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#### Starvation Lavel

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become unbearable in the several localities, espenes of Anina, the workers hich, under a Communist d as the worst of crimes. I hundred union members the middle of the night, ffices of the union and they were then forced to d forbidden, under threat to divulge what had hap-

such terror, the workers to yield. However, when work in the mines, 50 of

## What Happened to Trade Unionism Behind the Iron Curtain

them were discharged, together with an express prohibition against their employment in any other jobs. Although these workers appealed to the courts, their complaints were thrown out.

Another example of workers' solidarity occurred in the gold mines of Transylvania where the workers, in spite of orders of the Communist leaders of their union and contrary to the directives of the General Confederation of Labor, held a general assembly and, by secret ballot, elected a new trade union executive from which Communists were excluded. The General Confederation of Labor immediately sent its representatives to impose new elections. When the miners categorically rejected this move, the General Confederation of Labor demanded that the police arrest a substantial number of rebellious workers. But the latter refused to be intimidated. To overcome the workers' spirit, as well as to revenge themselves for such a humiliating defeat, the Communists ordered the Mica Corporation to halt operations and dismiss its 3,000 workers. Later, the company resumed operations but only with those workers who, under threat of starvation, had signed a declaration of submission; no "rebels" were reinstated.

#### Social Democrats Terrorized

IT was around this period that the Rumanian workers began to recognize the danger represented by the destructive Communist domination of the unions. A powerful trend of opposition to the transformation of the unions into auxiliaries of a party completely controlled by Russia swept the country. The workers, must of whom were not yet regimented politically, joined the Social Democratic Party in great numbers. As a result, tension between Communists and Social Democrats reached its climax. In spite of the existence of a United Workers' Front, the Communist forces terrorized all Social Democratic workers, securing their dismissal from jobs and, very often, their arrest. The obvious intention was to counteract the sympathies which public opinion manifested toward the Social Democratic Party.

The Social Democratic members of the government were likewise terrorized and deprived of any opportunity for action. However, these officials felt that, in spite of the treachery and trickery of the Communists, the masses of Rumanian workers should confront the opposition parties with a semblance of unity, as well as to present a spectacle to that effect to foreign countries. But the Communists, increasingly worried by the unusual growth of a "brother" party which was becoming a powerful workers' party, redoubled their terror tactics in order to force the workers to leave the Social

Democratic ranks.

To that end, they employed their abundant means of pressure to eliminate all Social Democrats from factory councils and leading posts in the trade unions. General assemblies of the trade unions, convoked for this special purpose and attended by Communist "shock" troops, were forced to vote in secret session and by a show of handswithout discussion. That is how the committees proposed by the Communist cells won the elections, which the Communists then proclaimed as great successes in the newspapers they subsidized. Nevertheless, it is universally known that all their fraud and terror would not have sufficed the Rumanian Communists if they had not enjoyed the backing of the Soviet army of occupation.

#### Workers' Gains Wiped Out

WITH complete Communist domination of the Rumanian trade unions, working conditions have become much worse than in the past. Piecework has replaced hourly work everywhere, and the gains achieved by labor under former bourgeois regimes have been abolished. Under the present "Socialist" regime, for example, the time necessary to descend into the pit and return to the surface is no longer included in the miners' eight-hour working day. The miners' success in winning a portal-to-portal arrangement of their working hours, after long struggle, has disappeared.

Prior to the currency stabilization in August, 1947, the Rumanian workers had money, but a shortage of products prevailed. Today, there is a larger supply of goods on the market, but the workers do not have money. Their wages vary between 80 and 300 lei a day or 2,000 and 3,000 lei a month. White bread costs 100 lei a kilogram (2.205 pounds); a pair of men's shoes costs 4,800 lei; a meter (39.37 inches) of material for shirts costs 290 lei.

In the light of these developments, it can be seen that the Rumanian "trade unions" have definitely abandoned their natural mission—defense of the workers' interests. Instead, they have become state institutions and instruments of compulsion against the workers themselves. In the new "popular democracy" of Rumania, freedom for trade unions no longer exists. Nor are workers free to decide whether or not to join a union. They are made union members by official decision and dues are deducted from their earnings like taxes.

Organizations without democracy, bodies without life, the Rumanian 'trade unions' have become prisons behind whose walls are being crushed the impulses and endeavors of the workers toward the construction of a world of freedom and social justice.

Now in Preparation

#### "WHAT HAPPENED TO TRADE UNIONISM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN"

An Account of Trade Union Activity in Russia and Each of the Satellite Nations

Copies at 50 cents each may be ordered from the

Free Trade Union Committee, A.F. of L.

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# Hungary

By KARL PEYER

THE creation of the Hungarian trade unions was the result of the industrialization process which began during the last quarter of the 19th century. At that time, there was practically no regulation of working conditions. The working day ranged from 10 to 12 hours in the large plants. There was no insurance against sickness or accidents.

During that period, the workers founded local unions. Their activities, however, were mainly devoted to mutual benefit operations, and they had practically no influence in shaping the working conditions. In 1903, these local unions combined to form national trade unions which immediately became very active. In 1905, a huge strike was called in the metal industry, with 30,000 workers participating in this struggle.

The aim of the trade unions was to obtain collective agreements regulating working conditions, thus following the example of the Typographical Union which had secured a collective agreement in the printing industry. Although trade unions were not able to attain this objective in the other industries, they were successful in preventing the introduction of the Taylor "speed-up" system and similar conditions.

In 1907, a law was enacted establishing insurance against sickness and accidents. In addition, the trade unions had their own well-developed insurance funds against unemployment, sickness, death, etc.

The Hungarian trade unions had to wage a hard struggle for the recognition of their rights. Arrests, employers' black lists and orders to leave certain cities were the usual methods used against active unionists.

During the First World War, the Hungarian factories were put under military control. The brutal methods of the military commanders of the industrial enterprises and the insufficient food supply precipitated numerous bitter struggles, including direct clashes between workers and police.

#### Rapid Membership Growth

AFTER the military collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the Hungarian trade unions entered a period of rapid growth. Their membership went up from 40,000 to 1,000,000. (At that time, Hungary had a population of 18,000,000.) During the Bolshevik regime of Bela Kun, which lasted four months, the trade unions were in opposition to that government—a situation which brought new clashes and struggles.

After the breakdown of the Hungarian Soviet Government, difficult times began for the trade unions. The Horthy regime persecuted the labor movement. The situation changed only in 1922, when the Social Democratic Party was victorious at the polls and won 24 seats in parliament. The Hungarian trade unions were collectively affiliated with the Social Democratic Party—a necessary alliance since there was no other way of assuring the defense of the rights of labor.

Inside and outside parliament, the Social Democratic Party and trade unions of Hungary led an impressive struggle for social legislation and improved workers' living standards, and considerable successes were

Kari Peyer, a founder of the Hungarian Metal Workers' Union, was for many years general secretary of the Hungarian Central Trade Union Council. He also served as Minister of Labor.

won. Daily working hours were limited to eight, a system of old age, disability, widows' and orphans' pensions was introduced; a special children's bonus was paid to families with at least two children; a workers' vacation law was enacted as well as provisions for protection in dismissal cases.

Such was the condition of Hungarian labor on the eve of the Second World War. Thanks to the resistance of the workers, the attempts to create Nazi "labor front" organizations—mostly among the German-speaking population of Hungary—failed.

After Hungary entered the war on the side of Hitler, the factories were again put under military control. When Hungary was occupied by German troops, all trade union activities were prohibited and trade union officers were thrown into concentration camps.

#### In Harness to Soviets

WITH the Russian occupation of Hungary, the trade unions hoped they would be able to resume their former activities. These hopes were soon smashed. Under the protection of the Russian authorities, the Communists placed their nominees in the leading posts of the Hungarian trade union movement—just as they did with all public offices. As a consequence, the close connection between the Social Democratic Party and the trade unions came to an end. (In the meantime, on March 8, 1948, the Social Democratic Party merged with the Communist Party and thus went out of existence.)

A new role was now assigned the Hungarian trade unions, making them mere administrative organs of the government. In order to increase production, a Three-Year Plan has been prepared, with all modern propaganda methods used to publicize it. For each occupation, a so-called production "norm" has been established, and the worker cannot obtain the full amount of his wages unless he fulfills that norm. If he falls short, his wages are cut; if he surpasses it, he is paid a bonus. However, the norms are usually set so high that only in rare cases is the worker able to achieve an output beyond them.

Genuine collective bargaining no longer exists in Hungary. Since all enterprises which employ 100 workers or more are nationalized, 70 per cent of the employees work in enterprises owned and managed by the state. The wages of these workers are determined by "collective contracts" which are drafted by the "trade union" leaders and require the approval of the State Planning Office. The workers concerned are excluded from any participation in negotiations.

Any worker who participates in a strike, calls for a strike or enters an enterprise in which he is not employed may be sentenced to a term of up to five years at hard labor; a worker whose performance is considered unsatisfactory may be arrested and sentenced as a "saboteur," even if it cannot be proved that the faulty work was done in-

(Continued on Page 8)

# Notes on the American Labor Scene

#### A.F. of L. Greets Japan Labor

The A.F. of L. sent its greetings to the Japanese National Government Workers' Union on the occasion of its recent convention in Tokyo. Addressed to Chairman Etsuo Kato and signed by Matthew Woll as head of the A.F. of L.'s International Labor Relations Department, the cable read:

"Heartiest congratulations and best wishes for a most successful convention. Our decades of experience and lessons from other countries convince us that, by developing a powerful, genuine, free trade union movement, Japanese labor will build the best bulwark of democracy against all forms of totalitarianism.

"Without democracy, free trade unionism is impossible. Without free trade unionism, democracy is impossible. Therefore, full collective bargaining rights are indispensable to democracy and free trade unionism. Japanese labor's hope and strength rest in developing trade unions free from control by any political parties, government agencies or employers' associations.

"You can count on fullest A.F. of L. selidarity in your struggle for advancing democratic rights, improving living standards and building the trade union movement as guarantor of human freedom and peaceful social progress."

#### U.S. Union Members: 15,600,000

One out of every four workers in the labor force of the United States—or one out of every six persons aged 21 or over—is a union member. These figures are revealed in a recent study of union membership data by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor. The study lists a total of 197 national and international unions and 89 state or territorial labor organizations, with 15,600,000 members.

Of the national and international unions, 37 have more than 100,000 members each, while six have more than 500,000. At the opposite end of the scale there are 16 unions with less than 1,000 members each.

#### A.F. of L. on Housing Shortage

In a sharp criticism of the recent special session of the U.S. Congress, the A.F. of L. Executive Council charged that it had neglected the needs of the nation when it enacted inadequate housing legislation.

The A.F. of L. declared:

"The 1948 Housing Act contains a number of aids to private builders and home-owners which may lead to additional housing for families in the upper and middle-income brackets. It cannot and will not result in any additional housing for the average worker and his family or the average veteran and his family.

"Only a housing program which includes public housing, slum clearance and rural housing can meet the needs of the American people.

"Congress failed the nation when it adopted the present inadequate housing law. The Executive Council particularly condemns the refusal of the House Rules Committee to permit the House of Representatives to vote on the effective Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill which had been adopted by the Senate.

"A survey made by the A.F. of L. discloses the acute housing shortages that still exist in this country. . . . A summary of the survey's findings follows:

"Extent of the housing shortage:

"1. 20 per cent of all urban families are either doubling up, living in overcrowded conditions, or in rooming houses, trailers and even in tents.

"2. In urban areas, more than 5,000,000 to 6,000,000 dwellings are substandard.

"3. Less than 1 per cent of all houses are vacant; at least 4 per cent is normal.

"4. We need 10,000,000 more homes to meet the current shortage, or a total of 15,000,000 before 1958.

"Current housing construction:

"1. Only 950,000 houses are being built this year, most of them for sale at high prices. What we need mainly is new houses

#### Miners' Fund Solving Silicosis

Under a grant of \$575,000 from the Anthracite Health and Welfare Fund of the United Mine Workers of America, a first-year report on a five-year project for research and treatment of silicosis promises an eventual cure for this disease.

The project is being carried out by a medical college. The U.M.W.'s health and welfare fund received \$5,500,000 in the last 12 months from payments by mine owners of 10 cents on each ton of coal. By terms of a new contract, these payments are to increase to 20 cents a ton.

Relief has already been given to 500 sufferers from "miners' asthma" in the Pennsylvania anthracite region who had served as "guinea pigs" for the project.

Silicosis accounts for 20 to 25 per cent of the "natural" deaths of anthracite miners. In the eight anthracite counties of Pennsylvania alone, it is estimated that 10,000 miners are afflicted with silicosis in various stages, with the number increasing at the rate of 1,000 a year.

The project revealed that X-rays, heretofore the only means of determining existence of silicosis, did not always give a true picture; thus "hundreds of . . . silicotic miners were unable to prove . . . that they should receive occupational disease benefits."

A report on the U.M.W. undertaking stated:

"The importance of the research now in progress lies not only in the benefits to anthracite coal miners but also in future benefits anticipated for the workers of other great industries—iron, lead, zinc, granite, etc.—where silicosis is a major problem."

#### Occupational Wage Differences

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#### GERMANY

(Continued from Page 2)

have come to realize these dangers and have made serious efforts to create, by constructive measures, the conditions for the economic and social recovery of Germany.

"Unfortunately, these efforts are not supported by all occupying powers; on the contrary, a certain party has tried by countermeasures to bring about their failure.

"The conflict among the former allies . . . has now reached its dangerous climax in Berlin. Without the slightest provocation on the part of the more than 2,000,000 inhabitants of the Western sectors of Berlin, a blockade has been established to starve them, and measures have been taken to throttle the city's economic life. This action is a violation of the most elementary commandments of humanity.

"The trade union representatives of the Western zones consider it their duty, as trade unionists, to express their warmest sympathy with the population of Berlin and, particularly, its organized workers. They appeal to the peoples and governments of the entire world to take action to terminate this shameful situation at the earliest possible

housing can meet the needs of the American people.

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"Current housing construction:

"1. Only 950,000 houses are being built this year, most of them for sale at high prices. What we need mainly is new houses to rent within means of average workers.

"2. The average family can afford to pay \$55 a month rent or buy a \$5,500 house. Houses are now selling for \$7,500 and up. Apartments and new houses are renting for \$80 or more.

"3. At least half of all non-residential construction is not essential. Men and materials are being used to build new filling stations, store fronts and amusement places that could be used in the construction of new homes."

#### Seafarers Granted Ship Libraries

The A.F. of L. Seafarers' International Union established a unique innovation recently when it persuaded nine maritime companies to provide bulletin boards and book racks for union literature on all ships which they operate.

According to the union, this concession is "something no employer, maritime or shoreside, has agreed to before—to construct and place aboard ships facilities for union property and literature."

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#### Occupational Wage Differences

A recent study of occupational wage differentials conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor reveals that percentage differences in rates of pay of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled occupations have shown a distinct tendency to decline in the past 40 years, but that actual differences in cents per hour have increased.

The study showed that occupational wage differentials are important in providing recognition of differences in skill, effort and working conditions, and that such differentials are essential in attracting labor to the skilled trades. Currently, the wages of skilled workers in manufacturing exceed those of unskilled workers, on the average, by about 55 per cent.

Although percentage differences have narrowed, a study of 17 manufacturing industries for the periods 1945-1947 showed that the actual cents-per-hour differentials between skilled and unskilled occupations increased from an average of 30 cents in the earlier period to 43 cents at present.

Over the 40-year period from 1907 to 1947, the extent of the average differential between skilled and unskilled labor in manufacturing industries has been cut practically in half.

### A. F. of L. Striving for Maximum Worker Votes

LABOR'S League for Political Education, the political arm of the A.F. of L., is intensifying its efforts to mobilize an overwhelming vote by workers and their familes on Election Day. With well-organized groups operating in virtually every one of the 48 states, the League is concentrating its efforts on securing the defeat of all candidates who support the Taft-Hartley Law.

League organizations are making extensive use of radio and other mass media to bring its arguments in favor of progressive, pro-labor candidates and measures to the attention not only of trade unionists but of the American public in general.

As a result of these efforts, a significant labor victory was achieved last month in the ordinarily conservative state of Maine where two vicious anti-union bills were heavily defeated by the voters.

Commenting on the significance of this advance election verdict, William Green, president of the A.F. of L., declared:

"Labor's victory in Maine was achieved despite an active and costly campaign by reactionary interests in support of the antilabor proposals. It provides concrete proof that the trend toward the enactment of restrictive legislation against the trade union movement can be stopped. It is encouraging evidence that the people of this country are in a mood to repudiate the Taft-Hartley Law and all the little Taft-Hartley Laws which the opponents of organized labor are pressing for adoption. . . .

"Our main job is to get out the vote. If we can prevail upon the millions of members of our trade unions and their families and friends first to register and then to make certain to vote on November 2, I am confident that we can overcome the forces of reaction and win a resounding victory.

"The rank and file of the American people are endowed with basic good sense and intelligence. The Tafts and Hartleys cannot delude them for long. The people know who is to blame for the continuation of high prices, the lack of decent homes, the failure to lift the miserable minimum wage standards, the failure to improve social security coverage and benefits.

"They know that this controlling group in the 80th Congress, who blocked all progressive legislation for the benefit of the American people, is exactly the same group which

# U.S. Working Conditions and Living Standards 4. A NEW ORLEANS BAKERY WORKER

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

The series, prepared by the Research and Information Service of the American Federation of Labor, has already covered a metal worker in Milwaukee, a garment worker in New York City and a chemical worker in St. Louis.

THE tables here presented show the cost of living for a typical bakery worker in New Orleans, Louisiana, employed under a contract between the A. F. of L. Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America, Local 35, and the United Baking Company of New Orleans.

The contract provides for closed shop; for not less nor more than six and two-thirds hours work a day; for overtime pay at rate of time and one-half; for compensation at double-pay rates for work on seventh consecutive day; for an apprentice and journeyman system, with one apprentice for every seven journeymen; for seniority recognition; for clean and sanitary dressing room and adequate ventilation; for paid vacations of one week for those with one to five years' service and two weeks for those with over five years' service; for six paid holidays a year; for employer payment for required health certificates; for grievance and arbitration procedure.

Orleans (ovenman or mixerman) earns a weekly rate of \$43.40. His straight-time rate is \$1.08½ an hour; his work-week is 40 hours.

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

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

Price	Item			Time Required To Buy Item Hours Minutes	Amount Bought With One Hour Of Work
\$0.15	Bread, white	1	lb.	8	7.43
.54	Beef, chuck roast	1	lb.	30	2.00
.84	Butter	1	lb.	47	1.29
.21	Milk, fresh	1	qt.	11	5.17
.75	Eggs, fresh	1	doz.	41	1.44
.39	Oranges, sz. 200	1	doz.	22	2.77
.07	Cabbage	1	lb.	4	15.72
.05	Potatoes	1	lb.	3	20.87
.21	Dried navy beans	1	lb.	11	5.19
.50	Coffee	1	lb.	28	2.15
.09	Sugar	1	1b.	5	11.67
Price †	Article			Time Required	
	Men's Clothing				To Buy Article lours Minutes
\$9.26	Hat, fur felt			8	32
			A STATE OF THE STATE OF		

Suit, heavy wool (three-piece)

Shirt, work, cotton

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"They know that this controlling group in the 80th Congress, who blocked all progressive legislation for the benefit of the American people, is exactly the same group which teamed up to put over the Taft-Hartley Law at the behest of the National Association of Manufacturers."

#### Labor Broadcasts to Nation

NATION-WIDE radio broadcasts are being sponsored by a number of A.F. of L. unions in order to stimulate the largest possible turn-out at the polls on Election Day. The International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, A.F. of L., recently sponsored a special radio program featuring its president, Charles J. MacGowan and the U.S. Secretary of Labor, Maurice J. Tobin. Their addresses showed that the Taft-Hartley Law has not reduced strikes but, on the contrary, has provoked widespread discord.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, A.F. of L., is sponsoring a series of four nation-wide broadcasts as part of a broad campaign to get out the labor vote. Among those invited to participate in its programs are President Harry S. Truman and Alben W. Barkley, the Democratic candidates for President and Vice President of the United States.

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\$0.15	Bread, white	1 lb.	8	7.43	
.54	Beef, chuck roast	1 lb.	30	2.00	
.84	Butter	1 lb.	47	1.29	
.21	Milk, fresh	1 qt.	11	5.17	
.75	Eggs, fresh	1 doz.	41	1.44	
.39	Oranges, sz. 200	1 doz.	22	2.77	
.07	Cabbage	1 lb.	4	15.72	
.05	Potatoes	1 lb.	3	20.87	
.21	Dried navy beans	1 lb.	11	5.19	
.50	Coffee	1 lb.	28	2.15	
.09	Sugar	1 lb.	5	11.67	
Price †	Article		Time Required To Buy Article Hours Minutes		
	Men's Clothing				
\$9.26	Hat, fur felt		8	32	
52.22	Suit, heavy wool (th	hree-niece)	48	8	
1.62	Shirt, work, cotton	Trock proces	1	29	
7.50	Shoes, work, pair		6	55	
	Women's Clothing				
21.07	Coat, heavy wool, no		19	25	
3.63	Dress, house, percale		3	21	
1.55	Hose, nylon, 45-gauge, pair		1	26	
9.50	Shoes, oxford, pair		8	46	
	Household Goods				
119.50	Radio-phonograph, ta	able medel	110		
129.92	Washing machine	able model	110	8	
66.97	Vacuum cleaner		119	44	
232.84	Refrigerator, electric		61	43	
	Treitigerator, electric		214	36	
	Transportation				
1533.00	Automobile, 1947 model		1412	54	
	(Chevrolet, four-de	oor)			
	Recreation				
.20	Cigarettes (20)			11	

<sup>\*</sup> Hourly earnings: \$1.081/2.

<sup>†</sup> Includes 3 per cent sales tax.

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

# Appeal to British Labor

(Continued from Page 1)

ing these crucial days in the life of your country.

"I do not come as a sage to give advice, to teach or to preach. You know your problems best. It is you who will have to solve them in your own good way. We can only assure you of our readiness to assist in any and every manner possible. There is no field of human endeavor—whether it be more efficient production or scientific advance—in which your country and our country, your trade union movement and our trade union movement, cannot help each other to the advantage of both. Today, this also means to the advantage of all mankind.

"Many people are speaking these days of the need to build a new world. Yes, we must build a new world. In this undertaking, labor with its idealism and aspirations which run across all arbitrary and artificial national lines and boundaries—has a special and most positive part to play. But this new world cannot be built on the ruins of the old. That would indeed be a very poor foundation. Furthermore, this new world must not be built on that which ruined the old world. Here there is much to ponder.

"Of course, we need precise national plans in each country. But these plans must not be based on narrow nationalism. They must not be conflicting; they must be cooperating, dovetailing—all part of a continental or even world pattern. A crisis such as now exists calls for and demands boldness of plan and action. The European Recovery Program represents the first all-out move by the democratic forces in answer to the various totalitarian movements which, until checked, exercised a virtual monopoly in attempts to shape world destiny.

#### Challenge and Opportunity

"THE democratic world now faces an opportunity and likewise a challenge. Chaos and freedom do not mix. Economic collapse means the tyranny of hunger. And the tyranny of hunger means, in modern times, the tyranny of totalitarian dictatorship in one

"In truth, you have no other choice. Look at the actual condition in which the free trade union movements in the cooperatingthe E.R.P .- countries of Europe find themselves. There are fine trade union movements in the Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands. But these organizations, though indispensable to the success of the reconstruction program, are neither numerically, nor from the viewpoint of the economic weight of their respective countries, in a position to wield decisive influence. In France, the Communists still have a stranglehold on the C.G.T., and the Force Ouvrière, while carrying on gallantly, is not yet strong enough to lead. Italian trade unionism is still, in too great a measure, under the heel of the Communist Party.

#### Communists Prolong Chaos

do that the Communists only devitalize unions—only use them for furthering the destructive purposes of their party and its masters behind the Iron Curtain. You know that no trade union movement controlled by Communists will do anything but sabotage and slander the E.R.P. The Communists do not hide their aims or disclaim their purpose. They have but one—to prevent economic reconstruction in Western Europe, to aggravate and prolong chaos and to promote their particular brand of dictatorship.

"In Germany, the trade union movement is reviving, making encouraging progress despite terrible obstacles and displaying enormous courage. This is especially true in Berlin. But Germany is a vanquished and war-ruined country—shattered in spirit, broken into zones, occupied by foreign armies, not all of which always act in a civilized manner. . . .

"As we of the A.F. of L. see it, the British T.U.C.—and only the British T.U.C.—is at present in a position to assume this responsibility. It—and it alone—can and must provide the vitalizing and unifying trade union leadership so necessary to the success of the E.R.P., so vital to the gradual integration and unification of European economy.

We hail its decision to have the Trade Union Advisory Committee function in Paris in cooperation with the Office for European Economic Cooperation. We greet the decision to have European labor participation in the subdivisions representing key industries like steel, transport and coal. We heartily approve its decision to have the various national trade union bodies make per capita payments towards enabling the E.R.P. Trade Union Advisory Committee to function as the guiding center of trade union endeavors for continental reconstruction. It is high time that a united, authoritative voice of international free trade unionism be heard and its strong hand felt in counteracting the totalitarians' vicious propaganda against and sabotage of the E.R.P. But, again, our faith and hope rest primarily on your capacity and readiness to serve as the dynamo in this development.

"More than this. We know of no better platform, no sounder program, no more effective way in which the ranks of free labor can be rallied and united for genuine international cooperation and solidarity.

#### E.R.P. Bulwark of Democracy

"IF there is a sounder or more democratic program than the E.R.P. for welding the free trade unions of Europe and America together for cooperative action and as a bulwark of human freedom and decency, we would like to know of it. In this I am confident that I am expressing the conviction of all organized labor in our country. We do not deal in dry abstractions or pretentious but empty theories. We are a practical people with a practical trade union movement. We sincerely look forward to a fundamental realignment in the ranks of world labor-a realignment so progressive, so powerful, so constructive, so inspiring and so humane that mankind will be spared the fear of poverty, tyranny and war, and that it will come to enjoy freedom in its richest concept and fullest meaning.

"Toward the fulfillment of this noble and most urgent task, I extend to you, on behalf of the A.F. of L. the fraternal handelasp of

IDE, LADUT WALL SUR SURE SURE STATE OF THE SECOND which run across all arbitrary and artificial national lines and boundaries-has a special and most positive part to play. But this new world cannot be built on the ruins of the old. That would indeed be a very poor foundation. Furthermore, this new world must not be built on that which ruined the old world. Here there is much to ponder.

"Of course, we need precise national plans in each country. But these plans must not be based on narrow nationalism. They must not be conflicting; they must be cooperating, dovetailing-all part of a continental or even world pattern. A crisis such as now exists calls for and demands boldness of plan and action. The European Recovery Program represents the first all-out move by the democratic forces in answer to the various totalitarian movements which, until checked, exercised a virtual monopoly in attempts to shape world destiny.

#### Challenge and Opportunity

"HE democratic world now faces an opportunity and likewise a challenge. Chaos and freedom do not mix. Economic collapse means the tyranny of hunger. And the tyranny of hunger means, in modern times, the tyranny of totalitarian dictatorship in one form or another. If the free trade unions of your country and ours, of your continent and the Americas, cooperate and participate actively in the execution of the E.R.P., then economic reconstruction and better working standards, higher purchasing power and improved living conditions will be assured. In the opinion of the A.F. of L., this is the surest path to world freedom, social justice, prosperity and peace.

"But it is necessary to face the world trade union situation realistically and frankly. In a very great measure, successful and effective trade union participation in assuring the success of the E.R.P. depends on your powerful organization, the British T.U.C. 1 know you will not consider it an imposition or an arrogant attempt on my part to try to direct you when I say that your organization is the best fitted, by experience, by tradition and by its present strength, to assume command, to provide the urgently needed leadership to the trade unions of Europe in fulfilling the historic mission now confronting them.

"We, in turn, pledge our help to you in exercising and giving this leadership.

"IF course, you know even better than we do that the Communists only devitalize unions-only use them for furthering the destructive purposes of their party and its masters behind the Iron Curtain. You know that no trade union movement controlled by Communists will do anything but sabotage and slander the E.R.P. The Communists do not hide their aims or disclaim their purpose. They have but one-to prevent economic reconstruction in Western Europe, to aggravate and prolong chaos and to promote their particular brand of dictatorship.

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"We of the A.F. of L. place great hope in the decisions of the International Trade Union Conference for the E.R.P. held last July. development. "More than this. We know of no better

platform, no sounder program, no more effective way in which the ranks of free labor can be rallied and united for genuine international cooperation and solidarity.

#### E.R.P. Bulwark of Democracy

"IF there is a sounder or more democratic program than the E.R.P. for welding the free trade unions of Europe and America together for cooperative action and as a bulwark of human freedom and decency, we would like to know of it. In this I am confident that I am expressing the conviction of all organized labor in our country. We do not deal in dry abstractions or pretentious but empty theories. We are a practical people with a practical trade union movement. We sincerely look forward to a fundamental realignment in the ranks of world labor-a realignment so progressive, so powerful, so constructive, so inspiring and so humane that mankind will be spared the fear of poverty, tyranny and war, and that it will come to enjoy freedom in its richest concept and fullest meaning.

"Toward the fulfillment of this noble and most urgent task, I extend to you, on behalf of the A.F. of L., the fraternal handclasp of unstinting support and international labor solidarity. For the good of humanity, we dare not fail."

### Hungary

(Continued from Page 5)

tentionally. In such cases a so-called "Labor Court" has to pass sentence within 72 hours. It is true that a worker has the right to quit his job, but if he does, he will not be able to find another job and will very likely be expelled from his union-which means certain death from starvation.

As in all other countries behind the Iron Curtain, Hungary has experienced the socalled system of "socialist competition." The overwhelming majority of Hungarian workers reject this propaganda hokum. However, out of fear of the ever-present Communist spies, no worker dares to criticize it openly lest he be summoned the next day before the political police.

An extensive purge has been carried out in the factories, offices and among government employees. Old trade unionists, former shop stewards and anti-Communist workers

were dismissed from their jobs and expelled from their trade unions—an action which prevents them from finding new jobs in their trades. All the old trade union leaders have been removed from their posts-among them, many founders of Hungarian trade unions.

The Hungarian trade unions have become compulsory organizations. Because they hardly pay any benefits, they have at their disposal large funds which are used to cover the costs of the expanded bureaucratic machinery and Communist political propaganda.

Under that regime, no modern free trade union movement now exists in Hungary. The trade unions no longer serve to protect the interests of the workers. They are instruments of the Communist rulers who have no other aim than to produce as much and as cheaply as possible-regardless of the cost to the Hungarian working people in economic sacrifice and damage to their health.