jerauld McDermott, Railway Mail Association; John B. Haggerty, Robert E. Hafkin, Mary G. Morley, Joseph Denny, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, John J. Nolan, Charles S. Fleming, James Stocker, Edward Benning, National Association of Letter Carriers; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, L. G. Nygren, Office Employes International Union; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, James Deach, Glen Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters; William L. McPetridge, William H. Cooper, David Sullivan, George Hardy, George W. Matthews, Building Service Employes' International Union; J. H. Lyons, Joseph F.

Boyen, C. F. Strickland, E. M. Woods, Leslie L. Myers, Stanley Rounds, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Peter F. Schoenmann, Robert Lynch, G. J. O'Donnell, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry; Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Bernard M. Egan, Horace L. Imeson, Lewis M. Herrmann, J. Arthur Moriarty, International Typographical Union; Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo-Engravers' Union of N. A.; Leo E. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Charles Ryan, Foree Kurtz, Alvin Tachirley, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Stanley W. Oliver, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. Delaney, Charles B. Gramling, International Union of Operating Engineers; John A. McMahon, Enoch Nelson, John D. Ryan, National Association of Postal Supervisors; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers Union; Delegates, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; Delegate, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; Delegates, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Delegates, American Federation of Teachers.

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The Committee on Legislation recommends adoption of the resolution subject to the following amendment: Eliminate Item 4.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

GRIEVANCE PROCEDURE AND ARBITRATION—GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 55—By Delegates James G. Yaden, Berniece B. Heffner, A. E. Eisenmenger, American Federation of Government Employees; Lee B. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of N. A.; R. A. Rice, J. L. Reilly, Jerauld McDermott, Railway Mail Association; John B. Haggerty, Robert E. Hafkin, Mary G. Morley, Joseph Denny, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, John J. Nolan, Charles S. Fleming, James Stocker, Edward Benning, National Association of Letter Carriers; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, L. G. Nygren, Office Employees International Union; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, James Deach, Glen Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters; William L. McPetridge, William H. Cooper, David Sullivan, George Hardy, George W. Matthews, Building Service Employees' International Union; J. H. Lyons, Joseph F. Boyen, C. F. Strickland, E. M. Woods, Leslie L. Myers, Stanley Rounds, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Peter T. Schoenmann, Robert Lynch, G. J.

O'Donnell, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry; Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Bernard M. Egan, Horace L. Imeson, Lewis M. Herrmann, J. Arthur Moriarty, International Typographical Union; Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo-Engravers' Union of N. A.; Leo E. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Charles Ryan, Foree Kurtz, Alvin Tachirley, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Stanley W. Oliver, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. Delaney, Charles B. Gramling, International Union of Operating Engineers; John A. McMahon, Enoch Nelson, John D. Ryan, National Association of Postal Supervisors; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers Union; Delegates, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; Delegate, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; Delegates, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Delegates, American Federation of Teachers.

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The Committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES' PROGRAM

Resolution No. 56—By Delegates James G. Yaden, Berniece B. Heffner, A. E. Eisenmenger, American Federation of Government Employees; Lee B. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of N. A.; R. A. Rice, J. L. Reilly, Jerauld McDermott, Railway Mail Association; John B. Haggerty, Robert E. Hafkin, Mary G. Morley, Joseph Denny, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, John J. Nolan, Charles S. Fleming, James Stocker, Edward Benning, National Association of Letter Carriers; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, L. G. Nygren, Office Employees International Union; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, James Deach, Glen Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters; William L. McPetridge, William H. Cooper, David Sullivan, George Hardy, George W. Matthews, Building Service Employees' International Union; J. H. Lyons, Joseph F. Boyen, C. F. Strickland, E. M. Woods, Leslie L. Myers, Stanley Rounds, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Peter T. Schoenmann, Robert Lynch, G. J. O'Donnell, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry; Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Bernard M. Egan, Horace L. Imeson, Lewis M. Herrmann, J. Arthur Moriarty, International Typographical Union; Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo-Engravers' Union of N. A.;

Leo E. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Charles Ryan, Force Kurtz, Alvin Tachirley, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Stanley W. Oliver, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. Delaney, Charles B. Gramling, International Union of Operating Engineers; John A. McMahon, Enoch Nelson, John D. Ryan, National Association of Postal Supervisors; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers Union; Delegates, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; Delegate, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; Delegates, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Delegates, American Federation of Teachers.

(Page 55—First Day's Proceedings)

The Committee recommends adoption of this resolution subject to the following amendments:

1. Reword Item 9 as follows: Strengthening of the Civil Service System through adequate appropriations for the Civil Service Commission.

2. Strike the last three words in Item 12.

3. Eliminate Item 13, since this matter has now been enacted into law.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

SHORTER WORK WEEK FOR EMPLOYEES OF G. P. O.

Resolution No. 57—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Bernard M. Egan, Horace L. Imeson, Lewis M. Herrmann, J. Arthur Moriarty, International Typographical Union.

(Page 57—First Day's Proceedings)

The Committee recommends adoption of the resolution. The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM OF POST OFFICE CLERKS

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

(Page 69—First Day's Proceedings)

The Committee recommends adoption of this resolution subject to the following amendment:

Eliminate Item 9 since this subject has been covered in Item 16 of Resolution 56, already adopted.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved adoption of the Committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE DUNN, National Federation of Post Office Clerks: I would like to offer an amendment to that resolution that in connection with Section No. 5 concerning the Teague-Vursell-Miller Bills which is for veterans, that in the adoption of this resolution having effect on these particular bills, such notice be sent to Chairman Sabbath of the Rules Committee of the House immediately. The bill has passed the Senate and is now waiting in the House for the Rules Committee, and apparently there seems to be no action forthcoming. I offer that as an amendment.

PRESIDENT GREEN: An amendment has been offered to the Committee's report. Are there any remarks?

The Committee advises me that there is no objection to the inclusion of that in the Committee's report.

The question now recurs upon the adoption of the amendment. Are there any remarks? If not, all those who favor the adoption of the amendment will signify by saying "aye"; contrary minded "no."

The "ayes" have it, and the amendment is adopted.

The question now comes upon the adoption of the Committee's report as amended.

The recommendation of the Committee, as amended, was carried.

STANDARD WORK WEEK FOR NAVY PERSONNEL

Resolution No. 92—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

(First Day's Proceedings—Page 69)

The Committee recommends adoption of this resolution.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved adoption of the committee's report. The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

RETURN TO FORMER PARCEL POST REGULATIONS REGARDING MAXIMUM WEIGHT

Resolution No. 124—By Delegate Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor.

(Third Day's Proceedings—Page 345)

The Committee on Legislation recommends that this matter be referred to the Executive

Council with instructions to confer with the affiliated organizations involved before recommending legislative action.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved adoption of the committee's report. The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

RELIEVING SEASONAL UNEMPLOYMENT IN DISTILLING INDUSTRY

Resolution No. 125—By Delegates Joseph O'Neill, Sol Cilentio, James Dever, Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers' International Union.

(Third Day's Proceedings—Page 345)

It is the policy of the American Federation of Labor and its officers to render aid to every affiliated group where such aid is not inconsistent with the policies of the Federation. In line with this policy, the Committee recommends that Resolution No. 125 be referred to the Executive Council for study and appropriate action.

Committee Secretary Oliver moved adoption of the committee's report. The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY OLIVER: Mr. President, that completes the report of the Committee on Legislation on the resolutions and parts of the Executive Council's Report referred to it. The report is signed by the following members of the committee:

Leo E. George, Chairman
Stanley W. Oliver, Secretary
Emanuel Kovaleski
Fred N. Aten
James M. Duffy
James T. Moriarty
James G. Yaden
John M. Eklund
Nathan Wertheimer
Thomas V. Green
Christian Madsen
Robert F. Bailey
Lee B. Kistler
Edward P. Ringius
Ralph O. Harper
Frank X. Martel
Robert A. Rice
Carl B. Gear
Israel Feinberg
Sidney Garfield
George Heller
Edward F. Benning
Michael J. Gallagher
George Hardy
Edward N. Doan

COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

COMMITTEE SECRETARY OLIVER: I move that the report of the committee be adopted as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried, and the committee was discharged with a vote of thanks.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Before introducing our distinguished guest and speaker who is here this morning it seems appropriate for me to refresh your memory by calling your attention to the fact that ever since The American Legion was formed we have exchanged fraternal delegates with that great organization. The President of the American Federation of Labor has attended the conventions of The American Legion, conveying to those in attendance the fraternal greetings of the membership of the American Federation of Labor and the assurance that it was the purpose of our great organization to cooperate fully and completely with that great American organization.

In turn the Commander of The American Legion each year has visited our conventions and brought to us the same greetings and the same assurance. Time has demonstrated the fact that this sort of service rendered those whom we represent and those who are members of the American Federation of Labor is contributing in a wonderful way to the maintenance of the American form of government, democracy, freedom, and liberty.

Here are two great organizations, two great American institutions, may I classify them, standing united, seeing eye to eye, marching together in opposition to the infiltration of Communists into the civil and political life of our great nation. That is a wonderful achievement. I think I can truthfully say that there can be no danger of Communists exercising any threatening control in the political life of America, so long as these two great American organizations live and function.

I think it appropriate for me to refresh your memory in this way now, just before I present to you the Commander of The American Legion. He is here. We are happy to have him as our guest. I am sure you have been anticipating the pleasure of listening to the inspiring message which he will deliver.

I am happy now, without further ado, to present to you Mr. George N. Craig, the newly elected National Commander of The American Legion.

MR. GEORGE N. CRAIG

(National Commander, The American Legion)

Mr. Green and my friends of the American Federation of Labor:

As National Commander of The American Legion, representing a new generation of veterans, I welcome this privilege of speaking before the annual convention of The American Federation of Labor.

I am genuinely happy to repay here today the visit of your President William Green to the 31st National Convention of The American Legion in Philadelphia last month. I am more than pleased to continue the interchange of the top spokesmen of the AFL and The American Legion at their respective annual conventions. It was first started by that illustrious leader of American Labor, the late Samuel Gompers. It has been carried on for many years by your present chief, William Green, and by a succession of National Commanders of The American Legion.

For 31 years our two organizations have pursued the common objective of keeping America Always American. This means specifically the preservation of all of our cherished free institutions, but primarily a free labor and a free industry working together in a free economy.

I emphasize this because no man anywhere in the world can be economically dependent and at the same time become politically independent!

We have made America a stronghold of human freedom because here we have built political liberty on the foundation of economic liberty. Our number one common job today as we see it is to preserve the economic cornerstones of our political freedom. Those cornerstones are being hacked away bit by bit, day by day. They are the main objectives of the onslaughts of Communism and its evil handmaidens, statism. If those cornerstones should crumble, then our whole structure of political liberty will come down in a mighty crash that will mark the end of what we have been pleased to call the American way of life.

For that reason I consider my appearance before you ladies and gentlemen here today as the most important engagement that I shall be privileged to make as national commander of The American Legion. I feel strongly that the time has come when organized labor and organized veterans must understand each other better and must work more closely together.

The AFL and The American Legion are both great and influential organizations, numbering their memberships by the millions. While the purposes of the AFL and The American Legion may not be the same in all respects, we are united in our broad objectives. I shall never, for my part, accept the concept that the members of our two organizations are not first loyal Americans

before they are unionists or before they are Legionnaires!

As national organizations we have both demonstrated our devotion to American ideals in many ways. We have both supported our Government with our all-out efforts to win World War I and World War II. Look at how both the AFL and The American Legion have fought, are fighting and will continue to fight Communism and all other un-American "isms"!

The American Legion is proud of the fight which the American Federation of Labor is now conducting against Communism overseas. We are aware of the effective work you are doing in Europe and in the Far East in helping to promote the development of a free labor movement. This is one of the essential foundations for establishing the democratic ways of life in countries that for ages have been tied only to autocratic institutions. We think the AFL is making a grand contribution through this educational movement abroad in the building of a brave new world!

But we feel we must fight Communism at home just as strenuously as we seek to restrain it abroad.

Today we believe the future security of our country demands as never before that organized labor and organized veterans stand shoulder to shoulder in presenting a united front against the dangers that threaten our very existence as a free people!

These dangers are real and present. I repeat—real and present!

They have already reached the point of emergency peril to all of our free institutions!

Those institutions include all of our great free organizations, pre-eminent among which are the grassroots American organizations of free labor and free veterans!

The chief menace of Communism to human liberty lies in the versatility of its attacks!

Communism is as cunning as it is vicious! It strikes from every direction. It hits openly and it hits covertly. It masquerades under countless fronts. It has atomic bombs against both mental and physical barriers!

Today America must gear her defenses against attacks that can come from without at any moment as well as against growing assaults already under way from within!

We must be prepared against a surprise stab at our flesh and blood with the latest of scientific weapons. The job of readying for that rightfully belongs in the hands of our national security experts. We must back them with everything that we have, including our confidence, our all-out support and our tax dollars. This is a course of common sense, we believe, and is prudent. To fail in this would be courting national suicide.

But all of our military preparedness will avail us nothing if we lose the growing battle with infiltrating alien philosophies for the pos-

session of our minds! This is the fight against the evil influences of Communism that is now raging with increasing tempo within America! It is marked by the drive of termite operations aimed at rotting the idealistic foundations upon which all the ramparts of our freedoms are built!

May I impress this upon you. This fight in our land against the inroads of Communism, Socialistic statism and every other foreign "ism" cannot be won by The American Federation of Labor alone. It cannot be won by The American Legion alone! It cannot be won by any other American group alone! But likewise it cannot be won without them!

In this fight there are no stronger forces on the side of American freedom than the battalions of organized labor and organized veterans!

We are two powerful groups which for the welfare of America should and must make our handclasps much stronger! As spokesman for a new generation of veterans, I say to you that The American Federation of Labor and The American Legion need to reappraise each other on the basis of an honest recognition of the good will and the virtues that we both possess! We must evaluate each other in the terms of how we can implement each other's efforts to advance the welfare of America! In that light The American Federation of Labor and The American Legion have a natural affinity for each other!

I come from a small Indiana town called Brazil, with a population of about 10,000. Bill Tracy will know where it is, and Frank Kasten in his lifetime knew. It is a community where hard work and thrift are the measure of good citizenship. It is a union-minded town. The working people of Brazil are our kind of people. It has been my pleasure and my privilege to have lived and worked, sometimes as a country lawyer representing them.

I know of no greater dignity than that of honest labor!

Hard work and thrift built America! The pioneer hands that converted the American wilderness into an empire of freedom were not shackled hands. They were able and competent hands. Our founding fathers had to fight their own battles whether it was against boundless forests, or hostile Indians or against the cruel elements. Because they had to depend on themselves, they developed the quality of self-reliance. That quality of self-reliance is the vital core of our individual and national independence. Without it our forebears could not have thrown off the yoke of a tyrannical king. When they did achieve their political independence after superhuman struggles and sacrifices, they set up a government which was erected on a foundation of economic freedom. They based that government upon a written Constitution and a Bill of Rights which were designed to protect the natural desire of the free American citizen to improve his condition in life and to provide security for his children through his own efforts. This principle of self-help is the greatest opportunity of them all in our American way of life. We believe that it is the very cornerstone of our capitalist democratic society, and it is today

just as much the tenet of the American Legion as it is of the American Federation of Labor!

This vital principle of self-help needs immediate bolstering in America today! It is something that our capitalistic system cannot live without! It is likewise something that Communism, Fascism and statism cannot live with!

Self-help is the greatest opportunity which the free American has today. It means his right to improve his lot in life through his own hard work, his own thrift and his own enterprise. When you practice these virtues we become self-reliant because we stand on our own feet and we don't owe anyone anything! That economic self-reliance is the spirit, we believe, of all of our political independence.

Hitler recognized this. So did Mussolini and so did Tojo. They saw in the principle of self-help a major stumbling block in their mad plans for the radical making-over of the personality of the modern man from a master of his own fate into a creature of submission. So they started to build fences that would narrow and abridge the opportunities of self-help! It cost America a half million of precious lives and 300 billions in national treasure to tear down those fences!

Now we have Communism with its ally of Socialism or statism arrogantly seeking to put up those fences again! They want them up most of all in America! The Red despots of the Kremlin know if they can fence us in here at home, then the Communist philosophy of life and government will have greater opportunity of sweeping the world!

There are Americans today who are naive enough, or foolish enough or actually traitorous enough to be digging the post holes for the Communist fences!

You know, ours is a reward system of government, of living. It champions the individual as a sovereign citizen who is the maker of his own destiny. We call that the pursuit of happiness. Our government was created to protect that citizen in that pursuit and in the enjoyment of the rewards of his efforts. He is the government because all its powers are derived from his own consent as expressed by his own ballot. The government is his servant.

It is a dynamic system. It throbs with energy. It is continually calling for the best that is in every individual. It is the way pointing to progress, it pays off for creative thinking and for productive working. Under it we Americans became the most prosperous nation of pushers in all human history. We get things done. We developed ingenuity, resourcefulness and inventiveness that amazed the rest of the world. That's why we eat better, dress better, have better homes, have more cars, have more electric refrigerators, have more telephones, have more insurance, and have more of all the good things in life than any other people on earth. We have these good things in life because we have more freedoms!

Of course, this is a vigorous and a virile way of life. But this is our proudest heritage from our founding fathers. It stems from the rugged pioneer days when the first American settlers set themselves to the task of carving an empire out of a wilderness. Our towns and our cities, our shops and our offices, our freedoms and our liberties and our institutions and our government didn't just grow up like Topsy. They were built, brick by brick, right by right, by men and women of indomitable spirit and will! They were a breed who considered the beads of sweat from honest toil the greatest treasures of their young nation!

It takes effort to be a pusher. It is so much easier to be a leaner!

That is the difference which every despot seeks to exploit.

The promise of a benevolent state that would serve its citizens as a crutch without becoming a clutch on their freedoms has long been the come-on of would-be enslavers.

It is today the booby trap which Communism and statism, which runs as its front-running mate, is parading before the eyes of Americans who would like to eat their cake and have it too.

We have had a wonderful form of government in the United States. It is based on a written Constitution and Bill of Rights which was framed by men of unparalleled wisdom and foresight. They aimed to create a democratic society for the liberation of the individual from the tyranny of the state. But they foresaw that they must protect the citizen against the more subtle tyranny of poverty, ignorance, disease and fear as well. So they wrote into our Constitution the provisions by which the people could amend it to the changing conditions and new demands of the march of progress. Twenty-one times since its inception the American people have amended their Constitution to insure that in the face of new challenges there should be no curb or limit on opportunity which might abridge human liberties in this land of ours. They can put a restraint, whenever they choose, on the powers of our government. They can also put check reins on the gigantic forces that have been set in motion by the processes of our vast industrial order under our dynamic system. The only thing that this amazing Constitution of ours cannot guard our people against is a weakening of their own determination to remain a free and sovereign people. There is no provision in our Constitution against its nullification by public apathy.

Our government and our way of life can continue to a high success only to the extent to which we as American citizens put the most and the best of ourselves into it. We have grown very materialistic. We have all of us become too intent upon our own selfish pursuits. One half of our people of voting age—some 48,000,000 of them, believe it or not—did not bother to go to the polls in the last presidential election. To that extent that 48,000,000 are not a part of our government today—they are only the governed!

This is no way to encourage good government. Our public officials are human. By far and large they go into office with high resolves. They try to serve all the people. The voice of the people, however, must at all times be their guide and mandate. That is true government of the people, by the people and for the people. I say to you that you cannot improve on the Town Hall type of government. The effect of public indifference and apathy is shattering to that concept of government. When the people default, it paves the way, bit by bit, to a bureaucratic concept that the government knows what is best for its people. That is how gradually a welfare state develops. It is a state which accepts full responsibility for the economic needs of its citizens.

The American Legion wishes in this country a state of welfare in America but not a Welfare State!

You cannot be dependent upon someone else without being "beholden" to that someone else. That is true even in the relationship between a citizen and his government.

More and more of our citizens are beginning to look upon our government as being all things to all people. Not that the people of America are aggressively united in behalf of any so-called Welfare State as yet. But little by little, more and more of our people are accepting an increasing dependence upon our national government, expecting more and more security, each group looking to its own particular participation in the largess of government. I believe the security of our people will be found in proper wages and not in government dependence.

Our government has always been responsive to our demands. But today too many of our people are making demands upon the government for services for which it was never designed. The government, in its endeavor to please and in the absence of expressed direction at the polls by all the people, can only pay Peter by robbing Paul. If it gives us something it must also collect for it.

Of course, if we so desire, the government can support everybody. It can level our standard of living so that all of the people participate, share and share alike, in the total national income and the total property ownership of the nation. Men who want to earn their own living can be further divorced from the reward of their efforts while other men are being divorced from the penalties of their non-efforts. But, do we want this system in our land? We of The American Legion say emphatically "No!" That is the totalitarian system of state control of the destinies, working conditions, income and property of its citizens!

This is a pure Socialistic falsehood that Communist leaders are trying to sell to free Americans.

Yet these evil philosophies imported from the bankrupt countries overseas are unfortunately making progress in America. It is marked by a growing decay of the fundamental American virtues of hard work, thrift, and self-reliance and the will to maintain

the individual right to win or to lose upon which rest the whole free economy of our free government. There is a growing disposition on the part of more and more of our people to surrender their rights and freedoms, bit by bit, in return for government guarantees of their present and future security.

Communist missionaries and their dupes are peddling the idea that our form of government could be improved by combining the best features of our Constitutional Republic with statism which is their sugar-coated term for Socialism.

We say that you can't go slightly Communistic anymore than you become slightly dead!

If a Socialistic charter supplants our Constitution, that will be the end of our freedoms. There will be no more collective bargaining, because a boss state does not bargain when it has the right and power to compel!

The American Legion recognizes that our people as a whole today are committed to a growing movement to take the terrors of helpless dependency out of old age! Labor has contributed much to sparking this enlightened movement, and we are behind it 100 percent!

But we do not believe that social security should be primarily and exclusively a government responsibility! We believe the government should supplement such a movement only for that segment of our population which cannot do the job for itself. War widows and disabled veterans are an example of that segment! They have earned government protection through their costly sacrifices in defense of our freedoms, sacrifices which have placed them under everlasting economic handicaps!

The American Legion will ever continue to stick to the principle that under our dynamic reward system, it is the able-bodied free American's own responsibility to insure his economic security through his own hard work, thrift and enterprise, receiving proper wages under proper working conditions.

Economic policy-making in the United States must remain in free, private hands and those are the hands of labor and the hands of industry!

In free collective bargaining both labor and management have today an instrument for insuring the retention of economic policy-making in these United States in private hands!

They must use it as an effective substitute for work stoppages and make it a real agency for economic progress and welfare. This they can do only by developing a positive program by which in a spirit of give and take and of fairness to all, they solve the most difficult economic problems and issues around a mutual conference table.

The right of private contract is the most precious right of our free economy. Free labor, free industry and free opportunity can-

not exist without this right. A good contract, we believe, is the product of the free American's effort, clear thinking and fair dealing, whether he be a member of a union working for a corporation, or an employer of labor or in business for himself.

In striving for security by all of our people, The American Legion believes that it should be achieved insofar as possible by contract between free labor and free management rather than by compulsory government action or by legislation!

Except in time of national emergency, the fixing of wages and of working conditions also should be left to the collective bargaining machinery!

The collective bargaining table is today the most important table in America! Not laws, but understanding, bring mutual agreement.

It is the collective bargaining table where the answer will be forged to the burning question today whether American capitalistic democracy can be made to work under the increasing pressures of economic determinism which have scuttled human freedoms in all the old countries.

It is at this table that free American Labor and free American industry will succeed in revitalizing the democratic processes of all of our social institutions under the impacts of tremendous modern political, economic and scientific upheavals, or write the finish to man's last and best hope of governing himself.

Too much lies at stake, we believe, for either labor or management to bring less to this conference table than their best statesmanship and their best will to work out agreements based on fairness to all.

Violence, ruthlessness and stubbornness never won a thing for either labor or management!

The American Federation of Labor's greatest contributions to human welfare have come through educational processes. In these efforts it has been supported by progressive leaders of industry. No country on earth has seen such industrial advance as the United States has made since the turn of the century. It was so swift that it outsped our economic and social thinking.

In that process the identity of the American worker was being stripped of its human elements. He was fast becoming only a unit of work energy, a human machine. The American Federation of Labor must be credited with reinvesting the American worker with his human qualities again and with restoring the personal element in industry. It brought about a recognition that the individual American worker has the right to a responsible relationship to that which he produces, and that there is more to hiring a worker than buying his time, his physical presence in a given place and contracting for a measured number of his skilled muscular and mental motions per hour or day. The American Federation of Labor has shown that in human relations you cannot buy enthusi-

asm, or initiative, or loyalty—these things that must be earned by industry. It has convinced industry that the organized worker, fairly dealt with, brings intelligence, personal pride, and devotion of heart and mind to his job. These qualities make American labor the greatest in the world.

No individual wants to be just a mere cog. No free American can be expected to be satisfied with that kind of lot! By helping to bring back the element of human values into a machine age, organized labor has done a worthy job to maintain democratic concepts: It met the basic human yearning of the individual worker—and that is the assurance of being needed! Today enlightened industry recognizes this human need. Progressive management knows today that it cannot win a worker's enthusiastic devotion unless it makes him feel that he is individually important in a common big undertaking and that he has a definite place on the varsity team. Management has gone a long way in the direction of the goal of cooperative capitalism. It has on the whole abandoned the concept that the best labor is cheap labor. It knows that it receives exactly what it pays for, cheap labor. It now has the viewpoint that security for the worker is more than a by-product of production. Proper wages and conditions of work alone, in our judgment, spell security. It has done many of these things as the result of the good old American way of talking it over with the other fellow.

With free collective bargaining as the cornerstone of our national labor policy, both labor and management recognize the importance of public opinion.

Organized labor has grown big today. It has achieved recognition as the key factor in our free economy. Together with management it has become a private instrument for the shaping of our economic foundations and policies. The American Legion is for keeping it that way!

Organized Labor does realize the tremendous responsibility which has come to it and which is equally shared by management in reaching fair decisions that affect our entire economy.

The government, as representing all of the American people, is within its constitutional rights in defining the social and public interests in industrial disputes. It is up to both Labor and Management to display an enlightened statesmanship at the collective bargaining table.

Just two weeks ago today at this very hour, a sobering news flash came out of the White House in Washington. It was the announcement that Russia had an atomic explosion.

I need not draw any verbal pictures for you realistic men and women of the American Federation of Labor what possession of such a super-weapon in the hands of a despot can mean to the American people! He is the foremost exponent of the pagan philosophy of Communism whose chief doctrine is that in the pursuit of its announced goal of enslav-

ing all mankind by any means justifying the end!

Our immunity to atomic attack may be gone! Catastrophic possibilities could confront us. There is only one way in which Americans can face this possible new threat. We must meet it with a united front—an All-American front! There is only one way to live in the shadow of a suspended atomic bomb. That is in all-out national harmony!

From here on out all Americans must close ranks! Our only hope of national survival today lies in national unification! We are confronted with a monumental challenge to our boldness, to our initiative and to our team effort. The call of the hour is to build up American military strength, American economic strength and not less, American spiritual strength!

This is no time for feuds and quarrels. If we break up our national unity on the rocks of political, economic, racial or social differences, we are playing "right into the hands of our one greatest enemy—expanding world Communism! Now is the time, we believe, for patriotic collaboration, for sincere sacrifices that will make possible agreements by all Americans in the interest of national unity.

We feel we must have military strength. We feel we cannot build it without economic strength. We cannot develop the necessary economic strength without spiritual guidance and spiritual strength.

We have all been guilty of over-materialism here in America. Life has been too easy for most of us. We have forgotten that just as plants must have sunshine or wither away, so must our souls die if they fail to live in union with God. It takes a catastrophe to jar us into a realization that we need God far more than He needs us! Every thinking American is conscious today of his individual inadequacy to cope with the new perils of the atomic age. But that very feeling of individual helplessness brings along an equal conviction that God alone can supply the strength which the individual needs in time of crisis.

Now is the time when all of us must return to an all-out faith in God, and that faith must be the new bond of our national unity. Our forefathers started building this nation with prayer. The framers of our Constitution paused to pray for help from above whenever the burden of their task seemed to overwhelm them. The whole concept of our democratic ideals of human freedoms has its roots in the teaching of Christianity.

In Philadelphia last month I saw a historic old church with a marker that had inscribed upon it this line:

"Families that pray together, stick together!"

Let us convert this to a new American people's slogan for living in this dangerous atomic age. Let us make our national motto:

"People who pray together, stick together!"

I submit that this return to faith in God in our daily lives is the firmest basis on which to work out our individual, our group and our national problems.

All-out teamwork between labor and management at this time is absolutely vital to national welfare and to national security. Our progress in making our free economy stronger depends on the ability of labor and management to get closer together. I say to you that they can get closer together if they first get closer to Almighty God!

The way to start, I believe, is by asking for Divine Guidance!

I should like to see every collective bargaining conference between labor and management open with a prayer and end with prayer.

If you pray together, you will stick together!

If you stick together, it will be easier to work together!

If you work together, we believe America will prosper together!

We believe that could conceivably be a real spiritual uplift that will sweep all America!

This is a real fight for God and Country, the precept of The American Legion.

It is in that spirit that The American Legion, 3,000,000 strong, is ready and willing to join organized Labor—and Management—in a new and patriotic alliance to work unselfishly to make America secure and to use our country's glorious strength in building that brave new world in which all barriers now fencing in the minds and bodies of freedom-seeking men and women shall be leveled everywhere.

Together we can do it. Because no one can stand up against free Americans working together and fighting on God's side.

PRESIDENT GREEN: In your name and in your behalf and for you I thank our distinguished visitor, the National Commander, for coming to our convention this morning and for the educational address which he has just delivered. I am sure that it will serve to stimulate patriotic and sincere thinking.

We regard our convention, Commander, as instructive and educational. No one can adequately appraise the value of the educational service rendered by these conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and I think I can truthfully say that is true of conventions of The American Legion.

So you have made a great contribution this morning to the educational work of this great convention. Your address will be included word for word in the records of this convention, and that means that it will be read and reread and studied.

You know our organizations are human organizations made up of human beings—not perfect, because we are not living in a perfect world—made up of people who exercise their democratic rights to think for themselves, to arrive at conclusions based upon conscience and sincere thinking. That is the kind of America we want to always preserve, a democratic America, with freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom of collective bargaining, and, as the Commander emphasized here this morning, freedom of action.

There is no worker, no class of people in America who cherish the blessings of freedom and liberty as a common heritage more than do the workers of the United States of America. I want to tell you, Commander, that that is one reason why we are fighting as we are, uncompromisingly, day in and day out against this notorious Taft-Hartley Law, which stands as a challenge to the exercise of the elemental freedoms of collective bargaining in the United States of America.

We are inspired by that noble purpose which you outlined in your address—the desire to preserve freedom in democratic America, the right to sell our labor across the conference table freely and without interference on the part of the government at the highest rate possible and under the most favorable circumstances.

Now we are all conscious of the fact that in a democratic America organizations can differ. That is characteristic even of family life, the most sacred institution in America. They differ honestly and sincerely, even though they may unite immovably and indestructibly upon certain things.

And so I have said that our purpose can be best served and our objectives best reached if we minimize differences and emphasize those matters upon which we agree. Upon that basis we can work together and serve together in the defense of America, of American principles, and of our democratic institutions.

It seems appropriate for me to say that our Commander of The American Legion here this morning is the first one to be called from the ranks of those wonderful veterans who served in World War II, and that is a great honor that has been conferred upon him. We share with him and his friends the feeling of happiness they experience over this honor.

Again, we thank you for coming and for your address, and may you enjoy your visit to the city of St. Paul.

President Green introduced Minnesota State Senator Jerry Mullin to the convention delegates.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I am pleased to present to you our General Counsel, successor to our great friend Judge Padway, who served us faithfully for so many years. I can say to you that our General Counsel is serving in a most valuable and wonderful way. He is head of our Legal Department in Washington and he will present to us information upon legal and other matters incidental thereto which will be educational and interesting and most helpful.

I have the honor and privilege of presenting to you J. Albert Woll, our General Counsel of the American Federation of Labor.

MR. J. ALBERT WOLL
(General Counsel, AFL)

President Green, Secretary Meany, members of the Executive Council, delegates to this convention and friends: First of all I should like to thank you, President Green, for your very kind and gracious introduction. It was so typical of you, for in my opinion you personify everything that is kind and gracious.

For over three score years the American Federation of Labor has met in annual convention and, as I look out upon the representatives of the American trade labor movement gathered together in this large auditorium here in the City of St. Paul, I cannot help but marvel how far we have traveled in this space of a little over two generations.

From a small, but courageous and articulate group of men, feeling their way, past obstacle after obstacle, toward a better way of life for the men and women who toil, our organization has grown from a membership of thousands to a membership of millions and this, in the span of one lifetime.

With this organization's growth and ever expanding influence for the common welfare, has come also a greater realization and recognition of the inherent dignity of the working man and a consequent betterment of his lot as a worker and as a human being. And so, as we meet in annual convention here in this thriving city of the Mid-West, we can take justifiable pride in our organization and in its achievements down through the years. And we can be proud too of its leaders, past and present, whose vision and foresight, courage and zeal, have contributed so very much to these tremendous advancements in membership and human good.

But while taking pride in our achievements of the past we will not, I know, allow them

to act as an opiate to lull us into dreamy lassitude. As pointed out by President Green and Secretary-Treasurer Meany, in many ways and on many occasions, we are in a constant struggle with those who hate unions and are alert to seize upon any weapon to destroy them so that we cannot permit pride in past achievements to make us complacent.

And I know we will not become so, for the events of the past three years prevent such a possibility. In a very definite sense, and viewed only on the domestic front, the last three years have been as dangerous and as challenging to the continued existence of the American trade labor movement as any before, and since, the inception of the American Federation of Labor in 1881.

True, this great movement for social good has, since its birth in America, met and overcome many serious dangers and perils. It was born because of stark necessity, occasioned by the ruthless exploitation of wage earners that reduced them, in some instances, to a condition more abject, more ignoble, and more base than that of bonded peonage or servile vassalage, and its history since its birth has, therefore, been one of constant struggle against every type of impediment to its continued existence and expansion the mind of those who would crush unionism could conceive.

In this connection we can recall the past as though it were only yesterday and, in doing so, we remember the "yellow-dog" contract, which first appeared in the New England textile mills in 1820, the wide-spread use, until the war between the North and the South, of indictment and criminal prosecution under English commonlaw principles of conspiracy, the black-list, the lock-out, the strong-arm squads, the passage of innumerable anti-union laws in state legislatures and the utilization, from the turn of the century to the time of the Norris-LaGuardia Act, of that truly un-American procedure of federal injunction in labor disputes.

But those earlier days, bitter and persecution filled as they were, presented no greater danger—no darker picture—no gloomier outlook—to organized labor than the later days of 1947, immediately preceding the convention in San Francisco.

Three months before that convention, Congress had foisted upon the American wage earners the now discredited, dishonored, and disgraced Taft-Hartley Act, whose "union busting" provisions were sublimated to deceive the American public into thinking that this evil legislation was good for American labor, just as the skin of a goat was used by Jacob to deceive his father and defraud his brother. Inherent in these provisions, piously palmed off as a forward step in labor-management relations and as a constructive move toward the perfection of free collective bargaining, were the means of destroying organized labor, and, as a consequence, of reducing the wage earners of America to economic serfdom.

We knew that in those dark days of 1947. We knew also that this Act did not represent the sole assault of those who hated unions

and desired to crush them with the thoroughness with which the Roman legions leveled the City of Carthage. It was only the frontal attack. We were being pressed in on all sides by numerous collateral attacks that were equally as savage and as dangerous as the main charge.

Even before the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act, particular International Unions, strong in membership and unity of purpose and lead by great and gallant leaders were singled out in this well-laid plan of assault. Soon we had the Hobbs Act, which was special federal legislation directed specifically at that magnificent ever forward-moving International Brotherhood of Teamsters, lead by its able, far-sighted and courageous President, Daniel J. Tobin. This Hobbs Act, as I stated at the last convention, while purporting to punish only robbery and extortion in interstate commerce, is so phrased and so worded that it constitutes an ever present threat of incarceration behind penitentiary walls whenever members of the Teamsters Union engage in a lawful struggle to better their conditions of employment.

Soon also the progressive and alert American Federation of Musicians, headed by James C. Petrillo, who has demonstrated time and time again that he can give cards and spades any day to the leaders of the entertainment and broadcasting industry, was under attack and there followed the federal Lea Act, which was designed to outlaw and make illegal attempts by the American Federation of Musicians to protect and safeguard, by peaceful and lawful means, the job opportunities of its members.

I might add that these two splendid organizations, I know, will never cease their efforts to repeal these two punitive discriminatory and vicious laws.

And, while active in the Federal Congress, our foes were also busy in the States. Month after month and during those days of 1947 State Legislatures were meeting and passing laws. And month after month there rolled out of the State Capitols little Taft-Hartley Acts, sent on their evil and mischievous missions to stamp out, what those who created them called, "the curse" of unionism.

Yes, indeed, not only organized labor but all wage earners and the public as well, in 1947, faced as bleak a day as any that dawned in the history of American labor.

But we were not dismayed. Realizing fully that we were in for the fight of our lives and soberly confident of the ultimate outcome, we hitched our belts and went to work.

As a result when we met in 1948 in the City of Cincinnati, the dark clouds that engulfed us in 1947 had broken and the bright sun of optimism lighted up our convention walls.

We had gone to the people and the people, made aware of what had happened, and of what was happening to them, in Congress and in the State capitols, had spoken. Indignant and angered, they had utilized that expression of a freeman's will from which no politician can escape—the ballot box. By a

flood of votes they inundated the halls of Congress and State Legislatures and washed away into political oblivion scores of those politicians who were the "Charlie McCarthy's" of those who sought laws to facilitate their selfish exploitation of the American worker.

The people, aroused by Labor's League for Political Education and other strong, militant labor political organizations, and urged on by the leaders of organized labor everywhere, elected a President who promised repeal of the Federal Taft-Hartley Act and returned to power in the Congress of the United States the party, under whose banner he had pledged this solemn undertaking. In the States they not only barred the legislative doors to scores of those supporting anti-labor laws, but defeated attempts to secure public approval, in various ways, of such disciplinary laws.

Yes, indeed, it was a truly great and magnificent victory, and as we met in Cincinnati in 1948, we had every right and reason to be optimistic. We knew, of course, that we would still have a struggle with our reactionary foes, in and out of legislative halls, for we realized they were cunning and resourceful and that we could not afford to relax. But we believed ultimate victory over these foes would be achieved and hoped for it within a reasonably short period of time.

And now we meet again. Gone is the dismal gloom of 1947. And gone also is any lighthearted optimism that may have prevailed in 1948. Instead, there is sober reflection on the events of the past year and undiminished determination to finish a big job well started.

While short of our goal, we have had some successes. We have checked further federal legislation that would confine American Labor within the ambit and the formula of that kind of restrictive legislation to which I have just referred and we have not only stopped the wave of anti-labor laws that rolled out of our State Legislatures with such constant regularity during the years of 1946 and 1947, but we have succeeded in having some of these laws stricken from the statute books. Finally we have succeeded in having the courts declare some of these laws unconstitutional or lighten their oppressive weight by judicial interpretation, made in the light of an honest regard for the essential welfare of the worker.

But we still have the Taft-Hartley Act and we still have the Hobbs Act, the Lea Act and many of the anti-union acts passed by State Legislatures.

Despite a determined, gallant, and well-directed fight made against the Taft-Hartley Act during the first session of the 81st Congress, our efforts to repeal this law fell short of success by the slightest margin, due to a fantastic and fanatic alliance between Tory Republicans and Dixiecrats.

However, this dishonored, disreputable piece of legislation, now reeling like a "punch-drunk" fighter, repudiated and held in scorn by the people of America, and kept from falling down by reactionary Republicans and Dixiecrats, is merely awaiting the final

knock-out blow, which I know will be delivered as surely as darkness follows the setting sun. And, with the repeal of this repressive law, I feel certain that the Hobbs Act, the Lea Act and many of the State anti-labor laws will soon follow into oblivion, never, I hope, to return.

And when this knock-out blow is delivered it will not be delivered for organized labor alone. It will be delivered on behalf of all workers, organized and unorganized, and on behalf of all Americans whether farmers, small businessmen, or giant industrialists, who believe in the American way of life and those principles of justice and equity that have made this way of life possible.

This will be so for the reason that this evilly-conceived piece of legislation was designed to take away from the American working men and women those freedoms for which they have fought and to which they are entitled, as citizens of this great country and as human beings, created in the image and likeness of their Creator.

True, the proponents of this monstrous law claim that these freedoms, including the freedom to join with fellow workers and to bargain collectively with employers have not been disturbed by this legislation. But the falsity of this outrageous claim is demonstrated again and again by a mere reading of the many restrictive and oppressive provisions of this discriminatory law, under which, American wage earners, acting collectively to better their lot can be circumscribed, proscribed, enjoined and even imprisoned. If further confirmation were needed, however, it is present. It is found in the single fact that since the passage of this Act, 56 injunctions have been sought under it by the General Counsel of the National Labor Relations Board. Of this number, and note it well, 54 have been sought against labor organizations and only 2 have been sought against employers. Ponder on that, and then let someone try to convince you that the Taft-Hartley Law is good for American Labor.

Confirmation is also found in the many anti-labor decisions reached by the National Labor Relations Board this past year. Some of these decisions are detailed for you in the Report of the Executive Council. While, on occasion, some of the members of the Board seem to go beyond the Act itself in reaching a decision adverse to labor, the prime fault with most of these decisions is to be found in the very provisions of the Act the Board Members are called upon to interpret. Regardless of the makeup of the Board we can hope only to minimize the number and narrow the breadth and application of these decisions. The anti-labor decisions, it can be expected, will continue so long, and so long only, as the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act continues to disgrace and shame the statute books. The surest way to eliminate, most completely, these anti-labor decisions, under this anti-labor act, is to get rid of the Act itself.

The necessity of repeal as the most complete and certain means of freeing the

American wage earner from the shackles of anti-labor laws, including this Taft-Hartley Act, is accentuated, I believe, by the reluctance shown in general, by the courts of our land, to afford relief by judicial determination. The reluctance of the Supreme Court of the United States to strike down restrictive state anti-labor laws was demonstrated during the last session of that court. It was demonstrated, particularly by its decision in the so-called "closed-shop" cases involving anti-union security laws of the States of Arizona, North Carolina and Nebraska.

In the latter part of 1948 and early in 1947 legal proceedings were instituted in these three states for the purpose of testing the constitutionality of these laws, which directly prohibit any form whatever of union security agreement or arrangement. These cases were designed to cover various legal aspects. The Arizona case involved an attempt to enjoin the Attorney General from enforcing that State's anti-closed-shop law. The North Carolina case involved a criminal prosecution against several Building Trades Organizations and a contractor for having entered into a union security agreement. The Nebraska case involved a suit by a union to enforce an existing union shop agreement.

As expected, the State Trial Courts and the State Supreme Courts sustained these laws and the three cases were appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, where they were consolidated for hearing. The decision of the Supreme Court upheld the validity of these laws, expressing the view that the three states involved, in enacting them, had not deprived either the unions, union members or the employers of any rights protected under the Federal Constitution and that these laws were valid enactments passed by the States under their general police powers.

While specifically recognizing that the right of workers to form, join and function through labor organizations is a right protected, not only under Federal legislation but also under the Bill of Rights, the Supreme Court took the view that these State laws prohibiting union security agreements did not interfere with this right, for the reason that union security agreements were not **indispensable** to the full exercise of that right. In brief, by this decision the Supreme Court declined to hold invalid State laws regulating or prohibiting the making and enforcement of union security agreements, when such regulation or prohibition does not operate, actually, to destroy the right of working people to form, join or function through labor organizations and does not otherwise impair rights of free speech, press and assembly, protected under the First Amendment, and when such regulation or prohibition is not in direct conflict with some Federal law.

Although the decision on its face is unfavorable to organized labor there are in it several aspects from which we can take some encouragement. First, the decision is of significance in that the Supreme Court did recognize that the right of working men and

women to form and assemble into labor unions is, in itself, a constitutionally protected right, with which neither the Federal Congress nor the state can interfere. Second, if labor should be successful in obtaining the passage of State laws designed to protect or advance its interests, even though such laws may appear as arbitrary, to employers, as the outlawing, by states of union security agreements, appears to organized labor, it can reasonably be assumed that the Supreme Court will not undertake to nullify such legislation as, at one time, it nullified the Child Labor Laws, the Minimum Wage Laws, the Maximum Hours and other laws sponsored by organized labor.

Now, of course, I do not intend by this discussion of these so-called closed-shop cases to imply that the Supreme Court, during the past year has consistently ruled against organized labor or its interests for it has, during this period, as have Federal District Courts and United States Courts of Appeals rendered decisions favorable to the interests of organized labor.

To illustrate, the Supreme Court by denying review, has declined to interfere with a State Court decision holding invalid under California's Constitution the "hot cargo" law of that state and has fully upheld provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act. In the United States Court of Appeals we were successful in securing a decision holding that the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act, forbidding union expenditures in federal elections, did not embrace money spent by a small local union for advertising space in a commercial newspaper of local circulation or for a local broadcast on a commercial radio station, to elect or defeat political candidates.

This case started out as a test case sponsored by the American Federation of Labor with the cooperation of the Connecticut State Federation of Labor and the International Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators. The local union in Hartford, Connecticut took the chance of having its officers go to jail in order to test this case and to see whether or not we could find any cracks in the prohibition against political activities. In the trial court the president of the local union was convicted and fined, and the case was appealed to the United States Court of Appeals.

This decision, which held that the political expenditures provision of the Taft-Hartley Act did not apply to that type of a situation, was not appealed by the government to the Supreme Court. Therefore, it has become the final decision, and this decision, as a practical matter, so weakened the political expenditures prohibition in the Taft-Hartley Act as to make it almost a dead letter. Finally, despite the open invitation to the institution of damage suits against unions, contained in the Taft-Hartley Act, we have been successful, to date, in resisting in the Federal District Courts the imposition of such damages.

The decision of the Supreme Court in the "closed-shop" cases has been particularized and detailed principally because it is important to us in charting our future course of action. It demonstrates clearly, I think, that we cannot channel into one line of attack our efforts to rid organized labor of restrictive

legislation. We must, of course, continue with unceasing vigor to challenge in the courts, at every step, all attempts to employ these laws to frustrate the legitimate objectives of labor organizations. As a matter of fact this is an imperative necessity. However, there are many fronts in this battle against our reactionary foes and we must fight it out on each of these fronts. Thus, while fighting to the tooth in the legal field and before administrative agencies and boards, we must continue to employ our strength in the legislative and political fields.

And in doing so we must never forget that those who would destroy unionism will use every subterfuge to confound us and divert us from our ultimate goal. Such an attempt was made in the present session of the Eighty-First Congress where Senator Taft, aware that his brain child was a demonstrated malefactor in labor-management relations, attempted to allay public demand that it be put away where it no longer could do mischief, by offering an operation in the form of amendments, which he proclaimed would cure it of its evil ways.

But President Green and Secretary-Treasurer Meany and other able and learned leaders of our great movement were wise to that subterfuge and quickly exposed it for what it was. They knew then, as all organized labor knows now, that these amendments, while making minor changes, did not remove the basic evils of the Taft-Hartley Act, such as government by injunction, the use of injunctions in national emergencies, the broad prohibitions of boycotts, including many long regarded as legitimate union activities, the open invitation to damage suits against unions by employers and others, the punishment of picket-line activities, the ban on the closed-shop and the restrictions on the check-off of union membership obligations.

They knew also that these amendments would add new repressive features to this obnoxious law. Included among these new impediments to organized labor, was an extension of the free speech provision which would give new approval to employer interference with union elections, the empowering of the National Labor Relations Board to obtain temporary injunctions, without notice, prior to Board hearings, and the express prohibition of the check-off of union membership obligations, such as assessments, fines and penalties, even when covered by written authorizations.

Yes, indeed, we must be alert to artifices such as contained in these so-called Taft amendments as we drive forward on all fronts to repeal restrictive laws that deny essential freedoms to working people striving to secure that individual perfection in life an Almighty Deity intended they should have as human beings. Our cause is just and we therefore will prevail if we remain true to our objective and never, even for a moment, stray from it.

We have the leaders. Their splendid worth has been proven time and time again, as we have triumphed over obstacle after obstacle. We are strong in membership and united in purpose. The people of America are with us for they recognize the essential justice of our cause. They will respond again to our call, as they did in 1948 when they elected a Congress and a President pledged to repeal. Fortified with this knowledge, let us here resolve

that when we leave this convention hall, to return to our homes, we will redouble our efforts to achieve our goal and give unceasing and unqualified support and aid to every branch of our great Federation in the tremendous work that lies ahead.

And in this connection I should like to say here and now that your position as leaders of organized labor does not, in any degree or to any extent, forbid you, under Federal law, from giving your personal and undiminished support to Labor's League for Political Education. The Taft-Hartley Act restricts only labor organizations—not labor leaders. You are not, under this law, or any Federal law, in any way, deprived, by reason of your official capacity in a labor organization, of your right, individually, as an American citizen, to engage in every political activity enjoyed by your fellow Americans. And don't let anyone tell you differently.

With a will then that will not admit defeat, with a spirit made strong by the righteousness of our cause, and with eyes steady on the goal ahead, let us muster our forces and, in the democratic way, within the constitutional framework of our government and under its laws, prove again, as we have in the past, that those words in the Federation's insignia that towers above the platform, are not empty, meaningless words, but that truly and verily Labor does "conquer all."

I thank you.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I want to thank our General Counsel, Brother Albert Woll, for this fine report he has submitted and for the educational and illuminating address which he presented. You will find in it much information that will help you and all who read it to understand the legal meaning of the Taft-Hartley Law, of the difficulties we have encountered and are encountering, and the decisions of the courts regarding it. All of this information is of great value to the working people of the United States and to you particularly.

Brother Woll is rendering excellent service of the highest character, of most valuable service as General Counsel of the American Federation of Labor in the fight which he is making. Those associated with him in this legal work are likewise rendering excellent service.

Thank you so much, Brother Woll.

(At 12:40 o'clock p.m. the convention recessed until 2:00 o'clock p.m.)

FIFTH DAY—FRIDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order at 2:15 o'clock p.m., by President Green.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Committee Secretary Gallo submitted the following report:

At the request of President Earl Jimerson, Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, your Credentials Committee recommends the seating of Ray Wentz for Emmett Kelly, to represent that organization.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY GALLO: I move adoption of the committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and carried.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL Carpenters-Upholsterers

Secretary-Treasurer Meany submitted the following report on behalf of the Executive Council:

At the meeting of the Executive Council which was held in San Francisco, California, on October 17, 1947, a protest was received from the General Executive Board of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America "against the Upholsterers' International Union of North America granting charters to furniture workers, casket makers and general woodworkers."

The Executive Council decided, "That the President make inquiry immediately into the situation and that the Upholsterers be directed to cease and desist in their efforts to organize workers who properly come under the jurisdiction of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America."

This complaint was brought to the attention of the President of the Upholsterers' International Union with the request that the Upholsterers' International Union cease and desist in their efforts to organize workers who properly come under the jurisdiction of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

Following an exchange of correspondence between the President of the American Federation of Labor and the President of the Upholsterers' International Union, the Executive Council directed that an inquiry be

made into the character and kind of work performed by members of the Upholsterers' Local Union against which the complaint was filed. The report received following this inquiry showed that the jurisdiction exercised by Casket, Furniture and General Wood Workers Local 37 included the manufacture of wood and metal furniture, venetian blinds, window shades, cedar chests, wooden boxes, packing cases, show cases, butcher boxes, refrigeration cases, steel cabinets, wooden cabinets, wooden and steel caskets.

The foregoing report was considered by the Executive Council at the meeting held in Chicago, Illinois, beginning August 23, 1948, and as a result the Council again directed the officers of the Upholsterers' International Union to cease raiding and infringing upon the Carpenters' jurisdiction and to disassociate those members of the Upholsterers organization who are engaged in woodworking. The President of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America stated in reply that the Local Union involved had been instructed to change its name, deleting from its title any reference to general woodworkers; he expressed his willingness to arrange for representatives of the Brotherhood of Carpenters to meet with the local union and invite it to affiliate with the Carpenters and stated that any local union desiring to affiliate with the Carpenters would be transferred. He reiterated his readiness to meet with the President of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters for the purpose of discussing the matter and endeavoring to reach a settlement.

Following a further exchange of correspondence with the Presidents of both organizations, President Green held a conference with representatives designated by the President of the Carpenters and the President of the Upholsterers, in his office on December 15, 1948. At this conference representatives of the Upholsterers were urged to comply with the instructions of the Executive Council to "dissociate those men that properly come under the jurisdiction of the Carpenters and to cease their raiding and infringement upon the Carpenters' jurisdiction." Representatives of both organizations were urged to agree to state definitely that each would respect the jurisdiction granted each organization by the American Federation of Labor and that following favorable decisions upon these questions, any controversy regarding jurisdiction would be taken up by the representatives of the two organizations for the purpose of working out a settlement. The representatives who participated in the conference reported to their international officers upon the discussion which took place.

Notwithstanding the decision of the Executive Council, as herein set forth, no settlement of the dispute was reached and as a result the Executive Council at its meeting held in Cleveland, Ohio, beginning May 18,

1949, after giving consideration to all the facts and information available, rendered the following decision:

"That President Hoffmann be advised that the Executive Council has reviewed the entire matter, and in view of the conference having been held and the laws of the American Federation of Labor having been complied with, that the Council calls upon President Hoffmann to comply with the decision that was previously rendered in this case."

This decision was transmitted to the President of the Upholsterers' International Union in a letter dated June 22, 1949. He replied that the decision of the Executive Council would be considered by the General Executive Board of the Upholsterers' International Union at a meeting which would be held beginning August 15, 1949. Following the adjournment of the meeting of the Upholsterers' Executive Board, the President of the Upholsterers' International Union in a letter dated September 1st stated that it is the view of the Upholsterers' Executive Board that the decision of the Executive Council, which he classified as premature and unfair, should be rescinded and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America should be directed to bring their complaint directly to the attention of the Upholsterers' International Union and thus give the U. I. U. an opportunity to confer with the Carpenters for the purpose of bringing about an adjustment of the issues between the respective organizations.

When the foregoing communication was considered by the Executive Council at the meeting held on October 2, 1949, in the City of St. Paul, Minnesota, it was decided to submit a supplemental report to the convention on this entire matter.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Supplemental Report of the Executive Council will be referred to the Resolutions Committee for consideration and action, and report to the convention.

The Chair now recognizes Chairman Winter of the Committee on Adjustment.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ADJUSTMENT

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WINTER: Mr. President, Secretary Lawson will report for the Committee on Adjustment.

Committee Secretary Lawson submitted the following report on behalf of the committee:

BROTHERHOOD OF BLACKSMITHS, DROP FORGERS AND HELPERS — JOURNEYMEN HORSESHOERS INTERNATIONAL

Resolution No. 73—By Delegates John Pelkofer, A. J. Eberhardy, George Edgerton, International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers.

Your Committee on Adjustment had one resolution referred to it, namely, No. 73, introduced by the delegates representing the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers.

The authors of the resolution appeared before the committee and requested permission to withdraw the resolution. The committee voted unanimously to recommend to the convention that the request of the authors of the resolution be approved, and the committee recommends that the convention consent to the withdrawal of the resolution.

Herman Winter, Chairman
George W. Lawson, Secretary

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| Raymond H. Dalton | Joseph J. Delaney |
| George Wright | Joseph O'Neill |
| Arthur P. Kistemaker | Samuel R. Diskan |
| Charles L. Bagley | Wm. P. Raoul |
| F. H. Fljozdal | Gordon Chapman |
| Frank Brewster | George Grisham |
| Charles W. Mason | John H. Sylvester |
| E. J. Manion | A. J. Bernhardt |
| Joseph Trentman | Morris Weisberger |
| William H. Cooper | Peter Formica |
| L. M. Raftery | Samuel F. Curry |
| Harry Nacey | George Bucher |

COMMITTEE ON ADJUSTMENT

COMMITTEE SECRETARY LAWSON: Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair now presents to you Chairman MacGowan of the Committee on State Organizations.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON STATE ORGANIZATIONS

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN MacGOWAN: Mr. Chairman and delegates, the report of our committee will be presented by the Secretary of the Committee, Miss Berniece Heffner.

Miss Berniece Heffner, Secretary of the Committee, presented the following report:

Your committee had no resolutions or other material referred to it for action; however,

your committee has had a number of meetings and has given consideration to the entire field of responsibility and activity of the state branches of The American Federation of Labor.

Your committee wishes to commend highly the officers, members, and affiliates of the State Federations of Labor for the splendid service rendered the American Federation of Labor and its membership during the past year and for their splendid implementation and execution of the program of the A. F. of L. We wish to commend President Green, the members of the Executive Council, Director of Organization, Harry O'Reilly, and particularly the National and International Unions for their effective service in encouraging and in insisting upon the affiliation of all local unions with their respective State Federations of Labor during the past year.

Your committee joins the convention in the tremendous emphasis placed upon the necessity of full participation by the State Federations of Labor in the work of Labor's League for Political Education in the coming year. The State Federations must, of necessity be the guiding centers for the various state leagues for political education, and they must shoulder and execute the responsibilities of labor's political activity in the states. Every possible sinew of strength must be extended and utilized by the State Federations of Labor in the 1950 campaign. The State Federations of Labor have the added responsibility for the protection of the interests of workers at the state legislatures on all state legislation.

Your committee feels that while labor's political activity at the state level in the coming year must be a supreme endeavor, it goes hand in hand with the tremendous responsibility for the protection of labor's interests in the state legislatures.

Along with the important work of the State Federations of Labor in political activity and in the state legislature must go the assumption of the fundamental responsibility of the State Federations of Labor to extend the ranks of organized labor among the unorganized. Your committee realizes that, even today in this age of expanded trade union organization, there are tens of millions of unorganized workers, and the responsibility for their organization cannot be minimized by the affiliates of the American Federation of Labor. Therefore, your committee recommends that:

1. The American Federation of Labor call upon the officers and members of the State Federations of Labor to embark on a gigantic organizing campaign in January 1950 and that the minimum goal of the A. F. of L. in this campaign be 1,000,000 new members in 1950.

2. We recommend that the convention authorize and direct the President, Executive Council, and the Director of Organization of the A. F. of L. to call upon the State Federations of Labor to hold full and complete state-wide organizational rallies in every state during the month of January 1950 to launch this vigorous and militant campaign.

3. We recommend that the convention call upon the Director of Organization and the organizing staff of the American Federation of Labor and all national and international

unions to cooperate fully with the State Federations of Labor and assign representatives to participate in the state organizational rallies and to take an active part in the formulation of the state-wide campaigns and in the execution of their programs.

4. We recommend that the state-wide organizational rallies adopt a program of local and district rallies subsequent to state rallies in order to inaugurate in every Congressional district, county and precinct organizational campaigns among all types of unorganized wage earners in every section of the continent.

We further recommend that the convention authorize and direct complete coordination of political activity with the expansion of organization among the unorganized. In addition, we recommend that the American Federation of Labor in its public relations jointly emphasize the necessity of electing labor's friends and defeating its enemies and the expansion of the membership of the AFL.

These two gigantic efforts cannot help but increase the prestige and membership of the American Federation of Labor and at the same time protect the welfare and democracy of all organized workers.

In addition to all other tributes that will be paid to the memory of our great founder, Samuel Gompers, during the coming centennial year, it is the conclusion of your Committee that no greater tribute could be paid to his memory than by bringing into the folds of the AFL 1,000,000 new members.

Therefore, let our slogan be "1,000,000 New Members in 1950"!

COMMITTEE SECRETARY HEFFNER: Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN MacGOWAN: Mr. Chairman and delegates, just a word or two in addition to that which is contained in the report of the committee.

I agree, of course, and so does the committee, that the political arm of the American Federation of Labor during the year 1950 is perhaps the most important undertaking of this Federation in its lifetime. But going hand in hand with that, in the opinion of your committee, should be a vigorous effort to attract within the fold of the American Federation of Labor as many more of the unorganized as possible. The 8,000,000 members that we now have, if they were implemented by a million or more additional, would make the task of Labor's League for Political Education that much easier.

When I first came to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor more than 30 years ago, one of the outstanding policies of the Federation that was constantly discussed and applied by the great, revered Samuel Gompers, was the "labor forward" movements, as they were designated in those days. I saw in my mind's eye and in my memory recall many of the speeches that

President Gompers made about the necessity of organizing the unorganized, and inasmuch as next year is the centennial year of his birth I think that this Federation should let the word go out into every town and hamlet in this country that the American Federation of Labor is going to build an enduring monument to the memory of Samuel Gompers.

DELEGATE HAGGERTY, California State Federation of Labor: I just want to support the committee's report and make these few statements, that I am quite happy to see the Committee on State Organizations recognizing the value of State Federations, placing upon those bodies the responsibility to coordinate the activities of all our unions within their various states for organization purposes.

For some years this committee has listened to a number of complaints from State Federations about the lack of affiliation. In the past ten conventions that has been corrected by actions of this or previous conventions, followed up by the action of the International Presidents in writing and urging their members and unions to affiliate.

I think one of the greatest things we can do to stimulate activities in our State Federations is to place upon us this burden and this responsibility of helping to organize the unorganized in the various states.

I am pleased to note the committee's recommendation to the Director of Organization of the American Federation of Labor, the International Presidents and all officials of our organizations to assist in our state-wide rallies, bringing together the forces into the Federation.

I know of nothing which will accomplish that work more than this statement of the committee, and I heartily concur in the statement of the Chairman that we can do no greater honor than to attempt to bring one million new members into the Federation in 1950 in the name of our old and revered President Samuel Gompers.

DELEGATE ANDREWS, West Virginia State Federation: I wish to concur in the report of the committee for the reason that we in West Virginia in 1948 have been told that we did a wonderful job. It was our membership and our friends that defeated the reactionaries and placed in the Congress and the Senate of the United States our friends. But in this age of changing times we must not feel so secure. Therefore, this committee report, bringing all of us together to carry out this program, is certainly welcomed by us in West Virginia, and we want to go along with it.

DELEGATE HUTCHINGS, Office Employees International Union: I want to express appreciation to the committee and to Chairman MacGowan for the program which has been outlined for state activities and which we know can only result in bringing still further thousands of the workers of our trade into the folds of the American Federation of Labor. I want to pledge to the convention the full cooperation of our International Union with each of the State Federations of Labor in fulfilling the program set forth by the commit-

tee's report when it is adopted, as I am sure it will be, by this convention.

DELEGATE GOOGE, Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union: The committee, I think, has done something that will thrill the members of the American Federation of Labor throughout this nation, if the convention sees fit to adopt the report. Nothing brings enthusiasm like enthusiasm. Nothing will increase the ranks of organized labor as much as inspirational rallies conducted by our State Federations of Labor, inspired by the field representatives of their International Unions, and from these great state organizational rallies the first of the year there will go out into the Congressional Districts and into the local communities rallies of local organizations, and we as members of this committee, following the action of this convention, look forward to the dreams of Sam Gompers coming as nearly true as possible in the year 1950.

DELEGATE TURCO, Newsboys Union No. 15834: I spoke last year and the year before on the same question. The committee did great work, but their recommendation of years past has still not been carried out. There are still international unions in the State of Washington with a big membership which have so far not seen fit to join the State Federation of Labor. Since 1941 the teaming trade organization pulled out of the State Federation, and they have not seen fit to reaffiliate and work in cooperation with the rest of organized labor in Washington.

It's fine to come before this convention and talk about a million members. I hope we can bring two million unorganized workers into this American Federation of Labor. But we should also take into consideration the struggle which is going on on the Pacific Coast at this time. There are some International Unions organizing not only the unorganized but trying to take over workers of other International Unions that are organized. There is a lot of rumor in this convention, plenty of telegrams in the newspapers concerning the struggle which so far has not come into the open, and I am not here to bring it into the open.

But I want to say to you, Mr. Chairman and members of the Executive Council, that unless you instruct your International Unions to affiliate with State Federations of Labor, unless you instruct your International Unions which are not affiliated — unions which since the legislation in Washington two years ago have been working in conjunction with the CIO to disturb and disrupt the program of the State Federation of Labor of Washington — you will not realize what the committee hopes for.

I only hope by the next convention that all these International Unions will be affiliated with the State Federations of Labor and cooperate with them, because they are not any better than anyone else, and give us some of that democracy which you, Mr. President, and the speakers in this convention have been preaching — some of that democracy which is denied by some of these International Unions. That is the struggle in Washington and in California, also, my friends.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY HEFFNER: Mr. President, this completes the report of the committee on State Organizations, and it is signed by the full committee:

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| Charles J. MacGowan, Chairman | |
| Berniece B. Heffner, Secretary | |
| Raymond A. Richards | A. E. Wilson |
| George L. Gooze | Bernard G. Quinn |
| Joseph A. Mullaney | Claude O'Reilly |
| Phil Hannah | John J. Hauck |
| Fred Scaffidi | Volney Andrews |
| C. J. Haggerty | Alvin W. Tschirley |
| W. S. Gross | Justin F. Robbins |
| Thomas A. Murray | Paul R. Hutchings |
| Phil E. Ziegler | J. Scott Milne |
| Gust Anderson | George W. Matthews |
| Louis Koenig | Paul C. Sparks |
| | James D. Graham |

COMMITTEE ON STATE ORGANIZATIONS

COMMITTEE SECRETARY HEFFNER: I move adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair now recognizes the Committee on Shorter Work Week, Delegate Lee Minton, Chairman.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SHORTER WORK WEEK

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN MINTON: The report of the committee will be submitted by the Secretary, Vincent Murphy.

Committee Secretary Murphy submitted the following report:

Your committee has studied carefully the resolutions placed before it and is gratified to note the progress made during the past year on the expansion of the program for a shorter work day.

Last year the committee called to the attention of the delegates assembled, in Cincinnati, Ohio, the importance of forever keeping alive the eventual hope that all working men and women would enjoy a shorter work day and week. The committee made certain recommendations that have been fully carried out but mention needs be made here of the accomplishments achieved.

Special attention needs to be focused upon the Executive Council's report, which deals with hours of work, rise in unemployment, effects of the foreign aid program and the effects of the armament program. These subject matters are found on pages 176 to 182 of the Council's report.

The research done the past year is intensely interesting and pertinent. The facts surrounding this entire question can be used as a

guide to protect the existing living standards of the American wage earner.

The statement that "Regardless of the short term outlook, if the economy is to remain sound over the long run, our **developing productivity and technology** must be **'leisure-providing'** as well as **'labor saving'** and must lead to shorter hours and higher living standards for all, rather than **unemployment** for a growing number," brings forth a serious question that must be carefully applied.

Your committee recommends that the President and Executive Council continue research in this important field because as our economy levels off more significance must be placed on shortening the work day and week without reduction of real earnings.

In a rapidly changing world no one can definitely predict what our future will be. Of one thing, however, we are certain. The existing standards of the American wage earner must be expanded so that our system of free democracy will be given full protection. The scourge of Communism is bred through unemployment, want and fear. A grave responsibility rests upon all segments of our economy in seeing to it that all free born men are guaranteed ever-improving living standards through the medium of free collective bargaining.

We cannot lightly overlook this basic truth. Those selfish interests in this country, and, yes, even abroad, who attempt to avoid the issues at hand are solely responsible if the totalitarian ideology is expanded and if free men become chattels of a slave state.

It is indeed gratifying to note that the Railroad union organizations have at long last been granted the 40-hour week in the railroad industry without any lowering of existing standards. Your Committee commends the railroad labor organizations for their vital contribution to the welfare of their members in achieving this important goal.

In furthering the task ahead, your Committee recommends that all affiliated national and international unions expand, wherever possible, their research staffs in order that a closer liaison with the staff of the American Federation of Labor, can be maintained. By maintaining closer cooperation all wage earners will eventually be given the true facts surrounding the aims of organized labor in its attempt to provide full employment and security for those who work.

Special attention should be given to those unorganized workers of this country who still work long hours with low pay. Your committee was apprised of the fact that in many places municipal and public workers, who are unorganized, still work a 12-hour day. This is a significant statement because it proves beyond doubt that trade unions functioning without governmental interference can and do contribute to the wage earners' welfare and, in turn, the welfare of the nation.

The high living standards found in this country were achieved through the medium of free collective bargaining without enslaving labor legislation on the statute books. If

these standards are to be improved, all trade unions must forthwith actively dedicate themselves to the job of removing from the statute books all laws, whether state or national, that are aimed directly at organized labor for the sole purpose of destroying a movement that has contributed so much to our way of life.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY MURPHY: I move adoption of this section of the Committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

The following resolutions were received by your Committee and given careful consideration.

SHORTER WORK WEEK

Resolution No. 95—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

Your Committee concurs in this resolution and reminds the Convention that the American Federation of Labor has always endorsed the principle of shorter hours for the sole purpose of protecting the nation's workers in declining periods of production and consumer income. We urge that this proposal be reaffirmed in this convention.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY MURPHY: The Committee moves adoption of this resolution, and I so move.

The motion was seconded and carried.

SHORTER WORK WEEK IN CANAL ZONE

Resolution No. 72—By Delegate Walter J. Jones, Central Labor Union, Balboa, Canal Zone.

Your Committee concurs in the resolution and suggests that its contents be referred to the standing Committee on Legislation for appropriate action.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY MURPHY: The Committee recommends adoption of this resolution, and I so move.

The motion was seconded and carried.

In summing up this report, your Committee recognizes that too often we fail to plan well for our future and in so doing are confronted with a "too little and too late" program. We cannot help but point out that now is the time to take cognizance of the task ahead.

The happiness of our families, the general health of our beloved nation, the securing of

full employment, making possible adequate and healthful recreation, and the lifting of moral and religious standards are without question tied directly to the program of shorter hours for all wage earners, with ever increasing, real income.

Respectfully submitted,

Lee W. Minton, Chairman
 Vincent J. Murphy, Secretary
 G. M. Webster
 Frank Owens
 Ed. S. Miller
 John Pelkofer
 Sal B. Hoffmann
 Stanley Rounds
 Milton P. Webster
 Harry J. Hagen
 Elmer P. Meinz
 T. J. Lloyd
 George Haberman
 George W. Brayfield
 Hugh McDermott
 W. O. Frazier
 Elling Munkeby
 John W. Austin
 Frank Evans
 Frank C. Shea
 John A. McMahon
 Clarence Loftquist
 Henry Rosendale
 A. H. Cronin
 Roy W. Niles

COMMITTEE ON SHORTER WORK WEEK

COMMITTEE SECRETARY MURPHY: This concludes the report of the Committee on Shorter Work Week, and we move for the adoption of the Committee's report as a whole.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Secretary Murphy of the Committee asks as a matter of personal privilege to make a brief statement to the convention.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY MURPHY: Mr. Chairman, I want to make this brief statement. I was absent from the floor for a short period for another matter on Wednesday when the question was discussed here with reference to political action. Reference was made to the Teamsters in the State of New Jersey and the New Jersey State Federation of Labor. As Secretary of the State Federation of Labor, I regret the remarks that were made on the floor here, as I am the delegate from the State Federation of Labor. We have no intention or desire to offend the officers of the International Teamsters, Brother Tobin or any of the other officers. Our scrap is back home. I

have all the faith and confidence in the world that when the officers of the Federation and the Teamsters differ as we have in the State of New Jersey, that difference will be settled among ourselves, and I regret the statement being made here on this floor.

SPECIAL ORDER OF BUSINESS— ELECTION OF OFFICERS

On motion of Delegate Milne, Electrical Workers, 4:00 o'clock, Monday afternoon, October 10, 1949 was set aside as the time for the election of officers.

PRESIDENT GREEN: We have with us this afternoon as an invited guest and speaker one who has without compromise championed the Social Security legislative program of the American Federation of Labor. We have found that we are in full accord with the position he has assumed toward this great social question. He is a staunch defender, one who has made a record of which we can all be proud. It is fortunate, indeed, that we have one serving as Administrator of the Federal Security Agency of the United States who agrees with us upon our social security and health program.

One of the finest messages that will ever be delivered while this convention is held will be submitted to you this afternoon. So I am happy to present to you now our good friend, able, staunch advocate of social security legislation, Mr. Oscar Ewing, Administrator of the Federal Security Agency.

MR. OSCAR EWING

(Administrator of Federal Security Agency)

President Green, delegates of the American Federation of Labor, distinguished guests: I greatly appreciate the opportunity of being here and speaking to you. Before I embark on my prepared address I would like to say one thing, that I think with the help of the American Federation of Labor we have been able to get the employees' compensation law through Congress, which is probably the finest workmen's compensation law anywhere in the United States. I want to thank the American Federation of Labor particularly for the help that they have given in getting that legislation enacted.

Of course, that is only one of the many debts that the Federal Security Agency and I personally owe to the American Federation of Labor and to Mr. Green. Always

you have been a help to us on the things that we have been fighting for. I am particularly glad to get here this afternoon. I wasn't here this morning, but I did get a chance to look over for a few minutes the speech that was made. I wasn't particularly disturbed that any of you would be converted by it, but it so happens that what I have to say fits in to what I hope will be an answer to what the morning speaker had to say.

I am grateful to you for the privilege of meeting with you here in St. Paul at this convention of the American Federation of Labor. This year your deliberations and your decisions are more important than ever in your long and honored history. We stand today on the verge of one of the subtle but essential turning-points in American life—one of those rare moments when an old era ends and a new one begins, a moment whose ultimate meaning can only be recognized far in the future.

We are—whether we realize it or not—in the process of deciding what kind of a country America is going to be. The conflict is coming to a head. Basically, it is a conflict between people who look backward and people who look forward, between those who are selfish and hopeless and those who have faith in this country and its destiny. All of us are involved in this conflict—working man and farmer and businessman; adult and child; Negro and white man; city-dweller and villager; skilled craftsman and manual laborer. All of us are called upon to stand up and be counted.

The conflict itself has always existed. It will probably exist, in one form or another, to the end of time. But there are fleeting moments when it reaches a critical stage; and this is one of those moments.

During the nineteen twenties, as many of you will recall, our domestic affairs were in the hands of men who, however sincere, were guided by ideas that could not meet the needs of the times. Those men believed that our country had not changed at all since the days when it was first founded. They may have been engineers, but they did not understand the meaning of the huge technological transformations that had taken place in our society. They thought it was still possible for a vast, complex, industrialized nation to go along as though it were no different from the little seacoast fringe of farms and ports that was the United States 150 years ago. They thought businessmen should be encouraged to behave as though they had no responsibility except to themselves, that the measure of a nation's prosperity was the smallness of its tax burden; that somehow the citizens of this country could cope with their problems without making use of the machinery of government, which, in their view, was not the servant, but in most respects the enemy of the people; that any cooperative efforts by which individual Americans might try to better their lot, whether through trade unions or through government, were somehow dangerous; and that, if a crisis came, private charity and the dole could take care of it.

It may have been a workable philosophy in past generations. But it could not work in the

face of modern problems. In the end, it had to collapse. In the end it did collapse.

Our people are not easily fooled. They saw that these old, tired ideas had failed. And they put into office a man—Franklin Delano Roosevelt—who had new ideas, a new philosophy, a New Deal for America. You know the essence of that man's philosophy as well as I do. He saw that the very core of America was not an economic theory, but the individual human being. He saw America as a country where the most important element was the private citizen, the men and women and children of America. He was interested in their rights, their opportunities, their dignity, as human beings. And at the same time he saw that, in our day, the rights and the equal opportunities and the dignity of the individual could not be protected and promoted unless each individual could band with other individuals for mutual self-help. That is why he knew that the trade union movement was not a threat to America, but the essence of America. That is why he refused to agree to special privilege for any single person or group in this country. That is why, where necessary, he used the government of the United States as the servant of the people of the United States, a mechanism by which all of us could help one another and through which we could cope with problems far too big for any single individual or any single interest.

Because it was based on this simple but profound philosophy, the New Deal succeeded in meeting the crisis that stemmed from old and outworn ideas. It gave us back our confidence in ourselves. At the outset, the New Deal was essentially an emergency program, designed to meet the emergency needs of a country gone haywire. Before it had time to consolidate itself, the outside impact of international conflict interfered with its orderly growth. As President Roosevelt himself put it, Dr. New Deal had to move over so that Dr. Win-the-War could take charge. Well, we won the war, and I think one of the fundamental reasons why we won it was because there had been a New Deal in the United States since 1933.

Now the war is past. We have had a kind of peace for more than four years. We have a new President, Harry S. Truman, whom the American people returned to the White House against the predictions—and against the wishes—of the minority whose minds are still fixed on pre-1933 ideas. Our postwar version of the philosophy that considers the individual American more important than the over-privileged and selfish groups of special interests is called the Fair Deal. We still believe that government must be the servant of the people, that it must serve all of us, not just a few of us. We still believe—and we believe it more strongly than ever—that in a complex and industrialized economy the people can only be served if they are permitted to help one another, preferably through cooperative effort but, if that is not adequate, then through governmental machinery.

In our domestic life, the forces for and against this philosophy are now mobilizing! Our reactionary friends have forgotten the economic chaos from which they, along with the rest of us, were rescued by our kind of philosophy and our kind of action. Having

forgotten it, they no longer fear it. But everything they think and want and work for will inevitably take us back to depression and privation. Time and time again, they have flung themselves headlong against new ideas that would keep our country strong, and prosperous, and happy. They are against labor, they are against social security, they are against health insurance. They are against everything but reaction.

That is the conflict of our time on the domestic front. It is we or they. On the one hand, we are building on the foundations of the Roosevelt-Truman political philosophy, on the very ideas which have been shared by all of your great labor leaders. We are trying to make sure that every American can be certain of the minimum of the necessities of life. This minimum includes his basic civil rights; his right to a job, to organize, and to receive a fair wage at his job; his right to education, to health, to reasonable protection against the misfortunes too often associated with old age or unemployment. These are his rights, because they are inherent in the tradition of equality of opportunity for all our people—equality of opportunity which is the unique characteristic of our American democracy.

On the other hand, they are fighting against these historic American ideas. They are flinging loose and meaningless words at us. They used to call us Communists, until they realized that Americans thoroughly understand the difference between a Communist and a liberal-minded, intelligent American. They screamed about the "Welfare State." Now they have another word—"statism."

You heard one side of the case expressed here this morning. Senator Dulles the other day said, "I believe that the trend to statism needs to be stopped now and here." And other Republican politicians have been making similar remarks. Stop statism! That is a reactionary line. I would like to give you the definition of statism. Some of these Republicans seem to have an awfully hard time to define the word. Well, here is what the 1949 edition of Webster's New International Dictionary says about statism: Statism means, belief in a state government as in a republic in contrast with belief in Communism or a Soviet government. It is perfectly obvious that these people that are going around the country damning statism either don't know the meaning of the word or they are against a Republican form of government.

But their vocabulary is not important. What is important is their philosophy. They think that government is the enemy of the people whenever the people use government to help the underprivileged. It's all right, they say, for government — whether by its action or by its inaction — to serve the special interests of special groups, provided the group is their group, but it is not all right, they say, for government to serve all the interests of all the people. They talk about liberty. The rich man's son is free to enjoy good health, they say, and the poor man's son is free to be sick. The rich man is free to retire on his savings, they say, and the poor man is free to accept charity when he is in need. That is a kind of freedom, I suppose; but it is not our kind of freedom.

You know as well as I do that from the earliest days of our Republic, our government has always given special help to parts of our population. From the time of Alexander Hamilton, we have had a tariff system that benefited the manufacturing interests of this country at more cost to the consumers; yet they didn't call that "statism." We have laws enacted during President Hoover's administration to permit the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to lend money to railroads, banks and insurance companies; yet they didn't object to this bounty from the "Welfare State." We subsidize certain shipping companies and airlines, to the great benefit of their stockholders; yet they don't complain about being coddled by their government. In most cases, such laws have been enacted because it was to the interest of our entire society that one group or another special group receive special protection or assistance.

Yet the opposition to proposals that are designed to permit all our people to achieve equality of opportunity rallies around the battle-cry of free enterprise and liberty. You know, and I know, that in all these cases the real opposition arises because it is to the interest of one tiny group or another to keep things as they are—to prevent the world from moving on.

They say we are coddling ourselves.

We have a Social Security Act, which offers many of us a minimum guarantee against the pitfalls of unemployment and privation and old age. Do you feel coddled because there is such legislation?

We have a pure food and drug act which protects you every time you go to the drugstore or the corner grocery. Do you feel coddled because you have such protection?

We are conducting certain research into new cures for diseases that needlessly strike down hundreds of thousands of Americans. Do you feel coddled because this research is going on?

Of course you don't.

Now let me move from the general to the particular. I have the honor to be Federal Security Administrator. I am therefore responsible to my fellow-citizens, including yourselves, for the administration of the Federal Government's duties in the fields, primarily, of health, education and security.

It is an important part of my job to get the facts about the health of our people, and to report to the country on what we have found. Let me, therefore, tell you that the health of America is not as good as it should be in this, the wealthiest nation on earth. Our nation's health has not caught up with the great strides that medical science has made in recent years. Hundreds of thousands of Americans have died in our time, not because the doctors could not cure them, but because they did not have the money to pay the doctors. Many thousands of people are sick today who will die before they should, for the same reason.

This is a matter of grave concern to the nation as a whole. Our country's strength is

not to be measured by the gold buried at Fort Knox. America is as strong as its people—and no stronger. We are dissipating this greatest of all our assets, and I submit to you that this is a serious national calamity, in time of peace and in time of war. The answer to this problem, as the American Federation of Labor has itself recognized, is a national health insurance program. You know what this program will do; that is why you are for it.

Who opposes it? The American Medical Association, the American Dental Association, the National Association of Manufacturers. Mind you, I do not say health insurance is opposed by the doctors, the dentists, or the businessmen of America. It is opposed by their trade associations, which presume to speak in their name.

It is the job of a trade association—whether of doctors or of manufacturers—to protect the interests and promote the profits of its members. There is nothing especially wrong in this job, provided the special interest does not conflict with the public interest. In the case of the American Medical Association, the doctor's trade association, has done much good work to establish adequate professional standards and to encourage medical research. But the American Medical Association has gone off the track in the field of medical economics. It has tried to promote the financial interests of the American physician. But it has not served the physician well, for it has ignored the very purpose of all medicine, which is to heal the sick, and to keep all of us healthy. The patient is more important than the doctor—and the AMA seems to have forgotten so basic a truth. It has opposed virtually every progressive proposal that would make it possible, money-wise, for all patients to receive the continuing medical care they need. It is now engaged in a bitter, an unreasoning, battle against national health insurance.

Look at what the AMA is doing today. With the help of a high-pressure publicity firm, it is urging every doctor to prepare and file his patients—and they are doing so, they say, because they are opposed to "political medicine"!

Political medicine! Let me read this excerpt from the campaign plan of the American Medical Association, published recently in the *Dallas Medical Journal*:

"We need to locate the personal physician of every Congressman and every U. S. Senator . . . and have him send a personal letter to his patient, the Congressman, telling him of the danger of socialized medicine."—socialized medicine is another example of the reactionary vocabulary at work—"and asking for his help in defeating any compulsory health insurance program which may be submitted. We will provide the form letters, but the Society secretary should help the doctor, if necessary, in rewriting and personalizing the letter in each instance."

These, I remind you, are the opponents of "political medicine"! A little further in the same AMA plan, you will find these words:

"We do not believe it a sound campaign practice to sponsor too many debates . . . They make a forum for the opposition which would be difficult for them to secure otherwise, and they are too easily stacked. This is particularly true of broadcasts of debates open to the public."

Well, I guess the AMA got a belly full of debates open to the public when Nelson Cruikshank and I took on Dr. Fishbein last February.

But seriously you know what this means. It means that these special-interest groups are afraid to encourage free and open factual discussion of the national health insurance program. They want to spread their poison by means that make it difficult for the truth to catch up with them. They know very well that most Americans approve of the plan, and they know that in open debate they are always licked. That is why they now avoid debate, why they exert personal pressure on patients, why they send telegrams to Capitol Hill. Doctors spend a lot of money on telegrams to Senators and Congressmen. On the other hand, millions of Americans who would benefit from national health insurance cannot even afford the price of a telegram!

In the name of free enterprise, these special interest groups are suggesting that to those Americans who will not accept charity but who cannot pay big doctors' and hospital bills, we should apply a "means" test before they can receive medical care. If self-respecting Americans refuse to accept this indignity and abasement, then, says the AMA and its friends, let them get along without medical care. To my mind, this callous indifference of the American Medical Association is hideous.

But the American Medical Association and its friends go further. With a heady sense of power, they are now throwing their money and influence into the whole conflict between the liberal and the reactionary philosophies. They spewed money broadcast to help all other reactionaries defeat the President's first plan to carry out the Hoover Commission's recommendation—a plan to establish a federal Department of Welfare. Their opposition was founded on the simple dog-in-the-manger proposition that unless there is a separate department for health activities headed by a doctor, then health, education and security matters can do without cabinet status. The fact of the matter is that the American Medical Association and its fellow-travelers are more concerned with the control of medicine than they are with the advancement of medicine.

The American Medical Association and its fellow-travelers are now firmly in league with those elements of our political life who are so busy concocting new words for the reactionary vocabulary that they have overlooked the Constitutional provision about promoting the general welfare. Let them, in their search for words that do have meaning, follow President Truman's advice and reread the preamble to the Constitution of the United States, which declares that one of the

basic purposes of our government is to "promote the general welfare." Perhaps they would have us believe that Washington, Madison, Franklin and all their colleagues at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, when they used that language, were sinister intriguers plotting to impose an un-American "Welfare State" on this country.

I move on to another field—Federal aid to education in the States. This proposal has inevitably, I suppose, become tangled in the question of separation of church and State. I think it is healthy for us to discuss this basic problem frankly, but I suggest that we continue to keep our eyes on the primary purpose of Federal aid to education, which is to make sure that all our children—all of our children—are assured of at least the elementary education to which every American has an inherent right. We do not believe that the accident of birth in a poor State rather than in a rich State should deprive any American child, no matter who he is, of the equality of opportunity which adequate education can afford. Yet that is apparently the belief of the spokesmen for yesterday—not of all businessmen, but of the National Association of Manufacturers; not of all conservatives, but of those reactionaries who begrudge every dime of tax money that is spent on public education. In the name of free enterprise and American liberty, they are prepared to condemn American children to the slavery of ignorance and the serfdom of technical incapacity.

By the same token, and with the same arguments, these same forces are opposed to the extension of the Old Age and Survivors Insurance program, which would bring additional millions of Americans under the cover of minimum security against personal calamity. In our rich country, there is no excuse for the fact that many of our countrymen today look forward to the future with fear and anxiety in their hearts. Old age should be a time for relaxation and self-respect as a useful life enters its final chapters. Instead, for too many of us, it is a time for nervous worry about financial needs, for dependence on private charity and family hand-outs. The masters of the reactionary vocabulary would have us keep it that way.

You and I do not accept this kind of philosophy. We refuse to lie with the dogs in the manger. We refuse to strain the English language by inventing new and meaningless words to attack every progressive idea that is before the American people.

These are some of the issues that confront us today. They are at the very heart of the domestic argument—the argument between progress and reaction. The battle lines are drawn. We must recognize that this conflict between progress and reaction is endless, and that from this conflict come the step by step advances that democracy makes in its groping for better things. In this battle I know on which side you members of the American Federation of Labor will be; and you know where I stand. We have battled together before and we shall continue to battle together in the great army of liberals

fighting for progress. The American Federation of Labor, under the valiant leadership of the beloved William Green, has never failed in that fight; and I hope that I shall never fail. Coming here today to meet again with so many doughty warriors in the cause of progress makes me feel that in essence, this is an old soldiers' reunion, and I am proud to salute you as comrades in the battle for a better world.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I am happy that our speaker this afternoon came to us just at a time when his splendid address made a deep, psychological impression. He spoke our language. He reflected our thinking. He expressed our courage and determination, and that is, that we are going to fight together for a better world, because in order to get that better world we must develop human values, health, strength and security here in America. We appreciate the value of material things, but there are other values that are of equal or greater importance than mere material values.

Some of you know the truth, the convincing truth of what Administrator Ewing has stated to you in his address, because many of you have been called upon to see to it that a wife, a member of your family or a close relative was supplied with hospital care, nursing service and medical attention during periods of serious illness. You know what it cost you, and you began to realize then, because the cost imposed upon you was very great, how many poor, distressed human beings who had no friend to meet such cost were compelled to pass into the Great Beyond because they could not have medical care and attention.

When are we to give assistance to those who need it? Is the cost to be prohibitive, are lives to be sacrificed in a prosperous world merely because we cannot take care of them under our present system? I am one of those who believe that the poorest man or woman in the world is entitled to receive adequate hospital care, nursing care and medical attention whenever they are ill, and I believe in a Welfare State that will accord to them that kind of service. I know that I express the sentiment of our guest speaker of this afternoon when I make that positive statement.

Now, the realization of that great humanitarian purpose is our chief objective. We are united now in an effort to bring about the enactment of social security legislation, adequate legislation that will meet the needs of modern-day life, and a health program that

will cooperate with it, marching side by side with our social security plan to save human life, to protect the poorest sufferer from disease, no matter who he is or where he is, regardless of race, creed, color or nationality.

So I want you to count on us to work with you, to step with you and to fight with you for the realization of this great objective. Let it come tomorrow—we will be happy. But if it is not here by that time we will fight for it until it does come, and it matters not when—we are not going to rest quietly until we achieve that program.

I thank you from the bottom of my heart for your visit this afternoon. Taking into account the business of this day, your address came at a most fitting and appropriate time, and I know the delegates here appreciate it very greatly.

Thank you, and good luck to you, Mr. Ewing.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair recognizes Chairman Birthright of the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies for a report of that committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LOCAL AND FEDERATED BODIES

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BIRTHRIGHT: The Committee on Local and Federated Bodies has a very voluminous report to present to this convention. Secretary Bonansinga will read the report.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY BONANSINGA: Mr. President and Secretary and delegates: Resolutions 64 and 93 are similar in language. Your committee reports on the following resolution:

LOCAL UNION AFFILIATION TO CENTRAL BODIES

Resolution No. 64—By Delegate Ted Williams, Federation of Labor, Birmingham, Alabama.

(First Day's Proceedings, Page 59)

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution and I so move.

The motion was seconded and carried.

STATE FEDERATION AND CENTRAL LABOR UNION AFFILIATION

Resolution No. 94—By Delegate Joseph M. O'Rourke, Connecticut State Federation of Labor.

(First Day's Proceedings— Page 70)

Your committee recommends nonconurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RECOMMENDATION OF COMMITTEE

Committee Secretary Bonansinga submitted the following recommendation on behalf of the committee:

The ability to carry out the work of Central Bodies falls upon the affiliations of Local Unions.

Labor's League for Political Education cannot be successful in its coming campaign without the full cooperation of State and Central Bodies. Thus it is imperative that International Unions urge their respective membership to affiliate with State and Central Bodies.

Central Bodies have been and will be confronted with the introduction of anti-labor legislation in many cities and States, the same as in our Capital in Washington.

Central Bodies have the same responsibility to defeat anti-labor legislation in their respective jurisdiction as in Congress. Thus one hundred percent membership is vital.

Your Committee wishes to stress the point that some local unions withdraw affiliations from Central Bodies because of a jurisdictional dispute with a sister local, then again, some local unions do not pay full per capita tax on their full membership. Central Bodies cannot exist under these conditions so we say again that the International Unions can assist local Central Bodies by urging their membership to affiliate and assist in the activities of the Central Bodies to participate, giving assistance to all affiliated locals and participate in all civic affairs.

Your Committee wishes to stress also this point as in the past—that the local unions that are not in affiliation share in the benefits put forth by the local Central Body at the expense of those local unions who are affiliated and attend the meetings of their Central Bodies and work for the interest of organized labor.

Your Committee also points out that in the small cities Officers and Delegates appointed on various Committees in Central Bodies give of their time free to assist local unions when called upon.

Your Committee is concerned about the small City Central Body. International Unions can help this situation by seeing to it that their Local Unions affiliate with Central Bodies.

We therefore recommend that the American Federation of Labor continue to urge all National and International Unions to encourage their local unions to affiliate with the Central Bodies and State Federations of Labor and also require the Federal Labor Unions to affiliate. A strong Central Body and State Federation of Labor make a powerful unit of organized labor to work for the help of all trade unionist.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY BONANSINGA: Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE LUCIA, Hatters: Mr. Chairman, I rise to concur in the committee's report. I am highly in favor of urging all of the International Unions to use whatever pressure is possible to urge the Local Unions to affiliate with the Central Bodies.

Several years ago in the City of Asheville the American Federation of Labor launched an offensive in the South called "Operation Dixie." We started with a great deal of fanfare. In fact, it was so gigantic and so big that we forewarned all of our enemies that we were coming. It was a sort of an invasion of the South, if you please.

All of us are familiar with the fact that the South has lived on one economy alone, the economy of cotton. We also understand that because of that condition the South has been extremely poor, and as a result of it some of the leaders realized that something had to be done about it, and industrial plants began to come in very slowly. We have heard a great deal about the cheap and contented labor of the South. I heard it long before I went into the South in 1940. I heard a great deal about the differences in the South, about the racial tension, about the fact that the Southern people were different than anywhere else in the nation. I went along with a number of others who came from the North with a chip on their shoulder, and in a spirit of crusading I was going to change the South overnight. I found to my amazement instead that the Southern workers are no different than workers anywhere else in the country. I found that like our Northern brothers and sisters all they want is a better standard of living, economic security and a little more political freedom, a little more industrial democracy, and in visiting and talking to these people I found that they were very fine people, very responsive people in spite of the fact that everybody says the South is hard to organize. I have worked in too many regions of the country to say that the Southern people are any different than the people anywhere else.

I have had difficulty in the North. I have had difficulty with the police in the courts and elsewhere, and I found that the South was no different. I didn't realize that until

there is more equality and until there is industrial democracy, until there is a higher standard of living in the South you are going to have racial tension.

I also found out that the exploitation of the Southern worker was not on the part of Southern employers as so many people believe—and the Southern employers as a whole are blamed for it—but rather the Northern imperialism that has invested interests in the South on the basis that they could get cheap and contented labor. Lo and behold, we find that the South is awakening—perhaps not as fast as some of us would like to see it awaken, but it is awakening nevertheless.

We have a good many industries that need organization. We have a large number of Chemical Workers. We have a large number of Clothing Workers. Certainly the textile industry is one of the largest industries in the South, and we have another very large one, and that is the lumber industry. When we started "Operations Dixie" we all went in with a great deal of fervor and devotion and determination to at least win over about a million members, a goal that has been set here today for 1950. Of course, we had the Taft-Hartley Law which has rather slowed "Operations Dixie." But I didn't believe that the organized labor movement, particularly the A. F. of L., which has a long record of fighting very vigorously, would so immediately retrench as a result of the Taft-Hartley Law.

We found that a good many of the International Unions who have flooded the South with organizers have taken a good many of them away on the basis that it is difficult to organize. The Taft-Hartley Law has slowed us down, and the result is that the challenge that we threw out to the employers has fallen by the wayside. No one has taken us too seriously.

I ask the International Unions who have the money to support the unions that really want to do the work to really open up not only their hearts and give them the moral support, but to open up their treasuries. I know the Textile Union—and I am not a member of that union, I am not making a plea for my own organization—is waging a valiant battle in the South against tremendous odds because not only have we got the employers to fight but we have also the raiding from the CIO unions. Therefore, we are waging quite a battle.

The Chemical Workers are doing a splendid job. I would like to see the Clothing Workers do a better job than they are doing now, although they are doing as best they can under the circumstances.

I feel that if we adopt this resolution asking the Central Bodies and all the local unions to affiliate within the Central Bodies,—and if we can gird all of our strength together we can really reach that goal of one million members by 1950. I feel there can be no political democracy unless there is industrial democracy first, and the only way to achieve industrial democracy is to get out and organize those million workers, particularly in the South where organization is needed.

I just wanted to make a plea for the South because I have been there ten years now. I understand it a lot better than I used to, and I want all those who do come from other parts of the United States to be a little bit patient with us. We have come a long way on the racial question. It is true that we still have a great many lynchings going on. We still have the Ku Klux Klan to contend with. We still have Senator George, whom we would like to eliminate at the next Congressional election, but I feel that there has been progress and growth.

Another thing, too, we are sometimes hasty about urging legislation on racial questions. I feel the question of human relations cannot be legislated. We will have to do it through the due process of education, and those of us who have been in the South for a long time have come to understand that there is a great deal of progress already, and we hope that by 1950 with all the assistance of all the International Unions that we can make a large contribution from the South to the million workers.

Thank you.

DELEGATE ARNOLD: I wish to appeal to the International Union heads to consider the seriousness of this motion before the house. It is doubly serious. I come from the crossroads myself, I work every day in the factory, I hear the workers talk and how they rumble. It is very apparent that if we are to be felt in the 1950 political program we are going to have every bit of help that we can get from the International Unions themselves in urging their respective Locals to affiliate with their Central Labor Bodies.

There is no question in my mind that if this political program is going to be a success—and believe me, this is the second try we are going to give it, and if we don't succeed this time it will be terrifically hard to get the worker to realize that he is going to have to try again, because the present-day worker just doesn't feel that way. If he loses out once he doesn't mind, he will try it again, but if he loses out the second time he becomes belligerent and has a lot of animosity against the side that loses. Unless each and every International Union, along with the American Federation of Labor, urges their respective Local Unions to get into the Central Labor Bodies so that they can be called upon to help carry out this political program and to afford the necessary manpower, which most of your Central Labor Bodies do not have because of non-affiliation of Local Unions, I am afraid the results in 1950 will not be what we would like to have them be. I wish to move concurrence in the committee's report and again plead with every labor leader who is here not to forget the Central Bodies. They are important.

DELEGATE EVANS, Automobile Workers: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I rise again to tell you that I think the position of the committee on this report is no position at all. I think about the organizations that go into the plants to organize the plants and to fight for union contracts, asking for main-

tenance of membership or the union shop, and asking that everybody who works in and around the plant shall become and remain members of the union in good standing for the duration of the agreement.

We are here in convention talking about state federations and city central bodies, asking the International Unions to urge Local Unions to become a part of the State Federations and City Central Bodies, and at the same time we know that the majority of the local unions do not participate in the activities of those bodies.

I say to you again, until every Local Union and every International Union band themselves together as one organization, whether it may be in the State Federation, the City Central Body or the American Federation of Labor, we will not have the strength to do the job that is so necessary to be done in America today.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY BONANSINGA: Mr. Chairman, that completes the report of the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies, which is signed by the following members:

W. C. Birthright, Chairman
 Sam Bonansinga, Secretary
 Vernon A. Housewright
 Joseph Marshall
 A. Adamski
 John J. Nolan
 Alfred Rota
 Wm. McGuern
 Larry Sarricks
 Lloyd Klenert
 Reuben Roe
 Dennis M. Carroll
 Michael J. Mungovan
 Paul Hall
 Raymond Levingston
 John E. Briedenbach
 Peter T. Schoemann
 Russell Berg
 John P. Crane
 Arthur Churchill
 Roy W. Singer
 Ray Muehlhoffer

COMMITTEE ON LOCAL AND FEDERATED BODIES

COMMITTEE SECRETARY BONANSINGA: I move adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I wish to thank the members of the committee for their service and for their fine report.

The Chair now recognizes Chairman Dubinsky of the Committee on Executive Council's Report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN DUBINSKY: Mr. Chairman, the Committee on Executive Council's Report is ready to report, and our able Secretary, Selma Borchardt, of the Teachers' Union, has worked hard and is ready to submit the report to this convention. I call upon her now to read the report.

Committee Secretary Borchardt submitted the following report:

New Unions Chartered

(Page 94, Executive Council's Report)

Two new international unions have been chartered during this year: The Flight Engineers International Association and the Railway Patrolmen's International Union.

The Flight Engineers International Association adds one more union to the rapidly expanding field of air transportation. It is significant that in the field of air transport, trade union organization is far more readily accepted by the industry because, we may well contend, the brave men who fought, in former years, have established the right of transport workers on land and on sea to organize; furthermore the splendid record now being made by all the organized crafts in air transport assure to this new union a prosperous, constructive role in labor's program.

The newly chartered Railway Patrolmen's International, also we note, in the field of transport workers is born of 53 local unions in this field, which heretofore had effectively functioned in a national council.

These charters respect the jurisdiction of all existing unions and give promise of further growth in their own respective fields.

To both new unions, we wish Godspeed!

Committee Secretary Borchardt moved adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Selection of Fraternal Delegates

(Page 94, Executive Council's Report)

Your committee reports that President Harry C. Bates, of the Bricklayers, and Vice President Dave Beck of the Teamsters represented us as fraternal delegates at the British Trades Union Congress which met in Bridlington, England early in September. President H. A. Bradley of the Chemical Workers represented us at the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, which met at Calgary, Alberta, Canada, last month.

Your committee would point out that this exchange of fraternal delegates carries with it not only the cordial exchange of friendly greetings from one democratic nation to another but symbolizes the closeness between the free trade unions of these countries working together for a common cause.

Committee Secretary Borchardt moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Change of Titles of International Unions

(Page 94, Executive Council's Report)

Your committee recommends concurrence in the action of the Executive Council's action in effecting change of titles as follows:

1. Operative Plasterers' International Association to be changed to Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International Association of the United States and Canada.

2. Radio Directors Guild to be changed to Radio and Television Directors' Guild.

Committee Secretary Borchardt moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Frank Morrison

(Page 95, Executive Council's Report)

The tribute paid to Frank Morrison by the Executive Council is one in which every delegate who has ever attended an A. F. of L. convention, would concur. We loved and respected Frank Morrison; he merited our love and respect.

While we express our sense of loss at his passing, we may well consider what his passing means even beyond our loss in not having him in our midst. How unfortunate that his personal memoirs of trade union history were not recorded! This observation leads your committee to point out that, like Frank Morrison, so, too, many of the great men who helped build our movement and helped build our nation have history to tell, history which they helped make.

There are in this hall today hundreds of men who have fought, who have sacrificed much to help write social history for our country. From these men directly we should get the story, first hand: What were the issues and how the fight was won. We should like to have recorded the stories told by the leaders of the Internationals, and also by those who at the local, state and national level have played an active role in fighting to make and keep labor free and to enrich the lives of men, women and children throughout our land. Because such a history is needed, is wanted

today, your committee recommends that the Executive Council be asked to consider the advisability of compiling a continuous history of our movement; of its activities in the past and of its program as it is day by day being implemented; a history in which the living, the warm human story of our movement in all its beauty, in all its fury is told.

Committee Secretary Borchardt moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Benefit Services of National and International Unions

(Page 100, Executive Council's Report)

Your committee reports that over one hundred million dollars in material benefits were paid during this last year to our members, of which sixty-eight and one-half million were from the respective national unions. These sums testify in no mean way to the material effectiveness of our movement.

These benefits supplement benefits paid workers from public funds for these essential services to which workers are entitled as citizens. We would again call to your attention that the American Federation of Labor first secured recognition of the principle that trade union benefits must be supplemented by publicly supported social insurance, such as social security. Our unions have now secured wide recognition of the principle that industry itself must help bear the cost of social insurance. Social insurance, in all its forms, we contend must be recognized as an inherent cost of industry. However, the program must be administered with the guidance and controls in the hands of those workers who are to be directly benefited through such a fund.

Today, we know that social insurance from trade unions, from public funds and from industry's funds must supplement each other.

Committee Secretary Borchardt moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Metal Trades Department

(Page 270, Executive Council's Report)

The Metal Trades Department reports substantial progress in an organizing campaign. This is heartening.

The Department also continues its healthy growth in bona fide trade union negotiation. Joint agreements have been extended; the general public as well as the workers, and as well as industry itself have profited from this virile trade union activity.

We commend the Department and its affiliates. We all profit through their work.

Committee Secretary Borchardt moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Maritime Trades Department

(Page 270, Executive Council's Report)

Only three years ago the convention approved the establishment of the Maritime Trades Department. At that time, the convention paid tribute to these men for fighting for "not only their own economic betterment but even more in fighting for the security of our nation." The convention held that "no group in our America has had to fight more determinedly against the Communists than have our maritime unions." What was said then is even more true today. These men have just won another tremendously important battle in our war against Communism. From Halifax as a center the Communists sought control of the seas and of the ports.

The Communist dominated maritime unions were ordered to stop the flow of Marshall Plan Aid to democratic nations. Strikes were ordered—political strikes, all over the world. The fight centering in Halifax was destined to be a fight to the finish. The Communists had taken practically complete control of the civilian life of the community. Those who opposed them were intimidated or attacked. Our maritime unions sent in more and more men. They knew this was a struggle of worldwide significance. Their convictions were confirmed when the Communist dominated World Federation of Trade Unions and particularly its maritime division stopped shipping all over the world: Australia, Italy, France, England. Our men accepted the challenge through bodily combat and through international negotiations. The Maritime Unions were very ably assisted by the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks. The situation became so serious that the American Federation of Labor as a whole became active in the fight.

While the Executive Council Report does not deal with our relations with the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, your Committee is of the opinion that these recent developments as they touch the matters referred to your Committee, should be reported to this convention.

For several years, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor was concerned about the development and growth of Communist influences within the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada and these developments were the subject of discussions and conferences with the Executive Board of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. However, these Communist influences within the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada continued to expand until the situation, as reported above, became so serious that it was necessary for the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to conduct a full-scale investigation in which the Executive of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada was invited to participate.

After securing all of the facts bearing on this fight, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor formally called upon the Executive of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada to take effective remedial action to prevent further Communist subversion of the purposes of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

We are now pleased to report that during the Convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada held at Calgary, Alberta during the month of September 1949 the Communist-dominated Canadian Seamen's union was expelled from affiliation and other effective measures were adopted to assure a continuing free and democratic trades union congress and permitting a continuation of our fraternal relations.

Our International Unions affiliated with the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada rendered valuable service to the American Federation of Labor and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada in this connection. The International Seafarers' Union and the International Longshoremen's Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have succeeded in eliminating the Communist-dominated Canadian Seamen's Union in Canada, and we look forward to continuing growth and development for these free, democratic trade unions in the Dominion of Canada.

On all fronts the anti-Communist forces have won in this fight. Our labor movement, our nation owes much to these men from the Maritime Unions! Undoubtedly the most effective thanks we can give these men is to help them in their fight to preserve their freedom. This we pledge ourselves to do.

A case in point: There has been referred to our Committee a section of the Executive Council's Report (Page 270) which deals with the nefarious practice of certain steamship owners in placing their ships under the Panamanian flag, in an effort to evade or destroy the hard-won working standards for which our men have so valiantly fought through the years. The report states the matter is now before the I.L.O. Should there be any delay in effecting an equitable solution through this agency, your Committee recommends that the Executive Council be authorized to take whatever steps it can through national and international agencies, public and private to assure the stopping of the transfer of the registry of our ships to nations whose standards of working conditions are lower than ours.

Then, too, in an entirely different way, we may further support the men who sail our ships in the fight to be and remain free. At present they are subject to the control and discipline of the U. S. Coast Guard, a quasi-military organization. While we honor the glorious record the Coast Guard has made, we wish to record our strong objection to placing any group of our civilian workers under military or quasi-military supervision in time of peace. Your committee shares with the men who sail our ships, a deep conviction that they, because they are civilian workers, should be immediately removed from any form of military or quasi-military supervision or control and placed back under civilian supervision.

DELEGATE MAX FEDERMAN, Fur Workers' Union, Toronto, Canada; President Green and Delegates to this convention:

I rise to speak in favor of the Committee's report of the Executive Council.

The reason I am speaking now—because I feel that as a member of the anti-Communist bloc within the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, under the chairmanship of Frank Hall, the story should be told of what happened for the last few years in reference to the Canadian Seamen's Union, which has just recently been expelled at the last convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, in Calgary.

As a member of this Committee I wish to express gratitude to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and also to some International Unions for their effective and moral assistance to this Committee in order to get rid of the Communist domination of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

I would also like to mention that in view of the fact that the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada took a definite stand against Communism, and in view of the fact that there are a number of Local Unions in Canada that are dominated by Communists, and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada has no right to remove the leadership,—therefore, I would urge the International Unions immediately to take action. I will mention a few.

The United Garment Workers Union is one which is fully controlled by Communists in Canada. I have visited the office of the United Garment Workers in New York just a few months ago, and I have proven to the President that within the last two years they have lost 2,300 members because of Communist control. The only reason that they have disaffiliated from the United Garment Workers was that they did not like the Communist leadership. And the same reason I can say about the United Textile Workers of America,—that they have lost thousands of members in Canada, because of Communist domination.

I think that it is high time that those International Unions should remove the Communist leadership immediately in order that they should save their organizations in Canada.

For a number of years the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada has been influenced by Communists, especially during the time when Pat Sullivan, well-known leader of the Communist party in Canada was Secretary-Treasurer of the Trades and Labor Congress in Canada, we had a tremendous fight against Communist control. I will show you a few examples:

At last year's Trades and Labor Congress of Canada convention held in Regina a resolution was adopted against the Marshall Plan and also against the North Atlantic

pact which is against the policy of the American Federation of Labor.

For the past few years we have faced a very serious problem in reference to Canadian Seamen's Union. Since the Canadian Seamen's Union was organized, they have always been under Communist control and a charter was issued by the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. If you will recall, in 1940 when Canada was at war and immediately after the Stalin-Hitler pact was signed, and as you all remember the Communist propaganda—that the war was not a fight against Fascism—the first thing they did, they declared a strike in order that Canada should not be able to send supplies to the Canadian Army overseas, and some of the leaders of the Canadian Seamen's Union were put in concentration camps.

Just recently another political strike was called by the Canadian Seamen's Union in order to work against the Marshall Plan.

Two years ago when the S.I.U. came into Canada to organize the Seamen's Union in Canada, the leadership of the Trades and Labor Congress took a stand against this International Union. Furthermore, President Green ordered the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada to revoke the charter and transfer them over to the International Union, which they refused.

Another example—I want to show to this convention what our committee had to fight against the leadership of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada:

Just recently Mr. Philip Cutler, General Organizer of the American Federation of Labor in Montreal, has been removed because of his action and activities against the policy of the American Federation of Labor.

Immediately after his suspension, the leadership of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada gave Mr. Cutler a job as an Organizer and Mr. Cutler also took some Federal Labor Unions which were affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and gave them to the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada and Mr. Cutler is still on the pay roll of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

In view of such developments, it was essential to organize the anti-Communist bloc in order to support the S.I.U., and to carry out the policy of the American Federation of Labor and also to eliminate Communist influence once and for all, in the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

I am very pleased to report to this Convention, on behalf of this Committee that we have been successful in expelling the Canadian Seamen's Union from the Congress; 800 delegates voted for the expelling; 78 voted against expelling, and the S.I.U. is becoming a factor in Canada.

In conclusion, again on behalf of the anti-Communist bloc I wish to sincerely thank

the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the various International Unions which helped at our last convention in Calgary to expel the Canadian Seaman's Union, and also to state that the policy of the American Federation of Labor will now be followed by the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

DELEGATE JACOBS, Textile Workers of America: Mr. Chairman and delegates: I rise to speak on the motion of the Committee on behalf of the United Textile Workers of America in the American Federation of Labor. I regret that it becomes necessary to make these remarks because of the preceding speaker. It is regrettable that a delegate to this great convention, in speaking upon concurrence in an action taken by the American Federation of Labor in ousting Communists from our great organization so far forgets himself as to cast aspersions upon two other International Unions and make an unfounded charge that they have allowed domination and leadership in their Canadian membership by Communists.

We make the direct statement, if it please the convention, that the United Textile Workers of America in the American Federation of Labor is neither controlled nor dominated by any Communists in Canada. That same thing, if this convention please, is nothing but the mouthings of the enemies of labor who started it in the Canadian newspapers in fights when we have had strikes, and also by the dual CIO in their attacks upon our organization in the States.

No later than a week ago the rival unions passed literature in South Carolina and in North Carolina charging that our Communist Director of the United Textile Workers was in charge of our organization. We immediately wrote to our Director and got a transcription that we put on the radio, and in that transcription he said that he is not a member of the Communist Party, that he did not believe in their doctrines and that he has signed, along with the other International members of the United Textile Workers of America, the non-Communist affidavit required by the Taft-Hartley law, and he further pointed out that this same cry was begun when our organization has over 5,000 people in a life and death struggle in Canada. It was only because we were able to hold those people and work and fight for them that we were successful in organizing the textile workers in Canada. We are proud to say that under the leadership of our non-Communist director, if you please, that we today have a tremendous segment of textile workers organized in the Province of Quebec—yes, in a Province which has an anti-labor law which makes the Taft-Hartley law look like a moonlight dream.

We respectfully submit to this convention that if a delegate rises to speak on the question of Communism he should know whereof he speaks. I might suggest to the convention that the same delegate, during the course of the convention, suggested to me that the particular person that he spoke about was a Communist and when we asked for proof there was none. We have heard these same rumors. Our International Union sent people to Canada to find out if there was any basis, and we found that it was because of some of our people in Canada who did not go along with certain political

parties in Canada that they branded them as Communists.

May I state to the convention that the United Textile Workers of America bows to no organization in the American Federation of Labor in its loyalty to the principles of Americanism, in its loyalty to principles of democracy, and we regret that the delegate so far forgot himself as to make those unfounded charges.

DELEGATE McCURDY, United Garment Workers: President Green, I reluctantly take the floor at this time. However, as the President of what I think is one of the greatest International Unions in the American Federation of Labor, the United Garment Workers of America, who were among the first to sign the anti-Communist affidavit, I wrote the letter having all the signatures of our chief officers to Washington, and we stated that we were proud to sign the anti-Communist affidavit, although we think it is discriminatory. We see no reason why members of labor have to sign the non-Communist affidavits and representatives of the employers do not have to sign the affidavits. The lawyers who represent management in labor conferences and the representatives who represent management do not have to sign it. There is no question that everybody in this audience agrees that the anti-Communist affidavit was discriminatory, and there is certainly no question in the mind of any delegate to this convention that every one of our representatives and the representatives of the American Federation of Labor are dedicated to the preservation of our American institutions. We don't know any country but this country. We are proud to sign an anti-Communist affidavit. When I received word I had a Communist representative in Canada I fired him immediately. Amen.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

The report of the Committee was continued, as follows:

World Federation of Trade Unions

(Page 271, Executive Council's Report)

This section of the Council's Report shows that in the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions, there is the Seamen's and Dockers' Division which may well be used to carry out the orders of the Cominform.

Your committee recommends that this fact be widely publicized and that full consideration be given to this threat by the delegates from the American Federation of Labor at the meeting to establish the new world trade union organization. In working out a program of opposition to the Communist-dominated waterfront unions, fullest consideration must be given to the proposals of the Maritime Trades Department, and all of its affiliated unions.

Committee Secretary Borchardt moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Railway Employees' Department

(Page 271, Executive Council's Report)

A tremendously important victory has been won by the Non-Operating Standard Railway Labor Organizations in negotiating an industry-wide agreement for a 40-hour week with an increase in pay. Through this agreement they have materially reduced the hours of work, with no decrease in basic pay and with actually an increase in pay above the required basic rate. Carried with this is also a proportionate increase in the amount of time allowed for weekly and monthly guaranteed sick leave and vacations.

Similar negotiations are now underway in Canada. The story of the negotiations of this agreement over a period of many months is a stirring one of step-by-step victory through sound trade union procedure. It is heartening to recognize that the happy termination of this fight "demonstrates what can be done through cooperation and effective and complete organization of the workers."

We congratulate the Railway Employees' Department, and commend their practices to the consideration of all our unions.

Committee Secretary Borchardt moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

A Fraternal Delegate from the A. F. of L. International Labor Press of America

(Supplemental report submitted to the Committee)

Your Committee is happy to report that the Executive Council has recognized the International Labor Press, and sent their representative as a fraternal delegate at the convention.

We welcome him personally, and we are pleased that our happy relations with the International Labor Press are ever the more firmly established by this fact.

Committee Secretary Borchardt moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY BORCHARDT: Mr. Chairman, this concludes the Committee's report, and it is signed by the following members:

Harry C. Bates
Robert Byron
F. A. Fitzgerald
Henry F. Schmal
Leo J. Buckley
George Q. Lynch
Charles M. Rau
Herman P. McGee
Frank J. Coleman
Irvin Barney
Paul L. Phillips
A. C. D'Andrea

David Dubinsky,
Chairman
Selma M. Borchardt,
Secretary

Thomas J. O'Connell
M. J. Sexton
Joseph E. Brown
Harry R. Lyons
Milton S. Maxwell
Leslie L. Myers
Leo Abernathy
Chester A. Sample
Bernard M. Egan
John O'Hare
William Schoenberg

COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Committee Secretary Borchardt moved the adoption of the report of the Committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I wish to thank the Committee for the service it has rendered and for the report it has just made. The Chair now recognizes Chairman Tobin, of the Committee on Law.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAW

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN TOBIN: We have only two amendments before the Committee and it shouldn't take very long. Brother Edward Volz will make the report for the Committee on Law.

Committee Secretary Volz submitted the following report:

Your Committee on Law had the following four proposals referred to it for consideration:

That part of the Executive Council's Report under the caption "Strike Benefits" appearing on page 99 proposing an amendment to the Constitution to increase and extend the amount and period of strike benefits provided for members of federal unions; a Supplementary Report of the Executive Council presented to the fourth day's session of the convention proposing an amendment to the Constitution changing the date of conventions; Resolution No. 65 proposing an amendment to the Constitution to increase strike benefits and shorten the waiting period for members of federal unions and Resolu-

tion No. 66 proposing an amendment to the Constitution changing the convention date.

After due and careful consideration your committee submits the following report and recommendations all of which are unanimous.

Change in Date of AFL Convention

(First Day's Proceedings—Page 59)

Resolution No. 66—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Luigi Antonini, Israel Feinberg, Charles S. Zimmerman, Isidore Nagler, Louis Stulberg, David Gingold, George Rubin, International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

This resolution proposing a change in the date of the convention was withdrawn by the proposers when advised that the matter was to be given attention by the Executive Council. Your Committee recommends that the request to withdraw this resolution be approved.

Committee Secretary Volz moved concurrence in the Committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Change in Convention Date

In a supplemental report the Executive Council states and recommends as follows:

"In order that all members and officers of the American Federation of Labor may, in the future, give full participation to the very necessary political activities of organized labor during the weeks immediately preceding election day, the Executive Council recommends that the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended in order that future annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor should be convened each year on the third Monday in September instead of the first Monday in October.

"It is, therefore, recommended that Section 1 of Article III of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor which now reads:

"Section 1. The convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 a.m., on the first Monday in October, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding convention, except during the years when a Presidential election occurs, when the convention in those years shall be held beginning the third Monday of November. If the proper convention arrangements or reasonable hotel accommodations cannot be secured in that city, the Executive Council may change the place of meeting."

"shall be amended to read as follows:

"Section 1. The convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 a.m., on the third Monday in September at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding

convention. If the proper convention arrangements or reasonable hotel accommodations cannot be secured in that city, the Executive Council may change the place of meeting."

Your committee is in full accord and concurs in the intent and purpose which prompted the Executive Council in proposing this change in the Constitution and recommends that Section 1 of Article III of the Constitution be amended as proposed and to read as follows:

"Section 1. The convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 a.m., on the third Monday in September at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding convention. If the proper convention arrangements or reasonable hotel accommodations cannot be secured in that city, the Executive Council may change the place of meeting."

COMMITTEE SECRETARY VOLZ: I move concurrence in the Committee's report and recommendation and the amendment of Section 1, Article III as proposed.

The motion was seconded.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The motion is that the report of the Committee be adopted. Are there any remarks?

If not, the Chair wishes to announce that amendments to the Constitution must receive a two-thirds vote of the delegates in attendance at the convention. Therefore, I must call for a show of hands in this vote in order that I may clearly determine as to the vote of the delegates on this proposal. Are you ready to vote? All who favor the adoption of the recommendation will please raise your right hand.

Those opposed.

The record shows that the amendment is unanimously adopted by the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention, and it is so ordered.

Committee Secretary Volz continued the report of the committee as follows:

Strike Benefits

(Executive Council's Report, Page 99.)

Resolution No. 65—By Delegate George A. Haberman, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

(First Day's Proceedings—Page 59.)

This part of the Executive Council's Report and Resolution No. 65, both proposing amendment to the Constitution to increase and improve strike benefits provided for members of Federal Unions were considered jointly by your Committee.

The Executive Council Report and recommendation calls for an increase in strike ben-

efits from seven (\$7.00) dollars to ten (\$10.00) dollars per week and extension of the period during which benefits would be paid from six (6) to ten (10) weeks. Resolution No. 65 proposes increasing the benefits to fifteen (\$15.00) dollars and reducing the waiting period from two (2) weeks to one (1) week.

Delegate George Wallig of Federal Union 18456, Kenosha, Wisconsin appeared before the Committee in support of Resolution No. 65.

Committee member Anthony Valente voiced objection to both Council recommendation and Resolution No. 65 with explanations.

After due and careful deliberation your Committee substituted the Executive Council's Report and recommendation for Resolution No. 65 and recommends that Section 5 of Article XIII be amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 5 When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2 and 3, the American Federation of Labor shall pay to the bonded officer of the Union involved, or his order, for a period of ten weeks, an amount equal to ten (\$10.00) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safekeeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No benefit shall be paid for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period."

COMMITTEE SECRETARY VOLZ: I move approval of the Committee report and recommendation and the amendment of Section 5, Article XIII.

The motion was seconded.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Those who favor the motion offered by the Secretary of the Committee will raise your right hand.

Those opposed.

The Chair declares the motion unanimously carried, and it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY VOLZ: This concludes the report of the Committee on Law and it is respectfully submitted by the following:

Daniel J. Tobin, Chairman
Edward J. Volz, Secretary
Joseph N. Weber
T. C. Carroll
Hazel Brown
Herbert Rivers
Jasper N. Davis
W. R. Brooks
Anthony Matz
Sol Cilento
Anthony Valente
John F. Redmond
Sam J. Byers
Walter L. Thomas
Sebastian Ollinger
Luigi Antonini
David Sullivan

COMMITTEE SECRETARY VOLZ: I move approval of the report of the Committee as a whole and as acted upon by this convention.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN TOBIN: Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of the Constitution as amended, as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair wishes to thank the Committee for the fine service it rendered.

ESCORT COMMITTEES

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair wishes to announce that on Monday General Phillip B. Fleming, of the United States Maritime Commission, will address the convention at 11:00 o'clock, and that Secretary of Defense Honorable Louis A. Johnson will address the convention in the afternoon at 3:30 o'clock.

The Chair desires to announce the appointment of committees to escort these distinguished guests and speakers to the convention hall.

Committee to meet General Phillip B. Fleming: Robert Byron, Sheet Metal Workers International Union; George Lynch, of the Pattern Makers International Union; John Owens, of the Longshoremen's International Union.

Committee to meet Secretary of Defense Johnson: Brother George Harrison, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks; William McPetridge, Building Service Employees; and Brother Phil Hannah, Secretary of Ohio State Federation of Labor.

Now we have a guest speaker with whom you are all acquainted. He has traveled all the way from Paris, France to St. Paul, Minnesota, for the purpose of attending this convention and reporting upon the work of the E. C. A., and particularly the work he is engaged in as Director of the European Labor Division of the E. C. A. in Paris. You will remember he served in our Research Department before being appointed to this important position. He has rendered excellent service in Europe and in France. The information we have received all indicates that he has ren-

dered that kind of service.

I am happy to present to you Brother Boris Shishkin, Director of the European Labor Division, Economic Cooperation Administration.

MR. BORIS SHISHKIN

(Director, European Labor Division,
Economic Cooperation
Administration)

President Green and delegates to this convention; I can hardly find words to say how wonderful it is to have an opportunity to be here. I am just a young representative of the American Federation of Labor, but this is my sixteenth convention, and I am glad I didn't miss it.

I have come all this long way to call your attention to the things that are going on and that are far away and seem remote, but are very close and very immediate to you. In this very brief statement I hope to be able to make I have, first, the responsibility of bringing to you a message from Ambassador W. Averell Harriman, who last year was able to address the convention personally, but this time was not able to do so because of the great pressure upon him in his duties in Europe.

First of all, I would like to read to you a statement from Ambassador Harriman, United States Special Representative in Europe.

Statement of Ambassador W. Averell Harriman, U. S. Special Representative in Europe, to the 68th Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in St. Paul, Minn., October 7, 1949

It is a matter of real disappointment to me that this year I cannot visit with you personally at the great convention of the American Federation of Labor. I was prepared to respond to President Green's warm and cordial invitation and, as I did last year, to come across the Atlantic especially to meet with your convention and report to you on the progress of the European Recovery Program. But the pressure of rapidly unfolding events has made it necessary for me to remain in Europe at this time.

My message to you and to the millions of American workers you represent is, first of all, one of deep personal appreciation to the American Federation of Labor for its vital initiative and unremitting support of the European Aid Program. Your organization has made a major contribution to the success of the E. C. A. to date. It has also given confidence to the workers of Europe that the United States aid to European recovery has the firm backing of American trade unions and will be carried out to its conclusion with wide labor approval.

But your trade union statesmanship has gone even further. American labor has taken a true measure of its responsibilities toward the future and has given support to our foreign policies beyond the E. C. A.

Our nation is dedicated to the task of making the world secure. America has entered into a partnership with other nations devoted to freedom in order to achieve this task. To endure the storm and stress of forces bent upon aggression and destruction of freedom, the structure of lasting peace must be reared in a stable world. It is only through the achievement of economic stability that world peace can be firmly secured. And economic stability is possible only through economic cooperation among nations.

The European Recovery Program is the keystone in the building of future peace. How far have we succeeded in fashioning it and fitting it into the design of democracies for world security?

During the first year and a half of its operation, the E. R. P. has helped the participating countries of Europe to pull themselves out of the heap into which they have been thrown and twisted by the explosions of the last war. It has done more than that. It has shown the way to these nations toward mutual assistance and day-to-day cooperation, without which the economy of Europe could not be rebuilt and without which Europe can never prosper.

What about the remaining two and a half years of the European aid program? Can it succeed? Is it worth it? The prime purpose of our aid to European recovery is to enable Europe to become progressively more self-supporting. I am confident that the E. C. A. aid will help achieve this. And the measure of its success will be the extent to which Europe will no longer be dependent on America's gifts. At the same time, the measure of its success will be the extent to which Europe and America will become each other's paying customers.

World security is impossible without a strong and self-supporting Europe. Europe cannot be made self-reliant without the full measure of E. C. A. aid. Yet Europe cannot be made self-supporting through E. C. A. aid alone. As economic assistance from us diminishes, the normal, healthy trade between America and Europe must grow.

The post-war readjustment we have experienced at home has proved to be far less painful than had been widely predicted and expected. That readjustment is not yet over. But we can make our economy in America strong and stable enough to be able to resist the forces of unbalance, if we clearly recognize the meaning of our new position in the world economy and act accordingly.

The advance in America's position in the world since the outbreak of the last war is nothing short of miraculous. We stand today as a nation turning out the production of nearly one-half of all manufactured goods made in the entire world. If we are to advance and avert a painful crisis, we must understand fully that this new position of leadership carries with it new responsibilities. To

a much larger extent than ever before, we must depend on the outside world for our markets; much more than at any time in the past the growth and expansion of economic activity in other countries will be the source of our employment and growth at home.

Economic stability within the United States can only be achieved in a stable world. The stability of the world outside of the United States depends on our capacity to deal with and trade with other nations on the basis of reciprocity. To be able to sell abroad we must also buy from abroad. If we fail in this responsibility, we will have to accept the consequences of a collapse.

The European Recovery Program has been a labor program in a very large measure. In aiding the countries of Europe to achieve economic recovery through their own efforts, the government of the United States has never failed to emphasize the part that wage earners must play in that recovery, the share of the workers in the benefits of recovery, and the contribution of free and democratic unions to the recovery plans and their execution. The E. C. A. was able to do this successfully only because it could draw upon the services of trade unionists from your ranks who have been given positions of top responsibility within the E. C. A.

One of the vitally important services the E. C. A. is rendering is to inform the workers of Europe about the conditions of life and work and the aspirations of workers at home. I look upon this education in economic democracy as crucial to the successful growth of true democracy in Europe. Labor information is foremost in the establishment of a bond of understanding between America and Europe. In this your organization has been and, I am confident, will continue to be effective toward the success of our larger task, based on the acceptance of trade unionism as the dynamic force without whose drive democracy cannot survive.

The trade union movement in America has grown to be a full partner in the shaping of our nation's foreign policy and in its execution. I want the world to know and understand the far-reaching meaning of this fact. And I want you to know how deeply grateful I am for the leadership of the American Federation of Labor and its contribution toward the building of a world secure against war, a world in which men can be free.

(This concludes the message from Ambassador Harriman to this convention.)

I also want to take this opportunity to give you a message from several of the men who would have been delegates to this convention if they had not been in the service of the United States abroad. Among those missing because of that fact are James Killen of the Pulp and Sulphite Paper Workers; John Gross, of the Colorado Federation of Labor, and Foster Pratt, and a number of other American Federation of Labor members who are now serving in Europe and different countries. They are serving in different capacities in the ECA, these men that I have named.

John Gross, for example, is Chief of Missions of Norway of E. C. A., entirely respon-

sible for the execution of the E. C. A. program in Norway, one of the key European countries in the program of economic recovery. Others, like Jim Killen, are in charge of the ECA labor program in different countries. Jim Killen is serving as Director of the Labor Division of the United States Economic Mission to the United Kingdom.

Foster Pratt has the responsibility in my office in the European Labor Division of the E. C. A. for coordinating the work of the labor men in the different country missions and that is also a very important responsibility.

I also want to give you a brief indication of the work that we have done and of our achievements in that field. I just want to mention briefly to give you an idea of the fact that we are not only carrying out the labor program in Europe but also are participating fully in full consultation with Ambassador Harriman in the European office in Paris, with the mission chiefs in the individual countries and missions in every decision of policy that is made by the E. C. A. The trade unionists who are drawn from the ranks of labor are serving the capacity of ECA representatives and are relied upon to give decisions concerning ECA's tasks.

In addition to this we have a labor program which has to do with human lives in Europe. In Germany in addition to the displaced persons you have eight and a half million refugees, refugees from the east, refugees since the end of the war who must be rehabilitated, who must be provided with jobs, who must be given an opportunity to become full citizens in a western democratic world. That aid is given by the E. C. A., and one of the important parts of the European Recovery Program.

I am mentioning that particularly because the recovery program in Germany is the key to the European recovery. The rehabilitation of Western Germany is going on successfully now. The program has been launched. We do have the confidence of the great mass of the Germans in our purpose because they know that Commissioner McCloy who has the responsibility for the E. R. P. program in Germany has as a member of his cabinet as Chief Advisor, Harvey Brown, a top-ranking American trade unionist heading the office of Labor Affairs.

So you see, in this program for the first time we have the kind of a responsibility where we are dealing with the things that mean the real reconstruction; that have as their objective the rebuilding of the welfare of the European workers, training of the workers, enabling them to migrate, the great task of improving productivity. Full participation of labor in the raising of that productivity and a full share in the benefits of the productivity is something that Europe has never known before and something that Europe is doing today on an international basis, in which the countries are joining together in carrying it out.

The European Recovery Program and, with it, the rapid economic recovery of Europe, would not be the reality it is today, if it were not for the sweeping support of this program by the trade union movement in the United States and the leadership of the Amer-

ican Federation of Labor in gaining its enactment and its full and effective execution.

Defense of human welfare against the attack of privation and economic oppression has always been the first order of business of American trade unions. Defense of human freedom against the attack of dictatorship, of political enslavement, of both oppression and suppression of the human spirit is the first order of business of the American trade union movement today.

The spectre of death and destruction of another war, of atomic war, is in the minds and hearts of people everywhere. But the prospect of a war of weapons is remote. The policy of cooperation among democracies in regional defense against military aggression is in itself a firm assurance that there will be no war of weapons.

Yet you must recognize that a war is being waged in Europe right now, a cold-blooded war against the basic institutions of democracy; against self-government, against the majority rule, against the freedom of speech, or worship and of self-organization. Subtly and surreptitiously, the sinister arm of human enslavement, the sixth column of the Soviet Slave State, has been persistently at work to capture from within allegiance to its will of citizens of sovereign nations beyond the Iron Belt.

The immediate target in this combined political and economic warfare centering upon Europe today is economic betterment of the mass of Europe's people, achieved through free institutions. Everywhere in Europe we have seen that, as recovery progresses, as economic conditions improve, the people are more encouraged and determined to reject the promises of a dictatorship both foreign and distasteful to them.

The major objectives under attack of the enemy of democracy in this struggle are two. One is the European Recovery Program, the Marshall Plan, around which the free nations have rallied in a cooperative task of economic recovery. The other is the institution of free trade unions, the very foundation-stone of economic democracy.

That is why the European Recovery Program is the first line of defense not only against a world depression, but also against the undercover aggression waged by the agents of world dictatorship. And that is why the free trade union movement is the strongest fortress of defense against the surrender of democracy to its enemy.

Whether this struggle will be won depends on whether the ERP will be carried out to its conclusion and a self-reliant and strong community of European nations can be built. It depends equally on the effectiveness of trade union cooperation among labor organizations free of remote control of alien powers.

Trade unionists from among your ranks are serving in the cause of human betterment and in the cause of peace, when they perform their duties as officers of the ECA. It is your responsibility to give them full backing in their work. You must keep in close touch with

our staff working in Europe. Above all labor must prepare and equip itself for the enlarged and crucial task its members are shouldering in the foreign service of your government.

I call on the American Federation of Labor to make provision, in cooperation with our top educational institutions, for a program of training for foreign service of trade unionists who, in the days to come, will be called upon to serve the foremost interests of the people of the United States and of the freedom-loving people of the world.

It is for this purpose and to this objective that we are working, and I am glad to be able to come here and render this brief report so that you will know and remember that far away at a great distance these men are speaking for you, working for you and looking to you for their full support to the hilt.

I thank you very much.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I appreciate, as do you, the report just submitted by our good friend Boris Shishkin, and I know you will be helped and benefited by the facts and information submitted therein.

Thank you for the service you have rendered.

Now, President Mitchell of the Farm Laborers' Union has some interesting information that he wants to transmit to you, a very interesting report.

So I am pleased to present to you now Brother Mitchell for the submission of that information.

MR. H. L. MITCHELL

(President, Farm Laborers' Union)

President Green, delegates to the convention: Last year many of you remember having seen the DiGiorgio strike picture. Many of your unions contributed towards helping carry on that struggle. I wish I could report that that had been settled, but I cannot. However, I do have a report that is much more encouraging perhaps than the DiGiorgio strike business.

About thirty days ago there was an attempt in California to cut the wages of a group of cotton pickers who were engaged in helping harvest a million dollar crop of cotton produced in that western state. The Associated Farmers proposed to cut their wages at least a dollar a day. As a result the workers began a spontaneous movement to resist or to protest the wage cut. The Union having had the experience of this DiGiorgio strike two years, and other organizations in the Central Valley of California, was called upon by the workers to help in their struggle to improve their conditions. We organized the strike on regular trade union lines, set up picketing, and we

brought it to a successful conclusion. The wage cut was restored to the workers, an agreement was reached and we were assisted by the State Federation and the Conciliation Service in working out an agreement with the cotton growers of quite a large area of California. The agreement provides that the wages should be \$3 per hundred for picking of cotton, and it was made applicable to 100,000 workers.

I think it is the first time in the history of California's turbulent agriculture that the workers' demands have been met by the Associated Farmers of long-known ill repute.

We are glad to report to you the success of this endeavor and to thank you for your help and cooperation in winning this first large strike of the agricultural workers since the American Federation of Labor chartered the National Farm Labor Union two years ago.

PRESIDENT GREEN: We are happy to know that these cotton pickers affiliated with the Farm Laborers' Union won this decisive struggle in California. That is a great event and a most significant one.

Now, we have worked diligently and faithfully this afternoon, so if there is no objection the Chair will now declare the rules suspended and the convention will be recessed until Monday morning at 9:30 o'clock.

Hearing none, it is so ordered.

(At 5:15 o'clock, p.m. the convention adjourned to reconvene Monday, October 10, 1949, at 9:30 o'clock, a.m.)

RESOLUTIONS

The following resolutions were received and referred to the appropriate committees:

ITALIAN-AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL

Resolution No. 132—By Delegate Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Throughout its existence the Italian-American Labor Council has functioned as a most effective force for bringing the ideals and aims of American democracy to the workers of Italian origin in our community, and

WHEREAS, The Italian-American Labor Council has rendered splendid service in promoting a better understanding and genuine friendship between the American and Italian people—especially through fostering coopera-

tion between the democratic forces of Italy and organized labor in the United States, and

WHEREAS, The Italian-American Labor Council has rendered a great contribution to the world cause of free labor and democracy by its continuous unstinting moral and material support of the genuine free trade union movement in Italy, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 68th convention of the American State Federation of Labor herewith congratulates this splendid labor body for its fine work and commends it to the membership of all our affiliates as an organization worthy of their full cooperation and support.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

FREE TRADE UNIONISM IN ITALY

Resolution No. 133—By Delegate Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The enemies of democracy and human decency operating as a wing of the Cominform have chosen Italy as one of their main areas where to spread chaos and misery, and

WHEREAS, Because of its culture and civilization, and through its pivotal position in the highly strategic Mediterranean area, Italy is a vital link in the alliance of western democracies striving to preserve world peace and freedom, and

WHEREAS, The reconstruction of Italy as a prosperous and healthy democracy is indispensable to the restoration of European economy and the maintenance of international harmony, and

WHEREAS, Italian labor plays the decisive role in developing the Republic of Italy into a strong democracy and a great force for economic reconstruction and world peace, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 68th convention of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled herewith notes with real satisfaction the encouraging progress made in recent months by the democratic labor unionists of Italy towards reconstituting their free trade unions into a unified federation of labor free from all employer and governmental control and domination by any political party, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention heartily greet the democratic trade unionists of Italy now breaking the Communist shackles on the labor organization and pledges to these embattled champions of free trade unionism in Italy the full moral support of the New York State Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Sixty-Eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor 1949 Proceedings

Saint Paul, Minnesota, October 10, 1949



Report of SIXTH DAY—MONDAY MORNING SESSION

The convention was called to order at 9:55 o'clock, a.m., by President Green.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I know we are all happy because we have with us this morning the Rev. Francis Gilligan, of St. Paul's Seminary, who will pronounce the invocation. Father Gilligan delivered a stirring and inspiring sermon yesterday, which will be printed in the proceedings of this convention. I would like for all of you to read it carefully, because it was really inspiring and worthwhile.

I present to you now Rev. Francis Gilligan for the invocation.

INVOCATION

(Rev. Francis P. Gilligan, St. Paul's Seminary)

Almighty and Eternal God, we adore Thee as the creator and as the builder of the heavens and the earth. We acknowledge Thee as

the molder and the fashioner of the human soul. Gratefully we thank Thee for Thy blessings and especially for the growth and prosperity which our unions have enjoyed.

Since Thou didst promise life after death to those who keep Thy commandments, we pray for the souls of the pioneer members of this organization who gave their lives in unselfish service to their fellowmen, and who since have been touched by the angel of death. Grant to them remission of their faults in eternal happiness.

Send the light of Thy holy spirit, so that we may recognize the manner in which the Ten Commandments must be applied to the contracts which we are called upon to observe.

With Thy grace fortify our souls so that we may be able to give such leadership that the actions of our organization may ever be just, equitable and true.

And finally, grant us the gift of perseverance in these virtues, so that at death, with our fellowmen, we may be united to Thee for all eternity.

Sermon delivered at the St. Paul Cathedral by The Rev. Francis Gilligan of the St. Paul

Seminary at the High Mass for delegates attending the A. F. of L. National Convention, October 9, 1949.

"Unless the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it. Unless the Lord keep the city, he watcheth in vain that keepeth it."—Psalm 126.

In the United States today labor unions are accepted as an integral part of American life. It is true that some citizens opposing them wish that they did not exist. Yet the number of working persons holding membership in labor unions runs above eight million; and the desire of those workers for unions has been demonstrated again and again in the free elections conducted by state officials in the various factories and industries. There is no hard-headed and realistic American who does not recognize that labor unions are now established as a permanent fixture of American industrial life.

Sixty years ago the situation was different. Proportionately the number of working persons holding membership was very small. The civil laws of this nation and their interpretation by the courts militated against workers' organization. There were even some high-minded American statesmen whose names are now written large in history books who declared the very concept of unionism to be un-American. In those days organized labor possessed very few friends.

In those lonely and friendless days, however, a number of bishops and priests in various American cities defended the right of working persons to organize, and as early as the year 1891 Pope Leo XIII in a solemn official document sent to all the bishops in Christendom confirmed the position taken by those bishops. In that document, which is known as the Encyclical letter on the Condition of Labor, Pope Leo XIII declared that the privilege of joining an honest and responsible workers' organization was a natural God-given right which neither the government nor the employers could take away. That statement of Pope Leo XIII was the official teaching of the Catholic Church. It was repeated year after year.

In the year 1931, while the scourge of the great depression afflicted this nation and other parts of the world and when membership of the American Federation of Labor had dropped below two million persons, Pope Pius XI reaffirmed the right of working persons to organize. In an official document which is known as The Encyclical On the Reconstruction Of The Social Order solemnly and officially the Holy Father declared that workers' organizations were necessary. He encouraged Catholics to join unions, and he provided them with a series of moral principles by which they might judge the goodness and badness of industrial relations.

There are irreligious persons today who would separate the laboring groups from the Church. Consequently it is very desirable that we should remind ourselves that years ago, when the friends of organized labor were few, the Church proved herself a true friend; when many denied to workers the right to organize the Catholic Church, in most solemn pro-

nouncements, declared that the right of organization was a natural right.

It is beneficial, too, to observe the reason for the Church's action; It is natural that the Church, walking in the ways of Christ, should have extended a sheltering and protective arm to those who in their generation were weak and underprivileged. The fundamental reason, however, is that the Church is a moral teacher. The Church received from Christ a mandate to explain the moral law and its application to the problems of each generation. Erroneously some persons have said that the Gospel should be restricted to the personal life of a man and to his family situation. That has never been the position of the Catholic Church. The Church indeed branded as a heresy the school of thought which originated in the 17th century and would exempt from the orbit of the moral law all economic and social problems. When cities became industrialized the Church entered the industrial order, not to build factories, not to ally itself with one class over against another, but to teach; to measure off industrial relations against the Gospel of Christ. For the Church knew that to the industrial order must be applied the text: "Unless the Lord build the house, they labour in vain who build it."

II

From the Church's defense of the right of workers to organization there followed another Christian principle; namely, that the man who acts as an official of a labor union is engaged in a wholesome and good occupation; provided, of course that the union is honest and just. Representing workers' organizations is a vocation just as honorable as the practice of law or medicine or governmental service.

Forty years ago, thirty years ago, a good number of Americans looked with some suspicion upon labor officials as if they were engaged in disreputable occupations. In the cartoons, in newspapers and magazines they were caricatured and ridiculed. Such was not the official position of the Catholic Church. If any person doubts it let him read the official documents of the Popes starting in 1891 with Pope Leo XIII. In 1931 Pope Pius XI in several official documents wrote with pride of the number of Catholics who were active in workers' organizations.

When the Creator fashioned man He gave him a social nature. Man was not to live alone. He was so molded that he was to obtain development from association with other men. Because of that social nature which God built in the human heart men formed families, men formed governments, men formed free non-governmental associations. In the Scripture it is written: "It is better that two should be together than one; for they have the advantage of their society. If one falls he should be supported by another." A brother that is helped by a brother is like a strong city."

The men and women, then, who as union officials give their whole time to the tedious task of building responsible and progressive labor unions, are cooperating with the plan of God. They have a vocation which in the scale of secular callings is as honorable as the other professions.

The Church desires that Catholics should aspire to such offices; not to create a Catholic bloc; not to form Catholic cliques within such organizations but rather to provide such organizations with unselfish service and a better knowledge of moral principles.

"Unless the Lord build the house, they labour in vain who build it."

III

It is fitting also that on this occasion attention be directed to a very distinct and invaluable service which labor unions in the United States have rendered to the public welfare of this nation.

In some countries of Europe today a considerable percentage of working people are either members or instruments of the Communist party. In the United States, thank God, conditions are different. Part of the credit for that happy condition must go to organized labor.

While the American Federation of Labor was in its infancy its officials recognized the inherent evil of Marxism. But they were not content just to speak against it. They recognized then that the tissue vulnerable to the germs of Marxism were groups of workers who were denied a just share of the national wealth; who were forced to work long hours, and who were denied a strong voice in the industrial order. They set themselves at the task of immunizing American society against such germs. Year after year, by constant and tedious bargaining, they sought to obtain from the employer a larger share of the nation's income for the workers. As a result of those labors the working people enjoy today good wages, fair working conditions, security, and in the industrial world they walk as upright free men. Because of their good wages they own homes and have a stake in the preservation of private property. Credit for that happy situation must go in part to organized labor. And it should be noted furthermore that the leaders very wisely sought to gain those rights by contracts made between free unions and private employers. They avoided the mistake of northern European workers where most improvements were sought by governmental action with the consequent danger of state socialism. In the United States protective legislation such as minimum wage laws and the like was sought, but only for such persons as seasonal workers and children that labor unions could never hope to organize. In working for legislation for those types of persons the American Federation of Labor exhibited a degree of unselfishness which few other economic groups can match.

Those who believe that if men rightly conform to the moral law they will receive Divine guidance can find in those incidents evidence of the hand of Divine Providence. "Unless the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it."

IV

At the offering of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass there is one action which at times is regretably unnoticed; it is the action in which the celebrant, before ascending the al-

tar, says the Confiteor confessing his sins. This is done, regardless whether the celebrant is a priest or a bishop or a Pope. And the congregation in turn, as represented by the ministers of the Mass or the altar boys, repeats the Confiteor, making confession of its sins. No person may properly offer the Holy Sacrifice unless he has sought the forgiveness of his Creator. No person is worthy to offer this precious gift at the altar unless he has examined his conscience, noted the character of his sins and resolved amendment. There can be no improvement unless faults are identified and catalogued.

Just as other groups, labor unions have committed a number of offenses. Readily do they recognize that. Yet in these years probably the most grievous fault on their part is that they have allowed themselves to become infected with a vice which has already weakened some segments of politics and corporate industries. It is the vice which would exclude from the orbit of the moral law all organized and incorporated activities. It is the attitude which holds that in the light of the Ten Commandments an individual must examine his personal contacts with individual neighbors, must examine his fidelity to his wife and children, but need not evaluate morally his actions as a governmental official or as a member of a business corporation. It is the attitude which in practice holds that the deeds of governments, political parties, and business corporations are unrelated to the Ten Commandments.

The statutes passed by a state legislature are not devoid of all morality. They are either good or bad. If they are bad the immorality does not exist solely as an abstraction. If they are bad then the actions of the legislators who voted for them are sinful. Likewise the policies of business corporations are not devoid of morality. They are either good or bad. And while the corporations may be impersonal the morality of its policies is not. If the policy of a business corporation relative to prices or wages or the treatment of competitors violates the moral law then the actions of the company officials, the directors, and the stockholders are morally evil and imputable.

Similarly the actions of a labor union are not exempt from the moral law. The policy of the union is not good simply because it possesses the strength to achieve it. The actions of a labor union are good or bad, depending on their conformity with the moral law and the precepts of Christ. And if the action of the union is immoral then the blame must be attributed to the officers of the executive board and the members who voted for the policy. The conscience of each member is involved.

As a union grows in strength and power its moral responsibility increases. The action of a small, weak local may be ethically venial. Before God quite different is the action of a large union numbering thousands of members, since the official program affects not only the members and their families but thousands of consumers and small businesses. The orders and policies of such a large union must be soberly and carefully measured against the precepts of justice, equity and truthful-

ness. And obviously, for example, the persistent disregard of truth by advertisers does not give warrant for labor unions to ill-balance statements about profits or living costs.

In these days, then, the serious fault of organized labor would appear to be that it has allowed itself to become infected with the vice which already has sickened segments of politics and business; the vice which would exempt the actions of all societies, governmental and private, from the moral law.

"Unless the Lord build the house, they labor in vain who build it."

* * *

The most precious and holy sacrifice of the Mass is offered this morning by the priest and this congregation as an act of adoration to the Eternal Builder of Life, as an action of thanksgiving and as a petition for forgiveness and blessing. Through the action of this Mass may the grace of God come to each one of us. May God grant to the officers of labor unions a keener realization that their work is a vocation. May God enlighten their minds and strengthen their wills so that their official acts may ever be just and true; and both here and in eternity may God reward them for their many deeds of unselfish service to their fellowmen.

SUBSTITUTIONS

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair has been advised that Brother McPetridge, of the Building Service Employees, who was appointed as a member of the committee to escort Secretary of Defense Johnson to the convention hall, has left the city and cannot serve. I therefore substitute the name of Brother Daniel J. Tobin to take the place of Brother McPetridge, and I also add to the committee the name of Delegate Pat Somerset, of the Actors' organization.

Then on the committee to escort General Fleming, who will speak at 11:00 o'clock this morning, I wish to add the name of Captain C. F. May, of the Masters, Mates and Pilots, and Brother DuShane, of the Seamen's International Union.

The Chair recognizes Secretary Meany for messages and announcements.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Meany read the following messages:

New York, N. Y., October 6, 1949
President William Green,
American Federation of Labor Convention,
St. Paul, Minnesota.

On behalf of officers, General Executive Board and membership Jewish National

Workers' Alliance convey fraternal greetings to American Federation of Labor Convention. As an organization with labor philosophy you may count on our fullest cooperation in all your efforts to secure the position of organized labor in this country, to fight its enemies and to lead our great citizenry along the path assuring to all the blessings of the Four Freedoms. As a Jewish organization with a labor Zionist viewpoint, we salute the American Federation of Labor for its magnificent contribution to the achievement of the State of Israel and for its fraternal support to the Histadrut, General Federation of Jewish Labor in the World's Newest Democracy.

For the General Executive Board
Jewish National Workers Alliance
Meyer Brown, President,
Louis Segal, General Secretary.

New York, N. Y., Oct. 7, 1949.

William Green,
Care American Federation of Labor,
Municipal Auditorium,
St. Paul, Minnesota.

Permit me to extend to you our best wishes for a successful convention.

JAMES J. HERKENHAM, JR.
Director Labor Division
March of Dimes.

New York, N. Y., Oct. 5, 1949

William Green,
American Federation of Labor Convention,
St. Paul, Minnesota.

We greet your great labor federation, its renowned President, the Executive Board and delegates in convention assembled. Your enormous influence in American life is greater than ever before, the better for our standard of living, the status of the working man, the extension of our democracy, the moral stature of our nation, and the diminution of totalitarianism everywhere. Privileged at your last convention to present an award for humanitarian achievement to President Green, our Jewish Labor Fraternal Order salutes your humanitarian support of liberalized immigration legislation, aid to the young republic of Israel, and the fight against discrimination. In all your valiant efforts as champion of human rights and social progress, we pledge the full cooperation of our 70,000 membership organization. Warmest fraternal greetings.

National Executive Committee,
Workmens Circle,
Ephim H. Jeshurin, President,
Joseph Baskin, General Secretary.

TO: The Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

FROM: The General Federation of Japanese Trade Unions (Nippon Rodo Sodomei) 6 Mitashikokucho Nichome. Shiba Minatoku, Tokyo, Japan.

DATE: September 24, 1949.

We are greatly delighted to extend our hearty greetings and salutation to the annual convention of the American Federation of Trade Unions, which has been making great contributions to the interest and welfare of world workers. Four years have already passed since the end of World War II. This period, though a short lapse of hours as compared with the long history of democratic revolutions in the world, seems to us, Japanese workers who have been suffering from the industrial disturbance, financial inflation and livelihood uncertainty, as if it were ages of austerity and hardship. From our painstaking campaigns in these years, however, we have learned the following lessons:

(1) By organizing successfully about 7,500,000 workers into trade unions, thanks to the good offices and adequate guidance of General Douglas MacArthur, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, we have built a basis upon which Japan's democratic development can be guaranteed politically and economically;

(2) As dislocated economic conditions here have been a hot-bed for Communist activities, Japanese Communists have been trying to make a catspaw of labor campaigns for seizing by force political power, but their attempts have been frustrated completely by the free, independent labor movement based upon practical interests of workers and democratic principles;

(3) Nothing is more essential than our close collaboration with the American trade unions which have inseparable relationship with the Allied Occupation policy. We have sent our delegates to the Coal Mine Workers Committee and the General Meeting of the International Labor Organization. On September 10, this year, democratic trade unions, with a total membership of four million, organized a Council for Promoting Participation to the Free World Labor Confederation.

We have learned these lessons, not from school textbooks but from the bitter experiences of the working masses in postwar Japan. Now that we have been taught by our American friends what free, independent trade unions are, we will be well able to fight against both Communism and Fascism and to consolidate our front as a strong influence for the cause of democracy. We pledge ourselves to strive for world peace as well as better life, hand in hand with world workers through the Free World Labor Confederation. We express our hearty thanks for the assistance, material and moral, from the trade unions in the United States and ask for further help and guidance.

For the General Federation of Japanese Trade Unions.

(S) K. MATSUOKA,

President Komakichi Matsuoka.

New York, N. Y., Oct. 4, 1949

President William Green,
American Federation of Labor Convention,
St. Paul, Minnesota.

The Negro Labor Committee representing the progressive A. F. of L. and CIO unions in New York City sends you fraternal greetings. Our committee will follow with deep interest and pride your constructive deliberations and decisions, and we wish for you the fullest measure of success. For fifteen years we have been conducting a campaign of education and organization to enable Negro workers to share with all other workers the benefits and responsibilities of organized labor in the United States. Ours has been the only organization protecting the Negro worker from the evil influence of the subversive forces of the Left and from the reactionary forces of the Right.

Like all other American workers, the Negro is determined to protect and promote the principles and institutions of democracy against all forms of totalitarianism. The history of our country is rich with the contributions made by American workers in peace and in war. This has been our proud tradition, and in spite of all claims to the contrary made by emotional, irresponsible agents of Red Fascism, the Negro worker will not change his course.

The future of the workers of the world, if that future is to be deserving of the sacrifices and the contributions we have made, is along the broad highway of democracy, both industrial and political, and not along the narrow unless alley of dictatorship.

May the result of your convention move us closer to a recognition of our common origin and our common destiny, regardless of race, creed, color, or craft.

FRANK R. CROSSWAITH, Chairman
Negro Labor Committee
and General Organizer,
International Ladies Garment
Workers Union.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Oct. 2, 1949

William Green, President
George Meany, General Secretary-Treasurer
American Federation of Labor Convention
Headquarters

St. Paul, Minnesota.

The patients, Board of Directors and myself are everlastingly grateful to you for the opportunity you have given me to address the last convention of the American Federation of Labor in behalf of our national free non-sectarian tubercular institution. May we also extend our profound gratitude and appreciation to all international and local unions for their unstinting moral and financial support they are giving to tubercular patients from the ranks of labor who come to us in their great hour of trial and need. With

fraternal greetings and all good wishes to you and all delegates assembled.

R. SCHWARTZ, National Supervisor,
Ex-Patients Tubercular Home of
Denver Colorado,

Eastern Office, 32 Union Square,
New York City.

VISITING MEMBERS OF FREE TRADES UNIONS IN GERMANY

PRESIDENT GREEN: We have with us this morning on the stage visiting members and representatives of free democratic trade unions in Germany. They are visiting the United States and we are pleased indeed in that they are visiting here with us for just a short while. I want you to meet them and know them, and I would like for one or two of them to say a word to you.

So that they may be presented to you individually, I am going to introduce one of their representatives, who will speak to you briefly. I take pleasure in presenting to you Brother Arnold L. Steinbach, of the Labor Department of the International Labor Office, and he will introduce each one of the members of this fine German delegation which is here visiting with us this morning.

MR. STEINBACH: The first one is Mr. Hans Stetter, Chairman of the City Trades Union Committee, member of the City Council in Stuttgart. He was a former carpenter and a former member of the German Parliament before Hitler.

The next one is Mr. Ernst Schwartz, Vice-Chairman of the Chemical, Paper and Ceramics Workers Union. He comes from the chemical industry.

The next one is Christoph Bender, President of the Building Trades Union in Stuttgart, a former bricklayer.

The next one is Karl Schweizer, Chairman of the City Trade Union Committee, member of the City Council in Mannheim, a former longshoreman.

The last one is August Bernatz, Managing Engineer, Electric Power Plant, member Local Board, Union Youth Group, in Mannheim. He comes from the electrical industry.

Mr. Hans Stetter, former member of the German Parliament, wants to say a few words.

MR. HANS STETTER

(Chairman, City Trades Union Committee, Stuttgart)

Secretary-Treasurer Meany read the following translation of the address of Mr. Hans Stetter, delivered by him in the German language:

Dear Trade Union Friends: I am grateful to you for the honor to address the convention of the greatest free trade union federation of the world, and to add to the fraternal greetings and best wishes which brother Bockler has sent for five million German trade unionists.

We five German trade unionists who are here to attend your convention are part of ten brothers from Southern Germany who were given an opportunity to study your country, your democratic institutions, your economic life, your unexcelled leadership in production, your problems, your worries, your people and your trade unions.

We are grateful for this and we know that thanks are due also to you and your Federation. Soon after the collapse of the Hitler regime you have tried to reach us. In contrast to the undoings of the so-called World Federation of Trade Unions you have given us most valuable help in the reconstruction of our destroyed unions. Here I want to mention the three A. F. of L. men whose names have become dear to all German free trade unionists: Joe Keenan, Irving Brown and Henry Rutz.

We have been in your country only a short time. We do not want to express an opinion at this time. But one thing we can say at this early stage of our visit. The America which we are discovering is quite different from what we have known as occupying power.

We do not want to plague you with our needs and worries which, after 4½ years of armistice, are still paramount. You know our problems. They have been discussed in length at your convention and we are informed that you are preparing appropriate section.

Permit me to list only 2 problems which are international in scope and have top significance for all of Europe. They are "dismantling" and "displaced persons."

We cannot solve these problems which bear upon the world peace as German trade unionists. We need the help of the whole world. I do not want to use much of your time to point to all the dangers and implications of dismantling which, the way it is done, does not help anybody.

There are no better methods of propaganda for totalitarianism on both the Right and the Left, and no greater handicap for democratic and freedom loving elements than this senseless policy of dismantling industrial plants which have no relation whatsoever to war efforts.

We who have physically suffered under the threats of the Nazi war machine thank you for your consistent and courageous stand you have taken on this issue.

From this platform we appeal to those in the civilized world who love freedom and democracy to follow your lead and to give us a chance for peaceful development to become again a nation in which everybody of good will can be free and can work without fear of what the next morning will bring. The German trade unionists are willing to do their share to attain this objective. They will work for it in their country and within the new body which will be created next November, the International of Free Trade Unions, free of all totalitarian and government domination.

PRESIDENT GREEN: We deeply appreciate the visit of our German friends and fellow trade unionists to this session of our convention, and I assure you that we deeply appreciate the address delivered by one of the delegates, one of the German trade unionists.

I want to assure them, in your name and in our behalf, that we are deeply interested in the reconstruction of Germany, in the establishment there of genuine free democratic trade unions, in the creation of wide and comprehensive opportunities for the German people to reestablish a real government of their own in Germany. We wish to assure them that it is our purpose, and it will be our steadfast purpose to cooperate through our representatives in Europe and our representatives abroad in the promotion and the development of the welfare of the German people.

We wish to establish between us, the German trade union movement and our great movement, the same fraternal friendly cooperative relationship which has existed between us for all the years preceding the one when the Fascist organization took charge in that great country.

I express the hope for you that our German friends may enjoy their visit to this country, may be extended a friendly greeting everywhere and may return to their homes with a new understanding of the relationship between us and the German trade unions.

We will now proceed to the consideration and reception of the report of the International Labor Relations Committee. I take great pleasure now in presenting to you the Chairman of the Committee, Brother William J. McSorley.

REPORT OF INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS COMMITTEE

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN McSORLEY:

Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates: Your Committee on International Labor Relations has had referred to it many different subjects affecting the social and economic status of working men and women throughout the world.

As far as time would permit we have made a careful analysis of these subjects and have now prepared a report which will be submitted to you for your consideration and action. The report will be presented by Vice-President Woll, Secretary of the Committee on International Labor Relations.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY WOLL: In reporting on the Executive Council's Report on subjects dealing with International Labor Relations your Committee has combined some of these sections in the interest of efficiency and brevity of the report. I might say that of the Council's report of something like two hundred odd pages, forty-five pages were devoted to the situation of international labor relations, indicating the constantly increasing interest of the American labor movement in the affairs abroad.

The World Situation

(Executive Council's Report—Pages 115-117)

Your Committee on International Relations has given careful consideration to the section in the Report of the Executive Council (Pages 115-117) dealing with the continuing world crisis, Russia's destructive roll therein, the general progress of the ERP to date, the Atlantic Pact and our country's implementation thereof, and the prospects for world economic reconstruction, democracy and peace.

We commend the Executive Council for its sound evaluation of the present critical moment in the life of nations.

The atomic explosion by imperialist Russia has violently contracted the peaceful world. We firmly warn against any attempts to revive a policy of appeasement of Soviet imperialism at this critical juncture. The Russian dictatorship had refused to make any concessions or the slightest compromise for lasting peace when it was militarily weaker. There is nothing in the lives or activities of the Communist oligarchy to warrant any conclusion that it will be more cooperative and peaceful when it has at its disposal more powerful and destructive weapons. In its foreign as well as in its domestic affairs, the present Russian government has been in-

creasingly pursuing policies based on zoology rather than sociology—the ethics and practices of the jungle rather than those of peaceful civilized society.

More than ever before, must the freedom-loving peoples, therefore, draw closer together. The American people, who now constitute the strongest bulwark of democracy and the primary obstacle in the path of totalitarian Soviet world conquest, must gird themselves for still greater efforts to insure their security and liberty and to help build a more prosperous, peaceful and free world.

In Communist Russia and its totalitarian empire, the democratic world faces a robotized monolithic despotism stretching from Berlin to beyond the Yangtse. This red tyranny is further buttressed by a vigorous fifth column operating in all free countries under various names, colors and covers. In the latter we face a band of fanatics who have no loyalty to their democratic homelands. Here are zealous "revolutionary" traitors who do not necessarily operate for money but for a tyrannical, dogmatic movement which is far more dangerous to the humanitarian ideals and interests, to freedom of conscience, and to the well-being of all mankind. Here is an anti-social movement whose political "principles" demand that its adherents, fellow-travellers, and camp-followers betray their own peoples to a foreign totalitarian power seeking world domination. Here are the hidden thieves of our national security and welfare.

It is true that without adequate military power there can be no security against this worldwide menace. But it would be folly to conclude that military prowess alone can assure our security and world peace. Russia's Cominform and its followers and supporters in other lands are not a political force—in the democratic sense of the word—but a germ latent in our body-politic which becomes virulent whenever there is a weakening in its health through poverty, social injustice, or lack of democratic unity and initiative. The democratic nations must, therefore, simultaneously supplement their collective armed might with constructive and progressive economic, social, and political policies.

Secretary Well moved adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

The Crisis in the Far East

(Pages 117-118, Executive Council's Report)

FOREIGN POLICY FOR ASIA

Resolution No. 12—By Delegates Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, Francis Schaufenbil, Burton Hyman, Joseph Jacobs, United Textile Workers of America.

(Page 39—First Day's Proceedings)

In connection with the section of the Executive Council's Report which deals with the

crisis in the Far East (Pages 117-118), your committee particularly desires to express its hearty approval of the following inspiring and timely plea by the Executive Council:

"Our nation should proclaim a policy of cooperation with all democratic groups in Asia. We should offer to them economic aid and cooperation similar to what we have given Europe. Communism can be defeated by cooperation in defense of high ideals of human life—moral standards and human rights assuring freedom."

Here is blazoned the path to a constructive American policy in the entire Orient.

Your committee also takes note of Resolution No. 12, appearing on Page 39 of the first day's proceedings and entitled "Foreign Policy for Asia." This resolution was introduced by the United Textile Workers of America delegation. Embodied in our proposed statement of policy towards the Far-East is an endorsement of the intent of this resolution.

Throughout our history, our country has consistently championed the cause of national freedom for all peoples. Our nation and our democracy were born as the result of a genuine and great revolutionary struggle for independence. It was America which, more than 30 years ago, proclaimed anew and invigorated the doctrine and self-determination of all peoples. Thereby, America lit the fires of freedom in the hearts of the enslaved Koreans, the free trade unionists and liberals of Japan, the struggling Chinese Nationalists following the banner of Sun Yat Sen, the forces of national freedom rallied around Gandhi and the freedom-loving patriots of Indonesia.

Unlike Russia of Czarist days and the Russia of Bolshevism, America always worked for a united and strong China. It was American initiative, particularly through the dynamic leadership of Samuel Gompers, that led to the foundation of the ILO, which was the first organization to bring to the toiling folks of Asia the message of human equality, dignity, and liberation from degrading conditions of life and labor.

The American people and especially its organized labor movement view with the warmest of sympathy and the keenest of interest the aspirations and efforts of the hundreds of millions of the common people of Asia for human freedom and national independence. No imperialist power — regardless of its flag or ideology — must be permitted to exploit for its own greedy interests this great upsurge of the masses of Asiatic peoples.

When Japanese imperialism tried to unseat and merely replace other imperialist powers by exploiting this worthy aspiration of the peoples of Asia, our country rendered the greatest service to humanity by exposing this hypocritical and cynical policy and inflicting a crushing defeat on Tojo and his marauding legions.

Today, the noble desires of the masses of Asia for national freedom and human dignity are being ruthlessly exploited by Communist

Russia in its drive for totalitarian world domination. The new Russian imperialism is even more dangerously aggressive than that of the old Czarist regime. The tyrants in the Kremlin are trying to deal a shattering economic and military blow to the Western democracies by grabbing complete control of the fabulous natural resources of the Asiatic continent and its strategically vital islands. Moscow seeks today not only economic and political domination. It also seeks to poison the heart and enslave the mind of man, as is shown by the fierce Communist hatred of the spirit and thought of Gandhi. Just as we called a halt to the Nipponese imperialist drive to turn back the clock of progress in Asia, so must we now do everything in our power to prevent the Russian expansionists from imposing Soviet imperialism on the awakened spirits and suffering bodies of the peoples of Asia.

We must actively aid the stirring struggle for independence and national freedom now rocking Asia. It is our historic mission to lead in preventing the Communist demagogues from perverting this historic struggle into an orgy of national and world hatred and into a war of race against race. Our own national security, no less than our intense concern for human freedom and world peace, calls for a vigorous American policy in the Pacific.

Committee Secretary Woll moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

CHINA

Though Korea, Malaya, Indo-China and Burma have been plunged into a blood-bath by the Communist fifth column of Soviet imperialism, it is China which is now the focal point of the crisis in Asia. Here the Communists, financed and led by Russia, have scored their most important victory since the Bolsheviks seized control of what was once the empire of the Czars. Here the Soviet government has been guilty of the most cynical violations of its treaty of peace and friendship with the Nationalist, the only legitimate government, of all China. Here the Russian government has deliberately betrayed and crudely violated every pledge made to our country and the other democracies during World War II and at a time when we went to extremes to hold the Soviets in line as an ally against Hitler and as a force for lasting world peace.

Already Russian imperialism has foisted its iron hand and control on industrial Manchuria, laden with vast natural resources. Soviet Russia has transformed it into a gigantic spring-board for the conquest of all Asia—into a powerful strategic base for waging its atomic and racial war against the Western freedom-loving nations.

The hour is too critical for engaging in recriminations as to past errors or in allocating blame. The Chinese people whose tradi-

tional friends we have been, need our help. They need it badly and urgently.

Committee Secretary Woll moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

PROGRAM OF ACTION

The Chinese problem is only a part of the entire crisis in Asia. We cannot meet this problem by having a short-range or short-sighted approach. We cannot meet this problem unless we aid morally and materially the democratic forces striving to build India into a rallying center and fortress of democracy in Asia. We cannot meet this problem unless and until we shed every notion that there is the slightest compatibility between Russian imperialism and genuine national independence, between world Communism and social progress, justice, freedom and peace.

In accordance with the lofty principles and ideals proclaimed in the section of the Executive Council's Report which we have quoted, we herewith propose the following guiding lines and specific suggestions for our government's policy towards the crisis in the Far East:

1. Keep imperialist hands off the awakened peoples of Asia, now striving and struggling for national freedom! Through the United Nations and our own initiative, our government should foster the development of completely independent, free, democratic republics throughout Asia.

2. Welcome and support the Asian Relations Conference, recently called by democratic India and its great prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru, as a positive step toward unifying the free nations of Asia in mutual defense of their newly-won freedoms.

3. Urge our government to give prompt and vigorous support to the realization of a regional pact, under Article 51 of the United Nations charter, composed of the freedom-loving lands of the Pacific and Far East.

4. Have our government refuse diplomatic recognition or enter into commercial relations with the Communist quisling clique because of usurpation of the governmental authority over large areas of China.

5. Have our government invite to the United States a Chinese mission, representative of all democratic forces in China and headed by acting president Li Tsung-jen. In cooperation with this mission, work out plans for immediate effective aid to strengthen economically and militarily the democratic and labor forces of China.

6. Have our government give all-out support to the Chinese delegation to the United Nations in its effort to have the U. N. investigate and pass judgment on Russia's role in (a) fostering and financing the civil war in China against the legitimate government

recognized as such until a few days ago by all members of the United Nations—including Russia itself, in (b) flagrantly flouting its solemn treaty obligations to China and in (c) deliberately endangering world peace.

7. Have our government appoint a special commission, on which labor is adequately represented, to prepare in cooperation with democratic Asian authorities the application of President Truman's "Point Four" in the underdeveloped areas and in the interest of the well-being of the native peoples of Asia and all mankind.

The A. F. of L. reaffirms its solidarity with the workers, agricultural laborers, and peasants of Asia in their fight for human dignity, national integrity, and full national independence.

The A. F. of L. emphasizes its unalterable conviction that all men—regardless of color, creed, or clime—are children of the same God, all equally entitled to the pursuit of life, liberty, social justice and human happiness.

Committee Secretary Woll moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

IMPORTANCE OF THE FAR EAST

COMMITTEE SECRETARY WOLL: We bring to the attention of the convention and of the labor movement as a whole a memorandum prepared by the Research Department of the American Federation of Labor as to the importance of the products for which the United States and Western democracies depend on the Far East, which I shall not read and which I shall ask be made part of the record of the American Federation of Labor for your information on this subject.

PRESIDENT GREEN: You have heard the request of the Secretary of the Committee that this memorandum be included in the proceedings of the convention. Is there any objection to the granting of such request?

Hearing none, it is so ordered.

The importance of the Far East is due to a number of factors: (1) For one raw material (tin) there are no adequate resources elsewhere; (2) For many of the raw materials now produced there, both mineral and agricultural, it would take time and large capital investments to develop adequate supplies elsewhere, and when developed, production costs of such supplies would be high for some time. This is true of manganese, manila fibre, natural rubber, etc. (3) Europe's trade with the Far East is an integral part of its economy; loss of the Far Eastern trade would be disastrous. (4) If this immensely rich and well developed area were to fall under Russia's control, with

her policy of walling off her resources from the trade of the world, it would make an immense difference in the world's economic and political future.

In considering the Far East these points stand out: In the modern world, if USA is to hold its position both economically and strategically, it must have available the best raw materials and have them immediately. To depend on inferior substitutes or on developing other resources over a period of time, might mean the difference between winning and losing a war.

Our foreign policy, while spending billions to put Europe on its feet, has neglected our raw material needs. We have not used our power to assure continued supply of vital raw materials on which our economy depends. For instance, 80% of our supply of tungsten comes from China, and tungsten is indispensable for the high-speed production tools without which mass production would be impossible. We can eke out a supply of tungsten from other sources for a time, but in the long run we must depend on China for it. (Tungsten is produced in China's Yunnan province.)

Important Products from the Far East

(Note: In world production figures here-with, Russia is excluded unless otherwise noted. For many products Russian production is not accurately known).

Tin The loss of far eastern tin supplies would be most serious of all. The Far East has the world's major unused tin reserve. One source states that we depend on the Far East for about 75% of our supply of tin. In 1948 53% of the world's tin production came from that area, chiefly from Malaya and Indonesia, with a little from Siam and Burma. (There are no tin deposits in USA; we are completely dependent on outside sources). Tin is also produced in Bolivia, but production is costly and reserves are small; it is also found in Africa (Nigeria and Belgian Congo).

Tin is essential because there is no other unbreakable material which can replace it for preserving food. For an army this is vital, and it is highly important also for peace-time needs. Tin is indispensable, too, for the manufacture of babbit metal which makes ball bearings and is essential "wherever wheels turn."

Tin is also necessary in making solder and in brass and bronze alloys which are used in machines where resistance to corrosion is essential.

Manganese Steel cannot be made without it. We are now getting it from the high quality deposit in India. Russia is the world's largest producer of manganese, but at present she is not shipping us any. We cannot, of course, depend on USSR for our supply.

In 1948 the Far East (chiefly India, a little from Philippines) produced 20% of the world's manganese supply outside of Russia. South Africa is also a large producer, larger than the Far East. Deposits in Brazil could be de-

veloped, but would require much capital investment and would then be high cost to operate because of a 1,200-mile river haul to reach a shipping port. The Far East is essential to give us an adequate supply. (A very low grade manganese ore is produced in South Dakota—a 1% ore compared to 35% to 50% elsewhere—but to produce this would cost a prodigious price in investment, manpower, and transportation).

Mica For strategic grades we depend on a supply from India. Mica is essential for insulation in spark plugs (especially airplanes), radio, radar, and electronics, and also in generators and motors. There is no substitute. We produce low grade types of mica in considerable quantity in USA, but this cannot be used for strategic purposes noted above.

Chromite Essential and irreplaceable. Chromium (from chromite) is used for heat resistant steels and high temperature, high strength alloys; high speed steel, tool steel. Chrome brick is essential in building metallurgical furnaces and in manufacture of chemicals.

The Western Hemisphere is deficient in chromite. In 1948, 16% of the world's production came from the Far East, chiefly the Philippines; also from India and New Caledonia; 31% came from South Africa and 13% from Turkey.

Graphite This is essential for manufacturing crucibles, for it will stand many heatings and coolings. (Substitutes stand only a few heats). It is also important for lubrication and pencils.

In 1948, 29% of the world supply came from the Far East, chiefly Ceylon. Also, we get some from Madagascar. These two sources are our main reliance. U. S. production is insignificant. Mexico produces it, but this is of a different quality, not considered "strategic" graphite.

Manila Fibre For rope. As yet there is no substitute. Nylon is not elastic enough. The Far East produces 81% of the world supply—almost all in the Philippines, a little in Indonesia. About 19% of the world supply comes from Central America, where production has been built up from zero before the war, and will be increased further.

Pepper. This is classed as strategic because the army thinks it essential to make dull and monotonous food palatable for men who are on concentrated canned rations for long periods. It is important for morale. Practically all pepper (99%) comes from the Far East, about half from India and Pakistan, and half from Indonesia. The other 1% is from Madagascar.

Natural Rubber U. S. consumption of rubber is enormous and at present (1948) more than half the rubber we use is natural rubber. It is important for us to continue, or even increase the use of natural rubber as a preserve our petroleum resources.

The Far East is, by climate, the natural place to grow rubber. Most of it comes from Malaya and Indonesia, with a little from Ceylon, Indo-China, and Siam. Of the world's total supply, 93% comes from the Far East.

Rubber plantations have been tried along the Amazon in South America, but were abandoned because transportation difficulties, etc., made costs prohibitive.

USA does not, at present, have sufficient synthetic plants to supply its entire need and the costs of building enough plants would be prodigious. Also, we can use synthetic rubber for only 75% of our needs and the remaining 25% must be filled by natural rubber. For heavy duty tires, and many other purposes natural rubber is essential.

Castor Beans Medicinal uses are well known, but the most strategic use of castor beans is not medicinal. It is a remarkable product. It will withstand very low temperatures, and is therefore essential for brake fluids in Arctic flying. It is also indispensable for certain types of plastics, paints, and enamels for military use. Of world production, 29% comes from the Far East, entirely from India; 54% comes from South America, almost all from Brazil.

Bauxite Japan and the Dutch East Indies are an important source of this raw material for aluminum. While we also produce it in the United States, and get it from the Guianas in South America, the Far Eastern supply is an important supplement. In world trade it plays an important part as a return load on ships going to the Far East.

Petroleum Looking far into the future, we should not fail to consider the important supplies of petroleum in the Far East. A time might well come when these supplies would be vital to us and if we did not have them we might have to divide our own supplies with other countries.

Australia Australia is an important source of raw materials, particularly of lead and zinc.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS COMMITTEE AND DEMOCRATIC FOREIGN POLICY

(Executive Council's Report, Pages 118-120-123)

Your committee has thoroughly considered the sections of the report of the Executive Council (Pages 118-120-123) dealing with the work of its International Committee and the contributions of the American Federation of Labor towards the development of effective American democratic foreign policy.

Since the last convention, the American Federation of Labor has spared no energy or resources to insure in the interest of peace and human liberty that our nation's foreign policy should flow not from "the decisions of a few," but should be truly "the result of the democratic processes" and represent "the collective judgment of the people" and "be founded upon an enlightened public opinion." This positive, constructive, and widely recognized role of the A. F. of

L. in influencing the development and application of our nation's foreign policy has lent valuable strength to our country and the cause of world democracy and peace of which it is today the most powerful supporter.

In this regard we point out the following evaluation made by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L.'s role in international relations:

"Fully aroused to what is at stake in the Communist challenge and menace, we have urged that our country's foreign policy be democratic in intent and content in aspiration and action. The Executive Council has, with increasing frequency, taken the initiative in proposing positive and constructive policies for adoption by our government. Pursuing unceasingly our independent and positive role, we have not only been critical of and differed with some of our government's official policies, but we have at crucial junctures come forward with concrete proposals and programs to strengthen the cause and hands of the ranks of democracy everywhere."

Through monthly and other publications, through the activities of special representatives in foreign lands, in the U. N., in the I. L. O., in the E. R. P., in UNESCO, and in the TUAC and special declarations on specific international problems, our International Relations Committee, working under the guidance and with the generous support of the Executive Council has made important contributions toward our country's evolving sound policies in a number of vital situations (China, Britain, Japan, Italy, and Germany, etc.).

We cannot underscore too heavily that these activities have rendered invaluable aid to human freedom, international free trade union solidarity, and world democratic unity. These activities have vastly enhanced the world prestige of the A. F. of L. They have been made possible, above all, by the rising interest and generous moral and material support tendered by various affiliates of the A. F. of L.

Your Committee calls for the vigorous continuation of these worthy activities and their wholehearted support by our entire membership and leadership.

Committee Secretary Woll moved adoption of this portion of the Committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE FEDERMAN, Furriers Union:
President Green and Delegates:

I am taking the liberty to touch upon a subject which not only concerns us individually or as members of this great organization, but which is also of international significance.

The subject in question is Fascism, or whatever you may call it. It is a problem in

which we are all interested, because it affects our lives every day.

I am happy to say that since 1933—when Hitler came into power in Germany, that the American Federation of Labor was one of the first organizations in America to recognize the danger of Fascism and decided to combat it, and has been combating it ever since.

But it seems to me that, now that the war is over, our efforts in this field are not as decisive as they have been. Since we went overseas to make the world safe for democracy—for the second time within the short period of a quarter of a century, we have found out that the world is very small indeed; we have found out that whatever happens in a distant part of the world may affect us very greatly within a very short period of time. It is obvious, therefore, that we must pay attention, not only to what happens in the United States and Canada—but also what happens abroad.

A year ago I went to Germany on a mission of selecting five hundred displaced persons for admission to Canada, and while there I made it my business to find out how we have made the world safe for democracy.

It is exactly ten years since the German people, with Hitler at the head, made a determined effort to destroy democracy, and when we were called out to resist their efforts, we were promised that this time we were to make sure that Germany would get no third chance to destroy us and enslave the world. We were successful. At the cost of hundreds of thousands of American lives, and many other millions of peoples of other nations were killed, all in our endeavor to make the world safe against Fascism, we succeeded in bringing Germany down on her knees and surrendering unconditionally, as President Franklin Delano Roosevelt demanded.

We were promised that Germany would gradually be educated to a democratic way of life, and that the people who have led her destructive road, would not be permitted to again lead them.

It was understood that it would take at least twenty-five years, because only a new generation, brought up in a different way, could be induced to accept the democratic and civilized way of life.

But what did I find? I found a Germany full of hate and lust for revenge. They have not repudiated Hitler; on the contrary, Hitler's pictures are in great demand there. They are only sorry that they lost the war.

Since the end of the war, we have fed them and clothed them but they do not feel or show any gratitude. The more they get the more they demand. The Nazi spirit is alive and their propaganda is not confined to Germany alone, it extends all over the world.

Antisemitism is their strongest weapon, because it appeals to the ignorant, but, underlying that is Nazism, which means enslavement of the world under the Germans, the

destruction of democracy as we know and practice it. And how does it happen that only four years after WORLD WAR II the Germans have forgotten? It is because the governments of our Allies have encouraged them. We are made to believe that the appeasement of Germany is necessary in order to strengthen our position against Communist Soviet Russia.

Have we forgotten that Hitler was capable of associating himself with Stalin against us? And who will give us a guarantee that another Hitler will not do so again?

At the last election in Western Germany the reactionary and Fascist forces got control of the government. This proved that if we continue to appease the German nation as we did in the last few years, there is a great danger of another Hitler in Germany which means the destruction of democracy.

While I was in Germany a year ago I was amazed to find, instead of punishing the war criminals, instead of removing the Nazis from positions of public influence, we have given up the trials of war criminals, and those who were tried got off mostly with light punishment and Nazis are able to obtain positions of influence. West Germany has been granted self-government. It demands greater freedom and less control from the Allies.

And, I say, that such an organization as The American Federation of Labor should protest against this appeasement policy. It's time we looked into the matter, to size up the situation and stop our representatives from risking another World War through a mistaken policy of appeasing a nation that will not be appeased.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee was carried.

Free Trade Union Committee Activities of Representatives in Europe—Austria and Germany—and India

(Report of Executive Council, Pages 120-129)

Your Committee notes that the Free Trade Union Committee and its representatives, working under the active guidance of the International Labor Relations Committee, have worked energetically and effectively to carry out the policies of the A. F. of L. in Europe and Asia.

The achievements of the Free Trade Union Committee and the various A. F. of L. representatives abroad show how much can be done on behalf of free trade unionism and democracy when Communism and other brands of totalitarianism and reaction are systematically and vigorously assailed rather than half-heartedly and haphazardly resisted.

In France, Italy, and Japan, we have, in this spirit, consistently and actively aided the free trade union forces to fight against Communist domination of the labor unions and

to strengthen and unite the ranks of bona fide labor unions as true and tireless defenders and promoters of the interests of the working people.

In Germany our endeavors to have our government take a friendly attitude towards labor and rely on and buttress the truly democratic forces have won wide popular recognition and acclaim.

In India and Australia we have aroused considerable interest in and appreciation of American trade unionism as a constructive and worthy social force — practical in its ideas and idealistic in its practices.

Your Committee notes the encouraging response to the appeal of last year's convention for our various Internationals to affiliate with their respective International Trade Secretariats. Our affiliates in the transport, garment and furniture industries have set the pace in this regard. In view of the importance of the international metal trades and other secretariats in European reconstruction and international economic life, it is especially desirable that as many as possible of our affiliates should join their respective world trade groups.

Everywhere the needy fighters for free trade unionism have been able to count on our support with food and clothes. Wherever our International Free Trade Union News and other publications have reached, we have fostered a better understanding of our labor unions and other democratic institutions function. On the basis of unchallengeable facts we have brought home to the workers of the Old World, the sharp contrast between the despotic totalitarian "paradise" of Russia and its satellites and the democratic way of life in our country—with all its shortcomings and imperfections.

Though we have contributed greatly to the resurgence and restoration of free trade unionism, especially in countries once under the yoke of totalitarian tyrannies, very much remains to be done. Under no circumstances must we diminish our numerous and varied activities. With the impending formation of an international federation of free trade unions, we will be confronted with new tasks and old duties in new forms. Much depends on how this new world body of labor develops its work and campaigns.

To the International Labor Relations Committee, in cooperation with the Free Trade Union Committee and under the guidance of the Executive Council, is delegated the task of determining the character and directing the course of the activities and functions our representatives abroad are to exercise.

Committee Secretary Woll moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Latin America

(Executive Council's Report, Pages 129-131)

Your Committee has considered the sections of the Executive Council's Report dealing with Latin America, the activities of the A. F. of L. Latin-American representative, the labor conditions in the Canal Zone, the problem of industrialization in Latin America, the North American Labor News, and the progress of the Inter-American Confederation of Workers (C. I. T.) (Pages 129-137).

We note with satisfaction the growth in circulation, influence, and prestige of the North American Labor News in promoting understanding and solidarity among the workers of the Western Hemisphere.

In similar vein do we underscore the headway made by the Inter-American Confederation of Workers in rallying and organizing the workers south of the Rio Grande for improved standards of life and the protection and promotion of human rights. It is particularly satisfying to note that the C. I. T. has decisively defeated the totalitarian bands of the so-called Left led by the Communist stooge Toledano. But there remains the serious task of defeating the mounting wave of anti-labor and anti-democratic forces under the totalitarian banner of Peron in Argentina and the dictatorships in Peru and Venezuela. These reactionaries of the Right have in recent months been guilty of ruthlessly violating the basic democratic liberties and the rights of labor.

Our government, for the sake of its influence and prestige among the democratic forces of the world, would be well-advised to show no friendship for or make any concessions to these bearers of totalitarian dogmas and despotism among our good neighbors to the south. Our government would likewise render distinguished service to our national security and to the cause of orderly social progress if it would actively discourage and categorically disapprove profiteering practices by greedy corporate American interests which enable sundry demagogues to promote suspicion of and enmity towards the entire American people and the democratic cause.

At this critical hour in the life of peoples, the American Federation of Labor is rendering invaluable service to the cause of human freedom and social betterment, to genuine good neighbor policy, by lending full aid and comfort to democratic labor which is the decisive force in advancing the cause of democracy and healthy economic development throughout the Latin-American world. We must continue this support in order to enable Latin-American labor to rally ever-more effectively our sister republics for progressive industrialization, better conditions of work and life, and an ever-more vital role in cooperating with other peoples for the preservation of peace and the promotion of human welfare.

Committee Secretary Woll moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

International Labor Organization Activities

(Executive Council's Report, Pages 137-144)

Your committee has examined the section of the Executive Council Report, pages 137 to 144, dealing with the most important of the many and varied activities of the I. L. O. since the 31st (San Francisco, 1948) and through the 32nd session of the International Labor Conference held in Geneva this year.

We emphasize the growing importance of the I. L. O. as a force for human betterment and decent conditions of work and life. In view of the plans of our government to aid the industrially under-developed countries and the systematic endeavors to speed the economic rehabilitation of Europe, and in view of the deep-going realignment in the ranks of world labor, the I. L. O. is confronted with multiplying tasks of vital concern to the American people and especially our free trade union movement.

Your committee is glad to report to you that, as the organization entitled to represent the workers' group of the United States in the I. L. O., the A. F. of L., through its delegate and advisers has met its great responsibilities in a constructive and efficient manner. In this connection we cite particularly the energetic initiative by our member of the Governing body of the I. L. O. in championing the enforcement of trade union rights in Latin America and struggle against slave labor.

Committee Secretary Woll moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Trade Union Advisory Committee on International Affairs (United States Department of Labor)

(Executive Council's Report, Pages 144-145)

Your committee on International Labor Relations has examined thoroughly the section of the Executive Council report, pages 144-145, dealing with the activities of this body and the part played by the A. F. of L. representatives therein.

This committee of the Department of Labor has a vital function to perform—to help promote better understanding between our government and the Labor movement in the efforts of the latter to defend and extend human rights and the well-being of the working people throughout the world.

International labor affairs have become an area of important concern for our government especially as a result of its extensive interests and responsibilities in the critical world situation. Simultaneously our government's foreign policy is of increasing import in the lives of the working people. Realizing this, your committee recommends that the A. F. of L. representatives continue their valuable con-

tributions to the work of this body by active participation in its deliberations and decisions.

Committee Secretary Woll moved adoption of this section of the Committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Now we will interrupt the proceedings and the report of the committee for the purpose of receiving a message from a distinguished, outstanding, and great American. You will recall I announced that the guest speaker of this morning would be here prepared to address the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention at 11:00 o'clock. That hour has arrived and the speaker is here. I am happy to present him to you for the delivery of his address.

It seems appropriate for me to say that we are greatly honored in that the speaker of this morning left his work in Washington and crossed the country for the express purpose of meeting with us to deliver his address. He is a busy man, occupying a position of great responsibility, and in the discharge of his duties he has demonstrated a broad, progressive, and sympathetic attitude toward the aims, purposes, hopes, and aspirations of labor.

His work brings him in direct contact with many representatives of the organizations affiliated with us. They know him well, and while working with him and associating with him they have seen that he is moved by a sincere desire to serve in the administration of his work as to promote their best interests.

With these few remarks I am pleased to present to you General Philip B. Fleming, of the United States Maritime Commission.

MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP B. FLEMING, USA.

**(Chairman, United States Maritime
Commission)**

Thank you, Mr. Green, for that very fine introduction.

It is indeed an honor for me to be here, and a very pleasant one to address this annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. Last week I wasn't quite sure that I was going to be here. I sailed from Cobb, Ireland, which many still prefer to call Queens-town just a little over a week ago, and one day we ran into some very stormy weather. Our ship was delayed a couple of days, but

fortunately it got back here in time for me to attend this convention. I was over in Europe inspecting the shipyards to see if I could learn something about their methods, their procedures, their productivity and their costs. I had a most interesting trip.

I find it most reassuring to stand before an audience so clearly dedicated to the welfare of working men and women.

Part of that reassurance comes from knowing your long record of accomplishment which is written not only on the statute books and in union contracts but, most importantly, is reflected in the lives and good fortune of all who labor. Down through the years the officers and members of this great organization have helped to shape the course of many events which gave new meaning and purpose to America's quest for freedom and democracy.

With each passing year it becomes more and more evident that organized labor must supply additional motive power and additional guidance in building our economic and social structure. That too is reassuring, for as I look about me I feel confident that the American Federation of Labor will meet this challenge.

Already you have fashioned a number of effective tools, including, of course, collective bargaining. Now an integral part of our complex industrial system, collective bargaining safeguards the welfare and living standards of all workers—organized and unorganized. This time-tested balance wheel is essential to the arithmetic of a free economy in a free society.

Today that fact is widely—if not universally—recognized. Our Nation has a vital stake in good wages, decent working conditions, full employment and similar factors that are necessary to balance our economic equation at a high level of activity.

So much for the arithmetic of collective bargaining. We also need to write a more perfect social equation—if I may put it that way—an equation which gives still greater weight to liberty, tolerance and fair dealing.

There is nothing mutually exclusive about these two objectives. On the contrary, they are closely related. And this relationship imposes broader responsibilities upon organized labor and its leaders. You must be sure that your programs and policies do reflect the aims and aspirations of all who labor.

President Truman put this very clearly in his recent Labor Day statement when he said:

"Labor has become a full partner in our economy. The machinery for weighing labor's needs and for adjusting the problems of labor-management relations is being developed and improved through the cooperation of employers and employees. But today labor must also be a full partner in all our undertakings, not only within our borders but beyond the seas; for in the long run our actions in the field of foreign policy will affect the welfare of every man, woman and child. It is a source of pride that statesmen in the ranks of labor are alert to their responsibility in this field and making a vital contribution to our international programs."

"I am confident that labor will give the same devotion to the attainment of our common objectives at home and abroad that it has long demonstrated in seeking better working conditions, adequate wages and a higher standard of security for workers and their families."

There are many reasons why I share President Truman's confidence in your ability to fulfill these sacred obligations.

For one thing, I have been privileged to know many of the men and women who are here today, officials and delegates who are helping to chart labor's future course. Down through the years I have often been closely associated with some of you in the furtherance of national objectives.

One of my contacts occurred right here in St. Paul, where I served for two years as District Engineer in charge of improvements on the Upper Mississippi River.

Earlier assignments with the Public Works Administration and subsequent service as Administrator of the Federal Works Agency gave me many opportunities to observe how union officials in the building and construction fields approached problems with which we were mutually concerned.

My years as Wage and Hour Administrator brought me into touch with such a wide variety of industries and so many union officials that I feel rather well acquainted with most segments of organized labor. And it is that familiarity, no less than your past achievements, which reinforces my confidence in the labor movement.

Looking ahead, what are some of the specific goals that labor seeks?

I know that you strongly favor the preparation of an adequate shelf of public works, fully planned and ready to launch if the need arises to create new jobs on the construction front.

I know that you want your government to press forward a large-scale program of slum clearance, low-rent public housing and farm home improvement.

I know that you want the newly increased minimum wage of 75 cents extended to protect additional wage earners at the bottom of the economic ladder—most of whom are now outside the ranks of organized labor.

With respect to that 75-cent minimum, I am proud to say that in the previous Congress when they were considering a wage floor under wages I was the first person called before that committee, and I was the first public official to advocate publicly the 75-cent minimum. I am happy that you now have it.

You are demanding a better Social Security System, more adequate unemployment compensation, improved education, and a national health program.

Surely no one would suggest that these proposals run counter to the general welfare, or that they do not point to a fuller and happier life for all of our people.

I know also that the problem of industrial safety deserves closer attention from both labor

and management. Industrial accidents place a fearful burden upon the Nation's workers. The fact that 70 percent occur in plants which have no formal safety program indicates that both management and labor still take a rather casual attitude toward this grave problem.

It is high time that you took something better than a casual attitude.

As a member of the Coordinating Committee for the President's Conference on Industrial Safety, I urge your active participation in the various State conferences which are now being organized.

I could extend the list of labor's objectives which fit so squarely into the national pattern of progress, but I am sure that this audience needs no such reminder.

There is, however, one more subject that I wish to discuss, and this too is a matter of national concern involving each and every one of us. I am referring of course to the maritime industry and the United States Merchant Marine.

I want to say a word first about the people working in this industry both ashore and afloat. They are by no means the largest group of industrial workers in this country; yet they constitute one of the most critically important segments of American manpower.

Let us consider first the people in the shipyards working on new construction and the maintenance and repair of vessels. On June 30 there were about 64 thousand employed in 85 shipyards throughout the country. They are people skilled and experienced in the art of shipbuilding. They are the nucleus from which any expansion must come in time of emergency such as in World War II when the yards employed a peak force of 1 million 300 thousand on new construction alone.

Take the seagoing personnel—the people who sail our ships. On June 30 they totaled 70 thousand. These are the men we depend upon not only to move our commerce across the seas in peacetime, but to keep the lifelines of supply open for our Armed Forces in time of war. They too are the nucleus of a potential force many times larger which must be recruited in case of emergency.

We have learned twice within our time what the Merchant Marine means to this country in time of war. Our military leaders agree that merchant shipping is an absolutely essential and concomitant part of our national defense establishment. For instance, between the Pearl Harbor attack and Japan's capitulation, vessels of the War Shipping Administration-controlled fleet lifted 75 percent of war cargoes totaling nearly 270 million long tons. In addition, the great majority of the 11 or 12 million persons transported overseas and back during the war traveled in merchant ships.

Incidentally, I cannot pass over those war years without paying tribute to the magnificent shipbuilding record of your unions—notably the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers and the other fine unions in the Metal Trades Department. Working under the stress of urgent wartime needs, these union members wrote one of the brightest pages in your long history.

In peacetime the Merchant Marine is equally important. Only by keeping our flag on the seas can we maintain the minimum safe level of employment in this industry which is so closely related to the national security. Only by providing American flag shipping services on the essential trade routes of the world can we guarantee to American travelers and shippers dependable schedules and reasonable fares and freight rates. Most important of all, only by keeping our Merchant Marine going in peacetime can we expect to mobilize its ships and manpower as a ready force in time of war.

Because of the large number of ships we were forced to build during the war, there is a widespread impression that the American Merchant Marine has more ships today than it needs. It is true that we have more ships of certain types than we need in our active fleet. Many of the war-built ships which were surplus to our operating needs have been sold and the rest are being consigned to the national defense reserve fleet.

The fact is, however, that our merchant fleet is unbalanced today because we do not have nearly enough passenger ships. Remember that although we built nearly 6,000 ships during the war we built no passenger vessels.

Because of this lack of passenger ships American steamship companies are losing a large volume of passenger business to foreign lines. Furthermore, we would be in a bad way for troopship tonnage right now should a sudden emergency arise.

To remedy this condition the Maritime Commission, in cooperation with steamship companies, has placed contracts for the construction of six passenger and combination passenger-cargo vessels which will be delivered into service within the next two or three years. One of these is a large, high speed passenger liner which will carry nearly as many passengers and maintain the same trans-Atlantic schedules as the Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth.

I might say that this new ship will carry about 2,000 passengers in peace time, but it is so designed and so built that it can be readily transformed into a troop carrier and will in time of war carry 14,000 troops and all their material and equipment. Two of the new ships will be used in the Mediterranean service, and the other three in round-the-world service.

The Commission also has received bids on four additional ships, including two trailerships and a prototype cargo vessel, and we are now in the process of awarding contracts for their construction.

I just telephoned Washington this morning and I found that the contract for the prototype vessel has been let. While I was on the high seas I discussed this matter with members of the Commission and suggested that they wait on the award of the contract until I could return. I had a meeting with the Commission on Friday afternoon, and today they are announcing the award in Washington of the prototype to the yards at Pascagoula, the Ingalls yard. I think many of you here will be happy to know about that.

Beyond these immediate prospects, the Commission is contemplating the construction of eight more vessels and has requested funds for this purpose.

The Commission is continuing to negotiate with steamship companies to determine what additional vessels can be built under the current program. There are also more than 40 tankers now under construction for private account.

In this connection, let me say that the Maritime Commission recognizes the peculiar difficulties which our West Coast shipyards face. Just as we realize the patriotic motives which moved the Metal Trades Department and affiliated unions to call this problem to our attention. And I can assure you that it is my intention to pursue a policy which will insure equitable treatment for all shipbuilding sections of the country—East and West, North and South.

I might say that as a result of my visit through the yards of the United Kingdom on the Thames and in Edinburgh and in Holland, and the Wolf yards in Belfast I am much concerned about the shipbuilding industry in this country. You know that the Maritime Commission in the construction of a ship is supposed to have our shipbuilding on a parity with those ships built abroad, and we are authorized to pay a construction differential subsidy of up to 50 percent of the cost of the vessel. With the devaluation of the pound, which occurred while I was over there, I feel that the differential between shipbuilding in this country and building in the U. K. will be about 60 percent. Therefore, I am concerned about whether American builders will want to build in this country and only take 50 percent, when by building abroad they can take a differential of 60 percent.

It is something that I intend to call to the attention of the next Congress. I understand that the present Congress will possibly adjourn within the next few days, and therefore it would be rather futile to bring it to their attention at this time.

You are interested, no doubt, in the efforts that are being made in Congress to appropriate \$25,000,000 for the reconditioning of vessels in the national defense reserve fleet so that the best of these ships may be ready for service on quick call in case of an emergency. According to present plans more than 50 ships will be serviced on the West Coast. It is estimated that 57 percent of this fund would be spent for labor. I want to caution, however, against expecting any sudden burst of new employment should this money be granted. The work will be done in an orderly manner over a long period and the project will tend to stabilize employment rather than increase it suddenly or to any great extent.

Considering the importance of the maritime industry to the economy and security of this Nation, there is every reason why the working men and women of America should support a strong American Merchant Marine.

We must remember that there are four essentials to the development and maintenance of shipping services under our flag adequate for the needs of commerce and defense. These

are: (1) an active fleet, (2) an active ship-building and ship repair industry, (3) an adequate training program, and (4) a national defense reserve fleet.

If we keep these elements in the picture, we can be assured of a Merchant Marine which will serve the Nation in peace and, if necessary, in war.

PRESIDENT GREEN: My dear General, I want to assure you that we deeply appreciate your visit with us this morning and the very interesting, informative, and thought-provoking address which you have delivered. In turn I want to assure you that the American Federation of Labor endorses your recommendations and appeal for the development, growth, and expansion of a strong maritime organization and American Merchant Marine. We are conscious of the importance and need of our country for such a service. Our workers are thoroughly acquainted with it, and our purpose, I assure you, is to endorse and fully cooperate with you and do all that lies within our power to bring about the realization of your objective.

Thank you so much.

DELEGATE MacGOWAN, Boilermakers: I would like to take just a minute or two, first of all, to pay our compliments to General Fleming for the steadfast manner in which he has taken hold of the problems of the Maritime Commission. I think the average American citizen is tremendously proud of its ability to render its own services to our people, and it is a painful experience to see the American flag disappearing from the high seas of the world.

I want to suggest to this convention and to the trade union movement generally and to our people everywhere in this country that the time has arrived when we should have a long-term, permanent maritime policy. You heard General Fleming say that our million and a half experienced shipyard workers in this country have now dropped to 64,000. All the rest of the trained personnel, with ship construction experience and know-how, have had to filter back into other lines of industry, and if a national emergency confronted us we would have to go through the same expensive and troublesome period of training an entire new army of shipyard workers.

Today, pending in the House and in the Senate, is an appropriation of \$25,000,000 to reactivate about 135 of the mothball fleet. With a national budget of around forty billions of dollars we find members of the Appropriations

Committee hesitating about spending \$25,000,000 for genuine national defense.

I sincerely trust that the American Federation of Labor and its officers will vigorously press for the passage of that appropriation, so that we may hold together at least a skeleton of experienced ship yard workers.

The little tonnage that General Fleming referred to is only a drop in the bucket. The last figures I saw indicated \$6,000,000 dead-weight tons on the shipways of the United Kingdom. Now I have no quarrel, of course, with Britain's desire to restore itself, but in the spirit of equity and fair play I think the Maritime Commission, the Congress and the American people ought to see to it that enough money is appropriated and enough activity carried on to preserve the employment opportunities of our people and to maintain the Stars and Stripes on the high seas of the world.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Are there any further remarks?

Thank you, General Fleming.

Now the Chair recognizes the Director of the Workers Education Bureau, Dr. John D. Connors. He always visits with us and submits a short address. He is here now and I am presenting him to you for the submission of his address.

DR. JOHN D. CONNORS

(Director, Workers Education Bureau, A. F. of L.)

President Green, officers and fellow delegates to the sixty-eighth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor: It is indeed a pleasure and a great honor to appear before you to give a brief report on the activities of the Workers Education Bureau and to thank you all for the fine support you have given during the past year to the educational program of the American Federation of Labor.

The American Labor Movement is now known and recognized as one of the most powerful forces in the United States and throughout the world. Organized labor has in its ranks more than one-tenth of the population of this nation. Through great struggles labor has won the rights it now possesses and equally great effort must be made to preserve and extend those rights. In striving for its rightful place, however, labor continually faces great problems, an understanding of which it must have if it is to succeed in overcoming them. With each new right gained, there is also a corresponding responsibility, which trade unionists must recognize and shoulder.

To aid the members of organized labor to understand the role they must play in our

modern world is the task of workers' education. It seeks to help the worker not only understand the problems of living related to his job but also his relationships in the local community and in the larger world community. Workers' education is inextricably linked with the labor movement of which it is a part and upon which it relies for support.

There are three immediate tasks for workers' education. The first is to acquaint the many new union members with what the labor movement stands for and how it functions, and to train them in their rights, duties, and obligations. Its second task is to train union leaders to perform better the duties of their offices and also to train younger leaders to take the places of the older officers as they step down. Finally, workers' education must aid leaders and rank and file members alike to take their proper places in the community. In other words, workers' education aims to make the worker a good trade unionist, a good American, and a good world citizen.

As the official educational agency of the A. F. of L. and its affiliated organizations the Workers Education Bureau has endeavored over the past 28 years to fulfill these functions.

During the past year the Workers Education Bureau has suffered the loss of two staunch friends and supporters—Dr. Charles A. Beard, the distinguished historian, and Frank Morrison, Secretary-Treasurer Emeritus of the A. F. of L. Dr. Beard was one of the founders and guiding spirits of the Bureau and Brother Morrison was a member of its Advisory Committee for many years. No report of the work of your Bureau would be complete without a brief word of tribute to the memory of these two devoted and courageous leaders.

Last year when you met in annual convention at Cincinnati, I was attending the Third General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, which was held in Beirut, Lebanon. Upon President Green's recommendation, it was my privilege to serve as labor adviser to the U. S. Delegation at this historic conference.

Upon my return to this country, I was delighted to learn that you had expressed your great interest in workers' education by recommending to the Executive Council that the annual grant to the Workers Education Bureau be increased. I wish to express my sincere appreciation to the Executive Council for concurring in this recommendation and voting the Bureau an additional \$25,000 during the past year.

These additional funds have enabled the Bureau to expand its activities and increase its services to the A. F. of L. and its affiliated unions. An enlarged budget has made possible, among other things, the opening of a Midwest regional office in Detroit and the engaging of two field representatives. Through their efforts the Bureau has been able to establish direct contact with and to assist many more National and International Unions, State Federations of Labor, City Central Bodies, and Local Unions than was previously possible. The field representatives have met frequently with educational directors and union officials and have assisted them in planning expanded educational

programs and implementing these programs at the state and local levels. They have set up institutes, leadership training conferences and classes, courses, lectures, film forums, discussion groups, etc.

It is not my intention, nor your wish, that I give you a lengthy and detailed account of all the activities of your Bureau during the past year. A digest of these activities is to be found in the Executive Council's Report on pages 111 to 119 and a more complete summary of our expanded program has been printed and distributed to you during the past week. These reports have been carefully examined by the Convention Committee on Education.

Last Thursday morning this Committee submitted their report on the Bureau and it was adopted by you, as you recall, unanimously. Contained in this report was the following comment and recommendation:

"Your Committee highly commends the Executive Council for following out the recommendation of the Committee on Education of the 1948 Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the necessary financial support be given by the American Federation of Labor to the Workers' Education Bureau. In examining the report of the activities of the Bureau during the last year, the Committee feels that the additional funds granted by the Executive Council to the Bureau were well expended in increasing the strength and enhancing the prestige of organized labor in the United States. The Committee, however, recognizes that there is serious need in the American Federation of Labor for far greater educational services than are now possible under the present budget of the Workers' Education Bureau. Your Committee recommends, therefore, that the Executive Council explore the desirability and the possibility of establishing within the structure of the American Federation of Labor, a Department of Education into which could be integrated the present Workers' Education Bureau, and for which there should be provided an adequate staff to carry on the educational activities of the American Federation of Labor. While this study of an expanded program is being carried on, the Committee respectfully recommends that funds necessary to carry forward the present activities be provided."

The Workers Education Bureau is pleased with this recognition of the valiant service it has performed as the educational arm of the Federation for over 28 years. It agrees wholeheartedly that the time has come for an Educational Department closely integrated into the structure of the A. F. of L. At a meeting of the Bureau Executive Committee last Thursday afternoon, a special committee was appointed to stand ready to assist, in any way possible, the Executive Council in the establishment of such a department and the integration of the Bureau into the structure of our great organization.

In conclusion, on behalf of the former and present officers and staff of the Bureau, may I express our heartfelt gratitude and sincere appreciation for the active cooperation and moral and financial support we have received over the years from President Green, Secretary Meany, and the members of the Executive

Council and staff of the Federation, as well as the officers and members of affiliated national and international unions, state federations, city central bodies, and local and federal unions, and the labor press. We look back upon the past 28 years of service with deep satisfaction and accept the challenge of being of even greater service to the American Federation of Labor in the years ahead, with confidence and enthusiasm.

I should like to close now with the words of our immortal Sam Gompers. He stated the importance of workers education to our great labor movement very well when he said: "Knowledge is one of the most potent sources of power in the world. Knowledge leads everywhere. Knowledge breaks down all obstacles. Those who know the facts of history and the facts of our time are the ones best fitted to cope with the problems that confront us. Those who do not know must be taught to know, or they must be carried along the march of progress by those who do know. It is only knowledge that leads us forward."

PRESIDENT GREEN: Thank you, Doctor, for your address this morning and for the splendid work you have been doing as Director of the Workers Education Bureau.

PRESIDENT GREEN: We have one other visitor who has visited with us at previous conventions. He is a very dear friend but was unable to come here until yesterday or the day before. I am not going to call on him for an address, but I want you to know he is here and to meet him and greet him. So I want him to take a bow at this time.

I present to you our friend Archie Gordon, Counsellor and Industrial Adviser, British Embassy, Washington, D. C.

(Mr. Archibald Gordon stood and acknowledged the applause of the delegates.)

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair now recognizes Committee Secretary Woll for a continuation of his report.

REPORT OF INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS COMMITTEE

(Continued)

Committee Secretary Woll continued the report of the Committee, as follows:

A. F. of L. Consultants To The Economic And Social Council Of The U. N.

(Executive Council's Report, Pages 146 to 149)

We have thoroughly considered the Executive Council Report section dealing with the

active participation and contributions of the A. F. of L. consultants to this highly important committee of the United Nations (pages 146 to 149). We find that your consultants have been energetic and effective in carrying out the policies of the A. F. of L. for human rights, decent labor standards and world peace.

We note particularly the headway the A. F. of L. consultants have made in getting increasing attention to the pernicious menace of slave labor which is spreading eastward and westward from Communist Russia. It was the A. F. of L. that first placed the issue before the U. N. and which finally succeeded in putting a scorching spotlight on this cancerous core of International Communism and its imperialist Russian fatherland.

We recommend that our consultants continue their vigorous efforts to secure the unstinted assistance of all democratic nations in the U. N. for a vigorous struggle against forced labor as an expression of 20th century slavery. In this connection, we draw your attention to and urge the widest circulation of the book published by the Executive Council: "Slavery in Russia—The case presented by the American Federation of Labor before the U. N."—as a powerful indictment and an arsenal of weapons against the Communist plague.

Your committee recommends that the convention strongly urge our government to drop its hesitation and finally, to come around as it did in the case of our resolution on slave labor, to support the A. F. of L. proposal before the U. N. to ban all fifth column activities by any member nation against another member nation. The tragedy now gripping China as a direct result of the Fifth column activities financed and organized on its territory by another member nation "Russia" should certainly convince even the most hesitant of democratic delegates to the U. N. of the urgency and soundness of our proposal.

In this regard we emphasize that our anti-Fifth column resolution, first presented to the U. N. about a year ago, is fully in accord with Article 22 of the Rights and Duties of the state which declares:

"Every state has the duty to refrain from fomenting civil strife in the territory of another state and the duty to prevent the organization within its territory of activities calculated to foment such strife."

Your committee also takes note of the fact that the scope of U. N. activities in the economic and social field is increasing. New assignments, like the problem of economic assistance to under-developed countries and economic survey mission to the Middle East have been given to the ECOSOC. We, therefore, recommend that our consultants be empowered to take the necessary steps through the appropriate U. N. channels to change the status of the ECOSOC from a commission meeting only twice a year to a permanent body like the Trusteeship Council.

Committee Secretary Woll moved adoption of this section of the Committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

(Executive Council's Report, Pages 150-152)

The section of the Executive Council Report dealing with this question (Pages 150-152) forcefully declares:

"While there remains much to be done to make the UNESCO program meaningful to the working people of this and other nations, we are pleased to report that the last year has indicated progress in this direction. We urge the active support for the program and participation in it on the part of all our affiliated unions having an interest in educational, scientific, and cultural matters."

Your Committee recommends approval of this policy. We are glad to report that this policy has, in the past year, been translated into deeds—through active practical participation by our representatives.

The new leadership provided UNESCO in the election of Dr. Jaime Torres-Bodet, Mexico's former Minister of Education, as Director-General, gives it the vision and courage required for its positive role in advancing social reconstruction. This is especially encouraging because of the multiplying attempts of totalitarian Communism and other brands of reaction to enslave the minds as well as the bodies of man. On the basis of the lifelong philosophy and practice of Dr. Torres-Bodet, we are confident that UNESCO will henceforth be increasingly effective in the fulfillment of its great mission.

Your Committee notes that a Labor Secretariat has been created in UNESCO. We propose that the American Federation of Labor representative to this body secure full clarification of the relations between this Secretariat and other UN agencies—particularly the I.L.O.

The Executive Council reports that the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO has conducted special labor conferences but no special sessions for agriculture, the consumers, industry, or other social groups. We are not clear as to the why and wherefore of this course, especially since there are only three trade union representatives on a commission of 100. Your Committee calls for greater labor representation on this commission in order to insure an adequate voice for the working people in the formulation of UNESCO policies.

Your Committee notes with interest that the State Department has agreed to have the A. F. of L. designate its own representatives to the Paris Conference of UNESCO. This is in line with our insistence from the very foundation of the UNESCO Commission. We strongly urge that our affiliate, the American Federation of Teachers, as the biggest voluntary, national organization of teachers in the United States, be given much more adequate recognition. Your Committee cannot emphasize too strongly that the effective implementation of the ideals of UNESCO demands a far

greater realization of the vital importance of our public schools.

Your Committee also requests that the A. F. of L. seek a clearly defined statement of the specific items of the program of UNESCO and the U. S. National Commission on UNESCO.

In reaffirming our deep interest in promoting the purpose of UNESCO, your Committee recommends that the Executive Council be empowered to take the necessary steps to secure the support of the State Department for the proposals herein indicated.

Committee Secretary Woll moved adoption of this section of the Committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Towards The Full Recovery Of Democratic Europe

(Executive Council's Report—Pages 152-157)

Your Committee has considered thoroughly the section in the Executive Council's Report (Pages 152 to 157) entitled "Economic Cooperation Administration" and dealing in detail with various practical phases of European reconstruction. We approve the keynote and core of this section which are embodied in the following:

"The United States has grave responsibility because of its productive economy, its great political power, and its own dependence on world trade and prosperity. We must act in the interests of all, to the detriment of none, and for the advancement and security of our own nation.

"Responsibility is a sacred trust." (Page 156)

In this light, we can only express our genuine encouragement at the progress of the Marshall Plan and our general approval of the measures taken by the recent tri-partite Washington conference to strengthen Britain's economic position. We hope that no effort will be spared to unite the ranks, pool the strength and weld the economies of democratic Europe on a continental scale—in the interest of vanquishing poverty, totalitarian tyranny and the danger of war.

The basic aim of the Marshall Plan—the economic recovery of Europe—cannot be accomplished without the fulfillment of two conditions. These conditions are (1) the rebuilding of European economy on a continental scale, integrated into a continental economy; and (2) the working people of Europe—in the factories, fields and offices—are assured decent conditions of life and labor.

It is in this spirit that we reaffirm our opposition to the policy of further reparations and the dismantling of productive enterprises in Germany. We strongly urge our government to be unrelenting in its efforts

to have all the allied powers discontinue forthwith these destructive policies. Such policies only breed unemployment, political chaos, and the germs of Communism and other expressions of dangerous reaction and militarism among the German people. Instead, we propose that these productive capacities be considered an integral part of European economy and be utilized fully for the economic reconstruction and welfare of free Europe inclusive of Western Germany.

We cannot reaffirm too forcefully our support of our government's policy against any interference in the domestic affairs of the countries receiving aid under the European Recovery Program. We must, however, express our solidarity with the European free trade unions in their struggle against unemployment and inadequate wages. Sound and enduring economic recovery and effective defense of free nations demand that the working people of Western Europe be assured a just share of the benefits of the economic progress achieved under the ERP.

Only a reduction in unemployment and an improvement in living standards can guarantee a healthy social peace. Such genuine social peace in the democracies is indispensable to the success of the European Recovery Program. We urge the ECA to encourage a policy of improving living standards in proportion to the progress of the Marshall Plan.

Your Committee has only the highest praise for the earnest and full recognition by Ambassador-at-Large Averell Harriman and ERP Director Paul Hoffman of the principle of labor representation in the formulation and execution of the program of European Recovery.

Committee Secretary Woll moved adoption of this section of the Committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried.

POINT "FOUR"

Development of Under-Developed Areas

(Executive Council's Report,
Pages 149 and 157)

Your Committee notes that the Executive Council Report deals with this problem on Pages 149 and 157. We support the Council's endorsement of President Truman's program "to help the free peoples of the world, through their own efforts, to produce more food, more clothing, more materials for housing, and more mechanical power to lighten their burdens," and thereby promote peace and "the freedom and dignity and fullness of life."

Hunger, social injustice, poverty, and despair are the strongest allies of dictatorship and war. The surest way of safeguarding democracy, security, and peace is to raise the standards of living of the peoples of the earth. As the leading democratic country and the

nation with the highest industrial development, we have the greatest moral and material responsibility for helping the peoples of the world to harness modern technology in the service of human well-being, peaceful social progress, and international harmony.

The struggle between the forces of human freedom and the battalions of totalitarian despotism for the souls and minds of men is fast approaching the hour of decision. The American people are in a privileged position to help expand and improve the economic foundation for the democratic aspirations and cultural progress of the aroused peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Furthermore, American assistance to the economic and social development of these nations will not only fortify the cause of human liberty, but also enhance our own democratic vitality and prosperity. Hence, help in developing the under-developed areas is a decisive feature of our country's foreign policy and a powerful aid to the transformation of the UN into an effective instrument of world peace.

To improve the productive resources and the conditions of life and labor for more than half of the world's population is a task which involves far more than economic problems. Effective assistance must envisage not only technical aid and the provision of capital. "Point Four" carries with it social, cultural and international overtones of major import. Not only capital investment and technical "know how" are required. Human training and re-training are absolutely essential. Not only material but human resources will have to be planfully invested.

In this light, your Committee proposes that our government give favorable consideration to the following proposals as guiding lines for implementing and applying the great ideals and creative policy underlying President Truman's historic "Point Four":

1. Demonstrate to the peoples of the under-developed regions by our words and deeds that our interest in their well-being is free from any desire to exploit or oppress them or to seek any special privileges — extra-territorial rights or otherwise.

2. Have recipient as well as assisting nations cooperate in formulating plans and in contributing towards the development of suitable projects. This spirit of joint effort should be founded on the basis of the possibilities of providing for those commodities and those services most needed abroad and which neither displace nor disturb the resources of the other nation.

3. There should be no interference in each other's domestic affairs or political life and no infringement or violation of their respective sovereignty. Organizations or activities hostile to both nations are not to be encouraged or supported, directly or indirectly.

4. Wherever possible and practical more than one country should be drawn into undertaking these developments. This can be done largely through the United Nations and its special agencies, but under no circumstances must the exercise of the veto power be permitted to paralyze or thwart operations.

5. The technical aid should be accompanied by measures for advancing the health, sanitary conditions, education, technical knowledge so as to employ a gradually rising proportion of skilled natives, vocational training and guidance, soil conservation, housing and the advancement of social standards and human rights. The native working population should be helped to learn the art of developing free and democratic trade unions, farmers' and consumers' organizations, as well as be trained in industrial and distributive efficiency.

6. A healthy social foundation and structure should be advanced. Not only must the assurance of democratic rights accompany industrial development, but the population must also share increasingly in the benefits of rising productivity and efficiency. The workers in each country must be guaranteed the right to organize into bona fide trade unions, a full opportunity for genuine collective bargaining, and minimum wages and decent working conditions in line with the standards established by the I.L.O. No racial discrimination or forced labor is to be tolerated.

7. Increasingly the dominant control and principal ownership of important projects should be placed in the hands of the country aided and in accord with the economic forms its own people democratically determine, so as to avoid the evils of absentee-ownership.

8. Our government should join with other governments in working out an international code to which the recipient nations shall subscribe so as to reduce, through international channels like the U.N., to a minimum the present risks and difficulties of foreign investment—nationalization, exchange, and convertibility into the national currency of the investor. Reasonable guarantees must be provided for private investments, if this vast and vital reservoir of capital is to serve a healthy and a non-imperialist development of the countries still industrially under-developed.

9. In order to help insure the attainment of these goals and in order to insure maximum cooperation and support by the working peoples concerned in each instance, the respective free trade unions are to be adequately represented on all important planning and project commissions.

The natural resources of the earth must serve the good of the many and not be exploited for the gains of the privileged few or for the benefit of any despotic power hiding its quest for world domination behind a facade of high-sounding phrases and pseudo-radical promises.

Committee Secretary Woll moved adoption of this section of the Committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Formation Of New World Organization Of Labor

(Executive Council's Report, Pages 157-160)

In its section dealing with this question, the Report of the Executive Council (pages

157-160) gives a comprehensive review and a correct evaluation of the problems, responsibilities and tasks confronting American labor in the profound realignment of forces which has been going on for a number of years in the ranks of world labor.

Your Committee cites particularly for favorable consideration by the convention the following excerpt from the Report of the Executive Council:

"The relentless fight waged by the American Federation of Labor against the creation, organization, and continuation of the W.F.T.U. was not a mere negative struggle. There can be nothing more positive and constructive than the defeat and eradication of destructive and totalitarian elements in the body-politic of organized labor. . . ."

"Above all, in furtherance of sound world unity of free labor and genuine international labor solidarity and cooperation for freedom, economic well-being, social justice and lasting peace, we have continuously striven for the organization of a united world federation of free trade unions. . . ."

Your Committee recommends wholehearted approval of the fruitful efforts of the Executive Council, its International Labor Relations Committee, the Free Trade Union Committee and the various A. F. of L. representatives towards insuring and speeding the breakup of the W.F.T.U. which never was anything else but an instrument of Soviet imperialism and totalitarian Communism.

It would be extremely difficult to exaggerate the damage done to economic reconstruction in the democratic countries of Europe by this tool of the Cominform at the height of its strength. It would be dangerous folly to underestimate the damage and sabotage this Kremlin-controlled apparatus, even in its much weakened condition, can still inflict on economic restoration and national security in the Western European lands. Indeed, today, there is no longer even the slightest excuse for any self-respecting free trade union organization to continue affiliation or have anything to do with this notorious Russian fifth column agency. Hence, we appeal particularly to those bona fide trade union bodies of France, Italy, and Israel that still have relations with the so-called W.F.T.U. to lose no time in severing them.

Your Committee further recommends full approval of the active initiative maintained by the above mentioned A. F. of L. bodies in promoting the healthy realignment in the ranks of world labor leading to the holding of a foundation congress of a bona fide international federation of genuine free trade unions.

Every affiliate and member of the A. F. of L. has every reason to be proud of the contribution made by our delegation to the preliminary conference held last June at Geneva. It is in this spirit and along this line that our delegation to the coming world

Congress in London should participate and work.

To the freedom-loving workers of all lands we pledge our full moral and material support in behalf of making the new world labor body not only a truly international federation of free trade unions, but a most powerful force for peaceful social progress, social justice, human freedom, and lasting peace.

Committee Secretary Woll moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

SLAVE LABOR IN RUSSIA

COMMITTEE SECRETARY WOLL: Finally, and in conclusion, the committee desires to present a statement with reference to a book on "Slave Labor in Russia," which is about to be issued by the American Federation of Labor.

The damning evidence on forced labor in the Soviet Union submitted by the American Federation of Labor to the United Nations was released today in book form in St. Paul, Minn., where the Federation is holding its 68th annual convention.

The 192-page book entitled "Slave Labor in Russia" contains evidence from many sources to support the contention which the AFL has long made that inhumane and slave labor conditions exist under the Communist regime. The AFL has taken the initiative in advocating before the United Nations that an international investigation of Soviet Labor camps be made.

Forced Labor in Uranium Mining

A chapter which has terrifying timeliness is the discussion on the use of slave labor in the mining of uranium. The discussion in this chapter indicates the feverish pressure under which the Russians seek to mine precious uranium for atomic arms production.

"Safety precautions are neglected. Fatal accidents are very frequent and poisoning by mine gas is an almost daily occurrence," says the AFL book.

"Working conditions are primitive. Standard drilling equipment consists of German hand drills. The elevators and hoists are hazardous and the shafts and tunnels are very badly lighted. Electric motors break down very frequently, requiring the use of ladders instead of hoists. Pumps are insufficient in number and frequently break down with a consequent flooding of the mine. Miners sometimes work waist-deep in water. Ventilation is very poor, causing a large number of casualties due to asphyxiation. The mine is not shored up, mainly be-

cause of a shortage of mine timbers . . . The labor turnover is estimated at 100 percent every three months caused about equally by desertion and illness or injury."

Other profoundly moving chapters contain affidavits or "case histories" of former inmates of Soviet slave labor camps. These come from both men and women, from peasants, laborers, technical, professional and administrative employees.

The publication sets forth the statements before the UN Economic and Social Council made by Willard Thorpe, U. S. Representative, and by Miss Toni Sender of the AFL consultants to the Council. Official minutes from the UN and other official documents before the international body are contained in the book.

Publish Slave Labor Code

The book publishes in the appendix the "Corrective Labor Codex of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic." This slave labor code from Soviet sources is called an "historic, though tragic, document" by Matthew Woll, Chairman of the AFL's International Labor Relations Committee.

In commenting on the evidence, AFL President William Green says in a foreword to "Slave Labor in Russia":

"The speeches made by the representatives of the democratic countries of the American Federation of Labor are outstanding in their interpretation of the struggle against slave labor and the degradation of human beings. Moreover, the debate clearly shows that though the representatives of Russia and the spokesmen of the satellite countries made lengthy and arrogant speeches, they didn't answer the accusation that the Soviet system is based on human slavery—a charge which is substantiated by detailed and irrefutable evidence.

"... the deadly threat to all progress achieved by humanity through free institutions everywhere is most forcefully and painfully illustrated by the fact that a modern totalitarian state has imposed a system of slavery on helpless human beings to an extent unequalled in history."

"Slave Labor in Russia" is the most complete and stirring indictment yet made of this most sinister threat to human dignity, freedom and peace everywhere in the world.

Your Committee on Internal Labor Relations recommends that every member undertake to purchase this book and become fully familiar with the slave labor conditions existing in Russia.

I move that the statement and recommendation of the committee be adopted.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY WOLL: That concludes the report of the International Labor Relations Committee, which is composed of:

William J. McSorley, Chairman
Matthew Woll, Secretary

William Green
Daniel J. Tobin
Wm. L. Hutcheson
Albert Adamski
Joseph V. Moreschi
Joseph P. Ryan
John P. Frey
Christian M. Madsen
Henry F. Schmal
W. C. Birthright
John B. Haggerty
Isidore Nagler
Hugo Ernst
George Meany
W. C. Doherty
Arnold S. Zander
George J. Richardson
Patrick E. Gorman
Edward J. Volz
Harry C. Bates
Dave Beck

COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

COMMITTEE SECRETARY WOLL: I move that the committee's report as acted upon by this convention and the report of the Executive Council on the sections reported upon be approved.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I want to thank the committee for its excellent report and for the excellent service which it rendered in the preparation of that report.

PRESENTATION TO FRATERNAL DELEGATES

PRESIDENT GREEN: Now, we will pause in our deliberations for the purpose of performing a most pleasant, inspiring and friendly duty. It is a repetition of the discharge of pleasant duties which we have met in previous conventions. I am happy now to ask you all to remain quiet and attentive while we discharge this duty.

I can truthfully say that we have always appreciated very deeply the visit of the fraternal delegates and their wives to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. We have expressed ourselves just as forcefully as possible. In declarations, in conversation, personal, collective and otherwise we have tried to tell them how much we appre-

ciate their trip from abroad to the United States and to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, bringing warm and cordial greetings and serving with us in a fraternal capacity.

But those are words, expressions, intangible evidence of our appreciation of their visit. We want to supplement those expressions and that intangible evidence of our appreciation by bringing to them a tangible expression of our gratitude for their stay with us, their visit with us, and as an appreciation of their splendid messages and their very friendly conversation.

So now we are going to do that, and when they get back home they can tell their friends: "The delegates and members of the American Federation of Labor expressed to us their deep appreciation over our visit. They told us they were glad we visited with them."

Then the question can be asked, "Well, how do you know that was sincere?"

Then they can present to them the tangible evidence. "Here is the answer. This is the present they presented to us. It shows and reflects their friendly feeling and their deep appreciation of our visit."

So now I am going to present to each of them a tangible, indestructible evidence of our deep appreciation of their visit, something they can keep forever, something that will be a priceless possession, something that possesses more than intrinsic value.

So Brother Lincoln Evans, one of the fraternal delegates of Great Britain, I present to you first this beautiful badge. I know that you will value this very highly as a priceless possession. It is your badge to remind you of your attendance at our convention. Then with it is something intangible, something that is beautiful and artistic. You can keep this forever.

There it is, a beautiful watch presented by you, the representatives of the American Federation of Labor, to our very dear friend Lincoln Evans.

FRATERNAL DELEGATE EVANS: President Green and fellow delegates: It is difficult in the light of these beautiful presents to fully express to you how one feels. It symbolizes so adequately, I think, the wonderful time you have given us since we set foot in your dear country. Every one we have met has been kindness itself. There is no wish

that we have expressed that hasn't been met on an instance.

When I came here first you were naturally strangers, to a certain extent, but I can well understand now after listening to your speeches, hearing your declarations of policy, how little separates the British Trade Union Congress from the American Federation of Labor. I understand now, in spite of the stresses and differences that we may have had over the long period of years, that when the chips are down the British Trade Union Congress and the American Federation of Labor are always together because they believe in the same things.

On behalf of my wife and myself I want to thank you from the bottom of my heart for the wonderful time and for those beautiful presents that you have given us.

PRESIDENT GREEN: And now I want Brother Williamson to feel that what I said prior to the presentation of that beautiful present to his colleague, Brother Lincoln Evans, is said to him also, in the same words. I ask him now to come forward and receive his present.

Here is a beautiful badge, artistic, and especially beautiful. Keep this as a souvenir of your attendance here.

Here is a beautiful watch and chain, similar to the one presented to Brother Evans. It is yours as a reminder of your visit here, and with it goes our best wishes.

FRATERNAL DELEGATE WILLIAMSON: President Green and fellow delegates and friends: I don't think I can adequately express the feelings of my wife and myself for the good feeling and hospitality which we have received from all of you when we have been attending this historic convention. I can assure you, President Green, that I will place on this present which you have just given me the same high regard which has been given by many distinguished fraternal delegates from Britain years ago.

A fortnight before I came I was with that great industrial leader, Mr. J. R. Clynes, whom I am sorry to say is now very ill, and he produced his badge and watch which he received at the convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Toronto in 1909. He has treasured that badge and watch through the years.

Mr. President and fellow delegates, may I conclude by again thanking you, and I hope that we will see more of you in Britain. As Lincoln Evans has rightfully said, the British Trade Union Congress will march with the American Federation of Labor in the years to come.

PRESIDENT GREEN: And now, Brother Rintoul, a similar badge, and with it go the same feelings and the same expressions of appreciation. There is also a watch similar to the one presented to the other fraternal delegates, which I am happy to present to you now.

FRATERNAL DELEGATE RINTOUL: President Green and delegates, we came here a week ago yesterday bringing fraternal greetings of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. There was quite a busy time in the hotel and we were a little obscured for the first day. Since that time there have not been enough hours in the day for us to get around to all of the wonderful invitations extended my wife and myself.

My two co-delegates here have expressed my feelings in the words they have offered to you, and to make it brief I can only say this, that my grandchildren and probably my great grandchildren will have the pleasure of looking upon these mementos that have been presented to me now. With great pride I shall be able to say that they were given to me by the American Federation of Labor.

Thank you.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Now we are exceedingly happy in that we are privileged to make a presentation to the charming and lovely wives of our fraternal delegates. I must put the brakes on now and refrain from saying too much, because I am afraid if I would express my feelings their husbands might be jealous of me.

I am going to present them in a very simple way—first, a beautiful watch to Mrs. Evans, which she can take home with her and keep as a memento of a delightful visit spent with us here at St. Paul.

MRS. EVANS: I want to thank you very much for the marvelous time we have had here. I am sure I will carry back to England a very glowing account of your lovely country and your very charming people. I am sure that I am a very lucky woman to be the wife of a fraternal delegate who came to this conven-

tion and had the opportunity of meeting such a charming man as your President, Mr. Green.

PRESIDENT GREEN: We have the same kind of a watch for Mrs. Williamson. I present it to her with the same expressions that I uttered when I presented the watch to Mrs. Evans.

MRS. WILLIAMSON: Friends, I would just like to add my thanks to those of Mrs. Evans and to those of my husband, and thank President Green and all of you for making our stay in America so very, very happy.

PRESIDENT GREEN: And I make the same sort of a presentation to this lovely lady from Canada, the wife of our fraternal delegate from the Trades and Labor Congress, Brother Rintoul. I know she will appreciate it and love it very much.

MRS. RINTOUL: I can't say enough to thank everybody for such a wonderful time as we have had here. I shall never forget it all through the years of my life.

PRESIDENT GREEN: That completes the discharge of our pleasant and friendly duty, and I know you share with me the feeling of happiness we have experienced over it. We wish the fraternal delegates and their wives a very, very happy stay here and a safe and pleasant return to their homes.

The Chair recognizes Brother Woll for an announcement.

VICE PRESIDENT WOLL: On Friday of last week a supplemental report was presented to the convention and referred to the Committee on Resolutions. The Committee will meet immediately upon adjournment of this session in Room 4115, St. Paul Hotel. All members are urged to be in attendance because of the nature of the subject that is before the committee for consideration, and anyone desiring to be heard on the subject will please arrange accordingly and make your hearing short.

TRIBUTE TO DECEASED MEMBERS

PRESIDENT GREEN: I will ask all the delegates to be seated just a moment while we carry out a very impressive part of our convention program. We always stand in silence for a moment for the purpose of paying a deserved tribute to our departed brothers and associate officers who worked with us. The

time has now arrived when we should carry out that part of our program in this convention, so I will call upon Secretary-Treasurer Meany to read the names of our brothers who departed this life during the past year, and following that, if there are any whose names have not been read, opportunity will be presented for the names to be added to the list.

Secretary Meany read the following list:

George L. Berry, Pres. of Printing Pressmen's & Assistants' Union. Former V. P. of A. F. of L.—Dec. 4, 1948.

Harry F. Petty, Pres. of Kentucky State Fed. of L.—Dec. 7, 1948.

Agnes Nestor, Repr. of Int'l Glove Workers Union—Dec. 28, 1948.

Victor A. Olander, Sec.-Treas. of Ill. State Fed. of L.—Feb. 5, 1949.

Frank Morrison, Secretary Emeritus of A. F. of L.—March 12, 1949.

H. E. Greenwald, Sec.-Treas. of Cleaning & Dye House Workers International—March 12, 1949.

Charles Sinnigen, Sec.-Treas. of Union Label Trades Dept. of N. Y.—March 16, 1949.

Thomas Cairns, A. F. of L. Organizer—March 22, 1949.

Henry B. Perham, Past Pres. of R. R. Telegraphers, Former V. P. of A. F. of L.—April 26, 1949.

Peter Benard, Pres. Emeritus of Central Labor Union of Bridgeport, Conn.—May 15, 1949.

Alva Kemp, Organizer for the A. F. of L.—May 15, 1949.

M. O. Hawbaker, Organizer for the A. F. of L.—June 1, 1949.

John Forster, Delegate of I. T. U.—June, 1949.

Louis Krouse, Former Sec.-Treas. of Int'l Ass'n Theatrical Stage Emp.—June 19, 1949.

Ted Hopkins, V. P., A. F. of Grain Millers—July 6, 1949.

A. F. Whitney, Pres. of Bro. Railroad Trainmen—July 16, 1949.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Charles E. Silva, Organizer for the A. F. of L.—July 26, 1949.

William R. Trotter, Former V. P. of I. T. U.—August 5, 1949.

Thomas B. Eames, Secretary, Glass Bottle Blowers Association—September 6, 1949.

Anthony Merlino, Vice President, Journeymen Barbers, Hairdressers and Cosmetologists' International Union—September 28, 1949.

George C. Slater, Member, General Executive Board, United Garment Workers—Nov. 11, 1948.

Jacob Ehrlich, General Representative, United Garment Workers—June, 1949.

Abraham Stiglitz, General Representative, United Garment Workers—September, 1949.

William Montague, International Representative, United Automobile Workers—September, 1949.

Jack Lyons, Vice-President, California State Federation of Labor—1948.

W. C. Elliott, Theatrical Stage Employees, —June 15, 1949.

William Lurye, International Ladies Garment Workers—May 9, 1949.

John Frock, Plasterers and Cement Finishers International Union.

Charles A. Ryan, Post Office Clerks—September 16, 1949.

Charles A. Evans, International Representative, International Union of Operating Engineers—September 19, 1949.

Clyde Foster, Former Vice-President, Hotel & Restaurant Employes and Bartenders International Union—April, 1949.

Joseph Etchison, Hod Carriers and Building Laborers—November, 1948.

John Coleman, Vice-President, International Jewelry Workers Union.

R. S. Roberts, Past General Vice-President, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen—July, 1949.

George Spooner, International Representative, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union—September, 1949.

George Wilson, First Vice-President, Michigan Federation of Labor and President of the Milk Drivers Union in the City of Detroit.

Mrs. Frank Weigel, Wife of a former delegate from Journeymen Barbers International Union—October, 1949.

Robert G. Vansant, Retired Treasurer, Glass Bottle Blowers' Association.

William Warren, Retired Executive Officer, Glass Bottle Blowers' Association.

William Kerngood, American Federation of Musicians.

At the conclusion of the reading of the list the delegates arose and remained standing in silence for a brief period.

At 12:30 o'clock, p. m. the convention was adjourned to 2:00 o'clock, p.m.

SIXTH DAY—MONDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order by President Green at 2:30 o'clock, p.m.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I want to present to you Brother George W. Holbert, a delegate representing the Hotel & Restaurant Employes and Bartenders' International Union, the oldest living Negro member of the American Federation of Labor. This marks his forty-fifth year of continuous membership. He asks the privilege of saying a word to you, and I am presenting him to you now.

STATEMENT OF DELEGATE GEORGE HOLBERT

President Green, Members of the Executive Council, my fellow delegates and honored guests: There is probably no more concrete evidence of the equality status in the American Federation of Labor than the fact that I, a humble Negro waiter, stand here today enjoying the privileges and rights of a delegate to this convention representing the Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Bartenders' International Union, numbering 500,000 people entitled to 3,815 votes in this convention.

I am going to confess that I had prepared something for this convention, but I listened to United States Senator Humphrey Monday, and he gave me enough inspiration and subject matter to keep me talking from now until the last vote was counted in 1950.

Forty-one years ago I was a waiter in a hotel in the City of Minneapolis. Not far from here, in an adjacent state, there was a man who was a coal miner. Today he outlines the policies and conducts the destinies of this great organization, and wields the gavel here in this convention.

It has occurred to me, President Green, that the Lord has been most gracious, that in His infinite wisdom he has permitted a coal miner and a Negro waiter to travel so far along the highway of organized labor.

As I say, I was a waiter. I worked in a hotel in a crew of 75 men who were unorganized. We had a munificent salary of \$25 a month. We worked 10, 11, or 12 hours a day, no vacation, no extra time, no adjudication of troubles or complaints. The conditions were so terrible that I made up my mind I would try to organize those colored waiters.

I want you delegates to understand that attempting to organize the Negro workers 40 years ago was a pretty tough job. They were afraid of the word "unionism." They were intimidated by their employers, who did recognize the difficulty that might occur to them if those Negroes were organized. They placed all the obstacles that they possibly could

in their pathway. They did everything they could to keep them out of organized labor. I regret to say that organized labor 40 years ago wasn't making such a strenuous effort to organize the Negroes, either. We didn't have a William Green 40 years ago. We didn't have such an Executive Council of judgment and sympathy as we have today, so it was pretty tough going.

But we tried. We didn't have any money. Occasionally we would get a barrel of beer and a few packages of Old Judge cigarettes and try to entertain them. We had a double job—we had to educate them first to the benefits of organized labor and then organize them. I appealed to our International Union. They told me they were in the same fix I was, they didn't have any money for organizing purposes, either. But finally they sent a young man up to Minneapolis, a young man full of vim and vigor. His name was Emanuel Kovaleski, and he sits in this convention with me today. He said, "I have come to help you, Holbert." We started out. We had the help of Frank Hoffman, who was the International Vice President here at that time, and we had the help of the white cooks and the white Bartenders' Union over there. They made fun of us. My friends laughed at me. One of them said to me, "Holbert, you have as much chance to organize these Negro waiters here as a safety razor has at a colored picnic."

We kept on and we did organize them. We got a charter, we got a number,—711 was the number of our local. Then we kept on until we organized all the colored waiters in the city, and in a little while we had practically every colored waiter in St. Paul and Minneapolis in the ranks of No. 711. I don't know whose official duty it is to assign numbers to new locals when they are organized, but I often wondered why, in a local that was composed entirely of Negro men, a number was assigned to it that was so synonymous with the numbers of a game at which we are supposed to be particularly proficient.

The local is still here. The number hasn't changed.

Now, I want to talk to you in just a heart-to-heart way about things which I think concern the progress of this International Union and this convention, and that is the organization of Negroes into organized labor. Let me tell you, I have had a lot of experience. I won't recite all the organization work I have done in the 45 years I have been in this American Federation of Labor. I won't tell you of the wonderful help you have exhibited towards the education of my people and toward the inducting of them into the ranks of organized labor.

But I am still not satisfied. Constantly my eyes turn to the South—the great South. Let me tell you there are eight million

Negro men and women, wage earners in the United States, and the great majority of them are in the Southland. The great majority of them are outside the ranks of organized labor, and just so long as that great army remains down there they are a menace to the growth and the progress of the American Federation of Labor.

You will find them in all walks of life there from the common laborer to the most skilled artist. There are painters, carpenters, electricians, machinists, teamsters, seamstresses—and I pause to think what a field there is down there for the Teamsters Union and the Ladies Garment Workers.

Now, they can do these things as well as anybody else, and so long as they remain there outside the ranks of organized labor they are a positive menace to us who are in organized labor. What an asset they are to the employers there, when our people seek an increase in wages or better conditions? Those employers always have the feeling that they can combat them because there they can put their hands on a great army of unorganized people. Now it is our duty to organize those people as much for the preservation and progress of the American Federation of Labor as it is for the protection of those people themselves. We must get them into the ranks of organized labor. I know it can be done. I know how it can be done.

Unfortunately, I am too old, I guess, for active organization work. You have got to send young men and young women down there imbued with the spirit of organized labor, organizers who can get up early in the morning and stay out late to talk my people's language, and who can understand the conditions under which they labor, the discrimination practiced against them, the intimidation of employers practiced against them. You have got to send people down there who will live and talk with them, win their confidence, impress them with the belief that if they affiliate themselves with organized labor they will get the same protection, they will get the same wage scale, and they will get the same justice dealt out to them as their white brothers and sisters.

You do that and the job can be accomplished down there. They are waiting for you.

Now, President Green, I want to make you a gift. It is not jewelry, diamonds, or anything like that. I want to make you a gift of the promise of the rank and file of the Negro members of organized labor—and that is the class I truck with, the rank and file. I want to make you a gift of the promise that we love you, sir. We have implicit faith in your ability and your qualifications for leadership. When you stand up here and tell us that you believe in the equality of man and the elimination of racial discrimination we believe that you mean it. We believe it is not just nice words to sound good to the ear, but it is the genuine expression of the honest opinions of your heart.

We pledge that we will work with you. We will support every plan and every project

that you propose for the promotion of the interests of this great International. We promise you that when it comes time to vote we will vote right, too. We will follow the recommendations and advice of the men selected by this great organization to eliminate the undesirable and to make the proper recommendation to us as to who are the requisite men to vote for. You need not have any fear of the Negro's ability to decide how to vote. There was a time when it was commonly believed that a Negro belonged to one particular party. In any locality in which the Negroes had a majority of the voting strength and the man was lucky enough to get the nomination on the Republican ticket, he could place the saddle of Republicanism on the Negro's back and ride himself into office. But those days are long gone. Negroes now, especially affiliated in organized labor, vote for men and for principles, regardless of party.

In my own City of Chicago in the great second war, with a population of 105,000 people with probably not over 1,000 white votes, we elected a black Democrat to Congress to represent the Second Congressional District, William L. Dawson, by a majority of 45,000 votes, and his sole issue in his campaign was that he was right for organized labor.

We went down into the next Congressional District where they had a Republican who was unfair, and we defeated him. That is a Negro territory, too. We sent a good Democratic labor man by the name of Barrett O'Hara to the Third Congressional District.

Then we were rather encouraged by our success and we stepped up higher and we touched a United States Senator who was unfair to organized labor. We retired Senator Curley Brooks to private life and sent Paul Douglas, a good Democratic labor man, to the Senate. So you see we can be trusted. We can carry out the dictates of those who think for us and think right for us.

I want to give you the 8,000,000 of my people to unite with the 8,000,000 of yours that you have now, and the more that you are going to get, so that this great American Federation of Labor will be in truth the greatest labor party the world has ever seen. We can do it if you will help me.

At the first convention of my International that I attended in 1908, there were two Negro delegates present. One was from Louisville, Local 250, and myself from Local 711 in Minneapolis. Last April in our Chicago convention we had 212 Negro delegates, and the Negro membership in the Hotel and Restaurant Employes numbered 80,000. If we did it in our International you can do it in yours, if you are determined to do it.

I didn't do all this organization work alone. I had help, lots of help, from my sister locals, help from President Ernst, help from Secretary Ed Miller, the whole Executive Board, and there never was a time when we called upon them for service or help that they didn't proceed to respond. James Blakely, the International Vice-President of the Fifth

District, never failed to come to our help, or we could not have accomplished what we have in Chicago and elsewhere.

Now, I don't want you to get the impression that I am an International Organizer, because I am not. I have never been on the International pay roll. What I have done is organizing and educating my people in the Union idea has been done from sheer desire on my part to see the Negroes in the ranks of organized labor where they belong.

Now, you helped us, and we will come back to you with a membership that you will be proud of.

If I have said anything here today that has caused you to realize the necessity of this organizational work among the Negroes, if I have said anything that will make you go home to your various Locals imbued with the idea that you are going to do your best to organize Negroes in the jurisdictions over which you preside, I shall be very happy. You will contribute a great deal to the growth, development, and progress of the American Federation of Labor, and you will have made a personal contribution towards making an old man's dream come true.

Thank you.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Thank you, Delegate Holbert, for your remarks.

We have a friend here that I want to introduce to you just to say hello. Most of you know him and particularly you people from Minnesota. I refer to Congressman Roy Wier, from Minneapolis.

CONGRESSMAN ROY W. WIER

President Green, Executive Board Members, visitors and delegates to the A. F. of L. convention: I dropped over here to see my own International President, Dick Walsh. I haven't seen him. I have been here three or four days, and my good friend Doherty back here that I see as many many times in Washington insisted upon my at least saying "hello." Doherty and I see quite a bit of one another down there, since he has quite a number of postal bills that he is very anxious to get out in this session of Congress.

I will conclude by wishing you good-luck and saying Godspeed to all of you, and I trust that I can come back here when this session is over and help to send a couple of more liberal Democrats from the State of Minnesota.

I think I ought to say on behalf of Congressman McCarthy, who represents this District in which this convention is convening, Congressman Marshall, just to the North of St. Paul, and Congressman Blatnick of the Northern part of the state — I know they would want me to say "hello" for them and send greetings from them.

Thank you.

PRESIDENT GREEN: We thank the Congressman for his visit here this afternoon.

Now, I present to you Brother Ornburn, Chairman of the Union Labels Committee. He is ready to submit a report, which is a very short one.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON UNION LABELS

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN ORNBURN: Mr. Chairman and delegates, Secretary Howard Hicks will make the report for the Committee on Union Labels.

Committee Secretary Hicks submitted the following report:

Mr. Chairman and Delegates:

Your Committee on Union Labels had referred to that portion of the Executive Council's Report, on page 191, under the caption "Union Label Trades Department."

Your Committee notes the generous cooperation the officials of the Union Label Trades Department have received from President Green and Secretary Meany and all of the officials of the departments of the American Federation of Labor and the presidents and other officials of the national and international unions in affiliation. It is further noted that the department received helpful cooperation through the American Federationist, the A. F. of L. Weekly News Service and the Director of Organization, Harry E. O'Reilly and his staff. We commend the officers of the Union Label Trades Department upon having conducted its educational program to increase the purchase of union label merchandise and the patronage of union services in a manner in which such splendid cooperation was brought into full force and effect. We note the growth of union label leagues, which are comparable to local building trades councils and local metal trades councils. We urge city central bodies to encourage the formation of union label leagues wherever possible.

Your Committee has reviewed the various publicity features adopted by the Union Label Trades Department to further popularize all union labels, shop cards and buttons, and recommends the continued use of all of these various avenues of publicity to further acquaint the consumer public with union label merchandise and union services. We note the use of a union label directory service, which is distributed throughout the United States and Canada to acquaint retail merchants with the location of manufacturers who use the union label of the various crafts. This directory is made available as a part of the publicity service of the department.

We concur fully in the efforts put forward to expand the existing women's auxiliaries and to organize new auxiliaries. We note that the American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor is actively engaged in promoting the union labels, shop cards and buttons and also Labor's League for Political Education. We urge the formation of wom-

en's auxiliaries by national and international unions and local unions.

Union Label Week

This year, Union Label Week was held September 3 through 10. This period included Labor Sunday and Labor Day. Through services on Sunday and public celebrations on Labor Day it afforded an excellent opportunity in various sections of America to popularize the emblems of affiliated unions. Your Committee finds that the radio and television were utilized to good advantage all over the country during this period.

Union Industries Show

Your Committee is familiar with the fact that all four of the A. F. of L. Union Industries Shows, sponsored by the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, in Cincinnati, St. Louis, Milwaukee and Cleveland were exceptionally successful. In all of these good relations shows the public halls in which they were held were unable to accommodate all of the visitors that desired to witness the exhibitions and examine carefully union label articles that are manufactured and offered for sale to the public. The Union Industries Shows provide a means for manufacturers of union made goods and employers in the service industries who have collective bargaining agreements with the American Federation of Labor to display their union made products or demonstrate their dependable union services. The long range goal of these shows is to create good relations through labor-management cooperation. They exemplify a new spirit of unity gained through the fellowship of workers and employers when they cooperate and utilize the opportunity offered by our exhibitions to popularize union made goods and union services among all American consumers. Through mutual understanding, such as is exemplified in one of these outstanding shows, your Committee feels that we are paving the road to greater industrial peace, economic stability and permanent prosperity for America.

Your Committee commends the Union Label Trades Department upon its plans to hold the 1950 A. F. of L. Union Industries Show in the famous Convention Hall, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The show next year will open on May 6 and continue through May 13. We have noted the extension of time allotted for the visitors to examine the exhibits. Previous Union Industries Shows have been held for a five-day period. The Philadelphia Show is planned for eight days, beginning on Saturday noon and closing the following Saturday at midnight. These Union Industries Shows are free to the public. Tickets are distributed through the cooperation of business firms and labor unions. The most recent show held in Cleveland, Ohio, was televised in five programs of thirty minutes each. In addition to television, the radio was employed both nationally and locally to disseminate information to the public as to the purposes of the Show. The A. F. of L. Union Industries Shows is the only exhibition of its kind in the world.

Practically every industry in America is represented in some form of exhibit.

We find that the success and public acclaim which have characterized Union Industries Shows results from the capable and intelligent planning and direction rendered by Secretary-Treasurer I. M. Ornburn of the Union Label Trades Department and the cooperation of his staff. It is the opinion of your Committee that a most worthwhile and far-reaching service is rendered the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations by the Union Industries Shows and we believe the commendation given is richly deserved and highly warranted.

Your Committee finds many reasons for complimenting the Union Label Trades Department upon having developed this type of publicity and recommends its continued development; first, because the theme of these shows is to deliver the purchasing power of the ten million members of A. F. of L. unions and women's auxiliaries and also their families and friends to the fair manufacturers and service establishments bargaining collectively with our unions in order to perpetuate the high standards brought about through our agreements with fair management. We are cognizant of the importance of maintaining good relations with fair employers and your Committee feels through these Union Industries Shows that we are endeavoring to not only familiarize the general public with the high quality of goods and services produced under union conditions, but also to apprise them of our desire to aid in directing our huge purchasing power to fair employers.

Your Committee is pleased to report that many additional employers have adopted the use of the Union Label as a result of the increased demand for the Union Label created through these A. F. of L. Union Industries Shows.

The President of the United States had the following to say regarding the recent A. F. of L. Union Industries Show:

"These exhibitions show that harmony between labor and management is practical and possible and that the most desired of goals can be reached through industrial teamwork. Such cooperation makes for increased production, higher wage purchasing power, and greater sales of the products bearing the union label."

We call the attention of the officers and delegates to this convention to the fact that these shows have grown to such an extent that only a few cities can provide the necessary space for the exhibits. Therefore, the Union Label Trades Department has had produced a colored sound motion picture of the Cleveland Show for distribution through central bodies, state federations of labor, union label leagues and women's auxiliaries in order that the public generally can be made aware of the purpose of these Shows. Again, your Committee commends the department for using this additional means to acquaint the public with the general theme of the Union Industries Show.

The Committee desires to express its concern and disapproval of the distribution of some printed materials to delegates attending this and prior conventions of the American Federation of Labor and conventions of its affiliated organizations, which do not bear the Allied Printing Trades union label and the Paper Makers' union label. If this practice is not stopped we urge that the next convention of the American Federation of Labor admonish those responsible and prohibit the distribution of such materials to convention delegates.

Committee Secretary Hicks moved the adoption of this section of the Committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

UNION LABEL WEEK

Resolution No. 96—By Delegate I. M. Ornburn, Union Label Trades Department.

(Page 70, First Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee had one resolution referred to it, Resolution No. 96, page 70 of the first day's proceedings, under the caption, "Union Label Week."

Your Committee recommends concurrence. In doing so, we again call the attention of the officers and delegates to the huge success of Union Label Week conducted this year. We find that many governors of states and numerous mayors of cities designated the period of September 3 through September 10 as Union Label Week by proclamation. Labor papers, daily papers, weekly papers, monthly magazines and journals, the radio, television, billboards, radio transcriptions, literature, posters, advertising material of all descriptions were used to carry the message of the union labels, shop cards and buttons to millions of consumers throughout the United States and Canada.

Your Committee has also been made aware of the results obtained by an increasing number of firms agreeing to the use of the union label.

Committee Secretary Hicks moved the adoption of the Committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN ORNBURN: Mr. Chairman, this concludes the report of the Committee on Union Labels and it is signed by the members of the Committee:

I. M. Ornburn,
Chairman
J. Howard Hicks,
Secretary
Charles Hanson
Alvin L. Holt
Joseph Belsky

Carmen Lucia
Madge King
James G. Cross
Joseph Addy
E. M. Weston
Joseph Smutny
Joseph P. Brown
John Zitello
Mary G. Morley
John H. Mullen
Mario Azpeitia
Robert Lester
James A. Suffridge
Francis Schaufenbil
Joseph Kunz
Frank W. Anderson
Horace L. Imeson
Tillie Clifford
R. E. Tomlinson
George Rubin

COMMITTEE ON UNION LABELS.

Committee Chairman Ornburn moved adoption of the report of the Committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Thank you for your report and for the service rendered.

Visiting High School Students

PRESIDENT GREEN: Before introducing Brother Woll to take up the report of the Committee on Resolutions permit me to announce to the delegates and officers in attendance at this convention that there are several hundred high school students visiting with us this afternoon. They are seated in the gallery.

(Applause.)

I ask the students to accept this response as evidence of the warmth of the welcome extended them to be with us today. They come here from Minneapolis and St. Paul and from some of the colleges in the city. We are glad to have them here.

Furthermore, permit me to announce that we have been advised that Secretary of Defense Johnson has landed at the airport and will be with us soon. I know you have been wondering whether it was possible for him to land, since it is such a stormy day, but the information we have received is that he has landed.

The Chair now recognizes Brother Woll, of the Resolutions Committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WOLL: Before reporting for the Committee on Resolutions I want to say that the Committee had approximately seventy-six resolutions before it out of a total of 133 presented to the convention—in other words, a little over half of the resolutions in the convention.

Then, too, the Committee on Resolutions has asked me to advise the convention that the rules relating to the introduction of resolutions as defined in the Constitution ought to be more strictly adhered to, and that it is the possible intent of the Resolutions Committee next year to have someone posted in the convention to raise objections if many more resolutions are presented after the opening of the convention. I have been asked to advise you of that in the nature of a warning and to urge you to try to follow the rules hereafter in the introduction of resolutions.

I shall report on that part of the Executive Council's Report referred to the Committee on Resolutions, and the Secretary of the Committee will report on the resolutions themselves.

Introduction

(Executive Council's Report, Page 74)

In this section the Executive Council calls attention to the critical conditions and problems of the future in which we must function. As the Executive Council points out, our fundamental responsibilities are to extend unionization of workers, improve collective bargaining and to stand immovable for its basic principles of unionism.

We move concurrence in this section of the report.

Committee Chairman Woll moved the adoption of this section of the Committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Legal Activities

(Executive Council's Report, Page 105)

Under this caption, the Executive Council reports on the various services of our General Counsel and his associates.

In connection with our efforts to repeal Taft-Hartley, this office worked closely with the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor, analyzing each proposal and indicating its legal implications so that the Committee could make informed decisions quickly and effectively. The General Counsel and his associates also helped in preparing and presenting legal arguments on various bills. Analyses were prepared on the Administration bills introduced by Senator Thomas and Representative Lesinski, the two Woods

bills, the Sims or Rayburn amendments, the Taft so-called amendments, the Douglas and Ives amendments, and the Jacobs bill to regulate the internal activities of unions.

In addition to legislative assistance, our General Counsel's office has participated in important administrative and court cases involving important principles. Included was the Connecticut case which involved the constitutionality of the political expenditure provisions of Taft-Hartley. This was a criminal case in which the president of a local union was found guilty. The case was appealed and the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals reversed the decision of the trial court and held that the law did not prohibit use of union funds for advertising or local or commercial broadcasting for the purpose of electing or defeating candidates. The court avoided ruling on constitutionality. As the government did not appeal the case, a legal victory was gained. Unions may use union funds for political purposes but not as contributions.

The General Counsel participated in the following important Labor Board cases: Reynolds Metals in which craft unions won the right of representation; Dun and Bradstreet in which employees certified under the name of the American Federation of Labor; the Prudential, John Hancock and Metropolitan cases in which the Board designated nation-wide insurance units and the American Federation of Labor won the election; the U. S. Time Company case in which the Board held an A. F. of L. contract a bar to an election petition.

The Executive Council reports the following significant trends resulting from the administration of Taft-Hartley: The resurgence of the injunction as an anti-union weapon; the broadening application of "national emergency"; the prohibition of inter-union assistance by the ban on secondary boycotts; the disappearance of union contract provisions requiring the union card as a condition of employment; the employers' use of free speech as a weapon against unions; prohibition of mass picketing without defining what acts are or are not illegal; the secondary boycott to restrict peaceful picketing.

The administration of Taft-Hartley demonstrates the anti-union objectives underlying the law.

State Anti-Labor Laws

The General Counsel's office has sought to coordinate legislation in Appellate Courts and to eliminate appeals when advisable.

The Supreme Court of the United States upheld the broad right of states to enact laws limiting or regulating the right of unions and employers to enter into contracts, to regulate union activities, and to deny unions Constitutional rights when such laws are not in direct violation of federal law. In addition to participating in these cases in Federal courts, the General Counsel's office in four other major cases and numerous state cases, and analyzed proposed state laws. This was indeed a heavy load which has been handled with effectiveness and distinction.

We recommend endorsement of this section of the Executive Council's Report with an expression of appreciation for the valuable services performed and coordinated with union needs and purposes.

Committee Chairman Woll moved the adoption of this section of the Committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

TAFT-HARTLEY ACT

(Pages 105-218, Executive Council's Report)

Last November, as we met in annual convention in Cincinnati we declared: "The American people have spoken. The mandate of a free people, in a free election, has been recorded. The verdict of the ballot box is clear, concise and convincing."

We had reason to be elated. We had reason to believe that members of Congress who voted for the Act would do well to consider the temper of the nation and accept the will of the majority by repealing this obnoxious, vindictive, anti-labor legislation.

Regrettably, our expectations have not been fulfilled. The popular verdict of the electorate of 1948 has been distorted and trampled upon. By a resort to adroit maneuvering, double-dealing and brazen horse-trading on the part of the die-hard reactionaries in both houses of Congress the Taft-Hartley Act is still on the statute books of the land, hobbling and obstructing collective bargaining, legitimate union activities and normal labor-management relations.

A brief resume of the deadening effect of the Taft-Hartley Law on labor's bargaining power and its status vis-a-vis industry, should suffice to convince every unbiased observer of the indefensible partiality of its sponsors and supporters.

Since the Taft-Hartley Law went into effect, late in August 1947, through July 1949, a total of 56 court injunctions have been sought under that Act, 54 against labor unions and only 2 against employers. The threat of injunctions, however, in countless of unreported cases has proven an even more effective anti-union weapon.

The broad prohibitions in the Act against "secondary boycotts" have continued to prevent many heretofore legitimate and peaceful efforts by labor organizations to lend assistance to a sister organization.

The closed-shop agreement with the protection and security which accompany such contracts, is rapidly becoming a thing of the past with the expiration of numerous contracts entered into prior to August 1947.

So-called "mass-picketing" has been declared illegal without an attempt to prescribe just what number of pickets may or may not constitute mass picketing.

Finally, the "free speech" provision of the Act has well served employers and their hostile intentions during the course of organizing campaigns or immediately preceding plant elections in vilifying or discrediting trade unions.

The Cincinnati convention, fresh from a victorious nation-wide referendum on the Taft-Hartley Act, authorized the Executive Council to proceed at once in having that Act repealed by Congress and as the American voters had decreed at the ballot box. The Executive Council placed Taft-Hartley repeal on the top of its agenda at the very outset of the 81st Congress. A National Legislative Council was created. All national and international unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. were at once drawn into an overall campaign.

It soon became evident however that organized labor was facing heavy odds in its drive for Taft-Hartley repeal. The arithmetic of the situation was confronting us with the cold fact that there were still in Congress 54 Senators and 225 House members who voted the Taft-Hartley bill into law in 1947. We redoubled our efforts summoning and receiving aid from every organizational reservoir we could reach. But by March of this year, it became clear that repeal at this session, at least, without crippling amendments was only a remote possibility.

The pro-Taft-Hartley alliance held fast. We lost the first engagement for Taft-Hartley repeal. We lost it also because men in Congress who, though belonging to the party which carried the last election on a program which included Taft-Hartley repeal, joined hands with the arch-enemies of labor in both houses of Congress, mocking party loyalty, frustrating temporarily the Administration they sometime call their own—for strictly patronage purposes and flouting to the winds the expressed will of the people.

We rest confident, nevertheless, that the torrent of abuse loosed upon the labor movement by the turncoat politicians and their press and radio allies in an effort to prove that the 1948 election carried no mandate for Taft-Hartley repeal, has not succeeded in selling this legal monstrosity to the American people.

We are looking ahead. The next immediate battlefield is the Congressional campaign of 1950. If the 81st Congress persists in its refusal to act affirmatively, we are prepared again to take our appeal to the people of this country and to make Taft-Hartley repeal the paramount issue of the 1950 Congressional election campaign. Though defeated in our first attempt because our adversaries had a few more votes in Congress than we, it is our determination to redouble our efforts in wiping out this majority and elect to Congress men who will heed and carry out the will of the people.

Borrowing a phrase from President Truman's message to this convention—"Taft-Hartley repeal is America's unfinished business now—not the business alone of the labor movement but that of every fair minded citizen of our land."

With magnificent cooperation manifested on the part of each and every division of our great American Federation of Labor—both spiritual and material—throughout the first stages of this campaign, we are confident that we shall enter the next stage of this battle for Taft-Hartley repeal better armed, strong prepared, and with assurance of success and victory in the cause for the Rights of the Workers of our Land.

Committee Chairman Woll moved adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Wage and Hour Administration

(Page 163, Executive Council's Report)

This section of the Executive Council Report deals with the administration of the Fair Labor Standards Act and the Walsh-Healy Public Contracts Law.

Now that the minimum rate under the Wage and Hour law is being raised to 75 cents this Committee feels that it is particularly important that the Wage and Hour Division of the Labor Department be given sufficient funds to conduct an effective enforcement campaign. There is no value in an increased minimum wage which cannot be effectively enforced for lack of sufficient funds and personnel.

The Report pointed out that the Department of Labor, to supplement its activities under the Fair Labor Standards Act, is also revising the wage determinations under the Public Contracts Law. A number of American Federation of Labor Unions have been instrumental in raising the wage determinations affecting industries under their jurisdiction. We urge the Labor Department to continue its efforts to revise these Walsh-Healy minimum rates as liberally as possible so that within the coming year all the out-of-date minimum rates will have been revised.

Your Committee recommends approval of this section of the Executive Council Report. Committee Chairman Woll moved adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Immigration and Naturalization

(Executive Council's Report, Page 206)

Under this section, the Executive Council gives the status of the major bills introduced in Congress on this subject. Of the nearly 1,000 bills and resolutions introduced, 2 are now Public Law; 4 Public Bills passed the House and are in the Senate.

The American Federation of Labor has consistently followed the policy of changing public policy only by the removal of discriminations against specific nations and of restricting the duration of all emergency relaxations.

We believe there is no need for granting special conditions for farm labor—but that farmers whose prices are supported by the government should pay wages that would enable farm workers to have high standards of living with security for old age. Should additional workers be needed Puerto Rico can supply when assured fair conditions.

We recommend that the American Federation of Labor continue to follow our traditional immigration policy.

Committee Chairman Woll moved adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Reciprocal Trade Agreements

(Executive Council's Report, Page 210)

In this section of the Report the Executive Council refers to extensive hearings on the Reciprocal Trade Agreements proposal and its final enactment with minor modifications but with amendments designed to limit the power of the President defeated. The Executive Council further reports that in the hearings on this proposal it presented the attitude of the American Federation of Labor as previously declared by the 1948 convention of the Federation. We recommend reaffirmation of this declaration and approval of this part of the Executive Council's Report.

Committee Chairman Woll moved adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Un-American Activities

(Executive Council's Report, Page 211)

In this section, the Executive Council reports two Senate bills proposing regulatory measures for Communist organizations.

The difficulty of enacting legislative protection against the activities of the Communist Party and their agents lies in defining such acts and providing penalties without also restricting the rights and liberty of free citizens. The most effective action and defense against these subversive groups and persons lie with voluntary organization. Each organization has the responsibility of keeping its own membership free of these subversive agents of foreign governments and its prestige unembarrassed by those who work to destroy the freedom of democracy. Each organization must keep its membership informed on Communist tactics, Communist Party undertakings, and Communist front organizations. With dependable information free citizens can protect themselves. We have a right to expect equally great care on the part of the government in selecting personnel and enforcing immigration and passport law.

Committee Chairman Woll moved adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

PRESIDENT GREEN: As I have already informed you, Secretary of Defense Johnson's address to this convention will be broadcast over a nationwide network from this Auditorium in a few minutes from now, so we will just wait a few minutes and he will be ready and prepared to submit his address.

PRESIDENT GREEN: My fellow citizens, today there returns to us for an address to the American Federation of Labor an old and consistent friend whose sympathetic loyalty to our aspirations is known throughout the labor movement.

Many of us will recall his inspiring message in 1933, when he spoke to us at our national convention in Cincinnati as the National Commander of The American Legion.

Lawyer, soldier, and administrator, and an outstanding leader in each of these three fields, our next speaker has the toughest assignment in government today. He has the job of building up a national defense team which not only will defend America successfully on land and sea and in the air, but will have to do so with less and less money. Those who are familiar with his past accomplishments are convinced that he again will succeed.

For my part, I feel that our national defense could hardly be in better hands. I deem it an honor and a privilege to present to you our next speaker, the Secretary of Defense, the Honorable Louis A. Johnson.

HONORABLE LOUIS A. JOHNSON (Secretary of Defense)

President Green, my friends of the American Federation of Labor and the friends unseen listening in: I am glad to be here in St. Paul this afternoon. A few minutes ago it seemed we might not get in. We have great winds in other parts of the country, but no winds, not even in Washington, matching this 70-mile wind that is blowing over this amphitheatre now.

Mr. William Green, I am deeply grateful to you for your very kind introduction. You are a great leader, you are a great American, and I deem it a high privilege to come to this convention to pay you honor, sir, as a great and loyal American.

As many of you know, my home is in the mountain state of West Virginia. Our state motto represents a powerful truth: "Mountain men are always free." Paraphrasing my state motto a bit, I would present for your consideration this afternoon another powerful truth: "Bill Green, a nation that has an unfettered labor movement will always be a free nation."

Free labor is one of the main springs of our democracy. In your capacity as representatives of the free labor that is the strength and pride of America, I want to speak to you during this radio period.

You meet today at a time of critical importance in the life of America. Very few of the annual conventions your outstanding organization has held since 1881 have come at a juncture when the issues facing us and the issues facing the world have been of the stupendous magnitude of those we face today.

Many of these issues are tied up in the tremendous differences between the way of life represented by our American democracy and the way of life represented by Russian Communism. In no field, my friends, is this tremendous difference more clearly apparent than in the field with which all of you are so familiar—the field of labor, labor's rights, and labor's responsibilities.

Nothing attests more to the democratic character of the American way of life than does your fine record of annual meetings, broken only once in the war year of 1945. Contrast, for instance, that record of the American Federation of Labor with that of its Russian counterpart, the Congress of Trade Unions. You have been holding annual conventions for 68 consecutive years except one. The Russians held a convention this spring for the first time in 17 years. Your convention was called by your own representatives. The Russian convention was controlled by the Communist government. You had the privilege of selecting any one of a dozen American cities for your convention. In Russia, Moscow was designated as the meeting place, and it could have been in no other city without government approval, for meetings—especially of large numbers—are always closely supervised in the Communist State.

These differences in procedure are of the utmost significance. They go to the very root of the workings of free labor unions under the Stars and Stripes, as against those of the kept labor practices under the hammer and sickle.

The proceedings of that Russian trade union convention themselves, the very statements of the Russian labor leaders clearly indicate that this Russian trade union movement is but an arm of the government itself, serving merely as a transmission belt for directives of the Soviet government and of the Communist Party. Higher wages, shorter hours, improvements in working conditions, censure or criticism of public servants, resolutions to have laws changed or repealed, free discussions of governmental

policies—all those characteristic features of American Federation of Labor conventions are taboo for delegates to a Russian labor convention.

In countries behind the iron curtain there is no free labor movement as we know it. There is no collective bargaining as we understand it. The terms and conditions of employment, and in fact all other conditions of life, are set by the State. Collective agreements for whatever they were then worth were abandoned in all Russian industry in 1935. A Russian writer on the subject in 1946, said as follows: "The collective agreement as a special form of legal regulation of labor relations of manual and clerical employees has outlived itself. Detailed regulation of all sides of these relations by mandatory acts of governmental power does not leave any room for any contractual agreement concerning one labor condition or another."

There is a report, Mr. President, that in 1947 Soviet Russia resumed the camouflage of permitting collective agreements, but my friends of labor, can you imagine the presentation of a grievance to a Russian work supervisor under the Communist system? Remember, that the supervisor is first of all the representative of the powerful Russian state which has dictated those very work conditions in the first place. Bear in mind that untold millions in slave labor camps already stand in mute testimony to what happens when the authority of the state is questioned. You will then appreciate that those millions fortunate not to be in slave labor camps live in daily fear of such authority. You will understand that the worker in Russia has no alternative under Communism but to take what he gets—that life for those unfortunates who must work under the heel of Communism resembles a nightmare. The modern dictator state is indeed a nightmare state. How can we even designate it a Trade Union movement under those conditions?

The difference between the two systems of labor is reflected in many ways. For instance, take the expectancy of life in the two respective countries. An infant born in the United States may expect to live 15 years longer than a child born in Russia. It is reflected in the quality of life here and in Russia. Our labor is free. Their labor is slave. It is reflected, moreover, in the respective returns in worldly goods the worker receives for his day's effort.

The United States Bureau of Labor statistics recently estimated that the average Russian worker must toil about sixty days to earn the price of a suit of clothes—about eighteen days for a pair of leather shoes—about nine days for a pair of felt boots—about 3½ days for a woman's cotton dress—about ½ hour for a pound of rye bread—over an hour for a quart of milk—over four hours for a pound of beef—and about 1½ hours for a cake of soap.

He has nothing to say about his remuneration, or the conditions of his work. He does not have the right to choose his job and place of work. He must carry an internal

passport, and when he changes residences he must be signed out by the police of the one locality and then registered, within twenty-four hours of his arrival, by the police of the other. In Russia people move around only according to State plan. In addition to the passport, every Soviet worker carries a labor book and a pay book. Upon entering a job he must surrender his labor book to the manager of the factory, and no worker can be hired without presentation of his book. This means that any worker can be tied to his job simply by the withholding of his labor book by plant management.

In fact, the sum of all the differences between the position of labor in the United States and its status in Russia actually spells out the difference between our basic outlook and their basic outlook—between Democracy and Communism.

Free labor, we in America know, can survive and flourish only in the climate of democracy; and for the preservation and development of that democratic way of life, the American people look to organizations like the American Federation of Labor for leadership and support. Whenever it has come to a question between our way and any other way detrimental to our democratic processes, we have grown accustomed to find the American Federation of Labor in the vanguard of those who see and work and fight for the right—for the American heritage.

The American Federation of Labor was among the first in our country to recognize the dangers of dictatorship. As early as 1935 your organization warned against the dangers of Hitlerism and voted a strict boycott against all German goods and German services. In 1937, your organization took a similar stand against Japanese imperialism. And your stand against dictatorships of today is also a matter of record.

What you did during World War II toward victory over democracy's sinister foes has been too firmly established. Bill Green, in the hearts and minds of our American people to require detailed reference on this occasion. Suffice it to say that the magnificent performance of American labor and American management in providing our soldiers, our sailors, our marines and our airmen—both American and Allied—with volumes of superb equipment, was the wonder of the world. It made the difference between victory and defeat.

Labor was called upon to work longer hours, to work night shifts, and frequently to forego vacations and holidays. Labor had to adapt itself to new techniques and to adopt accelerated training programs. The labor force had to be augmented by the recall of older workers, by the employment of housewives, handicapped workers, and young people who would normally have prolonged their education. Workers had to move their families to war crowded communities and to live under stress in substandard dwellings to be where they were needed. Some had to take jobs in places remote from their homes and often in lands overseas. In pointing out the difficulties of industrial life in America in wartime, I am not unmindful of the rigors,

dangers and sacrifices suffered by our men in uniform on the beaches, in the jungles, and on the submarine infested seas. I simply want to emphasize that the American industrial GI played his production role as heroically as did the military GI his combat role. And more than likely the military GI was the son, the brother, or the husband of the industrial GI.

I am confident that whatever sacrifice may have to be made by labor if we should ever face another grave emergency, we will be able to count on the leadership, and the rank and file of the American Federation of Labor. Since V-J Day, American labor has continued its great interest in national defense. Many of you here have seen or learned about national defense at first hand. Many of you have served our country abroad in responsible positions as advisers to the Armed Forces in occupied areas.

I was delighted to learn several days ago that many members of American Federation of Labor Unions are joining the reserves and forming whole companies made up of union men. In Dayton, and Dallas, and Galveston, and Seattle, to name some of the more conspicuously successful efforts, Army Engineer Truck Companies and Power Plant Maintenance Detachments have been organized by local unions of the American Federation of Labor. I hope the examples set in these communities will stimulate others throughout the country.

Nor have we forgotten the epic performances of American Federation of Labor men in the uniform of the Navy Seabees in war and their potential usefulness in case of another emergency.

The increased participation of labor, as exemplified by the American Federation of Labor, in the councils of our government is a good thing for our country. It is a sign of the social maturity and the growing sense of responsibility of the labor movement. In these crucial days, American labor has a particular message not only for us but for labor all over the world. American labor has an especial opportunity at this time to dramatize effectively to people everywhere the basic features of the American way of life. It can do so because it is dedicated to freedom and peace, because it has fought for the realization of these ideals, and because it can carry conviction to the great masses everywhere who work for a living. Moreover, the present leadership in many countries consists in a large measure of men and women who, too, have grown up in the ranks of labor, and who aspire to achieve for their citizens the standards that we enjoy in our own free land; and are therefore highly responsive to the message of American labor to the world.

Labor's stake—freedom of contract, freedom of association, freedom of discussion and freedom of action, and the vital freedoms of our Bill of Rights—is irrevocably linked to the preservation of our American system. That system can thrive only in peace, and unfortunately in the world of today the only possible peace is an armed peace. We would have preferred a brighter peace, a peace

entirely free from the crushing burden of armaments, a peace of no iron curtains, geographical or ideological. We have tried to get that kind of peace. We have tried to break down barriers among nations. Time and again we have extended our hand in peace to peoples everywhere, but our sincere efforts too often have been deliberately distorted. We have therefore been compelled to face the realistic situation as it exists for the time being, and devote our energies to keeping our ramparts strong.

Our freedom and our ability to retain it, at this time must depend on the strength of our A-med Forces, on the superb quality of our weapons and equipment forged out of your skills and resources by free American labor, and upon the genius and adaptability of our democratic institutions. All three factors are inherent parts of our defense system.

As to our Armed Forces I am happy to report that the letdown that necessarily resulted from the large scale demobilization that followed World War II has now been eliminated. Moreover, each service not only is perfecting its own training and organization, but is learning to play its part on a unified team—more suited for the conditions of modern warfare. While there is great pride in each service in its own men and in its own weapons, there is also a deep and growing appreciation for the job of the other fellow. In this process of unification, we have still not achieved perfection, and I doubt if any human institution of its kind can ever achieve perfection. But the progress of unification, however, is clear to anyone who cares to look at the many developments that have taken place.

The roles and missions of the three services I have clearly defined on another occasion. They are clearly understood by the respective leaders of all three services. Recently there has been public discussion about the Navy's mission, and I deem it proper, therefore, to repeat again on this occasion, before this group, the role of the Navy as adopted by the Joint Chiefs of Staff and approved by me. I quote from a speech I made on June 19, before the National War College in Washington:

"There exists in our present strategic concept of national defense an essential and honorable role for each of the Armed Forces. For security is a cooperative venture to be gained with cooperative effort by the Army, the Navy, and Air Force. It is not a competitive enterprise where one service can profit at the expense of another. It admits of neither preeminence nor first emphasis. To provide effectively for security, the National Military Establishment must adjudge impartially the representatives of our Armed Forces in weighing the priorities of their needs."

As to our weapons, my friends, I am confident we still hold the lead, not enough of a lead to grow complacent, but enough to be decisive if we continue the present pace.

In 1945 we became the acknowledged leaders in the field of atomic weapons. Little more than two weeks ago today, on September 23, to be exact, President Truman re-

ported to the American people that "Within recent weeks an atomic explosion has occurred in the USSR."

In making the announcement, the President, with his deep and abiding faith in the courage and good sense of the American people, has again, as has been his constant practice in office, taken them into his confidence. As soon as the President became convinced in his own mind that preliminary reports of the explosion has been fully verified, he forthwith issued his historic statement to the public in true American fashion. The forthrightness exhibited in this announcement is typical of President Truman. At night when I leave the Pentagon, I look across the river and see rising proud and beautiful the dome of the United States Capitol. I say to you from the depth of my heart, I feel very fortunate indeed to be privileged to serve the American people in the Cabinet of such a stalwart leader as Harry S. Truman.

The implications of the atomic explosion in Russia, I assure you, have been integrated into the security planning and government policies of this nation. We have consistently refrained from basing our policies on continued monopoly of the weapon. We have endeavored to frame our policies throughout with a view to their validity in a period when that monopoly no longer existed. The possession by the Russians of the knowledge and means to produce an atomic explosion increases the urgency of agreement upon a plan of international control of atomic energy.

In the meantime, I assure you, we shall go along in our defense program more determined than ever to maintain the supremacy of our armed strength. And we will succeed, my friends of the American Federation of Labor, not only because of the quality of our arms and the strength of our resources, and the riches of our country, but above all, because the American people have the character and have the will to succeed.

We are trying to make of the armed services a living example of democracy—a place where Americans of all races, creeds and colors can live proudly and tolerantly. There is no place in the Army, the Navy, or the Air Force for the bigotry that Nazism, Communism or Fascism promotes. We are all Americans.

More than 300 years ago, Francis Bacon discussed armament in these terms:

"Walled towns, stored arsenals, and armories, goodly races of horses, chariots of war, elephants, ordnance, artillery, and the like; all this is but a sheep in a lion's skin, except the breed and disposition of the people be stout * * *"

"Neither is money the sinews of war * * * For Solon well said to Croesus (when in ostentation he showed him his gold) 'Sir, if any other came that hath better iron than you, he will be master of all this gold'."

Better iron—that is it! Iron not only to forge instruments of war, but iron to face our problems resolutely—iron to solve them courageously—a malleable iron, malleable to

the will of the American people in their determined resolve to make life more safe without rendering it less free.

To achieve this unswerving purpose, America counts strongly on the help of our free American labor, on the loyal and patriotic men and women of the American Federation of Labor.

Keep up the good work. God bless you, for America's sake.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I am confident that you will possess a keener sense of appreciation of the visit of our distinguished guest this afternoon and the submission of his address when I tell you that there is no man connected with the administration of our government, serving in official capacity, whose time is more thoroughly occupied than Secretary Johnson. I wonder myself how it is possible for him to do the work he is called upon to do. But notwithstanding this, he makes a trip to St. Paul, he brings to us a stirring, an educational and an inspiring message, and through his personality and presence he has encouraged us to renew our deep devotion to the democratic way of life, to our form of government, to stand by America in season and out of season, and if it needs our defense in order to protect our form of government, we will give to it our lives and our service.

His address this afternoon will have just that effect upon our thinking, upon our emotions, and upon our devotion to our country. Apparently Secretary Johnson is thoroughly familiar with the records of the American Federation of Labor, how at all times it has served and helped to promote the general welfare and aid the protection of our government. He recalls, I know, without a moment's hesitation that we came out in defense of the European Recovery Program, the support of the Marshall Plan, how we led in that fight for universal support of it here in America, and how, as a result of that, we incurred the everlasting enmity of the Russians and the Communists throughout the nation.

Then he will recall, I know, when the North Atlantic Pact was being considered and it was a question of approving it that we did not hesitate a moment, but in emphatic and well-understood language we spoke for millions of the American Federation of Labor in support of the North Atlantic Pact. These actions on our part can only be interpreted as evidence of our patriotic devotion to the cause of our great country.

We appreciate more than words can express, Mr. Secretary, the wonderfully fine tribute you paid us this afternoon. We cannot find language to express our appreciation. We are grateful to you for setting aside your busy life, coming to St. Paul, meeting with us and addressing us this afternoon.

And may I say to you, go back to your work wherever it may be, carrying with you the firm assurance of the uncompromising and devoted support of the eight million members of the American Federation of Labor.

Thank you.

SECRETARY OF DEFENSE JOHNSON:
Thank you all, and God bless you every one.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

PRESIDENT GREEN: The convention will please be in order, and we will proceed with the regular order of business set for 4:00 o'clock this afternoon—the election of officers of the American Federation of Labor. May I request that President MacGowan, of the Boiler Makers International Union, and a Vice President of the American Federation of Labor, please come forward and preside?

Vice President Charles A. MacGowan in the Chair.

CHAIRMAN MacGOWAN: The convention will be in order. First is the nomination and election of President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term, and the Chair recognizes Delegate Phil Hannah of the Ohio State Federation of Labor.

DELEGATE HANNAH, Ohio State Federation of Labor: Chairman MacGowan and delegates to the American Federation of Labor, I naturally deem it a signal honor and a rare privilege to have the opportunity of submitting to this great convention the name of a distinguished American, one who has successfully led our great American Federation of Labor for the last quarter of a century, a great humanitarian, a man who possesses all the attributes necessary for the high office of the Presidency of the American Federation of Labor, a champion of human rights, one who has worked unceasingly for human betterment, devoted to the democratic structure of our way of life; a vigorous orator, a defender of labor in this great nation of ours, and one of whom I know

we are all extremely proud. He has served this great movement of ours in a most magnificent manner. He has served all of the American people and has endeared himself, as Secretary Johnson has said, to the hearts and minds of the American people.

He has raised his voice on numerous occasions in behalf of the oppressed peoples of the world. Times without number he has made himself the enemy of racial and religious bigotry and intolerance. He is a gentleman, a student who possesses a keen and broad perspective of our domestic economy and our place in international relations. He has served his own International Union in various capacities with distinction and honor.

He has served the citizens of the great State of Ohio, as leader in the Ohio State Senate, when he sponsored and confirmed and fostered the first Workmen's Compensation Bill in the nation, which was accepted as a model by the American Federation of Labor and as a pattern for other states to follow in workmen's compensation legislation.

Yes, truly, ladies and gentlemen of the convention, words are inadequate to describe this great man, this great labor leader who has dedicated his life to human dignity and individual freedom. I know you love him as I love him. I know you are proud of him as I am proud of him, and I know that you fully appreciate his great capacity for work, his tolerance and humility. That is a wonderful virtue—humility—and this man is humble. We love him because of his humane attitude and his deep understanding of our problems.

Therefore, ladies and gentlemen, I present to this convention for the high office of President of the American Federation of Labor that great champion of labor, William Green.

CHAIRMAN MacGOWAN: William Green has been nominated. Are there any further nominations? Hearing no further nominations I declare nominations closed. They are closed. What is the pleasure of the convention?

DELEGATE MILNE, Electrical Workers: I move that the Secretary-Treasurer be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for William Green for President.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Ernst. Hotel and Restaurant Employees, and carried unanimously.

SECRETARY MEANY: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for William Green for President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

CHAIRMAN MacGOWAN: And I declare William Green elected. I present to you the newly elected President of the American Federation of Labor. You will probably get to know him a little better later on, and I return to him the emblem of your authority, the gavel, which he always uses with tolerance and discretion.

PRESIDENT GREEN: When I was first elected by the delegates in attendance at a convention of the American Federation of Labor I could not foresee that succeeding conventions would again call and recall me to service. One lives in the present, familiar with the past, but is unable to penetrate the future.

So today I can assure you that I speak to you in a spirit of humility, appreciative beyond expression for this additional call you have made upon me to serve the great American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term. Much has happened since I was first called to service, much in the industrial and economic field and much in the national field as well. We passed through periods of employment and unemployment, the rising tide upon which the workers rode when they were called to service during the periods of full employment, and then the reverse came and men were out of work, idle, and it was necessary, as you will recall, to create widespread public employment for the countless millions of unemployed. The change from one situation to the other required much thought and consideration in order to adjust ourselves to these economic and industrial changes.

Then came the cruel war, the worst war in history, the greatest war in history, and it was necessary to adjust one's self to the needs of that situation. The workers were called upon, as the Defense Secretary said today, to work overtime, to work double time, to work nights, to give their service six or seven days a week, to march from home to other sections of the country in or-

der to serve. These were changes unlooked for which could not be foreseen.

But I am happy, as we review all those situations, that we have found it possible to meet them all, to adjust ourselves to those changes, to promote and protect the interests of the workers of the nation while these deep-seated changes were taking place.

Then during that period our membership has grown. I can recall the first time you called me to service our membership was less than two million. It has grown. It grew during the war and then it dropped down, but it has made a steady growth until now while we meet here in this city the membership of the American Federation of Labor numbers 8 million paid-up members in good standing.

It seems appropriate in accepting the responsibility again which you have placed upon my shoulders to refer to these changes. I am happy we came through in such a wonderful way and that we were able to make the record we have made. It will stand throughout eternity, a record made by the membership of the American Federation of Labor.

My fellow workers, the cause of labor is a religion to me. It is something that I live with and that lives with me. I shall give you in the future, as I have in the past, all I have, the best I have, all the service that I can give in order to protect and promote the interests of labor.

I thank you from the bottom of my heart for this great honor you have conferred upon me, and I pledge to you all I have in service and in work during the coming year.

Now, the Chair recognizes Brother Frank Duffy, an old comrade of mine who has worked alongside of me and with me during all the time that I have been in our movement.

I present to you Brother Frank Duffy of the International Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

DELEGATE FRANK DUFFY, Carpenters: Mr. President, for 45 years I have been nominating officers of the American Federation of Labor. In 1904 at the San Francisco convention of the American Federation of Labor I nominated Sam Gompers. There were twelve delegates on the floor at the same time and the presiding officer had a job to decide who should speak, who had the floor.

Eventually I got it. There was much talk then of opposition to Sam Gompers. There were twelve delegates on the floor at one time and the balance of the delegates in the convention didn't know who would be nominated. However, as I have already told you, the Chair recognized me and I nominated Sam. After that the opposition disappeared. He was elected unanimously.

Years after that I nominated Vice-Presidents of the American Federation of Labor for the position as Vice-Presidents, and I am pleased to say that they were all elected unanimously. After President Green became the head of the organization at conventions for several years I nominated him, and in each case he was elected unanimously. I nominated during the last nine years—and this will be the tenth—the first Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, the General President of my own organization, William L. Hutcheson of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. He was elected unanimously.

It was a pleasure and a satisfaction to me to know that all these men that I nominated from time to time were elected unanimously. Let me tell you that I was more pleased and more satisfied when these officers, each of these officers, made good. They have made good always up to the present time.

Now, I have a proposition that has been under consideration with me for several years. In the last five or six years I have nominated President Green and then afterwards I came right on the platform and I nominated the First Vice-President—two at a time. I thought to myself in this case, why don't I nominate all the Vice-Presidents and the Secretary-Treasurer and have done with it?

Well, I thought, too, that I might give some offense, and I didn't want to give offense to anybody. If I should do that the Musicians might be disappointed. They might want to nominate Joe Weber. Or the Street Car Men might be disappointed. Maybe they would want to nominate my dear good old friend, Bill Mahon. Or perhaps Dave Beck might be offended for cutting him out and not giving him the chance to nominate Dan Tobin.

So I thought in those years gone by I would let them go just as they are. At this convention I have had another idea. I have had the same proposition come back. In fact, some of the delegates mentioned it to me and

that just brought back the memories of the old days.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I have this proposition to make—and I hope I don't give offense to anybody. I hope I don't take honors away from anybody. I don't want to take honors from anybody. If it is satisfactory to you it will please me.

Mr. President, this is my proposition—I will try to get it in some understandable language, and if it is not correct we can correct it later. In order to save time, I herewith nominate all the incumbent Vice-Presidents and incumbent Secretary-Treasurer to the positions they now hold for the coming term, and I move they be elected by acclamation by the delegates attending this convention.

The motion was seconded by several delegates.

PRESIDENT GREEN: It has been regularly moved and seconded by a number of delegates that the motion offered by Delegate Duffy be adopted by the convention.

DELEGATE McCURDY: Mr. Green, I move that the nominations be closed and that President Green be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for these officers to be elected for the ensuing year.

PRESIDENT GREEN: You have heard the motion. Are there any remarks?

If there are no remarks, all in favor of the motion will please say "aye"; opposed "no."

The motion is carried and it is so ordered, and in conformity with your decision, I call upon Assistant Secretary Okoneski to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for the Vice-Presidents who are now serving as Vice-Presidents of the American Federation of Labor and the Secretary-Treasurer as well.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OKONESKI: In conformity with the instructions of this convention, I hereby cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for the following delegates for re-election to their respective offices for the ensuing term:

William L. Hutcheson—First Vice-President
 Matthew Woll—Second Vice-President
 Joseph N. Weber—Third Vice-President
 Geo. M. Harrison—Fourth Vice-President
 Daniel J. Tobin—Fifth Vice-President
 Harry C. Bates—Sixth Vice-President

W. D. Mahon—Seventh Vice-President
 W. C. Birthright—Eighth Vice-President
 W. C. Doherty—Ninth Vice-President
 David Dubinsky—Tenth Vice-President
 Charles J. MacGowan—Eleventh Vice-President
 Herman Winter—Twelfth Vice-President
 Dan W. Tracy—Thirteenth Vice-President
 George Meany—Secretary-Treasurer

PRESIDENT GREEN: And in conformity with this report and the decision of the convention, the Chair hereby declares that the Vice-Presidents and the Secretary-Treasurer named, are elected as Vice-Presidents and Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

SELECTION OF FRATERNAL DELEGATES

PRESIDENT GREEN: The next order of business will be the selection of Fraternal Delegates to the British Trade Union Congress and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

DELEGATE MILNE, Electrical Workers: I would like to move that the selection of Fraternal Delegates to the British Trades Union Congress and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Maloney, Operating Engineers, and carried unanimously.

SELECTION OF CONVENTION CITY, 1950

PRESIDENT GREEN: The next order will be the selection of the convention city for 1950. Secretary-Treasurer Meany will read the cities to which we have been invited to hold our next convention.

SECRETARY MEANY: Invitations for the next convention city of the American Federation of Labor have been received from the following:

Houston, Texas—Mayor Oscar F. Holcombe; Local Union 408 Meat Cutters; Houston Labor and Trades Council (letters from both President and Secretary); Managing Director, Rice Hotel; Houston Chamber of

Commerce; President of Houston Hotel Men's Association; Boilermakers Local 74; Honorable Jesse H. Jones.

Cleveland, Ohio—Mayor Thomas A. Burke; Cleveland Federation of Labor.

Miami, Florida—Mayor Floyd, Central Labor Union.

DELEGATE BUCKLEY, Boilermakers: Owing to the conditions under which we meet at various times, I move that the Executive Council be instructed to select the next convention city.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Martel, Detroit, Michigan Central Body and carried.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I think that completes the special order of business.

Now, the Chair will recognize Brother Woll, of the Resolutions Committee, for a continuation of the report of that committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (continued)

Vice President Woll, Chairman of the committee, continued the report, as follows:

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS

(Executive Council's Report, Page 247)

This section of the Executive Council's report discusses the corrective readjustments with the downturn of prices beginning with midsummer of 1949. As scarcities were decreased in various industries, prices fell, orders and inventories reduced. Unemployment began to increase and continued to gain until this fall.

In this period, collective bargaining followed its normal course with practically all of our unions. The majority gained from 5 to 15 cents increase and some gained up to 30 cents. As collective bargaining was conducted against a background of a sellers market which means the return of competition, employers are more concerned for increased costs. It is important, therefore, that wage increases should constitute payment for increased output per man-hour. This increase is occurring. In this connection we

would point that previous conventions of the Federation have referred to the necessity of distributing to the workers a fair and equitable proportion of the rewards of an increasing national production. Based upon this just and fundamental principle of fair and equitable distribution workers have been encouraged to greater national production. This principle of fair and equitable participation of labor in an increased production must receive an ever greater than heretofore. In furthering productivity it is not to be understood that we have reference to or would encourage unreasonable efforts or driving speed on workers in specific work and undertakings. Technological progress and improved labor management relations largely contribute in the actual increase in national production. We approve and applaud such increases in production but the benefit accruing must be shared by all if our economy is to be sound, just and enduring.

Competition, as the Executive Council states will bring back to the market good quality, low-priced products necessary to improve living standards, and is to be encouraged. This does not mean we approve of destructive competition with its trail of disastrous consequences.

When the recession began to flatten out with increases in production there came the devaluation of the pound with similar action throughout the sterling countries, and a few other soft-money countries. Concurrently in this country, work stoppage occurred in coal and steel with unpredictable consequences.

Our free enterprise system can absorb shocks if free to readjust and plan new expansion. We shall have also to meet a decline in our markets. More funds will go into armament orders. In addition, we face all the uncertainties of the cold war which may rapidly become a hot war in other countries than China and Yugoslavia.

Labor's main reliance in emergencies as well as in normal times is collective bargaining by which agreement can be reached on all work conditions from hours to wage rates, and by welfare plans. Constructive, effective collective bargaining is just as important to industrial management as it is to workers, and it is the only agency that serves the interests of the public. It is to be accepted and facilitated.

Committee Chairman Woll moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

SOCIAL SECURITY

(Executive Council's Report, Pages 165-177)

This section of the Executive Council's Report includes specific recommendations for legislation designed to provide a comprehensive system of social insurance through which working people would be protected against the loss of wages through death, old age, physical disability, and involuntary unemployment and against the high and unpredictable costs of medical care and services. Your committee recommends the adoption of this section of the Council's Report as a guide to the development of a legislative program.

Since the Council's Report was prepared, we are happy to report that H. R. 6000 has passed the House. It is now before the Senate.

It is recommended that the American Federation of Labor Committee on Social Security be directed to prepare for the Legislative Committee such amendments to the bill as it passed the House as will more nearly bring the legislation in line with the policies set forth in the Executive Council's Report, and including the provisions set forth in connection with the various sections of the overall program which follows:

I. Old Age, Survivors' and Disability Insurance. (Executive Council's Report, Pages 168-169)

to cover the following points:

1. Lowering of retirement age to 60 years for women.
2. Extension of coverage to agricultural workers.
3. Liberalizing the eligibility requirements for permanent and total disability benefits.
4. Restoration of temporary disability insurance as provided in H.R. 2893.

It is further recommended that the Social Security Committee, in consultation with the appropriate officers of our affiliated unions whose members wish to preserve existing retirement plans covering employees of state and local governments, prepare and present to the Senate such changes in H.R. 6000 as may be found necessary to protect such interest without jeopardizing the protection to be provided for other workers.

II. Public Assistance (Pages 169-170, Executive Council's Report).

In the main, our objectives in the field of Public Assistance are incorporated in Title III of H.R. 6000.

It is especially important that, in keeping with American tradition, we should continue to use and augment the services and aids of voluntary organizations, and we should supplement these with government funds and services to maintain and improve health and welfare, particularly of our children, through means which always recognize and uphold the dignity of the individual.

III. Unemployment Insurance (Pages 170-175, Executive Council Report).

There should be a unified national system of Unemployment Insurance and Employment Services.

Unemployment Insurance should be liberalized by providing for:

1. Benefits representing 60 percent of wage loss due to involuntary unemployment.
2. A uniform duration of benefits up to 26 weeks in a year.
3. Broad extension of coverage to groups now excluded, including persons employed in small firms and all other employees covered by Old Age and Survivors' Insurance.

All persons covered by the Unemployment Insurance Program who are involuntarily unemployed and for whom no suitable work is available should be eligible after no more than one week waiting period for benefits—suitable work to be defined in terms of the workers proved skill and earning ability.

Any disqualification should be limited to 4 weeks.

Pending the enactment of federal legislation in this field we recommend that the State Federations of Labor continue in their efforts to improve the State Unemployment Compensation programs, in line with these objectives. States should particularly be on guard against the recent tendencies to liberalize benefit and duration provisions at the cost of more restrictive eligibility standards and of lowering employer contribution rates.

The many unfairly restrictive provisions in state laws outlined in the Executive Council's Report should be removed.

Provision should be made for payment of benefits where unemployment is due to illness, provided through a single state fund, and State Federations of Labor are urged to be on guard against attempts to weaken the programs for temporary disability benefits by incorporation of "electing out" provisions.

IV. National Health Insurance (Executive Council Report, Pages 175-177).

The basic principles of the 7-point health program set forth on page 101 which was developed last year, and which is incorporated in Senate Bill 1679 and H.R. 4312-4313 are recommended for continued approval.

Your Committee notes that it now appears that Congress may adopt certain portions of this program, such as extended federal aid

for hospital construction, school health, and local health units. This is all to the good. However, we recommend that the American Federation of Labor continue to emphasize our long-standing position that the health problem of working people will not be adequately met except through a comprehensive and all-inclusive system of prepaid health insurance so that the economic barrier between patient and doctor is removed.

We observe with particular concern the methods of opposition to national health insurance to which the reactionary section of organized medicine has recently resorted. Your Committee recommends that in all our educational and public informational programs, the unfair and pernicious nature of this propaganda be exposed.

Your Committee finally recommends that the American Federation of Labor continue its firm opposition to any health legislation which proposes to provide medical care on a needs basis requiring the means test in any form.

Committee Chairman Woll moved the adoption of this section of the Committee's report.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

CONSTRUCTION WORKERS OF WAKE, GUAM AND CAVITE

(Executive Council's Report, Page 218)

The Executive Council Reports continued efforts to aid these war victims by assisting in presenting claims and in watching the administration of laws covering the claims of these workers.

We recommend approval and further aid as long as needed.

Committee Chairman Woll moved the adoption of this section of the Committee's report.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

PRESIDENT'S SAFETY CONFERENCE

(Executive Council's Report, Page 240)

We commend this national undertaking setting as its goal the reduction of 2 million work accidents by one-half in the coming year.

We hope the planned state conference will implement the program and that our trade unionists will take leadership in this humanitarian and wise undertaking. Technical safety information is essential and we urge the federal and state governments to provide this service.

Committee Chairman Woll moved the adoption of this section of the Committee's report.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST, LABOR'S MONTHLY SURVEY, AND RESEARCH BULLETIN

(Executive Council's Report, Pages 259, 260, 261)

These three official publications of the American Federation of Labor have maintained a high standard of service during the past year. The "American Federationist" keeps our membership and the public informed of general developments and happenings within every field of Labor's interests by timely articles and interpretative pictures. "Labor's Monthly Survey" explains and interprets economic developments and specific problems of current interest, evaluates achievements and explains procedures. This publication serves responsible officials, rank and file members, and students of our movement. Foreign trade unionists seek it to keep informed on economic trends in this key country. The "Research Bulletin" makes available information on developments in the administration of the Taft-Hartley Act and important judicial decisions on the provisions of the Act. In the current year, technical information on union agreements have been included. This publication is provided as a service to union officials and members.

Your committee believes that the Executive Council is to be highly commended on the quality and usefulness of these publications.

Committee Chairman Woll moved the adoption of this section of the Committee's report.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

OVERTIME ON OVERTIME

(Page 229, Executive Council Report)

This section of the Report discussed the "overtime on overtime" legislation which was passed by Congress recently.

The American Federation of Labor and various International Unions supported this bill and it was largely through their efforts that the bill became law on July 20, 1949.

The result of this legislation is that problems of overtime pay for Saturday, Sunday, holidays and certain other occasions can now be completely settled through collective bargaining rather than by recourse to the law or the courts.

The Committee recommends approval of this section of the Executive Council Report.

Committee Secretary Woll moved adoption of this portion of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

PUERTO RICO FREE FEDERATION OF WORKINGMEN

(Executive Council's Report, Page 278)

The report of the Executive Council under this caption shows there is a nucleus of sound unionism in that Island. After a struggle for decades the workers are coming to an understanding of the practices of sound trade unionism. There has been under way in the Island an economic development program which now shows definite progress although they have had little outside help. To this undertaking the unions have contributed collective bargaining. The biggest problem of the Island is over-population. As we have recommended elsewhere, surplus agricultural workers could be integrated with agricultural workers on the mainland, and under the protective services of the National Farm Labor Union join groups of migratory crop harvesters as well as find jobs on farms.

Your committee urges that it is high time to bring aid to Puerto Ricans in making plans for future progress and in more thoroughly organizing workers in free trade unions.

Puerto Rico is our Eastern outpost—an island strategic for our commerce as well as military defense. It lies adjacent to Communist centers in the Caribbean area and is constantly subject to Communist offensives.

Your committee further urges the Executive Council to make Puerto Rico a strong outpost of free trade unionism to protect our homeland and to develop leaders to help in extending economic unions throughout South America.

Committee Secretary Woll moved adoption of this portion of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

RENT CONTROL

(Page 228, Executive Council's Report)

This section of the Executive Council's Report deals with the passage and administration of rent control legislation.

Although the law which passed Congress this year was, in several respects, stronger than previous rent control statutes, it did contain the pernicious "local option" provision under which rent control has been completely removed from hundreds of communities across the nation.

In a number of cases, this has meant extreme hardship to families of trade union members. In the City of Dallas, for example, after decontrol, rents rose up to 380% above former levels.

This committee does not wish the system of rent controls to remain in effect any longer than is absolutely necessary. However, until the supply of low-price housing units can be equalized with the demand, effective rent control must be maintained so that families will not be faced with exorbitant increases in rent.

The committee asks for approval of this section of the Executive Council's report.

Committee Secretary Woll moved adoption of this portion of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried.

TAXATION

(Executive Council's Report, Pages 212 and 240)

Your committee wishes to commend the Executive Council for the continued effort being made to focus the attention of Congress on the need for repealing the wartime excise taxes.

Reference to the enactment of a sales tax in the District of Columbia in the face of overwhelming evidence that it was not necessary, in the legislative section of the Council's Report underscores the importance of the recommendation on pages 241 and 242 of the section on Taxation.

The Executive Council's reference to the continued need for close integration of the federal, state and local tax systems is particularly timely. Cities, in addition to paying high local taxes, continue to bear the major part of state tax burdens; they also continue to receive a disproportionately small portion of state and federal aid. The consequence is our cities are having increasing difficulty in supporting their own long deferred means for capitol improvements and services because of the combined burden of local, state and federal taxes which in so many respects discriminate in favor of taxpayers in small towns and rural areas. Tax competition between states and between communities within states continues to provide further reason for an integration of federal, state and local tax systems as proposed by the Executive Council. Your committee recommends careful study of this section of the Executive Council's report by every delegate.

The statement of the Executive Council that gains to workers in bargaining for wages or in price reductions may be lost if unwise tax policies are adopted certainly has been borne out by the experience during the past four years. Your committee heartily endorses the recommendation of the Council that all affiliated bodies actively oppose proposals to continue or enact taxes on pay rolls, amusements, sales, etc., and initiate

and support progressive programs based on the ability-to-pay principle.

Committee Secretary Woll moved adoption of this portion of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

PUBLIC RELATIONS, RADIO AND THE LABOR PRESS

(Pages 257-258, Executive Council's Report)

Your Committee notes with the deepest satisfaction that final arrangements have been completed by the Public Relations Committee of the American Federation of Labor for a fifteen minute newscast five nights a week during the entire year of 1950 over the Mutual Broadcasting System. This program of news and commentary will be heard Monday through Friday at 10 P. M., Eastern Standard Time, over a nation-wide network of at least 147 stations and will be jointly sponsored by the American Federation of Labor and Labor's League for Political Education.

This represents, in the opinion of your committee, the greatest forward step ever taken by the American Federation of Labor or any other labor organization to promote better public relations for the trade union movement.

For many years, as we all know, organized labor has been the target of concentrated attacks by big business interests through the chorused voices of commentators on their pay roll. Now the voice of labor also will be heard throughout the nation to repudiate the unjustified smears of our enemies and to bring home the truth to the American people.

To be effective, the Federation's new radio program, which will go on the air in January, must command the largest possible audience. It is to the interest of every affiliated union and to every union member that the public be encouraged to listen to these broadcasts regularly.

Your Committee has been informed that the American Federation of Labor will allocate funds to advertise its new radio program in the radio pages of the daily press. That is a necessary and important step.

But the delegates to this convention and the eight million workers they represent possess a much more powerful advertising medium—and that is your every day contact with your neighbors and friends and associates. We urge you to make it your business to tell all of them to listen without fail. We are confident that if they listen once they will make it a habit to tune in this challenging and outstanding radio program regularly.

Your committee anticipates that this new radio venture will have a profound effect upon the thinking of the American people and will in time improve organized labor's public relations immeasurably.

We likewise call upon the loyal and bona fide labor press to join with us in promoting

the radio program by bringing it constantly to the attention of their readers.

Your Committee wishes to emphasize that the expenditure of large sums for radio will not mean curtailment of the regular public relations activities of the American Federation of Labor, nor of the assistance which the Federation renders to the bona fide labor press. As the Executive Council states, the labor press is still the vital and most reliable medium for the education and enlightenment of trade union members. This Convention should go on record as favoring the improvement and extension of every service which the American Federation of Labor can practically render to enable the labor press to attain and maintain the highest standards of excellence.

Committee Secretary Woll moved adoption of this portion of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

CONCLUSION

(Executive Council's Report, Page 280-281)

In this section, the Executive Council urges a rededication to the guiding principles of trade unionism in order to assure greater opportunities and progress for wage earners. They suggest a review of past activities to evaluate them in terms of effects on trade unions, the basic agency for Labor's progress.

Committee Secretary Woll moved adoption of this portion of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WOLL: The Secretary of the Committee will now report on the resolutions.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY SODERSTROM: Whenever possible, your Committee Secretary will give only the name of the resolution and the number, the page on the day that it appeared and the committee's comment.

In order to avoid conflict between Social Security amendment proposals the Committee on Resolutions is reporting jointly on the following resolutions:

EXTEND COVERAGE OF SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

Resolution No. 1—By Delegate Elmer F. McIntire, Idaho State Federation of Labor.

(Page 35, First Day's Proceedings)

LOWER AGE REQUIREMENTS AND INCREASE BENEFITS UNDER SOCIAL SECURITY

Resolution No. 3—By Delegate George A. Haberman, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

(Page 36, First Day's Proceedings)

EXTEND COVERAGE OF SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

Resolution No. 4—By Delegate George A. Haberman, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

(Page 36, First Day's Proceedings)

INCREASED BENEFITS UNDER SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

Resolution No. 16—By Delegate Elmer F. McIntire, Idaho State Federation of Labor.

(Page 40, First Day's Proceedings)

FIREFIGHTERS UNDER SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

Resolution No. 24—By Delegates John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, John P. Crane, James Deach, Glen Thom, International Association of Firefighters.

(Page 43, First Day's Proceedings)

AMENDMENT TO SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate J. T. Marr, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

(Page 44, First Day's Proceedings)

INCREASED BENEFITS UNDER SOCIAL SECURITY

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate Robert F. Scott, Michigan State Federation of Labor.

(Page 46—First Day's Proceedings)

EXTENDING BENEFITS AND EXTENDING COVERAGE AND INCREASED BENEFITS UNDER SOCIAL SECURITY

Resolution No. 77—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

(Page 64—First Day's Proceedings)

INCREASED BENEFITS UNDER SOCIAL SECURITY

Resolution No. 99—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

(Page 317—Second Day's Proceedings)

NATIONAL HEALTH PROGRAM

Resolution No. 100—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

(Page 318—Second Day's Proceedings)

INCREASED BENEFITS UNDER SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

Resolution No. 107—By Delegate Mario Azpietia, A. P. Bower, S. J. Lopez, Cigar Makers International Union.

(Page 338, Third Day's Proceedings)

EXTENSION OF SOCIAL SECURITY AND HEALTH INSURANCE

Resolution No. 110—By Delegates Jack Wieselberg, Norman Zukowsky, Herbert Otto, Edward Friss, International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union.

(Page 339—Third Day's Proceedings)

ADEQUATE INSURANCE BENEFITS FOR WORKERS

Resolution No. 120—By Delegate Vincent J. Murphy, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

(Page 344—Third Day's Proceedings)

STUDY TO BE MADE ON BENEFITS FOR PERMANENT DISABILITY

Resolution No. 122—By Delegate Vincent J. Murphy, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

(Page 344—Third Day's Proceedings)

All of these resolutions, Nos. 1, 3, 4, 16, 24, 27, 33, 77, 99, 100, 107, 110, 120 and 122 are concerned with changes in the Social Security Act, and your committee recommends that they be referred to the Permanent Committee on Social Security.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY SODERSTROM:
I move adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

CONDEMNING REQUIREMENT OF CERTIFICATE OF TERMINATION OF SERVICE

Resolution No. 2—By Delegate George A. Haberman, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

(Page 35—First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends that the officers of the American Federation of Labor investigate this complaint and take whatever steps are necessary to stop the oppressive practice imposed by some employers upon workers to produce a certificate of termination of service when they apply for employment.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

INCREASE IN DISTRIBUTION OF LITERATURE

Resolution No. 6—By Delegate George A. Haberman, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

(Page 37—First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the officers of the American Federation of Labor.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

COUNCILS OF FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

Resolution No. 7—By Delegate George A. Haberman, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

(Page 37—First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee has given most careful consideration to this resolution. In lieu of the proposal advanced your committee recommends that President Green, and the organizing branch of the A. F. of L., continue to render every possible aid to all Federal Labor unions in their activities, and extend to them every possible service in dealing with problems confronting them from time to time. It is

further recommended that whenever and wherever possible and feasible in an industry or calling, when there are several Federal Labor Unions, that councils be formed in the interest of greater unity and the advancement of their common interests.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE WALLIG, Federal Labor Union No. 18456, Kenosha, Wisconsin: This matter of the Federal Labor Unions is not a new one. It has been in the hands of the Executive Council since the 1947 convention in San Francisco. The resolutions from year to year which emanate from the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor are changed somewhat in their wording, but they are all designed to bring about a greater unity within the Federal Labor Union structure.

We in Wisconsin have felt that the Federal Labor Unions certainly should have a national organization, that it could be subdivided also into councils whose boundaries could well be those of the states in which the federal labor unions are, and in that way they would have a greater voice in determining their own policies, and they could be of service not only to themselves but to the American Federation of Labor as well.

A year ago last May in Milwaukee during the Union Label Show a group of federal labor union representatives representing all of the federal labor unions in Wisconsin appeared before the Executive Council, at which time we presented a brief and oral arguments to substantiate our claims. We feel that in the years since the formation of the federal labor unions we have grown and have reached a certain amount of maturity, and yet we are, to all intents and purposes, operating the same as we have been during that time. We have remained with the Federation when so many have gone into a dual organization. We have remained with the Federation because we feel it is the proper place for us to be.

We do not believe that it is fair that we shall continue year after year merely subsisting upon the services which are rendered to us by the Regional Directors and the staff of the American Federation of Labor. We feel these people do a good job. They do as fine a job as they possibly can, but we also feel that if the federal labor unions had a chance to get together as federal labor unions and discuss our problems, the competitive sharpening of wits that such meetings would bring about would further our own interests and we would not be put in the very unenviable position of at times following the bargaining techniques of the larger industrial unions in the dual union organizations.

The only thing this resolution asks is that these federal labor unions be called together. We believe they feel as we do. If they do not feel that way, then certainly we are a group of people who are completely out of line, and it will be demonstrated once and for all that such is the case.

We think that we are sincerely conscious of the fact that these federal labor unions are so widespread and lacking up until this time any means of direct communication with each other that it would be a great service, even if no permanent organization developed from such a meeting, if we should have a chance to get together and view the situation as we are in the American Federation of Labor. And out of it we think much good can come.

As I have said before, if the majority feel they do not wish to go along with something like this, if they don't feel it is practical, then we will admit we are wrong, and certainly we are by all means always willing to abide by the will of the majority.

DELEGATE CUDAHY, Federal Labor Union No. 22631, Milwaukee: I want to concur in the remarks of the previous speaker and add a little bit to that. I don't think the recommendation of the committee takes into consideration the actual facts that we are faced with in the federal labor unions. It is now a practice of the American Federation of Labor, where there are a group of federal labor unions in a single industry, to form councils within that industry. So that the recommendation was not anything that has not already been said or done, but what they do not consider is the fact that in many industries you have one or two federal labor unions scattered over an industry that is comprised already of a large group of CIO unions. I would like to illustrate that point, if I may.

In my own shop we are the only American Federation of Labor union in a major farm equipment industry. All of the other major farm equipment plants are almost equally divided between the UAW-CIO and the FEW-CIO.

What does the committee propose to do in a situation of this kind—form a council of one federal labor union?

We ask nothing here in this resolution more than to be able to band ourselves together for mutual assistance from the onslaught of the dual organization, the CIO. In many cases that is true, and we ask no prohibition of any federal labor union at any time they wish to affiliate with their respective international unions. What we ask is simply an organization of self-help and mutual assistance to one another against these constant onslaughts, and we think the committee might well recommend that where there are not enough federal labor unions to form a council in industry, the only alternative is either a national council or a group of councils set up on a state-wide basis.

The motion to adopt the Committee's report was carried on a vote by show of hands.

WAGNER ACT AMENDMENTS AGAINST CIO RAIDING

Resolution No. 8—By Delegates Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, Francis Schaufenbil, Burton Hyman, Joseph Jacobs, United Textile Workers of America.

(Page 38—First Day's Proceedings)

Inasmuch as this resolution deals with a future possibility your committee believes that no action is required and so recommends.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved adoption of the Committee's recommendation. The motion was seconded and carried.

UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING

(Page 38—First Day's Proceedings)

The committee recommends non-concurrence in Resolution No. 9. The committee supports the Executive Council's traditional position in opposition to measures providing for compulsory military training and its acceptance of selective service on a limited and temporary basis.

The committee recommends that our policy of opposition to universal military training be continued.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved adoption of the Committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and carried.

MINIMUM WAGE

Resolution No. 10—By Delegates Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, Francis Schaufenbil, Burton Hyman, Joseph Jacobs, United Textile Workers of America.

(Page 39—First Day's Proceedings)

Resolution No. 36—By Delegate C. J. Hagerty, California State Federation of Labor.

(Page 48—First Day's Proceedings)

This Committee is fully in accord with the objectives of these resolutions which aim at establishing a higher minimum wage under the Fair Labor Standards Act.

However, recent developments have so altered the legislative situation regarding the Fair Labor Standards Act that this Committee wishes to submit the following comment and recommendation.

At the present time, a minimum wage law providing a 75-cent an hour minimum wage has passed both Houses of Congress. Details of the new law are now being worked out in conference committee.

Although we are very gratified that the new law will raise the minimum rate from 40 cents to 75 cents, we are shocked that provisions of these two bills would remove from coverage of the law over one million American workers.

Because of these recent developments, this Committee feels that during the coming year, the American Federation of Labor should

direct its legislative efforts regarding the Fair Labor Standards Act towards extending the coverage of the law. Efforts should be made to include within the law not only those groups of workers who will have been removed from coverage by the 1949 law, but also such additional workers as employees of large department stores and hotels, employees engaged in processing and canning of food products, and those working for large-scale industrialized farms.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved adoption of the Committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and carried.

STATEHOOD FOR ALASKA

Resolution No. 11—By Delegate Theodore B. Eriksen, Alaska Territorial Federation of Labor.

(Page 39—First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends that the resolution be adopted.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved adoption of the Committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and carried.

The Committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 13 and 112, as follows:

REAFFILIATION OF MACHINISTS

Resolution No. 13—By Delegate Elmer F. McIntire, Idaho State Federation of Labor.

(Page 40—First Day's Proceedings)

UNITY IN LABOR MOVEMENT

Resolution No. 112—By Delegates Jack Wieselberg, Norman Zukowsky, Herbert Otto, Edward Friss, International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union.

(Page 340—Third Day's Proceedings)

In considering Resolution No. 13, your Committee was advised that conferences have been held during the year between officers of the Federation and the International Association of Machinists looking to the reaffiliation of that organization to the American Federation of Labor. While no final decisions have been reached, neither have these conferences ended. Indeed negotiations are pending looking to further conferences. It is the sincere hope of the Committee, and we are confident of the affiliates, that these conferences may result in the early reaffiliation of this organization.

Your Committee has considered Resolution No. 112 in connection with the foregoing and records itself in favor of the proposal submitted. This resolution deals with the subject of reaffiliation. Your Committee is more

than ever impressed for the urgency for a greater united labor movement of trade unions pledged to the principles upon which our nation is founded and dedicated to the safeguarding and advancing of ideals of liberty, of freedom, of democracy; a labor movement not dominated, guided or controlled by foreign governmental influences or ideologies in conflict with those that have made for the greatness of our people, enrichment of our free trade union movement and the attainment of the conditions of life and work we are at present enjoying.

As indicated in our report of a year ago, "the necessity for greater unity between all groups of organized labor has never been more necessary than today. Unity of purpose and of action has always been one of the ideals of the American Federation of Labor. The fact that unity does not exist, is not evidence that it cannot be brought into existence."

Then, too, we repeat, as then, that issues having formerly divided the labor movement have largely disappeared and that whatever of conflict may remain is overshadowed by far by the more fundamental and serious problem confronting labor, not only here at home but in other lands as well. Now that we are about to unite on the labor front of free trade unions and enter the theatre of world labor affairs, the road to cooperation and unity is considerably smoother and should lead to the ultimate union and the merging of all our separate divisions of labor here in our land under the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

To this end we recommend and approve, as we did a year ago, that the Executive Council constantly apply its efforts, through conferences with representatives of other organized groups of labor, to the end that unity be achieved in the American trade union movement, in spirit and in substance at the earliest possible opportunity.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved adoption of the committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and carried.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair is under obligation to call to the attention of the delegates that under the rules the hour of adjournment has arrived. The question is whether you wish to suspend the rules and continue in session until we have completed our work or whether you want to suspend the rules, take a recess and come back tonight or adjourn until tomorrow morning.

DELEGATE RANDOLPH, Typographical Union: I suggest that the rules be suspended and that we adjourn until tomorrow morning. I make that motion.

A DELEGATE: (Name not given) Could I ask how much more work the Committee estimates is in their possession for reference to the Committee?

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WOLL: If there is not much discussion I think we can complete the work inside of an hour or an hour and a half. If there is no discussion we can complete it in less than an hour.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Well, there is a motion pending. The motion must be amended.

A DELEGATE: (Name not given) Could I amend the motion so that we suspend the rules and continue with the completion of the Committee's report and finish the business of the convention without recessing?

VICE PRESIDENT BIRTHRIGHT: How much business do we have after the Committee completes its report?

SECRETARY MEANY: Nothing else.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WOLL: I would suggest that we have a night session and complete the work that way. We will have ample time to finish up and those who have railroad transportation will have an opportunity to participate in the discussion. I am fearful that with the transportation arrangements that have been made by so many delegates to get out tomorrow morning you are going to have a rather scarce attendance at tomorrow morning's session. I think if we adjourn and come back for a night session we will then complete the work with full discussion and everybody here could participate in the work.

DELEGATE WOLPERT, Federal Local Union 23181: Mr. Chairman, I incorporate Vice President Woll's suggestion, and I move that we adjourn and have a night session.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Well, the rules of the convention provide for a night session tonight, so that if we adjourn now in accordance with the rules we will come back at 8:00 o'clock.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair will call for a vote by a show of hands to determine whether we shall come back at 8:00 o'clock and finish the work of this convention. All in favor of that will hold up your right hand; those opposed the same sign.

The motion is carried, and the convention stands recessed until 8:00 o'clock tonight.

At 5:30 o'clock, p. m. the convention adjourned to reconvene at 8:00 o'clock, p. m.

Sixty-Eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor 1949 Proceedings

Saint Paul, Minnesota, October 10, 1949



Report of

SIXTH DAY—MONDAY NIGHT SESSION

The convention was called to order at 8:10 o'clock, p. m. by President Green.

REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

(Continued)

Committee Secretary Soderstrom continued the report of the committee, as follows:

EQUAL PAY FOR WOMEN WORKERS

Resolution No. 14—By Delegates George M. Harrison, Phil E. Ziegler, G. B. Goble, L. B. Snedden, J. H. Sylvester, H. R. Lyons, Robert Morgan, Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees.

(Page 40—First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends that this resolution be adopted.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved adoption of the committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and carried.

POLITICAL CANDIDATES

Resolution No. 15—By Park County Trades and Labor Council, Livingston, Montana.

(Page 40—First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee has considered Resolution No. 15, and proposes the following as a substitute:

Political activity to encourage 8,000,000 A. F. of L. members, their wives, and other members of their families, to elect their friends and defeat their enemies in the 1950 or any current elections, is the declared position of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee is in full accord with the declared intention of the Executive Council and commends the Council for its plan of action in the 1950 political campaign.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved adoption of the committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and carried.

DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate E. M. Weston, Washington State Federation of Labor.

(Page 41—First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends adoption of this resolution.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved adoption of the committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and carried.

The committee reported jointly on Resolutions Nos. 18 and 20, as follows:

MOTION PICTURE BASED ON HISTORY OF A. F. OF L.

Resolution No. 18—By Delegates Lester Washburn, George Grisham, Anthony Doria, Earl Heaton, Frank Evans, International Union United Automobile Workers of America.

(Page 41—First Day's Proceedings)

FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR LABOR FILMS

Resolution No. 20—By Delegate C. J. Hagerty, California State Federation of Labor.

(Page 42—First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee gave careful consideration to Resolutions Nos. 18 and 20 and is in sympathy with the objectives of these two resolutions. The committee recommends that the officers of the A. F. of L. give attention to script already prepared with respect to Resolution No. 20.

Your committee further recommends that these two resolutions be referred to the Executive Council for study and appropriate action.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved adoption of the committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

COMMUNITY CHEST CAMPAIGNS

Resolution No. 19—By Delegates Lester Washburn, George Grisham, Anthony Doria, Earl Heaton, Frank Evans, International Union United Automobile Workers of America.

(Page 41—First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee has considered and slightly amended this resolution to read as follows,

and recommends its approval in the amended form:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has long cooperated with Community Chests and Councils in the interest of giving aid and comfort to the needy, in providing recreational activities and health and welfare services, and

WHEREAS, Community Chests and Councils have annually been successful in impressing the American public with the necessity for contributing to the support of voluntary health and welfare agencies through federated giving, and

WHEREAS, President William Green of the American Federation of Labor, has heartily endorsed the 1949 campaigns, and

WHEREAS, Community Chests and Councils have also aided in bringing to light evil conditions in the health and welfare field and how they can be corrected, and

WHEREAS, Community Chests and Councils are a living expression of traditional American generosity and through our participation in their activities we give further proof of our interest in the health and welfare of our fellow citizens, and

WHEREAS, In having representatives from labor, management, and the professions serving on the boards and committees of Community Chests and Councils, and their participating Red Feather agencies, they exemplify the American and democratic practice of all groups in our nation cooperating to serve all the people, and

WHEREAS, Through their policy of federated giving the Community Chests and Councils succeed in diminishing the multiplicity of time consuming appeals to the American public, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor commend Community Chests and Councils for diminishing the multiplicity of appeals while providing voluntary health and welfare agencies with funds to conduct their work, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge Community Chests and Councils to inaugurate or expand the participation of American Federation of Labor members in the year-around activities of Community Chests and Councils, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the international unions, city central bodies, state federations of labor, and federal labor unions of the American Federation of Labor cooperate with Community Chests and Councils in an effort to accomplish the maximum results through this program,

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent by the Executive Council to all affiliates of the American Federation of Labor and to the officers of Community Chests and Councils of America.

Committee Chairman Soderstrom moved adoption of the resolution as amended.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

INCREASE RECREATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

Resolution No. 21—By Delegate C. J. Hagerty, California State Federation of Labor.

(Page 43—First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends that this resolution be adopted.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

Resolution No. 22—by Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Frank Boyd, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

(Page 43—First Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee is aware that the situation presented in this resolution is akin to a similar situation having confronted our people following the ending of the first World War. The policy then pursued by the Federation was to have our government proclaim and to grant an amnesty to all prisoners whose political belief had formed the basis of their prosecution, trial and punishment and to make every possible effort to that end. In furtherance of this decision representations were made to the Attorney General and to the President.

It is now more than four years that hostilities have ended and the Selective Service Law is no longer drafting anyone into the service. In view of our leadership in urging democratic liberty and justice and in declaring for the Rights of Man in the United Nations, it is recommended that on this occasion we assume a like attitude and approve a similar procedure to that declared for and followed after the first World War.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved the adoption of the Committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE RANDOLPH, Sleeping Car Porters: Mr. President, I arise to concur in the report of the Resolutions Committee on the question of conscientious objectors. I am very glad to note the position of the Committee as taken on this important human issue.

I only hope that President Green, in the tradition of the American Federation of Labor, with a delegation of labor people, will call on President Truman in the next few weeks in the interest of securing a general amnesty for all conscientious objectors. I believe this will mean much to the spirit of

American democracy and will also be in harmony with the traditions of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried unanimously.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Resolution No. 23—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Frank Boyd, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

(Page 43, First Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee is in full accord with the objectives sought by this resolution. To avoid placing the Federation in the anomalous position of condemning legislation dealing with the internal relations of the affairs of our trade unions, on the one hand, and furthering trade union regulatory legislation on the other hand, your Committee recommends the approval of this resolution amended to read:

WHEREAS, Lynching and mob violence are violations of the dignity and sacredness of the human personality—all men, regardless of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry, being children of one God, and

WHEREAS, The poll tax denies to white and black workers the opportunity to exercise their sovereign right of free citizenship in the American democracy, and

WHEREAS, Federal fair employment practice legislation will help the elimination of discrimination in industry based upon race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry, and

WHEREAS, Discrimination and segregation in the Armed Forces because of race, color or religion, denies the sacred right to an American citizen to fight and die for his country as a free man, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the sixty-eighth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in St. Paul, Minnesota, October, 1949, go on record as supporting legislation which seeks to abolish lynch-law, the vicious poll tax, the elimination of discrimination and segregation in industry, and the Armed Forces, and, herewith, expresses its support and approval of President Truman's Civil Rights Committee Report and his Civil Rights Program, submitted to the 81st Congress, and pledge to fight for the enactment of legislation sought in the President's Civil Rights Report and Program.

In presenting this amended resolution for approval your Committee directs attention to existing laws in some of our states making mandatory the segregation of workers and others, based on color distinctions. We have no hesitancy in condemning such unjustified restrictions on freedom of association and the unjustifiable dividing of our people on color

lines. We urge every effort be made for the early and complete repeal of such laws.

Then too, we would counsel all our trade unions to avoid falling subject to criticism we direct against others for their failure to deal with all of our people, on a basis of equality and without distinction as to race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 25 and 78, as follows:

BUY AMERICA

Resolution No. 25—By Delegates James B. Moss, Trades and Labor Council, East Liverpool, Ohio.

(Page 44—First Day's Proceedings)

PROTECTION OF AMERICAN WORKERS IN LOWERING TARIFF

Resolution No. 78—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

(Page 64—First Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee has considered these resolutions as related to a common objective and expression of a growing unrest. Your committee is of the opinion that the situation presented and apprehensions manifested are not to be viewed lightly or to be disregarded. Neither do we believe that it presents cause for undue alarm and holds that final conclusions should be drawn on matters of such grave international importance only after having first inquired into all elements and factors affecting international relations and world trade.

Your Committee therefore recommends that the President of the Federation cause an inquiry to be made into all trends and factors affecting international and world trade as well as relationships particularly with reference to ultimate consequences upon our domestic employment opportunities and trade conditions. It is also recommended that affiliated organizations most directly affected by any change or disturbance in our international and foreign trade be observant of future developments due to possible foreign competition and the resultant effects upon the employment situation and opportunities of their respective trades and callings to the end that appropriate measures may be considered to safeguard the employment and trade opportunities of their people. In the interim it is recommended that members and friends of organized labor favor the purchase of com-

modities bearing the union label and patronize union shop card establishments and as well union button services.

Your Committee recommends the adoption of this statement and procedure in lieu of the resolutions reported on.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved the adoption of the Committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

TAFT-HARTLEY ACT

Resolution No. 26—By Delegate James L. McDevitt, Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

(Page 44—First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends that this resolution be adopted.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved adoption of the committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

GOVT. EMPLOYEES COUNCIL EXTENDS THANKS TO A. F. OF L.

Resolution No. 28—By Delegates James G. Yaden, Berniece B. Heffner, A. E. Eisenmenger, American Federation of Government Employees; Lee B. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers' Union of N. A.; R. A. Rice, J. L. Reilly, Jerauld McDermott, Railway Mail Association; John B. Haggerty, Robert E. Hafkin, Mary G. Morley, Joseph Denny, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, John J. Nolan, Charles S. Fleming, James Stocker, Edward Benning, National Association of Letter Carriers; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, L. G. Nygren, Office Employees International Union; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, James Deach, Glen Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters; William L. McPetridge, William H. Cooper, David Sullivan, George Hardy, George W. Matthews, Building Service Employees' International Union; J. H. Lyons, Joseph F. Boyen, C. F. Strickland, E. M. Woods, Leslie L. Myers, Stanley Rounds, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Martin F. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Peter T. Schoenmann, Robert Lynch, G. J. O'Donnell, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry; Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Bernard M. Egan, Horace L. Ineson, Lewis M. Herrmann, J. Arthur Moriarty, International Typographical Union; Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo-Engravers' Union of N. A.; Leo E. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Charles Ryan, Foree

Kurtz, Alvin Tschirley, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Stanley W. Oliver, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. Delaney, Charles B. Gramling, International Union of Operating Engineers; John A. McMahon, Enoch Nelson, John D. Ryan, National Association of Postal Supervisors; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union; Delegates, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; Delegate, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; Delegates, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Delegates, American Federation of Teachers.

(Page 44—First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee appreciates the spirit of the resolution and it will be noted and made a matter of record. No action is needed.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved adoption of the committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimsly.

PRINCIPLE OF FEDERAL UNION

Resolution No. 29—By Delegate Robert A. Tillman, Tennessee State Federation of Labor.

(Page 45—First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the permanent Committee on International Relations for study and subsequently report to the Executive Council.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved adoption of the committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE ROBERT A. TILLMAN, Tennessee Federation of Labor: Mr. President and Fellow Delegates, I do not rise to oppose the report of the committee because experience has taught me a few lessons about that. I do rise, however, with the object in mind, if possible, to stimulate thought on a subject which to me is one of the most vital issues of the day.

The resolution which I introduced merely endorses the resolution introduced in the United States Senate by the Honorable Estes Kefauver, the Honorable Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota and the Honorable Frank Graham from North Carolina and many other liberal senators along with a few reactionary Democrats and Republicans aimed at implementing the North Atlantic Pact by calling a convention of representatives from the six signatories to the North Atlantic Pact with the aim of studying means by which we could bring about a just and lasting peace in this world.

Where did that Atlantic union business start? I knew nothing about it until about a year and a half ago I read some little

sketches in the newspapers and various publications on the subject and I, like many others, thought that this was a proposal coming from what many people termed a lunatic fringe and was impractical, to say the least.

About a year and a half ago I was presented a book, the title of which is "Union Now" by Clarence Streit. I read the book and was greatly impressed by the sound reasoning and logic presented by this man. Clarence Streit was a soldier in World War I. After the war he became a correspondent, international correspondent, I might say, for some newspapers in this country. He attended all of the international conferences throughout the world. He saw at each of these conferences the utter futility of the democracies of the world to make any real progress to the establishment of a permanent and just peace. He saw the failure of the League of Nations, and in 1939 proposed that if a just and lasting peace was to ever come to this world there would have to be a uniting of forces of the free democratic peoples of the world.

He visualized fifteen democracies joining together. These fifteen democracies have more than fifty percent of all the natural resources of the world; at least 80 or 90 percent of the Navies of the world, and 95 percent of the know-how of the world. He advocated a common citizenship, and certainly none of those things are inconsistent with the principles enunciated here in the report of Brother Matthew Woll this afternoon.

The Atlantic Charter proposal falls far short of that. It merely proposes that the democracies of the world sit down together and explore how far we may go as free people in establishing and bringing about a just and permanent peace.

In my lifetime and in yours two World Wars have been fought to preserve democracy and to bring about a just and permanent peace. We have achieved neither. No military alliances or peace pacts that have ever been conceived by man have ever prevented war in this world of ours. While we fiddle and faddle, while we sit smugly and complacently behind written documents such as the North Atlantic Pact, old Joe Stalin and his cohorts are spreading the insidious propaganda or philosophy of Communism throughout the four corners of the world. While we sit idly by thousands of miles of territory rich in natural resources and millions of unenlightened people are coming under the orbit of Soviet Russia.

I want to see the day—and I think it must come soon—when all of the free peoples of the world can band together as one and say to Joe Stalin and his cohorts, in the only language he understands, "Thus far you have gone; not one step further will you go."

I say further that we should say to those people that they shall not impose their vicious and insidious philosophy upon a single person or a single nation against their will.

I sincerely hope that this resolution will not find its way into the wastebasket. It is

no longer an academic question. It has been placed squarely before the Congress of the United States and the American people, and I hope that labor will give real consideration to this proposal for the simple reason that I am convinced that working people throughout the world are looking to us in the hope that we will help bring into full fruition the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, which we have heard preached and advocated from every American Federation of Labor platform in this land.

I believe, like many other thousands in this country who have studied this proposal, that that is the only way we will ever have a permanent and enduring peace in this world. Thank you.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried unanimously.

L. L. P. E.

Resolution No. 30—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Bernard M. Egan, Horace L. Imeson, Lewis M. Herrmann, J. Arthur Moriarty, International Typographical Union.

(Page 46—First Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be concurred in to the end that the political structure of each state, county or city, be thoroughly covered by Labor's League for Political Education, and that the greatest possible local, personal activity be attained.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved the adoption of the Committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried.

ASSISTANCE TO I. T. U.

Resolution No. 31—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Bernard M. Egan, Horace L. Imeson, Lewis M. Herrmann, J. Arthur Moriarty, International Typographical Union.

(Page 46—First Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be adopted to the end that not only the I. T. U. as a craft union but all other craft unions be accorded the special attention that the situation warrants in order that the extreme destructive burden of the Taft-Hartley law on craft unions be lightened as much as possible until that law is repealed.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved the adoption of the Committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE RANDOLPH, Typographical Union: It will be noted from the report of the Committee that the intent of the resolution has to do with accentuating the attention that must be given to the problem of

craft unions under the operation of the Taft-Hartley law, which we are bound to have with us for at least another year and perhaps two. I am sure that the attitude of the American Federation of Labor includes all that is necessary to protect all of its unions. That is not at issue. I am sure likewise that a great many craft unions and a great many international unions have not come to realize the invidiousness of the Taft-Hartley Law as applied to craft unions, and the record before this convention indicates quite clearly that neither the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor nor the General Counsel, the legal staff of the Federation have understood, at least to the point of becoming exercised about it, just how vicious the Taft-Hartley Law is to craft unions.

I want to say that our International Union has been compelled to fight a defensive fight to preserve itself as a craft union in the two years of the Taft-Hartley law. We have cooperated 100 percent with every effort and every direction and every request that has been made by or through the officers of the American Federation of Labor, Labor's League for Political Education, and the long established Bureau of A. F. of L. headquarters operating for legislative work. We have had one, two or three men almost constantly in Washington endeavoring to inform the Congress of the United States and the labor movement generally of what we are up against in regard to Taft-Hartley law persecution of a craft union such as ours. There are others in the Federation who have not had the punishment directed to them that has been the lot of the International Typographical Union.

To substantiate what I said about the Executive Council and the legal counsel of the Federation I call your attention to the fact that the report of the Executive Council before this convention fails to mention the ITU fight; in fact, it fails to mention it even by name, either with regard to the Taft-Hartley law or with regard to any of the legal cases that have been brought to your attention through that report. I am unable to understand that omission, in view of the fact that both our organization and our attorneys have kept them very well informed, currently informed of every proceeding and everything that we have done to preserve our organization.

Further in testimony of the fact that this matter was fully known, I want to call your attention to a pamphlet that has been distributed to you, a pamphlet printed by the American Federation of Labor through its headquarters entitled, "What's Wrong With the T-H Law? Plenty." It is the publicity of the American Federation of Labor regarding the punishing provisions of the Taft-Hartley law in a general sense, and I want to call your attention to Page 12 of that pamphlet, and particularly to those lines in between two black lines standing out in the middle of the page under a heading reading as follows:

"Who Has Been Hit Hardest by Taft-Hartley?"

"Contrary to popular belief Communist-controlled unions have not been the hardest hit

by Taft-Hartley. The one union which has been the target of more action under Taft-Hartley than any other is the respected and democratic International Typographical Union. The I. T. U., founded in 1850, has been the subject of 18 charges, 8 complaints, and 5 hearings by the National Labor Relations Board, as well as an injunction and an action for contempt of court. These cases have not even alleged that the Union has ever unfairly denied anyone admission or has wrongfully caused anyone to be fired. They arose solely because the Union tried by collective bargaining to protect itself against the worst features of the Taft-Hartley law."

I want to point out to you that, having cognizance of 18 charges, 8 complaints, 5 hearings, as well as an injunction and citation for contempt of court, the legal staff of the American Federation of Labor, reporting to this convention and failing to even mention the International Typographical Union or the punishment meted out to craft unions particularly, is extremely remiss in its duties. Not one of these trials failed to meet their attention. They were given full information about all of them. They could have gotten firsthand information by attending them.

However, that is not particularly the reason of my discussing this matter with you here this evening. The reason I am discussing it is because I believe the other craft unions in the American Federation of Labor can be saved a great deal of trouble, a great deal of expense, and a great deal of disruptive influence by the General Counsel of the National Labor Relations Board if the legal staff of the American Federation of Labor and if the Executive Council will get behind them and behind the publicity mediums of the American Federation of Labor, to the end that they will be thoroughly informed of the particular type of punishment that can be and has been meted out to the International Typographical Union by the National Labor Relations Board General Counsel and the courts.

A few years hence those who may be looking over the published mediums of this Federation in an effort to find out how it affected craft unions, will find nothing. I spoke briefly for some few minutes at the last convention of the Federation and pointed out some of the things that had occurred to us.

I want it understood that the resolution having to do with assistance to the I. T. U. does not mean the I. T. U. alone, and as a springboard for bringing to your attention the need for immediate assistance of other craft unions along that line I have introduced the proposition in the language in which it is before you. It is not an appeal for funds. The International Typographical Union has collected from its own members by voluntary assessment, voted by themselves in a referendum vote, approximately eighteen and a quarter million dollars in the past two years. They have had to expend in the neighborhood of 14 millions of those dollars in defending themselves against the inroads of General Counsel Denham, who led the organization

of the American Newspaper Publishers Association and the Printing Industry of America in that effort to destroy the oldest craft union on the continent, the union which had the most diversified regulations by way of contract relationships, and the organization which had time and again, over its long history, insisted upon maintaining control of composing room work, regardless of how the evolution of the industry might have affected that work.

It was a perfect example to attract the ambitions of the General Counsel of the National Labor Relations Board. It was a perfect vehicle for him to ride to popularity with the big business interests of the nation responsible for his job.

I know that you have noted in your reports time and again cases affecting labor decisions of courts on matters that have gone through the National Labor Relations Board and were finally decided by the courts. One of the most vicious features of the Taft-Hartley law is that long before you ever get to any court the General Counsel can so use that law as to destroy many unions, once a union has the type of stability that will cause the assessment of members to pay benefits long enough to keep them on strike, and when Mr. Denham can destroy them if they attempt to operate as craft unions.

Shortly after the law was adopted the International Typographical Union proposed to its employers that because of the hazards of that law which destroyed the fundamentals of craft unionism it would be better to get along without written contracts, that we could get along in the same way we always had without violating the law and without assuming the responsibilities involved in written contracts by way of abolishing the closed shops, hampering and preventing men refusing to handle struck work or non-union goods, and in protecting unionism as it has been known in the craft unions. Immediately that proposal was made by our convention in 1947, Mr. Denham publicly proclaimed that it couldn't be done, that we would be prevented from doing it. He was talking to a convention of bankers, not printers or printers' employers. He immediately saw that his plans for complete subjugation might go astray. He and the counsel for the "watch dog committee" of the Senate busied themselves in contacting the leadership of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and the Printing Industry of America and led them in every plan and in every one of the charges made and every one of the trials had, and in injunctions sought for and obtained and in the citation for contempt that was obtained.

I say to you and I hope that you remember this plain statement: we are not bargaining because of our free will. We are bargaining because we are compelled by law and by injunction to bargain with our employers. Mind you, we haven't signed any non-Communist affidavits. We haven't filed any financial reports. We haven't wanted to avail ourselves of any of the alleged benefits of the Taft-Hartley law. We realize we have the American right to organize and bargain collectively without permission of Mr. Denham or of the NLRB. We have done

it for a hundred years, and as long as it is a free country we will continue to do it. We have relied upon our skill and our craft union. We have relied on unionism for a hundred years and we are not begging for the right to organize either from Mr. Denham or the National Labor Relations Board. We have never done it and I pray God we never will. But here is how Mr. Denham sought to compel us to beg for the right to organize, to compel us as a craft union to ask him, Mr. Denham, this over-lord of America, what particular clauses we might ask for in a craft union contract, if you please. And not being disposed to listen to Mr. Denham, he got us before the courts eventually and got an injunction compelling us to do exactly as Mr. Denham wants us to do with reference to collective bargaining.

That is not generally known by the labor movement. It is not generally known because there have not been enough craft unions involved. It is not generally known because the mediums of publicity have not informed them within the American Federation of Labor, and it is not known because the dangers involved have not been appreciated either by the General Counsel or by the Executive Council, because if they did they would have seen to it that we did get a better method of publicity than we have had.

Let us look. Immediately after Mr. Denham challenged us he proceeded to have charges brought against us in September of 1947. The law went into effect in August. Immediately jumping on the International Typographical Union, he has been leading and coaching the employer organizations in our industry, and he sought to compel us to tie ourselves up with a contract covering economic features only, that is, wages, hours, vacations, and such as having to do with a money value. He sought to have us make contracts covering those points and preserving to the employer every union-busting prerogative of the Taft-Hartley law.

In that process he attempted to have us commit ourselves on all of the simple provisions of the law, and isolate us from the bargaining table as to sections having to do with the propositions that the employer could grant if he wanted to, but for which we could not strike to compel him to grant. He tried to prevent us from using any kind of bargaining force to even secure from the employer the things that he could grant but for which we could not strike under the law.

That avenue of approach was to compel us to bargain, to compel us to bargain for a length of contract satisfactory to the employer. We suggested a 60-day cancellation clause. That was heresy. Many of your unions have a 60-day cancellation clause in your contracts. You like it. Many employers like it. But because the employers in the printing industry didn't like it Mr. Denham included that in his request for injunction, and today the International Typographical Union and its locals are prohibited by injunction from even asking for a 60-day cancellation clause in a contract.

We were found in contempt of court. After the judge had granted everything that Mr. Denham asked to be covered by an injunction, after we had complied with that injunction, and after we had set out to bargain on an agreement that had had the scrutiny of Mr. Denham's office as to legality—after all of that and after five months' time after the injunction was issued we were then cited for contempt of court. The injunction, of course, is written as others are. It is a super Taft-Hartley law. It is something over and above the Taft-Hartley law. It is a Denham law. It is now a Denham and Swygert law on top of a Taft-Hartley law.

So we found ourselves compelled to bargain and not ask for a 60-day cancellation clause. But five months after Denham had O.K.'d the proposed agreement that our people could use and at least try to live under we were cited for contempt; and here is the grand and great reason why we were in contempt of court which said we shouldn't do anything that remotely resembled what Mr. Denham didn't want us to do. We had proposed a committee to determine when an applicant who had gone through an apprenticeship had really reached his journeyman status. That is customary in the industry, and it has been customary to settle among the employers and the union. But it didn't have a tie-breaker on that committee. The proposal also had a clause whereby those applying or work in a composing room and alleging they were printers would be subject to a test by a committee composed of printers and employers. That isn't a great job. It is one that both are interested in, and they can and have settled that problem. But it likewise didn't have a tie-breaker. So our government, led by Mr. Denham, went into court and asked the judge to cite us for contempt of court because some time, somewhere, some non-union man might ask for a job and because he might it is absolutely assured, by virtue of the character of these people in the Typographical Union, that they are going to deadlock the committee and possibly discriminate against someone.

Upon that the Judge found us guilty of contempt for trying to maintain a closed shop, and thus we were in contempt of court civilly if it is true, but if we had been a little unskillful about it it could have been criminal. We were in contempt of court for having that kind of a proposal in a contract, and upon that showing—now, get this, and remember it to your dying day—upon that showing the Government of these United States asked the court to shut off the payment of strike benefits in the City of Chicago where a strike had been in progress for over a year. On such a flimsy pretext the government asked the court to stop the International Union from paying our members strike benefits in the City of Chicago. Think of that! And the government did so after it had been prodded by Senator Taft from his office, and after Senator Taft had been prodded by the representatives of the five Chicago newspapers appearing in his office and seeking his aid in doing something about the Chicago strike.

How ridiculous our laws and the dignity of our courts have come to be! The peculiar viciousness of it as affecting craft unions is

that by the manipulation of the law and particularly Section 8, a union is prevented from even proposing clauses to protect their trade and to protect their membership, even agreed to by an employer, without violating the closed shop provisions, without violating any part of the Taft-Hartley law. Mr. Denham moves in and says that you are violating it, and because he says so he gets you into a trial and he will collect some 3,000 pages of testimony and evidence in each one of the trials, and if he is not satisfied with the speed with which the trial is proceeding Mr. Denham will go into the court and ask the court to prevent you from doing whatever he thinks you shouldn't be doing.

He did that with us and the court granted him that kind of an injunction. He even went so far as to take the position before that Federal Court that all he had to do was to ask the court for an injunction, and the Taft-Hartley law provided that the court must automatically give him that injunction for whatever he asked, without a hearing on the matter in controversy, alleging of course that only the National Labor Relations Board could tell whether or not the merits were with one side or the other.

But without answering that point the judge ordered a hearing and he heard all that we had to say. But I am reminded of what Brother Tillman said about opposing a committee on this floor. It didn't do him any good. It didn't do us any good to present every bit of evidence we had, every bit of fallacy in the General Counsel's position. Nevertheless, an injunction issued and a citation issued on such flimsy pretext as to tie our Union into a knot if we had to follow particularly all of Mr. Denham's whims.

We have gone through the torture chamber that is provided in the National Labor Relations Board in the Taft-Hartley Act, the torture chamber that is functioning over and above the type of economic activity that is engaged in by maybe 90 percent of the labor movement. The question of the so-called Taft-Hartley union shop isn't involved with us. We have a trade and a craft. We are trying to hold together. The government by that law is attempting to cut that craft up into separate pieces at the will and whim of the employer, and you are precluded by the law and by injunctions or interpretations of the law from attempting to protect yourselves in many, many ways. It is to this particular feature that I am drawing your attention, and because of the passage of the resolution as has been reported on by the committee it is my hope that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor will at once remedy the matter to the point of supplying not only the information about what has happened, but supplying the advice to craft unions on how to avoid the pitfalls of that Act and go through the torture and punishment and the cost that the International Typographical Union has gone through during these two years.

I am satisfied that the matter having been called to their attention, they will understand to bring to the attention of all the craft unions some of the very pertinent

points that are involved in this relationship if they are trying to maintain a craft union.

In closing I am going to ask that, instead of reading or speaking further, an article that I wrote explaining the Chicago settlement be included in my remarks to this convention, so that members throughout the nation can, by reading these proceedings, get a better idea of what we were up against in that city. That was the biggest and most powerful aggregation of employers with whom we had had a contest. We had the year before settled the matter by having a strike involving some 7,000 members in the commercial field in Chicago and New York, but the newspaper publishers in Chicago were leading this particular fight and going through all of the jumps in order that they could whip down and beat down and tear up the craft unions. That strike has been settled. We have shown a number of basic things that can be preserved, and it will be of interest, I know, to other craft unions to read of that.

But bear in mind we have another strike in Miami, Florida on both newspapers, a metropolitan town where they are trying to do the same thing. We have a dozen other strikes in smaller cities throughout the nation, and it is with reference to this continued campaign on the part of employers to break down craft unions that I believe a great deal of information and help can be disseminated.

We are continuing with our fight. We appreciate whatever help local bodies or state federations can contribute in the economic field to bring about a change of heart on the part of these employers.

We haven't asked for financial contributions and we don't intend to, but the point is that there is more than money involved, there are principles involved that, if they are not taken care of immediately, if they are not handled properly in view of the continuity of the Taft-Hartley law, we will find craft unions split up on the assembly-line basis. I say this in all sincerity, and I say that had the Taft-Hartley law been repealed and had the foundations of craft unions been restored, with the closed shop, the right to refuse to handle struck products or to refuse to work with non-union men, had we been able to get these things then our problems would have been practically over. But so long as the Taft-Hartley law is on the books no union, no matter what kind of a contract it can get from the manufacturers, will be safe for any number of years. Now, when there is lots of employment, yes, but when things break the other way, no, and unless we get that law repealed no contract, no matter how good it seems, will help us very much.

With the courtesy of the Secretary-Treasurer I will ask that he include the article which I shall give him in the record of the convention.

Gentlemen, I thank you.

The article referred to by Delegate Randolph reads as follows:

The war against Chicago Typographical Union was a part of the contest of the whole printing employer group against the whole International Typographical Union.

The employers had unlimited money and were buttressed by the most damnable anti-labor law ever adopted. They also were shepherded through the intricacies of that law and its most vicious injunction processes by government attorneys. The entire press of the nation was a partisan participant on the employers' side of the controversy. The employers also had the additional help and influence of Senator Taft and the Republican majority in Congress.

In addition to all that the Chicago employers enjoyed the regular services of all other unions involved in the newspaper printing industry, many of whom were tied by contracts and prevented by the Taft-Hartley Law and their own Internationals from helping the printers. Many failed to comprehend the basic issues involved and even now will turn over and go to sleep again.

Using a substitute process eliminating type and depending on thousands of stenographers and the photoengraving process, the Chicago newspapers gave daily evidence for 22 months of their determination to accomplish their purpose.

In addition to that vast array of money and power the Chicago newspaper employers were helped and encouraged by the job printing employer group also waging war against Chicago Typographical Union No. 16, New York Typographical Union No. 6 and Philadelphia Typographical Union No. 2. The aims and efforts of this group of employers were identical with those of the newspaper publishers of the nation. Over 7,000 of our members were involved in strikes lasting four or five months in the job printing field in those cities during the 22 months of the Chicago newspaper strike.

All during this tremendous fight on the economic field the government of the United States, through the general counsel of the NLRB, was persecuting the International Typographical Union and its local unions in Chicago, New York, Detroit, Philadelphia, Newark, N. J., Albany, N. Y., St. Louis, Mo., and Los Angeles, Calif. Then another effort was made on behalf of all the newspapers of the country through charges brought by the American Newspaper Publishers Association. Through this effort a most vicious injunction amounting to a super-Taft-Hartley law was issued against us. Even after all this time there has been no decision by the NLRB on the several cases before it.

Against all of that vast array of money, power, talent and other resources, was pitted a comparatively small International Union of 90,000 members. Its resources consisted of indomitable courage, a determination to preserve itself as a skilled craft union and secure fair wages and conditions for its members. From its own members voting to assess themselves 5 percent of their earnings for a year \$18,250,000 was raised to support our members on strike and for other defensive purposes. Its

only other resources were the technical knowledge of a skilled craftsman that as yet no substitute for his work has been proven and an abiding faith in his union and the final triumph of right over wrong.

The objective of the employers in the printing industry was to force the union to accept written contracts which would preserve to the employer all the union-busting prerogatives of the Taft-Hartley Law by which any craft union can be destroyed.

The objective of the general counsel of the NLRB was to help the employers in every way possible to succeed in their purposes.

The objective of the International Typographical Union was to maintain peaceful, friendly relations with the employers without contracts if possible, but if there were to be contracts to insert in them every safety measure we legally could to protect the life of the union and preserve the gains of a hundred years of union effort.

This basic fight has been going on all over the nation in large and small unions. The ITU was able to convince the newspaper employers in New York (the largest group) and elsewhere of the fairness of its objective and contracts (complying with Taft-Hartley in every detail) were made. After strikes in the job printing field in Chicago, New York and Philadelphia the employers in that section of the industry were convinced. Still the Chicago newspapers refused to settle on that basis and the strike continued. They could have settled on the basis of the New York newspaper contract in June, 1948, but refused.

While the ITU was winning this fight all over the nation and while thousands of employers were cooperating in friendly relations without publicity or fanfare, much huffing and puffing was done about Chicago.

The Chicago newspaper strike was voted by its members to secure a fair wage scale. The employers refused such a scale unless and until the union would accept a contract without the legally limited but necessary protective clauses.

On September 18, 1949, Chicago Typographical Union voted to accept a contract in accord with its laws and the Taft-Hartley Act and the injunction issued against us thereunder.

The Chicago newspaper settlement was not only a victory for the local union but it was a basic victory of the standard newspaper processes over substitute methods used without benefit of printers. It was a basic victory for the ITU in securing the standard commitments by employers to union laws heretofore accepted all over the country during the entire history of the ITU. It was a basic victory in that no one group of employers no matter how powerful can take unfair advantage of our union and win. It was a basic victory in that even under Taft-Hartley and the injunction our members fought 22 months for such commitments as the employer could grant so as to permit our craft union to live. It was the longest and most expensive strike ever conducted by any local of the ITU.

It does protect union jurisdiction and provides the full journeyman scale for teletype operators.

It does provide for employment of journeymen and apprentices only, and it provides for a method of determining competency of journeymen and apprentices.

It does provide for operation of ITU laws. It provides for union foremen and it provides for reproduction of all local ads.

It provides for a joint apprentice committee and proper priority within the limits of Taft-Hartley Law and the injunction.

Such protection against struck work as legally seems possible is included. Also rights outlawed by Taft-Hartley will be automatically restored when the law is repealed.

The above are the points unions have constantly been advised to cover adequately and the ITU has insisted that no contract will be approved without them.

The acceptance by Chicago Typographical Union No. 16 of a scale less than fair is a sacrifice of that union to the interests of peace and to secure such protection as is needed to live under Taft-Hartley. The \$10 increase brings the scale to \$95.50 days, \$101 nights for 36¼ hours and \$101 for lobster shift of 30 hours.

Such language as was finally agreed upon in Chicago covers local conditions not existing elsewhere. It bears this limited approval:

"The proposal of the Chicago Newspaper Publishers Association for a contract as transmitted above meets the requirements of the Taft-Hartley Act and the injunction issued against the ITU thereunder. The proposed contract meets the requirements of ITU laws as limited by the Taft-Hartley Act and the injunction and is approved to the extent of such limitations."

The victory in Chicago and many other cities does not remove the menace of the Taft-Hartley Law. The Taft-Hartley Law destroys the foundations upon which craft unions were built. It destroys the closed shop principle. It destroys the right of free union men to refuse to work with non-union men, scabs and strikebreakers. It destroys the right of free union men to refuse to handle or use or process the work of competing non-union men, scabs and strikebreakers.

It allows an employer to parcel out the work of any trade, craft, or class of workers to any other trade, craft, or class of workers and prohibits strikes against such destructive action.

It returns the labor injunction to industrial relations in a more vicious manner than ever before.

Neither the ITU nor any other union will be secure until the Taft-Hartley Law is repealed.

What did the employers win in this long battle? With the help of Senator Taft and

General Counsel Denham they won an injunction compelling the union to bargain for a contract under the scrutiny of Mr. Denham and Judge Swyzert to see to it that every clause asked for did not violate the particular interpretation these two officials placed on the Taft-Hartley Law. They won an injunction which prohibits the union from asking for a 60-day cancellation clause in contracts. They won the distinction of having created an extended super-Taft-Hartley Law by using the most hated of all weapons against labor—the injunction. They won a citation for civil contempt of court against ITU officials because they advised local unions as to the kind of clauses they could ask for under the law and the injunction. It was contempt of court because that advice did not provide for an odd, impartial person to break a possible tie vote on committees set up under contracts to determine competency of alleged journeymen who might ask for work or committees to judge competency of apprentices.

The employers won decisions by trial examiners setting up some of the most drastic and far-fetched interpretations of the Taft-Hartley Law which includes the idea that labor union officials enforcing the laws of the union on the members of the union are coercing the members of the union.

The employers won the distinction of having started in motion more bureaucracy and regulation than ever was dreamed up before. The Taft-Hartley Law also has in it the drastic regulation of all employers. All that is needed to get it is a different set of administrators of the law.

The employers won the distinction of losing in a planned effort to destroy the effectiveness of the oldest and most democratic craft union on the continent.

Let none assume that our victory is other than temporary until the Taft-Hartley Law is repealed and free collective bargaining restored. Because of the experience we have gone through and the suffering we have endured we learned more the hard way about the Taft-Hartley Law than any other union. With all the earnestness and sincerity possible we urge you to devote every possible effort and resource at your command to secure the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law not only in name but in fact and in principle, and all similar laws in the states.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Are there further remarks? If there are no further remarks, all who favor the motion to adopt the committee's report will please say "aye." Those opposed, "no."

The motion is carried, and it is so ordered.

The report of the committee was continued, as follows:

F. E. P. C.

Resolution No. 32—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Frank Boyd, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

(Page 46—First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved the adoption of the committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

JAMES WOODRUFF DAM

Resolution No. 34—By Delegates Paul Dullzell, George Heller, Reuben Guskin, Dewey Barto, Pat Somerset, Associated Actors and Artistes of America.

(Page 47—First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

U. S. COAST GUARD

Resolution No. 35—By Delegates Harry Lundeberg, Paul Hall, Morris Weisberger, James Waugh, Patrick McHugh, Seafarers' International Union of North America.

(Page 47—First Day's Proceedings)

AND

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

(Page 353—Fourth Day's Proceedings)

The sponsors of Resolution No. 35 have requested that it be withdrawn, in the light of the Executive Council Supplemental Report, and the Committee recommends that the request be granted.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY SODERSTROM: The committee further recommends the adoption of the Executive Council's Supplemental Report as printed in the Fourth Day's Proceedings.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

DEPARTMENT OF WELFARE

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

(Page 64—First Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for inquiry and appropriate action.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

RESTORATION OF MINNEAPOLIS WAGE AND HOUR REGIONAL OFFICE

Resolution No. 80—By Delegate Robert A. Olson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

(Page 64—First Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the officers of the A. F. of L. for such action as may be warranted.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

BUREAU OF LABOR STANDARDS

Resolution No. 81—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

(Page 65—First Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

BUREAU OF APPRENTICESHIP

Resolution No. 82—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

(Page 65, First Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee recommends that the resolution be adopted.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

LABOR-MANAGEMENT APPRENTICESHIP COMMITTEE

Resolution No. 83—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

(Page 66, First Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

Resolution No. 84—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

(Page 66, First Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

APPROPRIATION FOR BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

Resolution No. 85—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

(Page 66, First Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be adopted.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Resolution No. 86—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

(Page 66, First Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

SAFETY CONFERENCES

Resolution No. 87—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

(Page 67, First Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

The Committee reported jointly on the following resolutions:

EXCISE TAX REMOVAL

Resolution No. 88—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department.

(Page 67, First Day's Proceedings)

EXCISE TAXES

Resolution No. 98—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

(Page 317, Second Day's Proceedings)

EXCISE TAX ON HANDBAGS, LUGGAGE AND LEATHER GOODS

Resolution No. 113—By Delegates Jack Wieseberg, Norman Zukowsky, Herbert Otto, Edward Friss, International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union.

(Page 341, Third Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee recommends that Resolution No. 88 be referred to the permanent Tax Committee.

Your Committee further recommends that Resolutions Nos. 98 and 113, which deal with the same subject, also be referred to the permanent Tax Committee.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

U. S. FOREIGN POLICY

Resolution No. 89—By Delegate Gordon C. Preble, Nebraska State Federation of Labor.

(Page 68, First Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the officers of the American Federation of Labor.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

COLORADO RIVER SYSTEM

Resolution No. 90—By Delegate Elmer F. Vickers, Sr., Arizona State Federation of Labor.

(Page 68, First Day's Proceedings)

The introducer of this resolution has requested that this resolution be withdrawn and the Committee recommends that the request be granted.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

U. S. COMMERCIAL FISHING INDUSTRY

Resolution No. 101—By Delegates Harry Lundeberg, Paul Hall, Morris Weisberger, James Waugh, Patrick McHugh, Seafarers' International Union.

(Page 335, Third Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION FOR FISHING INDUSTRY

Resolution No. 102—By Delegates Harry Lundeberg, Paul Hall, Morris Weisberger, James Waugh, Patrick McHugh, Seafarers' International Union of North America.

(Page 335, Third Day's Proceedings)

Your committee finds itself in full accord with the purpose and objective of this resolution and, as requested, recommends reference of same to the President of the Federation for implementation.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

APPLICATION OF WAGE-HOUR LAW TO PUERTO RICO WITHOUT EXEMPTIONS

Resolution No. 103—By Delegate Nicolas Nogueras Rivera, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen.

(Page 336, Third Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends approval.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

EXTENDING FULL BENEFITS OF SOCIAL SECURITY ACT TO PUERTO RICO

Resolution No. 104—By Delegate Nicolas Nogueras Rivera, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen.

(Page 336, Third Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends approval.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE TO STUDY CONDITIONS IN PUERTO RICO

Resolution No. 105—By Delegate Nicolas Nogueras Rivera, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen.

(Page 337, Third Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee is in sympathy with the objective of the resolution and recommends that it be referred to the Executive Council for inquiry and appropriate action.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved the adoption of the Committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE RIVERA, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen:

Mr. Chairman, members of the Executive Council, delegates of the Convention, ladies and gentlemen:

The Puerto Rican delegation appreciates the privilege of this opportunity to make the following remarks with respect to the report of the Committee on Resolutions and for the purpose of including them in the records of this great 68th Convention which is held under the best auspices in this enlightened city of St. Paul.

Pressing factors and events in the life of the people of Puerto Rico in their domestic and international relationships induced the last Convention of the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen to the unanimous approval of this resolution urging the appointment of a special committee by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, to carry on a thorough investigation of the social, economic, political and industrial conditions of the working people of Puerto Rico so that said special committee may render a report to the Executive Council for appropriate action.

1. Political Aspect:

Through the combined efforts of the American Federation of Labor, its state branch in our island, the people and the government of Puerto Rico and the democratic attitude of the government of U. S., fundamental political changes have been produced in the life of this American territory.

Through amendments made to the Organic Act, the people of Puerto Rico were granted the right to elect their governor in general elections, granting the House of Representatives of our Island the sole power to remove from office the governor through impeachment. The power of appointment and removal of the First Executive of the Island was previously vested upon and exercised by the President of the United States.

But there is a more far-reaching amendment, a fundamental addition to Section 2 of said Organic Act that distinguishes the political structure of Puerto Rico from those other territories and possessions under the American Flag and which says: "The rights, privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States shall be respected in Puerto Rico to the same extent as though Puerto Rico were a State of the Union and subject to the provisions of paragraph 1 of Section 2 of Article 4 of the Constitution of the United States." (Approved August 5, 1947).

These fundamental changes in the political life of the people of Puerto Rico should be looked upon by the American Federation of Labor as a means of stretching more and more the relations between the people of Puerto Rico and the people of continental United States through the reaffirmation by Congress of the political liberties and democratic institutions as represented by the American way of life.

But Puerto Rico, which is not a state of the Union and which cannot be mentioned as a mere possession or territory dominated and controlled by the United States is playing its roll with devotion and honesty and loyalty in fostering a better understanding between the United States and the Latin-American countries, Puerto Rico has been referred to as "the connecting link of the Americas." Puerto Rican organized labor as represented by our Federation helped to shape at Lima, Peru the Inter-American Confederation of Workers and afforded again its cooperation at Havana to the success of this inter-American democratic labor movement. And our Federation is looking forward to attending the historical meeting that will be held at London to establish the Free World Federation of Democratic Labor in the

hope to be of some service in the constructive relationships of Anglo-Saxons and the people of Latin America as a means of consolidating universal labor solidarity.

The political importance of the territory of Puerto Rico in its historical, geographical and ethnological positions should not be disregarded by the leaders of the American Federation of Labor.

2. Economic Aspects:

In the economic field Puerto Rico is one of the best outlets of American production. Puerto Rico is one of the best purchasers that continental United States has in the world market. Puerto Rico is one of the richest sugar producing areas of the world, providing the American consumer with over 1/6 of the sugar needed for all purposes by the people of the United States. Puerto Rico produces 1,200,000 tons of cane sugar but if permitted by liberalizing the Sugar Act, it could produce 1/3 more of its actual production.

But Puerto Rico is being looked upon also by some industrialists from the North as a refuge to escape Federal Taxes and also the paying of decent wages and the establishment of fair labor conditions through collective agreements. Employers are seeking the advantage of 12 years tax exemption afforded by the government of Puerto Rico as a means of developing an industrialization program. We the people of the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Labor not only are in favor of a wide program of industrialization in our Island, because we so badly need it, but have contributed effectively to the success of those industries under the auspices of the instrumentalities of the government, the employees of which are affiliated with our Federation. But we are against unfair labor competition between the working people of Puerto Rico and labor in continental United States. We cannot see with satisfaction that an employer closes his plant here in the North laying off hundreds of employees, to start a so-called new business in Puerto Rico for the exploitation of human beings and for his personal enrichment and the enrichment of the share holders.

We hope that the American Federation of Labor will give the intelligent attention of its leaders to keep going a sound industrialization program in Puerto Rico and afford adequate protection to the interests of labor both in Puerto Rico and the United States.

3. Legislative Aspect:

The application of federal laws to Puerto Rico affecting labor and labor-management relationships merit special attention of the leaders of the American Federation of Labor.

The Wage and Hour Law applies to Puerto Rico but there is a loophole which permits the recommendation and the establishment of wages lower than the minimum established by law, through the so-called Industrial Committees. This amendment made to the Wage and Hour Law in 1940 has been kept in the new law approved by Congress. This discrimination established in the law affords the opportunity for unfair labor competition that is creating unrest among some of the leaders of the Inter-

national and National unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. and among the leaders of our Federation.

Pressure is being made to eliminate from Puerto Rico, the National Labor Relations Board and even the argument that labor opposes the Taft-Hartley Law has been used to back said movement. We are against the Taft-Hartley Law as decent members of the American Federation of Labor, but federal legislation in connection with labor-management relationships should and must apply to Puerto Rico on the same terms as it applies to any state of the Union. The question of interlapping of jurisdictions of local boards under local statutes and of federal boards is something that may interest more politicians rather than bona fide labor leaders.

4. Social Aspects:

The American Federation of Labor is assuming the historical responsibility of promoting the general welfare of the working people of America and the world in general through its sound, honest and constructive intervention in the international activities of the democratic world. It is the moral obligation of the American Federation of Labor to see to it that the toiling masses living under the American Flag be promoted to such standards of living as to be compatible with the American way of life.

Social conditions have been advanced and promoted by our efforts, the efforts of the American Federation of Labor, and the invaluable cooperation of the government of the U. S. But Puerto Rico really needs the helping hand of the American Federation of Labor for the solution of the most fundamental social problems. It is true that under the American regime we have established a free school system and promoted educational facilities for nearly 300,000 children, but we have over 400,000 children of school age without the blessings of educational facilities. We appreciate deeply and profoundly the action taken by the convention of the A. F. of L. urging the just extension to Puerto Rico of the federal aid in education program that may be approved by the U. S. Congress. We need the cooperation of the A. F. of L. so as to get more economic help from the U. S. administration to be devoted to Vocational Education and Adult Education.

With the cooperation of the U. S. government we are facing our housing problem and expanding our sanitation program. But the American Federation of Labor should continue assisting us in the fight for promoting the welfare of the people of Puerto Rico, especially the toiling masses.

5. Organizational Aspects:

In the organized labor field we are doing our best. We are doing voluntary work in behalf of the American Federation of Labor and American democratic institutions and ideals. In this task we are depending upon our very limited economic resources. In this humanitarian and social endeavor we are receiving the moral assistance of the Amer-

ican Federation of Labor. But we are fortunate and privileged to say that although the economic resources of our Federation have been so limited we have kept our institution since its inception in the institutional life of Puerto Rico, 50 years ago, the outstanding labor organization maintaining the prestige and dignity of the American Federation of Labor. And we should say that although almost economically helpless we have successfully prevented the penetration of Communism in our organized labor movement. Communism has no expression in the institutional life of Puerto Rico, notwithstanding the peculiarities of our economy in which 2,200,000 American citizens in a territory of 3,600 square miles should find a living.

There are great potentialities in the organized labor field. These potentialities should be located and studied, developed and fostered in behalf of the American Federation of Labor. But the task is beyond our possibilities and control.

Conclusions:

Due to all these facts, and in behalf of the ideals and principles and expansion of the American Federation of Labor and a better and conscientious approach of our problems we are urging the appointment of a special committee to carry on a thorough investigation of the social, economic, political and industrial conditions of the working people of Puerto Rico. Congressional committees have conducted investigations in the Island. Investigations in different fields of our social life have been carried on by some federal institutions. But what we are urging now is an investigation to be done by the American Federation of Labor in the American Territory of Puerto Rico and in behalf of the working people of the island which is one of the national frontiers and a stronghold of the American Federation of Labor and where the battle for Democracy has not been fought in vain.

Berta C. Nogueras
 Delegate Federal Labor Union
 No. 17983, San Juan, P. R.
 Nicolas Nogueras Rivera
 Delegate Puerto Rico Free
 Federation of Workingmen.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried unanimously.

SUGAR ACT OF 1948

Resolution No. 106—By Delegate Nicolas Nogueras Rivera, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen.

(Resolution No. 106, Page 337, Third Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee recommends that lines three, four, five and the first three words of line six, be stricken out in paragraph 1 in the resolve. Thus amended the resolve will read as follows:

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in the City of St. Paul, Minnesota:

1. That in view of the prevailing economic conditions of the Island of Puerto Rico it vigorously and earnestly urges from the U. S. Department of Agriculture and from the Marshall Plan Organization that steps be taken so that the American territory of Puerto Rico could find the way to sell its surplus production of sugar through the channels of said Marshall Plan Organization or through those that could be appropriately fixed by the U. S. Department of Agriculture.
2. That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be instructed to order a thorough study of the Sugar Act of 1948 in order to recommend to the U. S. Congress the corresponding amendment to said Act to protect not only the domestic area of Puerto Rico but thousands and thousands of workers employed in the sugar industry in the United States.

Your Committee further recommends that this resolution be adopted as amended.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved adoption of the Committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried.

MINIMUM WAGE

Resolution No. 108—By Delegates Jack Wieselberg, Norman Zukowsky, Herbert Otto, Edward Friss, International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union.

(Page 339, Third Day's Proceedings)

The sponsors of this resolution have requested that it be withdrawn. The committee recommends this request be granted.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY SODERSTROM: Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee's recommendation be adopted.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Are there any objections to the request that the resolution be withdrawn? Hearing none, it is so ordered.

TAFT-HARTLEY

Resolution No. 109—By Delegates Jack Wieselberg, Norman Zukowsky, Herbert Otto, Edward Friss, International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union.

(Page 339, Third Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends approval of this resolution.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved adoption of the committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and carried.

CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRAM

Resolution No. 111—By Delegates Jack Wiesenberg, Norman Zukowsky, Herbert Otto, Edward Friss, International Handbag, Lug-gage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union.

(Page 340, Third Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee moves approval of this resolution.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved adoption of the committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and carried.

ISRAEL

(Page 341—Third Day's Proceedings)

Resolution No. 114—By Delegates David Budinsky, Luigi Antonini, Israel Feinberg, Charles S. Zimmerman, Isidore Nagler, Louis Stulberg, David Gingold, George Rubin, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union; Morris Bialis, Federation of Labor, Chicago, Illinois; Max Wexler, Vermont State Federation of Labor; Frank X. Martel, Federation of Labor, Detroit and Wayne County, Mich.; James L. McDevitt, Pennsylvania Federation of Labor; Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor; Hugo Ernst, Ed. S. Miller, Emanuel Kowaleski, Louis Koenig, Dave Siegel, Larry Sarricks, George Holbert, Anna Rimington, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Bartenders' International Union, Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor.

In recommending approval of this resolution your committee directs attention that this is the first convention of the American Federation of Labor at which it is possible to report that the great historic dream of an oppressed people has, at long last, been fulfilled. The State of Israel, which came into being on May 14, 1948, has been admitted into the United Nations as a full-fledged member.

We, of the American Federation of Labor, are happy that the family of nations has been enriched by the addition of this 59th member—a small but unusually significant state. We are particularly pleased inasmuch as the American Federation of Labor has labored so diligently, and so many years, on behalf of this just cause. Ever since the idea of a rebirth of the Jewish nation on its own ancestral soil came to the fore of world events, ever since the days of the Balfour Declaration of 1917, we, of the American Federation of Labor, have never withheld our aid and encouragement to the dispersed and persecuted Jewish people whose suffering and homelessness could be compensated for only through the creation of an independent state.

For a third of a century, the representatives of organized labor in America have spoken strongly on behalf of the Jewish homeland. We have admired the courage and idealism of the first pioneers who began to reclaim the neglected soil of the Holy Land, who were the first, after many centuries of abuse and misuse, to pour out their love and

their sweat to make the land of Israel flourish again. The obstacles during these three decades, and more, were indeed overwhelming. The Jewish pioneers, drawing strength from their great heritage dating back to the ancient Hebrew prophets, have been able to perform veritable miracles.

The struggle of the Jewish people has been crowned with victory. The righteous and moral forces of the world have united to grant a seat to Israel at the table of the nations. In the sixteen months since Israel was proclaimed by its Labor Prime Minister, David Ben Gurion, the voice of that young democracy has been heard clearly in many international councils on many subjects of world import. It can be truthfully stated that the world has gained considerably from this supreme act of justice.

Israel is still beset with many problems. The war for survival has come to a pause. Armistice terms have been signed. Invading armies have been repelled. The light of democracy has not been extinguished. Imagine, if you will, a nation while still in a state of war bringing in a vast stream of immigrants for whom that war was being fought and still adhering to basic democracy by holding a national election for its first President and Parliament. This is the record of Israel in its first year of life.

The American people can be proud of its contributions to the world's youngest democracy and Israel looks to America full of gratitude for the aid that has come from this distance. The American loan of \$100,000,000.00, which will be spent in purchasing American equipment, is a great and noble gesture. The voluntary contributions which so many of the unions of the American Federation of Labor have made in the past years, helped considerably in fostering the powerful trade union movement that has placed its indelible stamp on the features of Israel.

We greet the State of Israel upon its arrival among the family of nations.

We are proud of the fact that Histadrut has played in these historic achievements and Histadrut is grateful to our affiliates who have so generously and unflinchingly contributed to its support and who will continue to do so as events and circumstances will indicate. We are confident too that Histadrut—following the example of Israel in entering the family of nations will too enter the house of the International Federation of Free Trade Unions when that new structure of free labor of the world will unfold its banner before the end of the year.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved adoption of the committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE FEINBERG, Ladies' Garment Workers: President Green and fellow delegates, I rise in support of this splendid report that has been brought to this historic convention by the Committee on Resolutions. I do so because I thought it would be interesting for you delegates and members of the Execu-

tive Council and President Green, in view of the fact that I have had the privilege only a few months ago to be selected as one of a delegation sent by the Jewish Labor Committee, whom you have supported and are supporting, on a mission to Europe to survey the work that has been done by the Jewish Labor Committee in Europe and also in the State of Israel.

It was my privilege to meet the various heads of governments in the countries that we visited, and particularly in the State of Israel. Permit me, Mr. President, to digress for a moment in so far as the report of the committee is concerned, and give you a bird's eye view of my impressions insofar as Europe is concerned.

I have listened very attentively to the very constructive and intelligent report delivered to this convention by the representatives of the American Federation of Labor who are roving ambassadors, ambassadors of good will of labor towards labor in the old world, and the work that has been done and is being done by the American people insofar as the Marshall Plan is concerned.

I had been in Europe several years ago on a mission that I had the privilege of being sent on by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, together with Vice-President Doherty, and I am very happy to state that the act of the Government of the United States and the United States as a whole, its people, in the adoption of the Marshall Plan, has practically checked the growth of the poisonous philosophy known as Communism. Nevertheless, it was my opinion, while visiting the various countries such as Italy, France, and Belgium, that a great deal more could be accomplished, and I am sure it will be accomplished if our government will realize that in order to accomplish more than has been accomplished we should have more labor representatives in the old world than we have today.

May I be permitted, Mr. President, to say that some of the various governmental agencies in Europe in many instances are only used as window dressing. They do not possess any power or carry any authority, nor are they able to be really helpful in so far as the solution of problems which confronts Europe today.

You must bear in mind, delegates to this great convention, that in the Old World there is a constant barrage of propaganda, of lies carried on by the Kremlin particularly to make the people of Europe feel that that great humanitarian plan known as the Marshall Plan, adopted by the American people for the recovery of the Old World, is only a means whereby they want to practically dominate the Old World. And I am sorry to say that there are still many people in the various countries of Europe that I visited that have not yet had a chance or have not been given a chance to explain the great work, the great deeds that have been done by the American people for the purpose of recovery insofar as the Old World is concerned and for the purpose of creating the

possibility for democratic forms of government.

I think we have reached a stage in our international affairs that it would be for the prestige of our nation and for the prestige of our government if the President of the United States and the State Department would start calling into ambassadorial services of Europe men of labor in the United States, men of vision. In the Old World, let it be clear that the old order is disappearing and a new order is in the birth, and these people are making a desperate effort to create that new order on the fundamentals and principles of democracy. It is my belief and my opinion that labor speaking to labor and progressive forces of Europe could very greatly influence the course that should be pursued in order to establish democratic forms of government and the value of the human being.

I hope that our labor movement and our government will realize the importance of getting into the government service men of labor who understand the language of the people of labor in the Old World. We have many representatives of the Government of the United States, intelligent and able people, but I am sorry to say that many of them do not understand the mental and the historic backgrounds of the Old World. It is very important that representatives of our government should be men of vision, men of intelligence, men who are dreaming of a better day, men who will be able to make themselves understood by those masses who are pleading for the birth of a new world based on liberty, freedom and fraternity.

Now, Mr. Chairman, in connection with the report submitted to this great convention in behalf of the State of Israel, I had the opportunity of visiting the State of Israel and spending about three weeks there. The country is not a very large one geographically. It was possible for me to visit practically every important spot in that newly-created democratic republic, and I can tell you in all sincerity that I was enthused, not only because of the fact that the Jewish homeland has been established—and I am not saying that in any apologetic manner, because I think the Jewish people are as much entitled to have their homeland as any other people in the world—but in these grave days when democracy is in danger in every part of the world where democratic forms of human relationship can be established, they are strengthening the democratic peoples of the world in their fight against all forms of totalitarian government, whether it be Stalin Communism or Franco Fascism or any other totalitarian form of government, no matter under what colors it sails.

I was pleasantly surprised and felt very proud of the fact that the American Federation of Labor, of which I have the honor and privilege to be a member, has been one of the champions that championed the cause of these oppressed peoples for the creation of an independent state of their own, and I was very anxious to find whether the work that has been done, the efforts that have been put forth by the Federation and

the Chief Executive of this Federation, the great President of the American Federation of Labor, William Green, who has devoted himself untiringly and unselfishly to helping to create that state—I was extremely anxious to find out what is going on in that state, what are the possibilities of that state, and I am sure you will be proud and glad to know that the newly-created Republic of Israel is democratic in its very fundamentals and a really genuine democratic form of government.

I had the pleasure and the privilege of being in the Parliament of Israel, and you could have seen there what you might see in the Congress of the United States, where there was a free discussion of problems as they arise, without any fear of the N.K.V.D. descending upon you and your being liquidated tomorrow and sent thousands of miles away.

I had the pleasure of speaking to leaders of the labor movement of Palestine, or the State of Israel, and I bring to you their fraternal greetings and their everlasting gratitude for the work that has been done through the years in order to be helpful in the creation of that independent state.

Yes, they have a lot of problems, many of them. Don't forget, while they have been recognized by the United Nations they still have to fight a war—a war that they were not seeking, a war that they were anxious to avoid. And may I be permitted to offer some criticism to one of the greatest democracies of the European continent as having been rather not too friendly in the struggles that this new State of Israel had to go through.

I think I have a right to say it because I consider myself an admirer of the British Labor Party. It was in England where I first received the lessons of liberty and trade unionism. I am sorry that such was the case.

However, lately the relations between the State of Israel and the great government of Great Britain are improving. I understand that certain understandings have already been made, and it is my firm conviction that the labor governments of Great Britain and the State of Israel will, in the near future, be able to see eye to eye in so far as the problems of the countries and of the world are concerned.

In conclusion, let me say this to you, Mr. President: we have been discussing here the problems of Europe, of Asia, and the Far East. Let me advise you that we will also have to discuss the problems of the Middle East. It is my firm conviction that a good many of the democratic governments are backing the wrong horse in so far as the Middle East is concerned. The Middle East will not be made safe for democracy or the friends of democracy by supporting the Muftis or the big land owners. To get the Middle East as an ally of the democracies something will have to be done for the great mass of the people who are living under very, very poor conditions, economically and socially. In order to make it impossible for this fertile ground to be invaded by that poisonous philosophy known as Communism or Fascism, the demo-

cratic countries, in my opinion, will find in the newly born state of Israel a real, genuine friend, in so far as helping to bring about the reforms that are required in order to bring improvement in the conditions of the great masses of the Arabian people. To that extent I say that we of the democratic nations ought to do everything we possibly can in order to help firmly establish the newly born state of Israel, for in my honest and humble opinion the State of Israel can be made a stop gap for the invasion of that pest called a philosophy, but in reality it is a menace to the development of the world and to the democratic peoples of the world over.

In conclusion I hope that the labor movement of America and the members of the American Federation of Labor, particularly President Green and the Executive Council, will try in the future as they have done in the past, as you said in your committee report, to do everything we can in order to see to it that the State of Israel is not placed again in any precarious condition as it was and is today, to a certain extent. I hope that in the very near future the State of Israel, with the help of the United States and other democratic countries, will really establish a lasting peace in the various countries and nations comprising the Middle East, and when that is done I am confident that this will be another area, a large area added to the forces of democracy for the prevention of tyranny.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

FIRE FIGHTERS LOCAL UNION IN CANAL ZONE

Resolution No. 115—By Delegates John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, International Association of Fire Fighters.

(Page 342, Third Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends approval of this resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

PARTITION OF IRELAND

Resolution No. 116—By Delegate Kenneth J. Kelley, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

(Page 342, Third Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE KELLEY, Massachusetts State Federation: Mr. President and delegates to this convention: I have sat here during the past seven or eight days and listened with keen interest to the various resolutions and pronouncements of the Executive Council re-

garding the government, self government, and the problems of various nations throughout the world. I am happy to note that the American Federation of Labor is thereby indicating its broad policy of interest in international affairs. I think it is an indication of an increasingly important role that the American Federation of Labor and the labor movement in this country plays in making its voice known on the various problems confronting governments throughout the world.

I was particularly interested in the previous resolution dealing with the State of Israel. I congratulate the delegate who discussed that resolution on the great progress that has been made in bringing about a degree of democracy and self-government within that state.

I have sat here during the past few days and listened to pronouncements about the menace of Communism be it at home or be it throughout the various nations of the world, and I think all of that is very appropriate to this particular resolution dealing with the partition of Ireland.

I know the hour is late and I won't bore you and the delegates, who have been very patient throughout this long day's session, with very much in the way of amplification of this particular resolution. I know the American Federation of Labor has traditionally stood in the forefront of those speaking in the interests of self-government and self-determination, and that is precisely what this Resolution 116, dealing with the question of partition in the State of Ireland, consists of.

Some of the delegates may not be aware of the meaning or significance of partition. Partition is a diabolical dismemberment of the six northern counties of Ireland from the twenty-six southern counties of Ireland. It is a problem that has confronted both the governments of Great Britain and Ireland for many years. I know its solution is one in which the American Federation of Labor must play a rightful role and raise its voice, to the end that this abominable creation of a distorted mind may once and for all be eliminated in this particular land that means so much to me personally, as well as to those many other delegates who can proudly point to some degree of Irish blood in their veins.

I won't bore you with a discussion of the contribution that Ireland has made in the struggle for freedom in this country or any of the other nations of the world. I want to point out that evidence and proof positive indicates that Ireland is perhaps one of the few nations of the world that has not one scintilla of Communism or any threat of it. That I think is completely compatible with policies of the American Federation of Labor, wherein you seek to stamp out the cancerous growth and evil of Communism. You don't have to worry about Ireland. It has never been a problem; it never will.

I could say much more, Mr. President and delegates, but I feel I would be transgressing on your patience. I would like to close with a quotation from a speech delivered by Senator Murray of Montana some few weeks ago in the United States Senate on this very question, and I quote: "So, Mr. President, if we are to aid in bringing justice and peace

to a sorely troubled world why should we not seek to bring about a solution of the problem of partition in Ireland, the existence of which, as I have said, is a constant reproach to the ideals we in our lives espouse, and is also a source of possible weakness in the common defense program which this bill,"—referring to the North Atlantic Pact—"seeks to make impregnable."

I say, Mr. Chairman, those sentiments of Senator Murray could very well be reiterated by the delegates to this convention.

I am happy as a delegate from one of the State Federations of Labor, which are traditionally looked upon as I understand it, as one-lungers in this convention, that this particular resolution has received the unanimous support of the Committee on Resolutions, and I do hope the convention will concur in the Committee's recommendation.

Thank you.

The motion to adopt the Committee's report was carried.

PROPOSED TAXATION ON LABOR-SAVING MACHINERY

Resolution No. 117—By Delegates Mario Azpeitia, A. P. Bower, S. F. Lopez, Cigar Makers' International Union of America.

(Page 343, Third Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the permanent Tax Committee.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WORKERS BECAUSE OF AGE

Resolution No. 118—By Delegate Kenneth J. Kelley, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

(Page 343, Third Day's Proceedings)

Your committee is in sympathy with the objectives of the resolution and recommends that it be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and appropriate action.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried.

OPPOSING H. R. 3067 AND H. R. 4898

Resolution No. 119—By Delegate Vincent J. Murphy, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

(Page 343, Third Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends that this resolution be adopted.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

DAILY LABOR PAPER

Resolution No. 121—By Delegate Vincent J. Murphy, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

(Page 344, Third Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for study and appropriate action.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved adoption of the committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and carried.

PROHIBITION

Resolution No. 123—By Delegate Vincent J. Murphy, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

(Page 344, Third Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends approval.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried.

OBSERVE STATE AND NATIONAL ELECTION DAY AS HOLIDAY

Resolution No. 127—By Delegate Phil Hannah, Ohio State Federation of Labor.

(Page 375—Fourth Day's Proceedings)

The 1947 Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in the City of San Francisco adopted the following comment with respect to an Election Day holiday:

"Your committee is in accord with the policy which would assure every wage earner an ample opportunity to vote on election day. We are also in hearty approval with the policy of mobilizing labor's strength so that it can be made most effective on election day.

"In connection with election day, your committee recognizes the fact that the primaries are of equal importance to election day, for it is then that the candidates for public office are chosen. In many Southern States the selection of candidates in the primaries assures their election.

"To secure legislation making either primaries or election day, or both, legal

holidays presents difficulties which may not be immediately overcome. Your committee recommends that the American Federation of Labor and State Federations of Labor apply all practical means possible to establish election day as a legal holiday, and in states where the primaries are the determining factor that primary day be made a legal holiday.

"In the meantime your committee suggests that as a first step it is advisable that affiliated organizations and their local unions in negotiating agreements with employers, include provisions which would assure the workers a holiday or an adequate opportunity to perform their essential obligations as citizens, and to demonstrate the effective part they can and which they should play in the election of public officials."

Your committee recommends that the action taken by the San Francisco Convention in 1947 be re-affirmed.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved adoption of the committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and carried.

OBSERVANCE OF FLAG DAY

Resolution No. 128—By Delegates James G. Yaden, Berniece E. Heffner, A. E. Eisenmenger, American Federation of Government Employees; Lee B. Kistler, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers' Union of N. A.; R. A. Rice, J. L. Reilly, Jerald McDermott, Railway Mail Association; John B. Haggerty, Robert E. Hafkin, Mary G. Morley, Joseph Denny, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; William C. Doherty, Jerome J. Keating, John J. Nolan, Charles S. Fleming, James Stocker, Edward Benning, National Association of Letter Carriers; Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, L. G. Nygren, Office Employees International Union; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, James Deach, Glen Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters; William L. McFetridge, William H. Cooper, David Sullivan, George Hardy, George W. Matthews, Building Service Employees' International Union; J. H. Lyons, Joseph F. Boyen, C. F. Strickland, E. M. Woods, Leslie L. Myers, Stanley Rounds, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; Martin P. Durkin, Edward J. Hillock, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Peter T. Schoenmann, Robert Lynch, G. J. O'Donnell, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry; Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Bernard M. Egan, Horace L. Imeson, Lewis M. Herrmann, J. Arthur Moriarty, International Typographical Union; Edward J. Volk, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo-Engravers' Union of N. A.; Leo E. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Charles Ryan, Foree Kurtz, Alvin Tschirley, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Stanley W. Oliver, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions;

William E. Maloney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph J. Delaney, Charles B. Gramling, International Union of Operating Engineers; John A. McMahon, Enoch Nelson, John D. Ryan, National Association of Postal Supervisors; W. L. Allen, The Commercial Telegraphers Union; Delegates, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; Delegate, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers; Delegates, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Delegates, American Federation of Teachers.

(Page 376, Fourth Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends that this resolution be adopted.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved adoption of the committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and carried.

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

Resolution No. 129—By Delegates Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, Joseph Jacobs, Francis Schaufenbil, Burt Hyman, United Textile Workers of America.

(Page 376, Fourth Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends adoption of this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

DISPLACED PERSONS

Resolution No. 130—By Delegates Jack Wiesenberg, Norman Zukowsky, Herbert Otto, Edward Friss, International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers Union.

WHEREAS, The 67th convention of the American Federation of Labor went on record in favor of amendment and revision of the Displaced Persons Act in order to eliminate its illiberal and discriminatory features, and

WHEREAS, Such revisions and amendments are embodied in the McGrath-Neely Bill and the Cellar Bill, and

WHEREAS, The House of Representatives has passed the Cellar Bill but the Senate has denied the right to vote on the McGrath-Neely Bill through failure of the Sub-Committee an Immigration to report this bill out of committee, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor assembled in its 68th convention go on record in favor of the Cellar and McGrath-Neely Bill and urge the United States Senate to discharge the Sub-Committee on Immigration from consideration of the McGrath-Neely Bill so that effective positive action may be taken on this matter at this session of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

(Page 377, Fourth Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends that this resolution be adopted.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved adoption of the committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

CHILD LABOR

Resolution No. 131—By Delegates Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo Engravers Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The health, education and well-being of children are matters of vital concern to a democracy, and

WHEREAS, There are approximately two million boys and girls, 14 through 17, employed full time and part time in the factories, large scale industrialized farms, stores, and service industries of the nation, many of them working under conditions which detrimentally affect their health, education, and welfare, and

WHEREAS, Child labor constitutes unfair cheap competition and is a constant threat to the wage standards of organized labor, and

WHEREAS, The employment of children under harmful conditions still continues to exist to an alarming degree, particularly in large-scale agriculture, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor condemns the existence of child labor; commends the work of the National Child Labor Committee in its efforts to eliminate harmful employment and provide greater educational opportunities for young people, and demands that adequate funds be appropriated by the state and federal governments for the vigilant enforcement of child labor laws.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

(Page 131, Fourth Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends in the fourth line of the second WHEREAS be struck out and the words "large industrialized farms" be substituted in its place.

Your committee further recommends that the resolution be adopted as amended.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved adoption of the committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

ITALIAN-AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL

Resolution No. 132—By Delegate Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor.

(Page 428, Fourth Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends that the resolution be adopted.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved adoption of the committee's recommendation.

The motion was seconded and carried.

FREE TRADE UNIONISM IN ITALY

Resolution No. 133—By Delegate Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor.

(Page 428, Fourth Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends that the resolution be adopted.

The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE ANTONINI, Ladies Garment Workers: President Green, officers and delegates: I rise to voice the sentiments of the New York State Federation of Labor that introduced this resolution. I know that the action of this convention will bring moral support to the cause of free trade unions in Italy. I know something about it. I could speak here on the floor of the convention for hours, but I will limit it only to a few minutes.

In endeavoring to preserve this world by an enduring peace, all the leaders of the nations are working together, but I am telling you that the Marshall Plan is all right. I am telling you that the Atlantic Pact is all right. I am telling you that the atomic bomb is also all right, in order to preserve peace, but the peace has to be fought in the factory, in the shop, until the workers of all nations, Italy, France, Germany, and the other places of the world will be no longer under the domination of Communists.

The fight for liberty, the fight for democracy will be a fight in the factory. I commend the American Federation of Labor that started this work. I commend the American Federation of Labor in trying to get the workers from under the domination of the Communist Party in all parts of the world. It was the action of this convention which will have great results in the other parts of the world, and especially in Italy.

Thank you.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY SODERSTROM: The Committee now desires to submit its action on the Upholsterers and Carpenters controversy. You will find a supplemental report of the Executive Council on Page 404, Fifth Day's Proceedings.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Carpenters - Upholsterers

Your Committee recommends that the supplemental report of the Executive Council dealing with the Upholsterers-Carpenters controversy be referred to the Executive Council.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved the adoption of the Committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Are there any remarks? If there are no remarks, all those who favor the adoption of the Committee's report will please say aye; those opposed will say no.

The motion is carried and it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WOLL: That completes the work of the Committee on Resolutions, with the exception of a resolution of its own, which reads as follows:

RESOLUTION OF THANKS

WHEREAS, The people of St. Paul in general and the officers and members of our American Federation of Labor Unions here have been most courteous and hospitable to the officers and delegates and as well to the visitors to this convention since our arrival in this city, and

WHEREAS, The officers and members of the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly have given of their very best efforts in order that our stay here would be both pleasant and profitable, and

WHEREAS, We have been highly honored by the presence and by the inspiring addresses of many prominent visitors and public officials, and

WHEREAS, The press including in particular the labor press have presented our proceedings and actions to the public with great fairness and accuracy, and

WHEREAS, The local convention committee has furnished to us the finest entertainment and facilities under very difficult conditions, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers and delegates to this 68th convention of the American Federation of Labor extend their sincere thanks and appreciation to all who have contributed their time and service to the success and achievements of this convention.

Committee Chairman Woll moved the adoption of the resolution.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WOLL: This report is signed by

Matthew Woll, Chairman
 R. G. Soderstrom, Secretary
 John P. Frey
 John F. English
 William E. Maloney
 William F. Schnitzler
 John B. Haggerty
 L. P. Lindelof
 Thomas H. O'Donnell
 John J. Mara
 John L. Reilly
 M. A. Hutcheson
 Arnold S. Zander
 John E. Rooney
 Joseph P. Ryan
 Richard F. Walsh
 Max Zaritsky
 Hugo Ernst
 J. H. de la Rosa
 Woodruff Randolph
 Charles S. Zimmerman
 Robert J. Tormey
 William L. McFetridge
 William J. Buckley
 Sam P. Ming

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WOLL: I move that the Committee's report as a whole and as adopted by the convention be approved.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON THE GOMPERS' CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION

Vice President Woll submitted the following report:

Pursuant to the resolution passed by the 67th Convention on the Samuel Gompers Centenary, your Committee worked out plans to bring to the attention of the American people the great contributions which the Father of the American Federation of Labor made to the advancement of Labor, our country, and humanity the world over.

In accordance with the spirit of that resolution which rightfully stated that the Gompers' Centenary "may well be a rallying center for the free world," we planned accordingly.

Locked today in a life and death struggle with a ruthless totalitarianism, we can thank the vision and resoluteness of Samuel Gompers for much of our strength. His insistence on public education, his refusal to compromise with exploitation of child labor, his espousal of the causes of tolerance and equality of opportunity for those of all races, colors and creeds, his tireless fight to raise the standard of living of the American workers—all this has made the American working people without peers in production, has given this country a productive economy which made the

United States the most prosperous and strongest democratic country in the world.

Samuel Gompers' unparalleled vision did not stop at our borders. On the international field his accomplishments were just as valuable. His initiative in reconstructing the ranks of international labor after World War I, his founding of the Pan American Federation of Labor long before the birth of the "Good Neighbor Policy," his work in the International Labor Organization—all this helping us today in our fight against Communism.

Your Committee is convinced that the overwhelming majority of the American people will join wholeheartedly with the American Federation of Labor in paying tribute to Samuel Gompers. We have in preparation a program by which we hope to make the ideals and role of Gompers a living reality in every city and hamlet, in the homes of American farmers and the factories of American workers, and we hope to make this undertaking an event of international importance.

We propose to begin the Centenary celebration on January 27th, the birthday of Samuel Gompers, with an appropriate commemorative function with the full Executive Council in attendance.

This will be followed at a later date with a dinner with speakers prominent in government, labor and industry, greetings from labor the world over and a transcontinental radio hook-up. This dinner will serve to set the pattern for similar events in every State of the Union.

All of this will be accompanied by a national publicity campaign which will utilize all the avenues of communication—radio, television, newspapers, magazines and films in telling the story of Samuel Gompers and the American Federation of Labor.

We propose to make 1950 a year in which every American—from the mere school child to the old-age pensioner—will know that Samuel Gompers fought and devoted his life to attain most of the good things that our children and aged enjoy.

We will request every International Union, every State Federation to set aside a portion of its sessions during 1950 conventions to pay tribute to Samuel Gompers. Your Committee will be prepared to furnish appropriate speakers and the program and literature for such sessions which will dramatize Gompers' contributions. Of course, our efforts in this direction will inevitably abound to the advantage of the ideals and principles of the American Federation of Labor. For as the 1948 resolution declared, "In honoring him, they will be honoring themselves." Our Centenary will mark a gigantic public relations effort on the part of the American Federation of Labor to bring our story to the American people—our story is Sam Gompers' story.

In this connection I want to call to your attention a part of the address of our distinguished guest, Secretary of Labor, Maurice Tobin. Without knowing of our proposed plans about preparing the Gompers' Centenary, he uttered these pertinent remarks: Let me repeat his words, "What I want to talk to the

American Federation of Labor about today is that the great record you have written in American history should be told to every group that makes up our economy." And Secretary Tobin then made these telling points, "Who was it back in the early days who took the children out of the coal mines and out of the cotton mills and woolen mills of New England? It was the fight made by the American Federation of Labor. Who was it that had written on the statute books of the various States the sanitary laws and the safety laws, for the protection of the American workers? It was the American Federation of Labor."

I am certain that the Delegates to this Convention as they listened to Secretary Tobin were repeating to themselves, just as I did while he spoke these stirring words, the name of our Founder and President for years—Samuel Gompers.

All this will be no mean undertaking. We bespeak the maximum cooperation of every International Union, every State Federation of Labor and every local central body. We especially bespeak the enthusiasm of our affiliates who are in a position to make a special contribution to this great cause, the great unions in the entertainment field and the AFL Hollywood Film Council. We know that we will have this cooperation and with it will make the American Federation of Labor take the place in the hearts of the American people as it deserves—a thing that Sam Gompers would cherish more than anything else.

Matthew Woll, Chairman
 Harry Bates
 David Dubinsky
 Paul Dullzell
 Richard J. Gray
 William Green
 John P. Frey
 George M. Harrison
 William L. Hutcheson
 Charles J. MacGowan
 George Meany
 I. M. Ornburn
 James C. Petrillo
 Daniel J. Tobin
 Richard F. Walsh
 Max Zaritsky

Sub-Committee:

Matthew Woll, Chairman
 President William Green
 Secretary-Treasurer George Meany
 John P. Frey, President,
 Metal Trades Department
 I. M. Ornburn, Secretary,
 Union Label Trades Department
 Richard J. Gray, President,
 Building and Construction Trades Department
 Harry C. Bates, Vice-President,
 A. F. of L.

COMMITTEE ON SAMUEL GOMPERS' CENTENARY

Vice President Woll moved the adoption of the report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

APPRECIATION TO POSTMASTER AND ASSISTANTS

SECRETARY MEANY: I would like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation and, I am sure, the appreciation of a great many of the delegates to Mr. Van Dyke, the Postmaster here in St. Paul, for establishing a post office at this convention, which is a courtesy that the Post Office Department gives to organizations of this type. I also wish to express appreciation to Supervisor Leo Heisler, a member of the Supervisory Union of the Post Office Clerks, A. F. of L. and to his assistants, Gus Cooper and Ken Gable.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair desires to thank the Committee on Resolutions for the service rendered and for the excellent report which it submitted.

CLOSING STATEMENT OF PRESIDENT GREEN

Now it seems that we have completed the work of the Sixty-Eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, I want you all to remain until we have finally adjourned sine die. We have arranged for just a short period of delightful entertainment as a closing part of this historic convention and we want you all to enjoy that.

Inasmuch as all of the committees have reported and their reports have been acted upon I officially discharge all of the convention committees, with the thanks of the convention. I deeply appreciate the fine service they rendered, the time they put in in the preparation of their reports, and the impressive manner in which they submitted those reports to the convention.

This has been a historic convention. The declarations we have made, the policies we have adopted will, I am sure, prove to be of great benefit to our American Federation of Labor and will make a deep impression upon the public.

I know I can speak for the Executive Council when I say that it is our definite purpose, our high aim and ambition to translate the actions of this convention into definite action in support of the membership of the American Federation of Labor.

Now, my friends, I am going to present to you Brother William C. Doherty, Vice President of the American Federation of Labor and President of the Letter Carriers' Association to report to you upon a little entertainment program which we will present just now.

VICE PRESIDENT DOHERTY: Mr. President, one week ago Monday you had a letter carrier assist you in opening the convention, and I think it proper and fitting that we have a group of letter carriers assist you in closing the convention. Tonight we are honored with the presence of the champions of the Postal Service, the A. F. of L. Letter Carriers' Quartet from Minneapolis. The quartet is composed of Warren Paulson, tenor; Austin Carlson, tenor; Marcel Walgren, bass; and Roger Olander, baritone.

Their first selection will be dedicated to the President of the American Federation of Labor, — "Beautiful Ohio" to you, Bill Green, by the Letter Carriers' Quartet.

(After the singing of "Beautiful Ohio" the quartet sang, "Galway Bay" as a tribute to their President, Vice President Doherty.)

PRESIDENT GREEN: I thank the singers for their visit with us and for their delight-

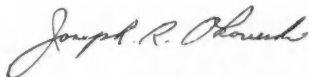
ful short entertainment they extended to us. We will remember it when we return to our homes.

You will note they wear the uniform of the letter carrier. President Doherty is the President of that splendid organization. All the members are employed by our government. They deliver the mail to your homes each day. I am happy to tell you that 98 percent of these letter carriers are members of the Letter Carriers' International Union and are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

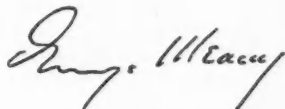
I want to announce before we adjourn that there will be a meeting of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in Room 1115, Hotel St. Paul, tomorrow at 10:00 o'clock. I ask all the members of the Council to be present.

Now it is my official duty to declare this convention adjourned. Therefore, I officially announce that the Sixty-Eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor is adjourned sine die.

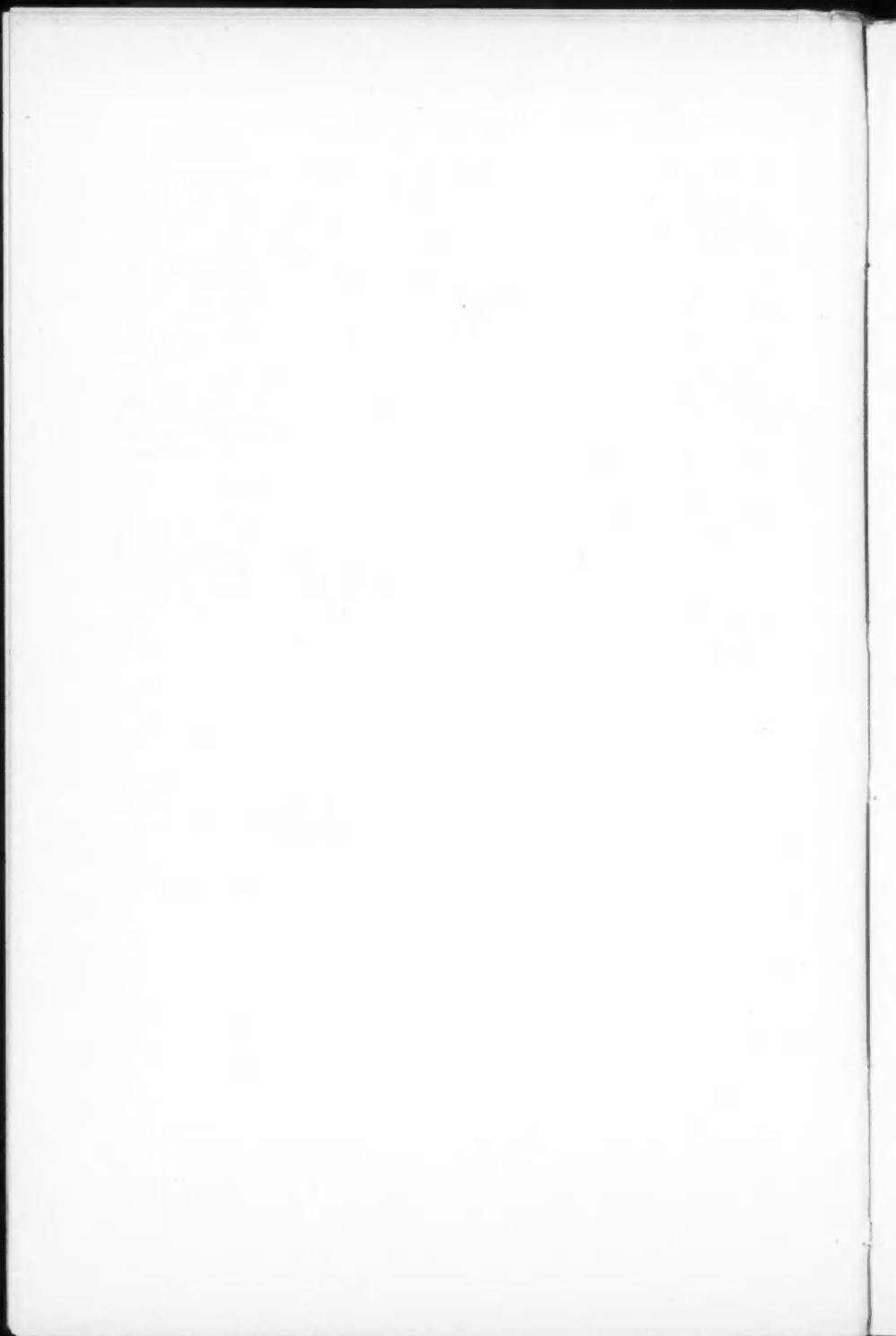
(At 10:30 o'clock, p.m., Monday, October 10, 1949, the Sixty-Eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor adjourned sine die.)



Assistant Secretary.



Secretary-Treasurer.



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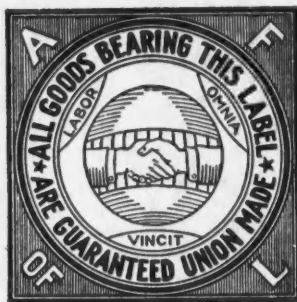
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