

LABOR League for Human Rights

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SEP 12 1945

Dear Sirs:

As you may know, the War Refugee Board will be dissolved on September 15th. Because of your deep interest in the work of the Board, I am sending you herewith for your confidential information a copy of the summary report of its activities.

It was only through the cooperation of the private agencies that it was possible for the Board to bring some measure of relief and hope to the suffering victims of Nazi oppression. I wish, therefore, to take this opportunity to thank you on behalf of the Board for the support and assistance rendered by your organization to this unique humanitarian undertaking.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) William O'Dwyer

William O'Dwyer  
Executive Director

Labor League for Human Rights -  
United Nations Relief - AFL,  
10 East 40th Street,  
New York 16, N. Y.

Enclosure.

FH:hd 9/5/45

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*same as for Human Rights*

# LABOR LEAGUE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS



## UNITED NATIONS RELIEF

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WILLIAM GREEN, Hon. Chairman • MATTHEW WOLL, Pres. • GEORGE MEANY, Hon. Sec'y • ABRAHAM BLUESTEIN, Executive Director

June 25, 1945

*Acknowledged in telephone conversation  
6/26/45  
DH*

Miss Florence Hodel,  
Assistant Executive Director  
War Refugee Board,  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Miss Hodel:

Thank you for the photostatic copy of the Tranmael-Evensen report for February. I take this occasion also to thank you for the excerpt from ARBEIDERBLADET, which you sent me on June 13th. It is a wonderful story and we are sending it in a release to the A.F. of L.

✓ I am sending you herewith the promised copy of the June FEDERATIONIST, containing Mr. Woll's article on Labor relief behind Axis lines. I am sorry this copy is so belated; Mr. Tassler was very slow in sending the promised extra copies.

Since my resignation goes into effect at the end of this week, this is probably the last letter I shall be writing you. I shall be succeeded by Mr. Leon Dennen, and any further communications which you may have to send to the League should be addressed to him.

It has been a great pleasure to me to know and to work with you. You have been wonderfully kind and cooperative and I am deeply grateful, as are all the other members of this organization.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

*Suzanne LaFollette*

Suzanne LaFollette,  
Director War Relief Program

SLF/ml

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**FREE LABOR SHOWED THE WORLD**

*American*

# FEDERATIONIST

Support  
The MIGHTY WAR LOAN



**Unborn Wings**

*by William Collins*

**Right or Right?**

*by George Henry*

**Medical Care  
for All**

*by Dr. Miles Atkinson*

**How We Cheated  
Nazi Hangmen**

*by Matthew Wolf*

**Canadian Labor  
Looks Ahead**

*by Percy R. Bengough*

**Progress  
in New York**

*by William Collins*





# Labor HIGHLIGHTS

**ALTHOUGH LESS THAN A** month has passed since the surrender of Nazi Germany, many thousands of workers who were engaged in war production here on the home front have already lost their jobs. New cut-backs and contract terminations are being ordered every day. With reconversion to civilian production scarcely started, large numbers of Americans will apparently be face to face with unemployment this summer. The situation is serious and will grow worse before it gets better.

**UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE** as it now stands is not at all adequate to take care of the wage-earners whose production helped doom Hitler but who now are being released from employment. Throughout 1944 the American Federation of Labor issued warnings of the need for preparation to meet the coming emergency, but Congress, in passing reconversion legislation, ignored labor's repeated pleas for inclusion of provisions covering the "human element." President Truman has now been compelled to ask Congress for emergency action. In a special message Mr. Truman has pointed out the inadequacy of unemployment compensation under existing state laws and has recommended the lifting of payments to \$25 a week for twenty-six weeks for persons with dependents.

**A. F. OF L. MEMBERS WHO** have given their lives for freedom while serving in America's armed forces during World War II numbered more than 22,000 by V-E Day. In addition, there are 60,000 A. F. of L. men who have been wounded and almost 7,000 who have been listed as missing. These casualty figures ought to demonstrate that labor's wartime

contribution has not been limited to the making of munitions. The American Federation of Labor is proud that more than 1,500,000 of its own members are serving in the Army, the Navy, the Marine Corps and the Coast Guard. A. F. of L. fighting men have been participants in every action from the Battle of the Atlantic to Okinawa and the bombing of Japan's industrial centers.

**LOSSES FROM STRIKES AND** lockouts in 1944 hit an all-time low, says the Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics. Idleness due to these causes, the Bureau reports, was equal to less than one-tenth of one per cent of the available working time. Analysis of the strike figures proves again that American Federation of Labor unions are complying with the no-strike pledge better than other labor organizations. Although the A. F. of L. represents more than half of the organized workers of the country, our unions were involved in only 34 per cent of the stoppages, and these involved only 22 per cent of the total number of workers affected by strikes and lockouts in the entire country. The work stoppages in which A. F. of L. unions figured accounted for only 28 per cent of the total time lost.

**WHEN LABOR AND MATERIALS** are both available, construction of homes should undergo a boom in many parts of the country. The pent-up demand for new housing is of vast proportions. The citizen who plans to become a home owner should make sure that the structure he will purchase was erected by skilled union mechanics. Lists of union-built homes may be secured from local Building and Construction Trades Councils.

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# AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

Official Magazine of the American Federation of Labor

JUNE, 1945

WILLIAM GREEN, Editor

Vol. 52, No. 6

## Greed

One of the difficulties, as I see it, is that we worship money instead of honor. A billionaire, in our estimation, is much greater in these days in the eyes of the people than the public servant who works for public interest. It makes no difference if the billionaire rode to wealth on the sweat of little children and the blood of underpaid labor. No one ever considered Carnegie libraries steeped in the blood of the Homestead steelworkers, but they are. We do not remember that the Rockefeller Foundation is founded on the dead miners of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and a dozen other similar performances. We worship Mammon; and until we go back to ancient fundamentals and return to the Giver of the Tables of the Law and His teachings, these conditions are going to remain with us.

It is a pity that Wall Street, with its ability to control all the wealth of the nation and to hire the best law brains in the country, has not produced some statesmen, some men who could see the dangers of bigness and of the concentration of the control of wealth. Instead of working to meet the situation, they are still employing the best law brains to serve greed and selfish interest. People can stand only so much, and one of these days there will be a settlement. We shall have one receivership too many, and one unnecessary depression out of which we will not come with the power still in the same old hands.

Our unemployment and our unrest are the result of the concentration of wealth, the concentration of population in industrial centers, mass production and a lot of other so-called modern improvements.

Harry S. Truman, in 1937.

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UNION WATERMARKED PAPER



### Japan Is Next

The long-expected surrender of Nazi Germany came last month. News of the victory over the evil enemy was received by most Americans in a spirit of sober rejoicing.

The war is not over yet. In Asia there remains an enemy who has been buffeted but not defeated. Until Japan surrenders there can be no relaxation. We must back up our men fighting in the Pacific as we backed up those who smashed Nazi Germany.



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Members of the Executive Council snapped at White House following visit with President Truman

## RECONVERSION TO THE FORE

**T**HE EXECUTIVE Council of the American Federation of Labor, meeting at Washington last month as Germany was collapsing, gave thorough study to the situation confronting America's wage-earning millions as a result of deep slashes in war production. The Council, foreseeing widespread unemployment in the months ahead unless preventive action is taken quickly, called upon the government to speed up reconversion.

"It is imperative that a large-scale reconversion program be undertaken at once," the A. F. of L. leaders declared. "American industry must be given enough advance notice of cancellation of war contracts so that it can proceed without unnecessary delay to put into effect plans for peacetime production which will provide jobs for displaced war workers and returning servicemen."

"Unless the reconversion process is expedited, mass unemployment will grip America in 1945 and purchasing power will be reduced to such a low point that expansion of postwar production will be blocked."

The Council called upon President Truman to offset the shrinking of purchasing power by prevailing upon Congress to adopt legislation extending more adequate compensation benefits to displaced war workers. The President was reminded that he himself had sponsored such legislation as a Senator.

In a further step to bolster the national economy, the Council warned the National War Labor Board that the time is overdue to adjust wage rates to make up for the loss of overtime pay which American workers suffer as production for war is curtailed.

The A. F. of L. chieftains devoted a major part of the meeting to a consideration of postwar problems, both national and international. In a declaration on postwar policy which was drafted by the Council, the Federation's deep interest in the establishment of a durable peace was reiterated. The statement emphasized that America can make its contribution to the cause of lasting peace by maintaining and safeguarding "the economic and political well-being of the American people here at home."

"Great as are our resources," said the Council, "they are not inexhaustible. There are limitations and restrictions upon our abilities to contribute which, if disregarded, will place an undue strain upon our domestic economy and which, if unheeded, will reflect injury not alone upon ourselves but as well upon those whom we would benefit."

The Council offered a program which embraced the following points:

► Maintenance of a high and constantly improving American standard of living is a basic consideration which should govern domestic and foreign policy.

► Planning and financing of a vast program of urban and rural housing, road building and renovation, rural electrification and long overdue public works is of utmost importance. Such a program would provide "the broad economic basis for a successful transition of our national economy from war to peacetime production."

► Maintenance of "unclosed economic opportunities" under a system of free enterprise safeguards the foundation of our American way of life. The channels of opportunity must be kept open. International cartels and restrictive international trade controls must be discouraged.

► Government controls needed in time of war must not continue after the emergencies of war have passed.

► Policies that will facilitate reconstruction and economic recovery of all nations will be supported, but "in extending help to other nations we should predicate such help upon a self-liquidating basis."

► Ideological infiltration into our American political and economic life by propagandists of foreign nations, or directed, subsidized or controlled by foreign sources, must not be permitted. The American people have no intent or desire to interfere with the internal political arrangements of other nations. We must insist that other nations be equally scrupulous in discouraging divisive political intervention by those acting in their behalf in our country.



# Union Wages

By WILLIAM GREEN

[The last of three articles on postwar wage policy]

**H**OW WILL reconversion affect my job? How will demobilization affect my pay? These two questions are uppermost in the minds of millions of Americans whose jobs and wages are their livelihood.

Our country is facing the biggest reemployment problem in history. Whether we solve this problem depends on what we do both about jobs and about wages. Downward pressure on wages is already being felt in some areas. In others, earnings are being sharply curtailed by the shortening of the workweek and elimination of overtime. If wage levels are not held, if buying power is allowed to shrink, the market for reconversion goods will shrink with it.

Lower wages mean shrunken buying power—buying power for homes, automobiles, food, recreation, travel, all the things people need and want. A curtailed market for these goods and services means reduced production. Lowered production means less jobs. That is the downward spiral which leads to mass unemployment. It leads its irrevocable course to disruption and distress. Once we start on this downward course, we shall not be able to stop. It is up to management, labor and the government to agree on policies which will help in expanding job opportunities and in preventing wage reductions.

The effect of the war upon every business, every plant and every job has been so far-reaching that for some time we will have to depend on government aid and guidance in maintaining sound policies in the prosecution of the war with Japan and in the reconversion of no longer

needed war plants. As we move ahead, however, an increasing share of the task of assuring economic stability and prosperity after the war will fall upon the voluntary efforts of the people themselves. It will be up to business enterprise to reestablish the production of civilian goods and to provide a basis for expanding job opportunities. The task of safeguarding wage standards will fall upon organized labor.

As masses of workers are shifted from war plants to civilian production, as streams of demobilized veterans begin to fill up the depleted sources of labor supply, a great many workers will face the same question—what is the fair wage for my new postwar job? In the redeployment and reshuffling of the country's labor force, many workers will be asking this question in new and unstable situations with no established framework of union organization for their ready guidance.

### Lone Worker Is Helpless Pawn

A lone worker who finds himself in a community undergoing the pains of readjustment and overshadowed by temporary unemployment will soon be forced to accept the only choice open to him; the choice of a job offered him by the employer on terms decided by the employer alone.

So long as he acts as an individual, the wage-earner looking for permanent postwar work has no way of establishing a sound measure of fair and equitable compensation which should be paid him for his skill and productive effort. Individually, he has no standard, except his own notion of what the job may be worth. Individually, the worker cannot bargain over the terms of his new job. His choice is only to take that job or not to take it. Alone, he is powerless.

Collective bargaining is made possible through joint action of many workers, banded into unions for mutual aid and protection. Collective bargaining is a method of develop-

ing and defending a standard of fair compensation for the particular type of work. Collective bargaining between labor and management makes genuine wage negotiation possible. Collective bargaining plays no favorites with individuals. It leaves no one out, because the welfare and protection of one is essential to the welfare and protection of all.

Our unions will soon assume greater responsibility in the determination of the standards of compensation for most wage-earners in our industries. During the war, wage negotiations have been placed within the rigid and narrow limits of the restriction imposed by wage stabilization. New problems of wage adjustment will have to be met by unions with new techniques. Unions will have to prepare for the coming wage negotiations in order to represent fully the interests of their membership and at the same time meet with understanding and statesmanship the problems faced by management.

In its statement of May 10, 1945, the National War Labor Board took the first step toward reconversion wage policy. This step is a very limited one. It relates only to the situations in which plants are converted from war production to the output of civilian goods. In this statement the War Labor Board stressed the fact that "collective bargaining must play a dominant role in this present critical period of partial conversion of wartime facilities to the production of civilian goods."

Within this narrow area it will be the special responsibility of employers and unions to negotiate wage schedules that will help promote the resumption of civilian production in which new peacetime jobs can be immediately created. Wage negotiations within this area will have to adhere to wage stabilization rules. Wages agreed upon, which do conform to such rules, will no longer have to await Board approval but will go into effect immediately, with a subsequent "post-audit" of the rates to be made by the Board.

The main guide Board for the settlement rates are these:

(1) In the plant conversion, rates touched by the production, are to serve as guide rates for other jobs to be placed in these guide rates.

(2) In plants brought about by a complete reclassification and in job contents, on the basis of the industry and (3) Where, in change, job classification, job content and job elements and job rates for such jobs without change.

This first statement admittedly fails to a number of major points in a complete reconversion policy must meet with the problem of workweek and overtime. It leaves a large element of downward pressure to face up to the higher wage standards work regardless of geographical location.

In the first step unions within the defined by the stress should be maintenance of lished wage standard of given desirability relation to the of that job. In other to safeguard the sification, it is im each union to de define a proper cla of jobs in the esta with a clear sta skill requirements ductive respon which go with th

This calls for planned preparat part of the union. tion should be from members to union to keep a p ing of all job cla in all parts of the ment, describing called for by the productive re placed upon the the performance o Wherever possib tempt should be n termine whether.

The main guides laid down by the Board for the setting of reconversion rates are these:

(1) In the plants undergoing reconversion, rates for key jobs, untouched by the change to peacetime production, are to be selected to serve as "guide rates," and wage rates for other job classifications are to be placed in proper relation to these guide rates.

(2) In plants where the change brought about by reconversion calls for a complete realignment of job classifications and a drastic change in job contents, rates are to be set on the basis of prevailing rates in the industry and in the area.

(3) Where, in the course of the change, job classifications carry over, with the same skill requirements and job contents, the wage rates for such jobs may be retained without change.

This first statement of policy admittedly fails to come to grips with a number of major problems which a complete reconversion of wage policy must meet. It does not deal with the problem of shortening of the workweek and elimination of overtime. It leaves untouched the problem of downgrading. It does not face up to the basic issue of equal wage standards for equal work regardless of the geographical location of the job.

In the first steps taken by unions within the area newly defined by the Board, the stress should be laid on the maintenance of the established wage standard for a job of given designation in relation to the contents of that job. In other words, to safeguard the wage classification, it is important for each union to develop and define a proper classification of jobs in the establishment, with a clear statement of skill requirements and productive responsibilities which go with that job.

This calls for well-planned preparation on the part of the union. Information should be collected from members to enable the union to keep a proper listing of all job classifications in all parts of the establishment, describing the skills called for by the job and the productive requirements placed upon the worker in the performance of that job. Wherever possible, an attempt should be made to determine whether the work-

load of each job has increased during the war, and the extent of such an increase. If in the job of same designation the workload increased proportionately more than the wages paid for that job during the same period, ground can be laid for a change in the job designation and its wage classification. Each worker should be asked to make himself thoroughly familiar with the differences in the work requirements on his job, as compared with the work requirements placed on other workers in jobs of the same classification.

This work of union job analysis is also important as a means for wage-earners to defend themselves through union action against the encroachment of job evaluation plans and wage incentive systems whose use has been precipitated by the wartime wage freeze. The best weapon for the union to use in dealing with such plans is to gain the possession of all facts regarding the existing job classification.

Job evaluation plans pressed upon unions with growing frequency are usually relied upon by management to pave the way for roundabout wage reductions. The workers are invariably told that just the opposite

is the intent. The misleading part of most job evaluation proposals is that, while a number of job classifications are given increases under such plans and wages in a number of other classifications are decreased, no actual reductions are made in the pay of workers holding the jobs in which the rates are to be lowered. However, as vacancies occur, new workers must accept the lowered pay.

Job evaluation is usually made by specially designated "industrial engineers" who assign arbitrary point values for education, training, physical exertion and similar elements of the job. Usually the requirements of skill and experience are ignored in this evaluation, and point values prove to be defective in other respects when put to the test of actual operation. On the basis of the points thus arbitrarily assigned to each job, a progression is made to determine the relative position of each classification. Many important technical decisions must then be made which vitally affect the wage standard to be established. For example, the intervals or steps in the progression from one group of jobs to another may bring about vastly different re-

(Continued on Page 30)

## Dept. of Labor Has New Head

**L**EWIS B. Schwellenbach of Washington State has been appointed Secretary of Labor. It is understood that he has instructions from President Truman to consolidate within the Department of Labor all functions now scattered among a large number of federal agencies.

Mr. Schwellenbach, a former United States Senator and before that counsel for several labor unions on the West Coast, will take office July 1, succeeding Miss Frances Perkins of New York, who served as Secretary of Labor for more than twelve years under Franklin Roosevelt. Recently Mr. Schwellenbach has been a federal judge.

While in the Senate the new Secretary of Labor compiled an excellent voting record on labor legislation. Known as a liberal and a progressive, he is familiar with labor's basic problems.

Approval of the appointment of Mr. Schwellenbach was expressed



Harris and Ewing

by the American Federation of Labor in a statement issued by President William Green immediately following the White House announcement.

# MIGHT or RIGHT?

**F**OR WHAT seems a long time now, the American people have been looking forward hopefully to victory and the end of this global war. One part of the war is now over. The Nazi "supermen" have gone down before the peace-loving boys of America who have proved that free men can wage modern lightning war even more efficiently than the slaves of totalitarianism.

While our energies must now be directed toward bringing about complete defeat of Japan, we can with reason turn our gaze hopefully toward more peaceful days. We can—and must—give thought to the possibility of having a peaceful world after victory and to the relations of our government with other nations throughout the world in seeking world peace.

The workers of America who are represented by the American Federation of Labor have earned the right to examine with a critical eye any actions that are taken or contemplated by our government in an effort to insure this nation and other peace-loving nations against the diabolical destruction of modern war. The sublime courage of our fighting men and labor's phenomenal production of the weapons of war made possible the defeat of Nazi Germany as well as our great progress toward the defeat of Japan. Without the contribution of American labor there would today be few places on earth where democracy would be more than a memory. And so we of labor feel that we have earned the right to scrutinize plans and prospects for a peaceful world.

We look upon the United Nations Conference at San Francisco in a spirit of hope. We pray for the success of the conference. But we are firmly convinced that, unless principles of international morality and justice are written into the charter of the world security organization to be adopted at San Francisco, that charter will not be worth the paper it is written on. For centuries past, humanity has based its hope



By GEORGE MEANY

A glance back at relatively recent world history will be instructive. When Germany proceeded to rearm in defiance of the Versailles Treaty, Britain and France took the so-called realistic viewpoint. They did nothing. When Hitler marched his troops into the Rhineland and Austria in defiance of Versailles, they were realistic again. Then came Munich and the rape of Czechoslovakia, followed by the invasion of Poland in 1939—and an end, awfully late, of course, to this so-called realism.

When we hear someone say that we must be "realistic" in our efforts to achieve peace in the future, it is well to keep this tragic experience in mind. History proves beyond question that peace cannot be kept by obsequiously bowing to power.

Let us remember the reaction of Franklin Roosevelt to the situation our nation faced in the spring of 1940. Here was power at its mightiest—France, Holland, Belgium, Denmark and Norway overrun by the most powerful military machine the world had ever known up to that time; Britain hanging on the ropes; and Hitler, with more than ten million men under arms, with a pact of friendship with Soviet Russia at

for peace on agreements dictated by considerations of political and military power. For centuries past, humanity has had no peace. We shall fail again unless the nations have the foresight and courage at San Francisco to plan for the future on the basis of right and justice rather than to rely on the so-called "realistic" approach of keeping all the big nations happy by the delicate process of balancing power with power.

Sooner or later any edifice for peace erected by this sort of approach will be thrown out of balance. When that happens, what remedy do we have? More of this so-called realism? In the final analysis, this so-called realistic approach to the problem of achieving peace between nations boils down to one word—appeasement.

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his back, with more tanks, planes, guns and U-boats than any nation had ever possessed at one time, ready to extend his domination to this hemisphere.

What was President Roosevelt's reaction? Did he take the so-called realistic approach? Did he advise his fellow-countrymen to try to purchase peace by appeasement? He did not. He held fast to the high ideals of justice, morality and human freedom on which this nation was founded and he prepared his country for the war which he knew we would have to fight if we were going to preserve our faith in these ideals. And the American Federation of Labor backed the President in every move he made to preserve our way of life from the trying days of 1940 until the day he passed to his Maker.

The United Nations structure for future world security must be based, if it is going to succeed, on the principles of right rather than on the theory of might. The American Federation of Labor proposed to the San Francisco Conference, as a first step in this direction, that the Dumbarton Oaks proposals be amended by the inclusion of the Atlantic Charter *in its entirety*.

We believe that the basic human freedoms enunciated in the Atlantic Charter must be adopted by the United Nations as the guiding principles of the world security organization in order that the smaller nations of the world can be assured that the future purposes of the United Nations will be consistent with the ideals for which so many soldiers of freedom have fought and died.

We also asked that the principles of economic and social justice contained in the Declaration of Philadelphia, adopted by the International Labor

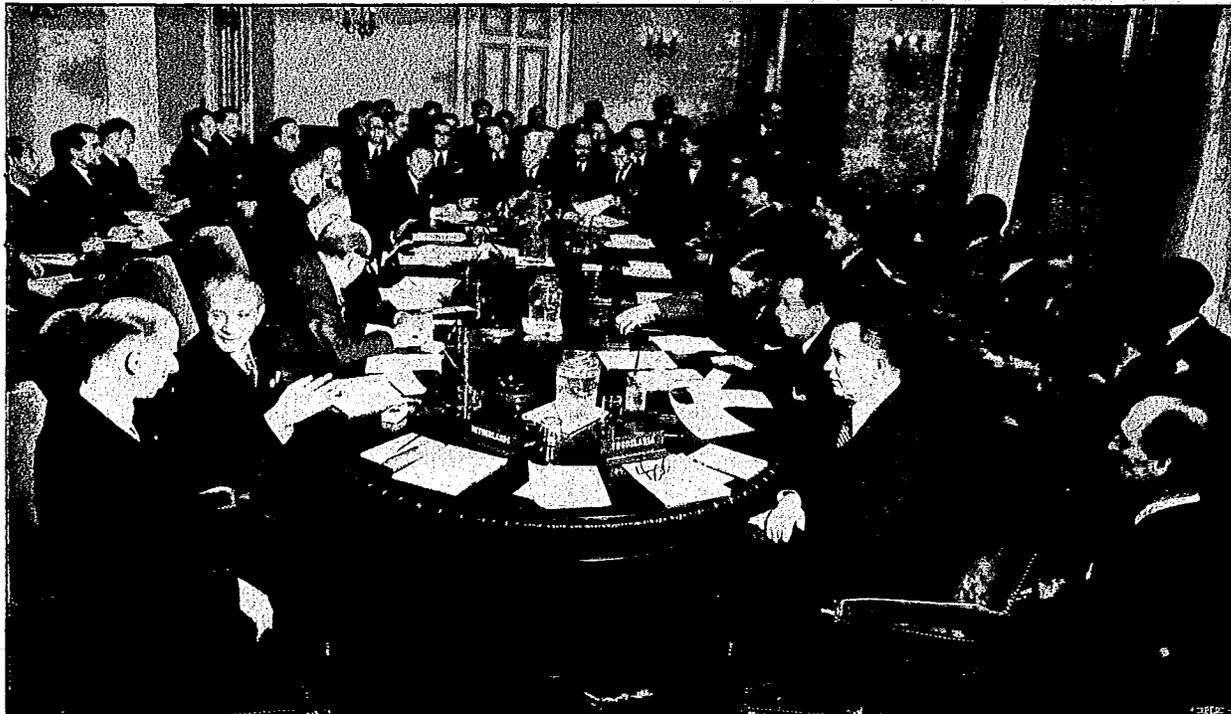
Organization one year ago, be made part and parcel of United Nations policy. We know that war cannot be avoided in the future unless the economic and social status of workers all over the world is raised. Wars have their basic inception in economic distress. Peace is not possible in a world which denies economic and social justice to millions upon millions of its inhabitants.

We further proposed that the principles and standards of conduct for nations formulated by the Pan-American Juridical Commission be incorporated in the charter of the United Nations. These principles demand the application of moral law to the conduct of nations in the same manner as a state applies moral law to the conduct of the individual. They demand respect for the independence and sovereignty of all nations, great and small. If adopted, these principles will definitely put the United Nations in the position of saying to the world: "Yes, we definitely contemplate the use of force if necessary to keep the peace, but we believe that the principles of morality and justice are even greater weapons than force."

In short, the American Federation of Labor believes that power politics cannot and will not lead us to permanent peace.

President Truman said on April 16: "The responsibility of the great states is to serve and not to dominate the world." If the San Francisco Conference performs its tasks in the spirit of these words, we shall have reason for hope in the future. If it does not, we shall have failed again and we can look forward to another period of destruction, chaos and war that may well mean the end of modern civilization.

Major work at San Francisco has been done by committees. Below—Executive Committee in session.

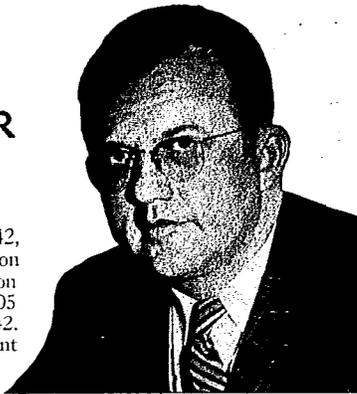


FEDERATIONIST

# FREE LABOR

## Showed the World

By **ANDREW J. BIEMILLER**  
*Congressman from Wisconsin*



**C**AN YOU remember back to the black days of 1942? Now, with Germany defeated and Japan reeling, those days seem very far away. Yet it is only three years since America stood on the brink of catastrophe.

Our Navy had been largely ruined at Pearl Harbor; the armies of the United Nations were being driven from the islands of the Pacific; we had not yet gained the first foothold in Africa. Almost all of Europe was a slave labor camp. The industries of every nation on the Continent were being operated for the benefit of a ruthless conqueror. It appeared only a matter of time until the last vestige of resistance to the Nazi slave drivers would be wiped out.

There were some in those frightened, anxious days who felt that fascism could only be fought with fascist methods. They argued that although fascism was all wrong, it was "more efficient." We could only reach maximum war production, they said, by sacrificing every hard-won gain of labor and by regimenting labor as the Germans were doing. Unions must go; standards must go. Freedom, they declared, would have to be a war casualty.

American labor stood up to its critics and met their challenge. Voluntarily it sacrificed many of the rights and privileges for which it had fought. Voluntarily it relinquished its cherished right to strike. Lengthening its hours, ignoring its comforts, giving up its conveniences, American labor plunged into the war effort to show the world that free American workers could outproduce any corps of slaves.

Goals were set, reached, doubled and set anew. Monthly production

increased over the three years 1942, 1943 and 1944 from a half billion dollars to five and one-half billion dollars. Munitions output was 105 per cent higher in 1944 than in 1942. Aircraft production was 280 per cent higher. Naval ship production was increased 75 per cent, construction for the Maritime Commission 100 per cent. Ammunition was upped 220 per cent.

Month by month and year by year, American labor's output of war goods increased. And it increased under the most difficult circumstances. Millions of the best young workers, the strongest, most intelligent and highly skilled, were drafted for the armed services. Their places were taken by people who had not been employed in 1940—fifteen and a half million of them. They were people who had been unemployed by reason of family duties, old age, invalidity or lack of available work. They were patriotic and conscientious and hard-working, but they required training and experience and adjustment to factory conditions.

Further difficulties were faced in the transfer from non-metallic industry to metal working. This required retraining of personnel and, in many cases, adaptation of processes so that they could be done by women or older people. Over ten million people learned new war skills in special vocational training programs.

Then there were the population shifts to deal with—crowding of hundreds of thousands of people into war centers not equipped to handle them. Instead of a short walk home after a hard day's work, a man often had to face a two-hour ride on a jammed bus, winding up in a

crowded, dirty lodging house, because he could find no accommodations for his family. The woman worker had to stand in line for hours at the store to buy food for her family, and then perhaps prepare it on a community stove or in the stuffy kitchenette of her trailer.

But they managed somehow. And the flood of planes and tanks and ships and munitions kept rolling out, more and more, faster and faster. American labor did the job. The tide of battle turned in the Pacific. A year ago this month D-Day dawned on the beaches of France. It became apparent even in the strongholds of the enemy that free labor would win.

During those years 1942 through 1944 we had worked out the best sort of teamwork between labor, management and government. There had been differences and disputes, of course, but these were under the terrific strains of war and record-breaking production, the disputes were so few and so readily settled.

Yes, there were hitches in war production from time to time. There were many reasons—faulty planning by the armed forces who failed to anticipate their needs in time; poor utilization of manpower by management; changes in models, causing delays for retooling; conditions of living and working which made it wholly impossible to keep some

plants staffed. The little of these delays, policy of most of the news, while a product for any other cause was secret.

However, in spite of and delay, production maintained and the gooding at a breathtaking rate. Labor productivity per shown a steady increase. 1944, the output per worker per cent higher than in 1942.

Our late beloved President this tribute to American job:

"Our working men have done a production of which the world has before. They have fighters with the finest record quantities, which they are beating and with which they are beating him everywhere.

The Senate War Committee, now headed by James M. Mead of New Jersey, in an official report

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## New

**A** NEW and important bill, providing a system of social insurance in Congress. As analysis news service, the new social insurance system health service, set up disability insurance on a uniform, national and broaden retirement and total disability insurance with more benefits than existing

The new bill would authorize a ten-year, \$1,000 program of federal and loans for construction expansion of hospital health centers.

In addition, the bill would provide grants for expansion of hospital services, maternal and child and welfare services and public assistance to individuals, such as the blind and dependent

President William the American Federation

plants staffed. The public heard little of these delays. It was the policy of most of the American press that a strike of labor was headline news, while a production delay for any other cause was a military secret.

However, in spite of every hitch and delay, production levels were maintained and the goods keep coming at a breathtaking rate of speed. Labor productivity per worker had shown a steady increase. By April, 1944, the output per worker was 35 per cent higher than in December, 1942.

Our late beloved President paid this tribute to American labor's war job:

"Our working men and women have done a production job the like of which the world has never seen before. They have supplied our fighters with the finest weapons in record quantities, weapons with which they are beating the enemy and with which they will keep on beating him everywhere they meet."

The Senate War Investigating Committee, now headed by Senator James M. Mead of New York, declared in an official report:

"Production and distribution have

exceeded all records and most expectations. From almost any viewpoint, this has been the most colossal undertaking of mankind. That this task has been accomplished as well as it has been is a miracle of economic organization."

Then came the German breakthrough late last year. Military schedules were thrown off and with them, of course, production schedules. Certain shortages developed which had not been anticipated. Things were needed at the front which were not on the spot. Goods were required whose production had been cut back last year in the belief that the stockpiles were large enough.

But the greatest bottleneck was transportation. Warehouses were jammed in America, in England, in the ports of France and Belgium. And there were not enough ships and trains and trucks to take them to the front at a moment's notice. Those who took time to think realized that this was a misfortune of war which could not be helped.

But there were some who took advantage of the mischance to raise again the cry that labor was to blame. They had been silenced for a while

by the obvious facts of war production under a system of unregimented labor. Now they used the excuse of local shortages, for which labor was in no way responsible, to renew the cry for a labor draft.

Many sincere people were misled by the misinterpretations of the press to support this demand. They thought there was a genuine need for more rigid manpower control to meet war needs, and they allowed themselves to be hoodwinked into supporting a bill which would actually have lowered morale and decreased production.

The responsible leaders of labor never gave in on this vital question. Even before V-E Day the bill had died an unlamented death, and the progress of the war makes it most unlikely that it will ever be revived. The nation may be glad that it was spared the passage of this self-defeating measure.

By now it must be clear to all, including the Japs who are soon to be hammered to their knees as their Axis partner in Europe was, that free labor is the superior of slave labor any day in the week. With free labor we have achieved victory in Europe. With free labor we shall also achieve victory over Japan.

## New Social Security Bill Is Introduced

A NEW and improved Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, providing for a nationwide, comprehensive system of social insurance, has been introduced in Congress. As analyzed by the A. F. of L.'s weekly news service, the measure would establish a national social insurance system including prepaid personal health service, set up unemployment and temporary disability insurance with benefits up to \$30 a week on a uniform, national basis, and broaden retirement, survivors' and total disability insurance with more liberal benefits than existing law.

The new bill would also authorize a ten-year, \$950,000,000 program of federal grants and loans for construction and expansion of hospitals and health centers.

In addition, the measure would provide grants to states for expansion of health services, maternal and child health and welfare services, and for public assistance to needy individuals, such as the aged, the blind and dependent children.

President William Green of the American Federation of

Labor has called upon Congress to enact the new bill without delay. The A. F. of L. has long led the fight for this type of legislation.

In a public statement Mr. Green said:

"Enactment of this measure will provide the American people with a well-rounded social security program for their protection in the transition period between war and peace and during the years to come."



Filing for out-of-work benefits. Bill would make them uniform.

# Railroad Workers Do Their Part for Victory



By **BERT M. JEWELL**  
*President, Railroad Employees'  
Department, A. F. of L.*

military machine itself. They must move the men, the machines and the supplies which are necessary to wage war. This is the traditional function of transportation in warfare.

**N**ATHAN Bedford Forrest, the great Confederate general of cavalry, once summed up all he knew about military tactics in the following words: "Get there fustest with the mostest."

General Forrest was hardly the first military commander to perceive the complete reliance of armies on transportation. Every major battle which has been fought—from Marathon to the Battle for Germany—has been decided through movements of troops and supplies.

In the beginning, of course, depots of supplies and reinforcements were nearer to the actual battlefields and problems of transport were relatively simple. The soldier and his horse once did all the work. Later, when armies became larger and battlefields expanded, more specialized departments of supply were provided. With the advent of modern, mechanized warfare the problems of transport have not only become more difficult and complex but have also gained immeasurably in importance.

The railroads play a dual role in total war. First of all, they perform as an active auxiliary to the

conditional function of transportation in warfare. The concept of total war, however, has added other burdens to the rails. It is commonplace now to say that we have been engaged in a war of production—our entire economy is geared as a war machine. The functioning of that machine depends on the railroads more than on any other single factor. Raw materials, such as iron ore, coal, oil and lumber, are transported from our mines and forests to the large manufacturing centers where they are fashioned into the implements of war. These, together with the huge quantities of food necessary to sustain our armies, are again transported to our principal ports, where they are transhipped to our armed forces.

The defeat of Germany and the progress in the war against Japan have been due in no small degree to the magnificent job done by the railroads. Quietly and without fanfare, railroad managements and railroad workers have performed a transportation miracle in the face of shortages of equipment, materials and manpower. As was said by Brigadier General Carl R. Gray, Jr.,

Director General, Military Railway Service, in a recent article, "I think we railroad men can modestly accept one compliment that has been passed to the American railroad industry, namely, that 'American railroads are doing the greatest single job of the war.'"

The volume of traffic now being handled by the railroads is the greatest in the history of our industry. Freight traffic is more than double and passenger traffic is more than four times what it was prior to the war, and both freight and passenger traffic are about double what they were during the last war. The 738 billion revenue ton miles of freight handled by the railroads in 1944 are the equivalent of transporting an average freight train of 1,116 tons more than 26,500 times around the world at the Equator. Similarly, the average passenger train containing 215 passengers would be required to go around the world almost 18,000 times to equal the nearly 96 billion revenue passenger miles handled by the railroads during the same year.

While much has been said of the part played by railroad management in achieving these results, and management is deserving of the highest praise, all too little recognition has been given to the railroad workers and their important contribution to the winning of the war. Without

the wholehearted cooperation of the workers, the railroad industry could not have met the demands made by the war. Like a road industry and efficiently performs his job with care.

The contribution of railroad workers has been shown by their productivity per employee. Data published by the Commerce Commission show that railroads handled 124 per cent more revenue ton miles in 1944 than in 1918, with only 42 per cent more railroad workers since the last war. Passenger traffic is 124 per cent more than in 1918, and passenger miles are 24 per cent more.

Combining freight and passenger traffic in freight units at the rate of 124 per cent more passenger miles per ton mile, we find that the railroads handled 78 per cent more freight and 150 per cent more passenger traffic in 1944 than in 1918.

This is true, but it is not a record, but it is not possibly a record of the degree of sacrifice and great measure of which has been made by railroad workers. Long hours, shortages of manpower and power and the requiring of the ingenuity have been the routine of the war.

It is of special interest that this record, despite a chronic shortage of railroad workers, the Railroad Industry has 75,000 workers, a time the shortage of 100,000 workers that the responsibility has been shouldously—each to bear a great burden to meet requirements.

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the wholehearted cooperation of the workers the railroad industry could not have met the tremendous demands made upon it during the war. Like a fine watch, the railroad industry can function smoothly and efficiently only if each employe performs his job with great skill and care.

The contribution that railroad workers have made and are making is shown by the increase in productivity per employe. According to data published by the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Class I railways handled 121 per cent more revenue ton miles and 322 per cent more revenue passenger miles in 1944 than in 1939, with an increase of only 42 per cent in the number of railroad workers. A comparison since the last war shows that 82 per cent more revenue ton miles and 124 per cent more revenue passenger miles were handled in 1944 than in 1918, while the number of employes was actually reduced by 24 per cent.

Combining freight and passenger traffic into so-called traffic units at the ratio of three passenger miles to one freight ton mile, we find that the traffic handled per employe has increased 78 per cent since 1939 and 150 per cent since the last war.

This is truly an impressive record, but cold statistics cannot possibly reveal the high degree of sacrifice and the great measure of devotion which has been displayed by railroad workers to make it possible. Long hours of work, shortages of materials and manpower and difficult problems requiring the utmost skill and ingenuity have become the daily routine of the railroad worker.

It is of special significance that this record was achieved despite a chronic shortage of railroad workers. According to the Railroad Retirement Board, the railroads were short about 75,000 workers in March. For a time the shortage was in excess of 100,000 workers. This means that the responsibility of the employes has increased tremendously—each employe has had to bear a greater share of the burden to meet essential traffic requirements.

On the other hand, the railroad workers' job has become infinitely more difficult because of the urgent requirements of the present emergency. Not only have regular schedules been

maintained, but many additional trains have been necessary to handle the great increase in the volume of traffic, much of it of a specialized character and requiring the utmost speed. For example, in addition to the heavy wartime passenger traffic handled by the railroads, an average of more than 1,000,000 troops, exclusive of those on furlough, have been moved monthly since Pearl Harbor; in some months this movement has exceeded 2,000,000 troops. Railroad workers favor the forty-hour week, but during the war they have been working up to ten hours a day, six and seven days a week, in order to do their full part in the drives against Germany and Japan.

The inability of America's railroads to secure new cars and locomotives during the war years has meant that all available equipment has had to be kept in serviceable condition. Because of the intensive utilization which this equip-

ment has been receiving, an exceptionally heavy strain has been imposed upon the maintenance of equipment forces. The same is true of the maintenance of way department, for the tracks and roadways have been subjected to terrific wear.

The railroad workers have not only done a good job at home. They have also done a good job overseas. Early in the war our organizations cooperated with the railroads in training Railroad Battalions for the Military Railway Service, composed largely of experienced railroad workers. Thousands of them are now serving overseas.

Following closely behind our combat forces in Europe, the Military Railway Service reconstructed the railway lines and facilities destroyed by our bombers or by the retreating enemy and operated the lines to keep our armies supplied with food, ammunition and equipment. In addition to clearing away the debris and reconstructing bridges, com-



munication and signal systems and whole sections of railway line under shellfire and bombing attacks by the Nazis, they had to operate the lines under the most difficult conditions.

Major General Charles J. Gross, chief, Army Transportation Corps, has paid tribute to the men of the Military Railway Service in the following words:

"American railroad men have achieved a brilliant record of heroism and untiring work. \* \* \* Their story is one of courage and ingenuity, the story of how they delivered the goods to the men at the front—and got the goods there on time—despite enemy gunfire and bombs and wreckage left by wholesale demolition."

The importance of the Military Railway Service in bringing Germany to surrender was indicated in an article from official Army sources in the European theater of operations which appeared recently in the *Railway Age*. Said the article:

"The achievements of the Transportation Corps' Military Railways

in the present struggle have established the fact that their importance comes second only to that of the combat forces. Without them, the striking force is as powerless and useless as a projectile without its propelling charge."

In addition to performing their jobs well, both in this country and abroad, the railroad workers have also contributed in other ways to "keep 'em rolling" and to help win the war. First and foremost is the fact that, with insignificant exceptions, the railroad industry has been free of strikes.

Much of the credit for the uninterrupted wartime service must necessarily go to the railroad workers who, through their organizations, after many years of effort, succeeded in placing laws on the statute books setting up effective machinery for the settlement of labor disputes. The railroad workers' record of uninterrupted service over a period of many years has not been matched in any industry of equal size.

The international organizations

representing the railroad workers have cooperated with the railroads in meeting many special problems arising out of the war. For example, they have amended their agreements to permit upgrading in order to meet the need for additional skilled labor. They have also cooperated with the railroads and the Railroad Retirement Board in recruiting additional employes.

Railroad workers were urged by their organizations to buy war bonds through the payroll deduction plan and have responded wholeheartedly. In addition, they have contributed generously as individuals to other phases of the war effort.

It is apparent that the railroad workers of America did their full share toward the defeat of Germany and are doing their full share toward the defeat of Japan. In cooperation with railroad management, the railroad workers have been providing the transportation necessary to victory. After victory they will continue to play an important role in furnishing the transportation for a nation at peace.



### A. F. OF L. TEAMSTERS ARE CARRYING THE GOODS TO CHINA

A TRUCK CONVOY, largely made up of members of A. F. of L.'s International Brotherhood of Teamsters, has arrived in China after an epic 6,000-mile trip by sea, rail and highway from Persia. The group, which transported almost half a million tons of Lend-Lease supplies to Russia while Germany was still in the war, is now at work transporting munitions and supplies to the fighting Chinese.

These union truckers, most of whom had long experience on the smooth highways in America, some with records of 500,000 miles without an accident, are from almost every state in the Union. Their average age is over 30. Several are more than 40.

On the 6,000-mile journey the men and their equipment traveled by sea from Persia to Calcutta, India, from there to the terminus of the Stilwell Highway at Ledo by rail, and from Ledo down the Stilwell Highway to Kunning, China, under their own truck power.

Every twenty-fifth vehicle carried food and every third vehicle carried extra fuel. A full truckload of lubricants

was carried by each company. For water supply each unit had a complete water purification plant. Bulldozers for use in an emergency were carried by each company.

Two surgeons, five hospital corpsmen, two dentists and their technicians and a chaplain were assigned to the convoy.

Several practical steps to insure safety were taken during the last 1,500 miles. Dual wheels were attached to trailers to prevent tipping on hairpin turns. This scheme proved an ingenious way of bringing extra wheels, tires and tubes into China without using cargo space.

Several giant pieces of equipment not regularly a part of the Quartermaster unit equipment were brought over as an experiment for the capacity of the Stilwell Road. There was an Air Force C-2 wrecker with 25-foot trailer, a 750-gallon tanker with 600-gallon trailer, and an 18-ton truck with 42-foot trailer. Army officials said the fact that all the big equipment arrived at Kunning intact is a tribute to skill of the drivers, preponderantly A. F. of L. men.

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# NOW IT CAN BE TOLD

By MATTHEW WOLL

SHORTLY after V-E Day the Labor League for Human Rights, relief organization of the American Federation of Labor, received a telephone call from the office of the War Refugee Board in Washington.

"Now that Germany has surrendered," said the voice, "labor relief projects behind Axis lines are terminated. You are now free to give out any information you wish concerning these programs."

This conversation marked the happy ending of a drama which for months had been unfolding in the silence and secrecy of the underground labor movements of occupied Europe; the drama of our American labor program of rescue and relief in enemy-held Europe, carried on through the secret channels of the European labor movements in close cooperation with the War Refugee Board.

The inception of this program goes back to 1943, shortly after the creation of the National War Fund. In July of that year the Executive Committee of the War Fund, in response to the urgent request of American labor, set aside \$1,000,000 to be allocated by the American labor relief organizations to the underground labor movements of the Axis-occupied countries. Then began a long and fruitless attempt to secure the necessary authorizations from the various government departments concerned. For the proposal to send money and supplies behind Axis lines involved questions of high government policy—diplomatic, strategic, financial.

The deadlock continued until the late President Roosevelt, moved by the humane purpose of saving lives in the occupied territory of our Allies, created for that purpose the War Refugee Board, whose members were the Secretaries of State, War and the Treasury. No sooner had the President acted than representatives of the labor relief organizations were summoned to Washington to discuss the projects for rescue and relief which had been so long awaiting clearance. And in a very short time these projects had government approval and were licensed by the

Treasury Department. The licenses authorizing the use of American money to aid and rescue Allied nationals behind Axis lines are historic. Here are the purposes, as set forth in a typical example:

In order to provide relief to persons in enemy or enemy-occupied territory, and in order to evacuate to places of safety or relative safety as shall be selected by (the designated trustees) of persons in enemy or enemy-occupied territory whose lives are in imminent danger and, pending possible evacuation, to safeguard the lives of such persons. The trustees (including such agents as they may appoint) are hereby licensed, notwithstanding the provisions of General Ruling No. 11, to communicate with persons in enemy or enemy-occupied territory in any manner they deem necessary or expedient and to take all other appropriate action, including the acquisition of the necessary funds, goods or services from persons in enemy or enemy-occupied territory against payment in accordance with the terms of this license.

Such were the extremely liberal provisions of the licenses which enabled thousands of loyal adherents of the Allied cause to be snatched from under the outstretched hands of the Gestapo.

At the request of American labor, seven such licenses were issued to trustees chosen by representatives of the labor movements of occupied countries and approved by their governments-in-exile. In all of these countries—Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Holland, Norway, Luxembourg, Poland—labor, forced underground by the Nazi overlords or the quisling governments, continued to preserve its organizations and to resist the enemy. The extent of this resistance and the price are dramatically illustrated by the number of victims. In France, for example, between 7,000 and 8,000 members of the Confederation Generale du Travail alone were officially reported executed during the occupation for their implacable hostility to the occupying forces.

The purpose of American labor was threefold. First came the rescue of the hunted; second, relief of persons in hiding; third, aid to the families of persons executed, forced into hiding or deported into Germany as slave labor. And before

long, reports submitted to the War Refugee Board and transmitted by the Board to the office of the Labor League for Human Rights began to reveal a story of human salvage so dramatic and so gratifying that the obvious need to preserve absolute secrecy became a difficult restraint upon our natural desire to share our relation with the American workers whose generous contributions to the National War Fund had made the story possible.

American workers supplied the funds. European workers took the terrible risks involved in getting money and supplies across borders guarded by the Nazi armies to their harried compatriots—and not alone to the workers among them, for it was a fixed rule of American labor, the War Refugee Board and the National War Fund that help should go to people in danger or in need, without regard to labor or other affiliation. The European labor movements provided the channels and took the risks, and the trustees adhered readily and loyally to the rule of impartiality.

Not for some time shall we know the full story of American labor's fraternal cooperation with European labor in this humanitarian work. Europe is so recently liberated and conditions there are so unsettled that the details of the picture, and in some cases even the outlines, must await a calmer and happier period. But we know enough already to be able to say that American labor relief behind Axis lines brought a new claim on life and hope to thousands who otherwise would not have lived to see the sun of freedom rise once more over the lands they had risked their lives to defend.

In Belgium the labor movement, anticipating the aid promised by American labor, had borrowed money to carry on the vital work of rescue and relief—a loan which the American relief organizations were privileged to repay. In Holland, American labor relief funds arrived in time to be of aid precisely during the period when that country was undergoing its ultimate and most terrible ordeal. Because of a delay in the French government's approval of

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FEDERATIONIST

June, 1945

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*A few of the thousands of children we saved from death at hands of Nazis*

the plan, due to difficult communications, the initial fund sent to that country arrived after its liberation. However, Robert Bothereau, secretary, and Pierre Newmeyer, treasurer, of the French Federation, have expended that fund and are using the funds allotted for the current budget year for one of the purposes intended—relief to dependents of some 30,000 men either shot or deported by the Nazis.

In Czechoslovakia many families hiding in the forests after the Slovak revolt were supported by American labor funds. Hundreds of refugees, some with their wives and children, were enabled to escape into Sweden or Switzerland. Czechoslovak refugees in occupied France, most of them families of Czechoslovak soldiers, were aided by American labor. A children's home was maintained in occupied France. Emergency support was provided to Czechoslovak citizens deported by the Nazis to other occupied countries. The trustees who ably handled this distribution were Frantisek Nemecek, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Union of Railroad Workers, and Jan Becko, chairman of the Czechoslovak Union of Coal Mine Workers. Both Mr. Nemecek and Mr. Becko were members of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile in London.

A glance at the map of Norway suffices to explain why the trustees for that heroic country were most advantageously situated for their work of rescue and relief. The long common frontier with neutral Sweden, the mountainous terrain, the sea area

common to the two countries—all this made for direct and continuous contact between the underground workers in Norway and the labor relief trustees in Stockholm. Thanks to these favorable conditions, a steady stream of refugees flowed from Norway into Sweden, and a steady stream of money and supplies from Sweden into Norway. And the trustees, Lars Evensen, vice-president of the Norwegian Federation of Labor, and Martin Tranmael, a member of its executive committee, were able to render detailed monthly reports of the work done.

In the mountains of Norway 10,000 young Norwegians lived in hiding from the Gestapo and the Quisling police. Their capture meant death or forced labor in Germany. These young refugees were maintained in their hideouts by the trustees of American labor funds. In their turn they aided the labor relief program, acting as couriers for supplies, and as guides over the difficult mountain trails for patriots in whom the Gestapo had developed such a persistent interest that flight to Sweden had become imperative. Last June the number of persons rescued was 850. It varied between 500 and 1,500 thereafter until the day of liberation.

The mountain trails into Sweden were not the only route of escape. American labor funds financed the charter and equipment of small vessels in which fugitives from the Nazi terror were smuggled from the Norwegian coast to the safety of Sweden. Now and then a boat was caught by

the Nazis, who exercised an ever-tightening control of Norwegian waters. Capture meant concentration camps or worse for those on board. But most of the refugees evacuated by water got through safely.

The extent of the material aid sent across the Swedish border is revealed by a glance at any of the monthly reports. Part of this aid could be sent in "licensed packages" with the consent of the enemy. In January, for example, 1,590 packages were sent to families of persons in jail or in hiding. They contained some 42,678 pounds of foodstuffs, 4,500 pounds of clothes and 360 pairs of shoes. Through underground channels the trustees sent 26,600 pounds of food, 640 pairs of shoes and a considerable quantity of miscellaneous articles, such as flashlights, laundry and toilet soap, toothbrushes and paste, shaving soap and brushes, razor blades, cigarettes and smoking tobacco, pipes and matches.

Thus, month after month, the aid sent by the workers of the United States to their Norwegian brothers saved lives, alleviated the hardships due to systematic pillage by the Nazis, and helped to maintain the health and morale of fugitives and their families, and the families of men jailed or deported, or fallen in the struggle for freedom.

The record of rescue and relief behind enemy lines is one of which American labor may be justly proud. With the unflagging cooperation of the War Refugee Board and the European labor movements, we have cheated the Nazis of many victims and helped to sustain the morale of our European brothers during an ordeal whose full horror became known to the civilized world only when uncovered by the advancing armies of liberation.

That phase of our work is now ended. Its success should inspire renewed devotion to the task ahead—the task of help and encouragement to our fraternal movements abroad in the rebuilding of their lives and their labor movements; the task, in other words, of helping to make sure that their sacrifice in lives and suffering shall not have been in vain. In this work the American Federation of Labor, through the Labor League for Human Rights and the Free Trade Union Fund, has once more taken the lead.

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# Labor Men in Germany

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What they saw and  
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tremendous job lies  
in the Pacific war.

Three presidents of A. F. of L. international unions and four other A. F. of L. union officers made a seventeen-day tour of the European war zones that ended on the eve of V-E Day. They saw the Normandy beaches, the battered fortifications of the Siegfried Line, bomb-wrecked Aachen, Coblenz, Weimar and Cologne (photo above), and the cemeteries where America's hero dead sleep.

They also viewed one of the worst horrors in all history, a German murder factory (Buchenwald), where their own eyes told them that the incredible newspaper reports of Nazi atrocities had not been exaggerated.



Making the trip were Martin P. Durkin, president, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters; William E. Meloney, president, Operating Engineers; E. E. Milliman, president, Maintenance of Way Employes; M. A. Hutcheson, vice-

president, Carpenters; C. W. Sickles, Asbestos Workers; Harry J. Carr, Machinists; and H. R. Lyons, Railway Clerks. An eighth labor leader, Jones M. McBride of the Brotherhood of Firemen and Enginemen, accompanied the seven A. F. of L. men. The group heard warm praise for U.S. labor's great contribution to victory.



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*Representatives of A. F. of L. unions were right up at the firing line in the course of a month's tour of the Pacific that took them to Iwo Jima, the Philippines, Guam and Guadalcanal. They talked with Admiral Nimitz and General MacArthur.*

*What they saw and what they were told convinced them that a tremendous job lies ahead in the Pacific war.*



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The A. F. of L. men who made the trip under joint Army-Navy auspices were Roy M. Brown of the Machinists, Thomas Crowe of the Boilermakers and Thomas A. Rotell of the Bay Cities Metal Trades Council

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# Editorials



## What Lies Ahead?

V-E DAY brought to an end the combat period of our war in Europe. When the United States entered the war in order to preserve those rights inherent in man's dignity, we assumed a responsibility which requires the release of democratic forces in Europe and cooperation in creating world agencies to keep the peace.

Nazi and Fascist governments in Germany, Italy and Central Europe have been wiped out. Cities, public utilities which provide the machinery for community life, parts of the whole economy have been destroyed. Unconditional surrender puts upon the peoples of these areas the obligation of obeying the government of the United Nations. The German high command surrendered to the high command of Great Britain, the U.S.S.R. and the United States of America. Terms of peace will be made by the governments of the United Nations. The U.S.S.R., Great Britain, France and the United States will jointly be responsible for military government of the land formerly ruled by Hitler.

It is a matter of special pride to the American Federation of Labor that our union representative who has rendered distinguished service on the War Production Board has been selected to aid General Clay, head of our military government for Germany. Our fellow trade unionist, Joseph Keenan, will be in charge of employment and related administrative responsibilities, and in a position to give encouragement to free trade unionists of Germany.

We must get to the people in devastated areas food and the tools to get their economies going again as well as organize a sound basis for well-being in our own country. In addition, our trade unions have been raising funds for the relief of trade unionists in occupied countries and assisting them in reviving their unions—their basic agency for promoting their welfare.

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Unconditional surrender of the Nazi forces terminated the all-out period of war production. Contracts will be canceled gradually or allowed to run out, as in the case of shipbuilding. A conservative estimate is that 40 per cent of war contracts will be canceled before the end of the year. The major part of the European army, with equipment, will be transferred to the Pacific. Supplies fill warehouses in this country and abroad.

During the period of scarcity the WPB, WMC and OPA should maintain controls, readjusted to our new directions. We are headed now toward a period when there will be plenty of manpower and materials. Our new conception of stabilization should be an equilibrium of dynamic forces in an expanding economy.

In addition to our problems of reversing production controls, reconversion will be influenced or conditioned by disposal of surplus property.

Until final victory is won, each and all of us must stay at our posts of duty. Lasting victory can be assured only if every person assumes responsibility to do his part toward making the United Nations a means to protect us against future military aggression as well as to help us to constructive solutions of social and economic problems. We must give the best in us for the establishment of permanent peace based on justice.

## Free Trade Unions

THE TRADE union movement in the United States was mainly built by workers who learned their unionism in European countries and who brought over their traditions and practices. Trade unionists from Great Britain, France, Germany, Holland and the Scandinavian countries were leaders in organizing unions in their countries, so our international unions maintained a relationship with trade unions of other nations. In 1894 the American Federation of Labor established a formal plan

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Because this organization did not guarantee to respect the autonomy of national labor movements, the American Federation of Labor did not affiliate pending clarification on this point.

American trade unions grew up in a democratic environment without the situations which made European workers class-conscious. The economic forces of the New World were the dominant controls, so American unions developed their programs around demands for better wages and shorter hours. As voters and as citizens we, as individuals, identified ourselves with the existing political parties. We developed a philosophy of economic freedom through free trade unions and kept our unions independent of partisan politics. The European labor movements were largely socialistic. To make the edicts of a Socialist-controlled international binding upon our American trade unions was impractical. We did not accept membership in the International Federation of Trade Unions until it was understood that American trade unions were sovereign in their affairs.

We came back into the world labor organization at the time when free trade unions were realizing the unbridgeable chasm between unions controlling their own actions and policies and unions existing by sufferance of the government and operating as government agencies.

With development of the authoritarian state in Europe, state-controlled worker and employer organizations asked for acceptance as bonafide organizations. A number of times the All-Russian trade unions sought affiliation to the International Federation of Trade Unions, but neither the Communists nor the Nazi and Fascist organizations were

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But during the war, after the U.S.S.R. broke its alliance with Hitler and joined the United Nations, we were asked to join an Anglo-American-Soviet labor commission. Realizing the political necessities of our country at war, we countered with a proposal that the British Trades Union Congress serve as a liaison between the labor movements of the U.S.S.R. and the United States. As Americans and as workers we did our level best to get supplies to the Soviets and their armies, but in our personal relations we cannot disavow the fundamental difference between free trade unions and government-controlled unions.

When the secretary of the British Trades Union Congress invited the American Federation of Labor, the dominant labor movement of this great country, to join with all other labor groups in a world trade union conference to form a new world labor organization, we refused.

We believe a world labor organization cannot command respect and trust if it ignores or irresponsibly disregards existing organizations and established channels. The International Federation of Trade Unions was the established and functioning agency of the free trade union centers of the world.

The American Federation of Labor believes that the basic issue in the world war we are fighting is personal freedom. We know that personal freedom is inseparable from political, and that economic freedom is the foundation of our political freedom. Our free trade unions are the agency through which workers realize their economic freedom and promote their economic welfare. We believe that free trade unions are indispensable to free enterprise and are an essential element in our democratic way of life.

The American Federation of Labor refuses to give up the birthright of free workers. It seeks the cooperation of the free trade unions of other countries in order to maintain security from aggression and peace based on justice. We cannot permit others to identify us with the unfree, nor will we lend ourselves to their purposes. We want to remain free.

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# Editorials



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# Canadian Labor Looks Ahead

By PERCY R. BENGOUGH  
*President, Trades and Labor Congress of Canada*

**T**HE TRADES and Labor Congress of Canada is the trade union center in Canada as the American Federation of Labor is in the United States of America. The major portion of the membership of the Trades and Labor Congress is the Canadian membership of A. F. of L. international unions. The Trades and Labor Congress was organized more than sixty years ago by Canadian members of unions operating on both sides of the international boundary and it has functioned mainly on this basis ever since.

With such a background, it was natural that the workers of both our nations should desire to have the closest cooperation and collaboration between the American Federation of Labor and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. Such collaboration was essential to the strength and usefulness of our international movement.

This bond between the workers of Canada and the United States has not been inspired by dictatorship or compulsion. It has been and must always be an entirely voluntary unity, built on the sound foundation of friendly relationships between the workers of two great nations, living side by side in peace for 130 years.

The objectives of the Trades and Labor Congress and of the Federation are the same—fuller lives for our membership, the practice of democracy and preservation of free political institutions. When we get down to details, of course, there are some differences, as is to be expected in view of the fact that

the United States and Canada are, after all, distinct countries.

Canadian labor has done a wonderful job during the war years and wants to be able to do a good job in the postwar period. What we are going to do after the war is the most important problem we have to meet, a problem that must be solved.

Thousands of our members retain vivid memories of the horrible misery of unemployment. They remember the periods of depression when they were willing and anxious to work and were not wanted. Today Canadian workers look for assurance, definite assurance, that they will not once again find themselves on the verge of starvation while citizens of a land of plenty.

Canada had some 750,000 able-bodied citizens in her armed forces just prior to Germany's surrender. We had around 1,250,000 engaged directly or indirectly on what can be termed war work. Our productive capacity had been more than trebled during the war. In the five and one-half years since 1939, Canada underwent an industrial transformation which, under normal conditions, would have taken four or five times as long.

We calculate that we shall need two million new jobs in Canada in the postwar period. War compelled us to intensify our industrial efforts, and the workers and people generally realize the country's enormous capacity to produce and its ability at the same time to feed and maintain a great army of men and women who were taken from industry. They are determined that Canada shall not return to a system of life that restricts production and reduces farm output.

We are not in accord with all the controls of wartime and their application, but we do believe that stabilization by equitable regula-

tion is the soundest system of operation. We believe that our immediate position after victory can best be protected by the exercise of controls over finance, commerce and industry and that no controls should be erased or new ones established that would provide any avenues for exploitation of the people.

Immigration policy is a current question of vital concern. We of labor feel that our country must be willing to accept more people, but only as many as can be absorbed without vitally affecting the general welfare of our own citizens. We believe that employment and security must be assured to all who served in the armed forces and war factories as well as to our citizens generally before any attempts are made to remove entirely Canada's existing immigration restrictions.

## Urgently Needed Public Works

We have in Canada an abundance of urgently needed public works which should be commenced immediately war production ceases. There is not a city, town or village but needs local improvements. We go without hospitals and schools, we starve our universities and libraries, we risk the lives and health of our children and adults with poor roads, water systems and sewers. We have a million other justifiable wants. We do without all these needs although we possess an unlimited supply of raw materials and all the necessary labor, technical, skilled and unskilled.

Labor has suggested such undertakings as rural electrification, housing and garden city projects, slum clearance, rapid electric transportation, main arterial highways and bridges, reforestation, irrigation, control of soil erosion, development of waterways and canals, hospitals and educational institutions.

The Canadian government, through the medium of a company, the National Housing Limited, erects to meet the requirements of workers. Labor does not see the continuation of such housing.

We feel that in the age should construct command admiration and meet the requirements of an enlightened age, homes with modern facilities, comfort and social plenty of space and local to adequate educational facilities. We see any type of cheap, flimsy construction.

Under the Federal system a system of loans was made. Results prove the system, with safeguards, was successfully operated to provide for those accepting financial responsibility and would give the exacting and some conditions imposed on companies. This system interest loans for homes enabled many of our citizens to secure suitable homes.

An extension of this legislation, with provisions preventing speculative taking advantage of, such a scheme.

The Canadian government under consideration will make possible the 50,000 to 100,000 new jobs annually. Labor favors a scheme which fill an urgent need, provide a scheme for employment.

Full recognition must be the fact that we are not in the machine age. Machine the work and all people to participate fully in the machine. If, in planning, extensive employment appears, we are prepared to meet the short employment opportunities, shortages in other needs of the war. We must have full employment; in shortening the hours of labor to reach a balance. However, would offer no solution if standards were maintained a reduction in the purchasing power of the mass of the people act immediately on the part of the manufacturer, completion of this vicious cycle spell destruction of our workers.

Canadian labor considers

The Canadian government through the medium of a crown company, the National Wartime Housing Limited, erected dwellings to meet the requirements of war workers. Labor does not favor the continuation of such housing.

We feel that in the future Canada should construct homes that command admiration and respect and meet the requirements of an enlightened age, homes which embody modern facilities for domestic comfort and social progress, with plenty of space and located adjacent to adequate educational and recreational facilities. We are against any type of cheap, flimsy construction.

Under the Federal Housing Act a system of loans was made available. Results prove that this system, with safeguards, could be successfully operated to provide homes for those accepting financial responsibility and would give relief from the exacting and sometimes unfair conditions imposed by mortgage companies. This system of low interest loans for home building enabled many of our citizens to secure suitable homes. Labor favors an extension of this form of legislation, with provisions in the laws preventing speculative builders from taking advantage of, and exploiting, such a scheme.

The Canadian government has under consideration proposals that will make possible the erection of 50,000 to 100,000 new homes annually. Labor favors all such projects which fill an urgent need and provide a scheme for long-range employment.

Full recognition must be given to the fact that we are now living in a machine age. Machines are doing the work and all people have a right to participate fully in the benefits of the machine. If, in spite of our planning, extensive postwar unemployment appears, we must be prepared to meet the shortage of employment opportunities as we met shortages in other necessities during the war. We must ration available employment; in other words, shorten the hours of labor until we reach a balance. However, this would offer no solution unless wage standards were maintained, because a reduction in the purchasing power of the mass of the people would react immediately on the merchant and the manufacturer, and the completion of this vicious circle would spell destruction of our home markets.

Canadian labor considers it doubt-

ful that all of our people can have employment in the future if we continue our present workday and workweek. We feel that the problem will be to balance production, distribution and consumption. Our productive capacity has increased. To keep up, the mass of the people must have far greater purchasing ability than now.

Canadian labor advocates raising the school-leaving age and increasing facilities for advanced education. The results would be a people better equipped for life in a scientific world and, at the same time, a reduction in the number of persons looking for employment. At the other end of life, a far earlier retirement age should be established with adequate pensions. We have suggested 60 years as the retirement age.

The working people of Canada are not anxious to change our system. The very manner in which they rallied when the safety of their country was threatened and their liberties challenged shows conclusively how much they value their democratic way of life. They don't want totalitarian government. No one can dispute the fact that we have made progress in North America and improved our standard of living under our democratic

system. We still believe that, with progressive adjustment, our democracy can be made to operate effectively and our citizens made happy and contented.

The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada has been seeking social legislation for more than sixty years. At various stages of our history we have secured such legislation as workmen's compensation, old-age pensions, pensions for the blind, mothers' allowances and unemployment insurance. Now a system of health insurance is contemplated.

All of these measures have helped to make the lives of thousands of Canadians a little happier and more secure. In a modified way they have filled in some of the gaps that tend toward what the workers of Canada desire, which is complete social security. In view of our scientific and technical progress, we believe it is practicable to guarantee, to every citizen of our country who is able and willing to work, an adequate income that will provide a good home and a comfortable living for himself and his family, that will free him from the fear of want during the whole of his life and provide efficient medical treatment during illness and full protection in old age.

## 27 Years Ago in the FEDERATIONIST

IT NEVER entered into the minds of the autocrats of Germany that America—this easygoing people of ours, people engaged in labor, in business, in politics; this vast country of ours made up of all nationalities—could show anything like a united spirit and a willingness to serve and to sacrifice. The autocrats of Germany could not understand what is meant by the practice of freedom and democracy, could not understand that, once the soul of the people of our democracy was touched, they would stand united more thoroughly than the people of any country on the face of the globe.

NOW THAT our western line is moving with such splendid effect upon the forces of Prussian autocracy, labor must hold steady and concentrate all of its will and resources upon the task immediately ahead. We are winning the war for freedom—let us hold steady until the

war is won. And let us be on the alert to see to it that, when victory has been achieved, the triumph shall serve no other cause save that of human welfare and freedom.

BRITISH LABOR has a right to decide its own problems and to determine its own policies. Conditions both economic and political in Great Britain are very different from those in the United States. There can be broad and liberal fraternity between the workers of our two countries without identity of methods and institutions. Because policies are different in the two countries is no proof that they are wrong in either.

CONVENTIONS of the American Federation of Labor in recent years passed resolutions and gave authority to President Gompers and the Executive Council to organize a Pan-American Federation of Labor in order to unite all the labor movements of the Latin republics with the great labor movement of this nation. In most of these countries the conditions among the masses of the working people are deplorable.

# INTERNATIONAL LABOR

## NEWS AND COMMENT

**T**HE UNITED Nations Conference on International Organization rejected a Russian proposal to grant advisory status to the so-called World Trade Union Congress.

Later Foreign Commissar Molotov said that his delegation had been forced to withdraw its motion because of the strong opposition encountered in the Steering Committee of the conference. Mr. Molotov had requested that the left-wing labor group be recognized as "representing the world labor movement."

Observers at San Francisco agreed that the leaders of the World Trade Union Congress laid bare their leftist tendencies by having their bid for conference recognition sponsored by Mr. Molotov. The C.I.O. has associated itself with this group. The American Federation of Labor has shunned it. The A. F. of L. continues loyal to the International Federation of Trade Unions, which has been in existence for many years, and to the International Labor Organization, established under the League of Nations following World War I chiefly through the efforts of Samuel Gompers, at that time president of the A. F. of L.

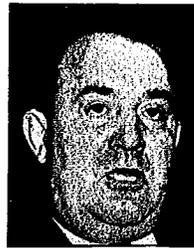
### Keenan Called to Germany To Handle Labor Problems

A prominent American trade unionist, Joseph D. Keenan, labor vice-chairman of the War Production Board, has been drafted by the War Department to help administer labor affairs in the portion of Germany to be occupied by the United States. A veteran member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Mr. Keenan has been on leave from his position as secretary of the Chicago Federation of Labor. He will serve as assistant to General Lucius D. Clay, administrator of civil affairs in the section of Germany to be run by the United States.

Mr. Keenan's job in the defeated Reich will be to supervise that branch of the occupation staff which will handle problems relating to

wages, hours, social security, housing for workers, labor disputes and related subjects. He is expected to recruit twelve to fifteen leading American union men to assist him.

Another union leader soon to go abroad is Irving Brown, a former assistant to Mr. Keenan in the



MR. KEENAN

Labor Division of WPB. Mr. Brown, formerly a member of the Executive Board of the A. F. of L.'s United Automobile Workers, was recently named chief of the Labor and Manpower Division, Enemy Branch, Foreign Economic Administration, and is slated to be assigned to the American zone of occupation.

Paul R. Porter, former chairman of the Shipbuilding Stabilization Committee, is already in Europe serving as American labor adviser to the Allied Control Commission for Germany.

All of these trade unionists are staunch advocates of a revival of a free trade union movement in Germany and are expected to play an important part in efforts to restore the labor movement, destroyed by Hitler when he came into power.

### We'll Continue to Shun Soviet-Dominated W.T.U.C.

In recent months there have been predictions in the daily press that sooner or later the American Federation of Labor would join the so-called World Trade Union Congress, an irreconcilable grouping of labor organizations which is attempting to destroy the International Federation of Trade Unions and establish a new world labor political organization.

In order that there should be no doubt as to its position on this matter, the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. issued a statement dur-

ing its recent meeting which declared:

"There is not the slightest possibility or probability of the American Federation of Labor joining with any forces bent on destroying the International Federation of Trade Unions or in identifying itself with any group of trade unions attempting to speak in the name and in behalf of free labor of the world under the title of the World Trade Union Congress."

"The American Federation of Labor has consistently maintained that workers living under a system of economic and political freedom have common interests which can be served best by unity of labor both within the national and international spheres of action," said the Council's statement.

"The American Federation of Labor prides itself on its long record of effective cooperation with all other free trade unions throughout the world.

"We have had a fraternal and cooperative relation with the British Trades Union Congress consistently since 1894. It is our hope we may continue this relationship in the years to come.

"Our interests in the well-being of workers of all countries, the safeguarding and enhancement of the independence of their governments and the furthering of the freedom of their peoples have always and will ever be of deepest concern to us. Time and again, we have expressed in tangible form our interest in their behalf whenever occasion arose or emergency demanded.

"In the period of war when the very life of freedom and of democracy, the very existence of free labor, was at its lowest ebb, the American Federation of Labor rose to its full height in demanding that our government come to the aid and rescue of peoples everywhere whose lives and possessions and whose liberty and freedoms were in grave danger and hanging in the balance. Ever since then, labor in America as represented by the American Federation of Labor has poured forth of

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its earnings for the relief and comfort of all who were made destitute and homeless, driven from their native lands, persecuted and made to suffer the trials and tribulations of the most terrific and barbaric world conflict ever experienced in human history.

"During this trying period there were in our midst, speaking in the name of labor and in behalf of labor, those who used all of their energy, efforts and influence to hamper and retard the work of the American Federation of Labor and in opposition to our government's efforts to hold secure the banner of freedom, of liberty and of justice in Europe and Asia. Those pseudo-leaders of labor, who gave every possible aid and comfort to those who would enslave the peoples of the world, now parade under a banner of patriotism that will bear careful scrutiny in the light of their past activities.

"Now that the time is near for the rebuilding and reconstructing of a new world order, the reestablishing of agencies of free government and the resurrecting and resumption of free institutions of labor in all prostrate countries of Europe and Asia, the American Federation of Labor is again actively at work contributing whatever service it can to the attainment of these high and lofty objectives.

"Despite all this, it is falsely alleged that the American Federation of Labor is likely to abandon its historic role in the field of international relations, assume the mantle of isolationism and desert the cause of the freedom of the workers and join with those who, under the title of the World Trade Union Congress, would enslave and enchain the workers to the state. We cast aside such insinuations.

"We declined the invitation tendered by the World Trade Union Conference as unworthy of acceptance in the light of our traditional adherence to the principles of free and voluntary trade unionism.

"We declined to join this alleged and self-styled World Trade Union Congress because the officers of the International Federation of Trade Unions have disregarded their duties and obligations. Instead of having safeguarded and promoted the best interests of the International Federation of Trade Unions, they have deserted their organization and have connived at its destruction.

"We declined to associate ourselves with this alleged World Trade Union Congress because it is composed of an irreconcilable grouping of organizations, rival in character,

raiding in action and in conflict with each other on the home field and in hopeless disagreement on international lines.

"We declined to become part of a world trade union movement that would subordinate the American labor movement, its affiliates and membership as well as that of other lands to the dictates of those who themselves are not free to determine their destiny.

"We have declined to identify ourselves with a world trade union movement that is inspired by a political philosophy which is designed to subordinate and subjugate man and property to the exclusive will of the state.

"The American Federation of Labor is more firmly convinced than ever by recent developments that its position is sound. It calls upon the International Federation of Trade Unions, of which it is a member unit, to convene a world trade union conference of the International Federation of Trade Unions at the earliest possible time. This must be done if it is to carry out its duly constituted responsibilities on behalf of all representative trade unions,

which, as members of the International Federation of Trade Unions have proven their loyalty and devotion to free labor and free trade unions. We further urge that this meeting be convened either in Canada or in the United States and independent of any other labor gathering or meeting.

"We hold that the International Labor Organization should be established as the social and economic arm of the United Nations with tripartite representation so that the control of world trade and industry may be guided by representatives of all groups concerned.

"We express the hope that the British Trades Union Congress and the free trade unions of other nations will maintain the close ties of brotherhood and of common purpose which have marked the relations between free organized labor of the world for so many years. Time and events will demonstrate the soundness of our decision not to barter away our status as a free and independent labor organization. The American Federation of Labor is American, free and voluntary. It will ever remain so."



Signal Corps

## ARMY HONORS OUR HAWAII ORGANIZER

**JOHN A. OWENS, A. F. of L. organizer in Hawaii, received a certificate of commendation from the U.S. Army in recent ceremonies at Fort Shafter. The presentation was in recognition of his work on the Advisory Council to the Director of Labor Control, Office of the Military Governor, Territory of Hawaii. In the photo above Lieut. Gen. Robert C. Richardson, Jr., is shown congratulating Mr. Owens.**

**A member of the Boilermakers since 1923, Mr. Owens came to Hawaii from California in 1936 and began to gain prominence in Hawaiian labor circles soon afterward. He was on the job as A. F. of L. organizer when the Japs attacked Pearl Harbor in 1941.**

June, 1945

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# WHAT THEY SAY

**Colonel Warren J. Clear, former U. S. military observer in Asia—**



Upon our arrival in the British Isles in 1942 we found food, water, railroads, roads, telephone and telegraph facilities, warehouses and other storage facilities, refrigeration for millions of tons of meat and other foodstuffs, hospitals and recreation and morale facilities. In China, after we land, we shall find no water, no food, no telephone, telegraph, warehouse or storage facilities. Along the China Coast we shall find no roads. As for railroads, there is a stretch of a thousand miles along the China Coast where there are none at all. As we press closer to Japan our difficulties will grow. The Japanese are tough. There is nothing in our intelligence reports to suggest any falling-off in the high quality of the Japanese soldier or in his battle zeal. Our recent operations in the Pacific, no matter how dramatically headlined, are only minor operations compared with the job ahead. The Japs hope to make that job so tough for us that we will chuck it. They do not believe that we have the will and determination to see it through.

**Marion T. Bennett, Congressman from Missouri—**I was one of the



first ten American Congressmen and civilians to view the Nazis' mass murder camps. The English language does not contain adequate adjectives to describe the horrors I saw. And what do the German people think about it all? I saw some of the younger Germans looking at the piles of bodies with cold and stony expressions. I saw some of the younger girls smirking. I saw German civilians wandering about the streets attending to their business as if nothing had happened, showing and speaking neither remorse nor regret. It was more than bad leadership which had done this

thing; the ignorance, apathy and greed of the German people supported it. In my work in Congress I will be guided by certain ideas which are the result of my gruesome experience. Germany must be made as self-supporting as possible—but without the means of making the machines of war. She must have no army, no air force, no navy. She must never again be allowed any heavy industry. Her generation of Nazis must repair the damage done to other lands as nearly as possible. Germany's own cities ought to be left heaps of rubble as reminders that crime does not pay.

**William D. Mahon, eighth vice-president, A. F. of L.—**What wages



labor should receive and who should decide what wages should be paid are questions that have never been satisfactorily answered. The economist, the employer, the laborer have all taken a hand at it, but no definite or satisfactory rule has ever been found. Some say labor should have "a fair share of the wealth it produces and creates," and that sounds very fine, but who can determine the fair share of wealth that each worker has created? For instance, a large dam is built to reclaim thousands of acres of waste desert land. It takes 200 workers two years to build that dam and its connections. As a result, thousands of acres of land are reclaimed, many fine farms are created and several industries are established. There never has been an accountant who could figure how much the individual worker on that dam created in the real produced wealth of that community. Then there are those who say that labor should have a "living wage." That is a meaningless phrase, for what might be considered a living wage in certain industries or in certain parts of the world would in other industries or in other parts of the world be considered a starvation wage. Our business world of today is based absolutely on the wage system. To meet the actual needs of labor, wages must be readjusted every year—or,

at least, every two years. The best and most satisfactory means of determining what wages labor should receive is through the institution closest to labor, the intelligently operated trade union.

**George Q. Lynch, president, Pattern Makers' League of North**



**America —** Up until 1935 the trade union movement in this country enjoyed the theoretical right to build unions, but we never had any constitutional existence and we never had any statutory existence. We merely operated under the general principle that it was the right of men to join labor organizations—if they could defend themselves from tear gas and the bullets of thugs hired by the same people who now call for "equal opportunity" under the law. I am not going to subscribe to the theory that the employer should have equal rights with labor under the National Labor Relations Act. It was never designed for that purpose. This law was designed to give to organized labor that which it never had before—the statutory right to organize and at least some form of punitive damages when the employer attempted to destroy that right. "Arbitrary authority" didn't arise with the NLRB. I can remember when some of the distinguished employers who are now calling for "equal opportunity" exercised authority to throw labor representatives out the front office.

**Admiral Ben Moreell, Chief, Bureau of Yards and Docks—**I do



not share the opinion of those who preach that a terrible depression is inevitable after the war. The end of the war will see this country with the greatest industrial productive potential, in men and material, in the history of the world. Our people are trained in the operation of the intricate machinery of modern production. We are young, energetic and courageous. To those who look upon the future with fear, I say: "Compare our lot with that of the other nations of the world. If we despair, what hope is there for them?"

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June, 194

# Medical Care for ALL

By MILES ATKINSON, M.D.

*Since the introduction of the first Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill in 1943, the nation has been flooded with propaganda attacking the health provisions as "socialized medicine" and "regimentation." This propaganda purports to speak for the whole medical profession. There are a great many doctors, however, who, though they are themselves members of organized medicine, do not share this hostility. One of these is Dr. Miles Atkinson, one of New York City's leading doctors and a well-known writer on medical subjects. His views on health insurance are representative of those rapidly gaining support among liberal U.S. doctors who recognize that all is not well with our present methods of making health services available to the people who need them.*

**T**HE DOCTORS of America realize increasingly, as do the men and women in the factories, on the farms, in the villages and in the cities, that the health of the American people is not what it should be.

In the past we doctors and the public have boasted about our tremendous advancement in medical science, about the giant strides medicine has made in the last seventy-five years. Today we are forced to acknowledge that, in the very country with the finest doctors and hospitals and laboratories in the world, there is still far too much preventable illness. The draft rejections dramatized this fact for us. They shocked the conscience of the nation.

We cannot maintain our equanimity, either, in the face of more than 100,000,000 cases of sickness occurring in this country every year, sickness causing a \$3,000,000,000 direct yearly wage loss, not to mention the toll in needless suffering and death.

We know now that the problem is largely one of finance, that a great deal of this illness is due to the inability of large sections of the public to pay for doctors and hospitals. The American Medical Association says that every family earning less than \$3000 a year needs help in meeting the costs of serious illness. This is a staggering finding, for it really means that at least 75 per cent of all Americans need such help.

The nation's health has become a social problem. As one eminent doctor has said: "Because the doctor's services are purchasable and yet almost beyond price, they are coming to be regarded like life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—a civic right, a public necessity." And our late President Roosevelt included in his Economic Bill of Rights "the right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health."

## Workers' Unmet Medical Needs

We doctors recognize that you workers of America have vast unmet medical needs. We want to meet them, not only for your sake, but for our own sake as well. A method is needed to pay for those who cannot afford to buy good health, and to ensure for doctors an adequate financial return.

The size of the investment in training a doctor is often forgotten. Doctors, too, must live and they have to meet heavy expenses—under present conditions it costs 40 per cent of a doctor's gross income to maintain his practice.

The young doctors in this country, even in boom times, often have a very hard time getting along. Some physicians do not like to admit



this, but it is nevertheless true. They usually do a great deal of clinic work, also, for which they are not paid. All they do, if their private practice diminishes—because of patients' inability to pay—and their free clinic practice increases, is to stand agape and say, "Look what's happening to me!" When the government comes along, however, with an offer to pay them for the work they now do for nothing, they draw themselves up with great dignity to announce, "I'll have none of this, My patients must come to me only on a private-practice basis."

This is a head-in-the-sand attitude which, unfortunately, is encouraged by the leaders of organized medicine. A group of progressive doctors have joined together, however, in an organization which we call the Physicians' Forum. We are members of organized medicine, but we disagree with the official policies of the A.M.A. in these matters. We stand with organized labor in actively supporting compulsory national health insurance as the only satisfactory way to distribute good medical care to all.

We all see cases every day where men and women needed medical attention long ago, but did not get it because they had not the money to pay for it and would not accept charity.

I am going to cite some of these cases.

There was a train engineer who

June, 1945

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Ewing Galloway

**Compulsory health insurance would bring to all Americans, from child to granddad, more medical attention than most are able to afford today**

thought he had indigestion, but put off getting the X-rays his doctor wanted because he was putting two sons through school and was perpetually short of cash.

By the time the pain became so severe that he couldn't bear it, stomach ulcers had developed and he had to have an operation that cost him \$200 plus weeks of hospital care and lost wages. If his difficulty had been diagnosed in time, good care might have saved him all this pain and expense.

There was a housewife whose seemingly slight cold was neglected until she was in bed with pneumonia. It took weeks of expensive doctoring and nursing to put her back on her feet. Fortunately, she had hospital insurance, so that phase of her care was prepaid.

Think how wonderful if she and the engineer had belonged to a comprehensive medical plan such as would be set up under a system of national health insurance! Each

would have called the doctor earlier, each might have received *preventive* care rather than have waited until they were seriously ill.

That is why the Physicians' Forum believes the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill\* now pending in Congress is an approach to solving the problem. By its provisions Americans would receive comprehensive medical care from birth to death.

You—and all of us—would pay for this by payroll deductions of 1½ per cent of your wages, with the employer paying a like sum. In this way you could afford complete medical care for yourself and every member of your family. The self-employed would pay into the fund,

\*The Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill (S. 1050 and H.R. 3293) was introduced in the 79th Congress on May 24. This improved bill takes the place of the old Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill which expired with the 78th Congress. It was prepared by the sponsors in consultation with President Green and the A. F. of L.'s Committee on Social Security.

too, and the indigent would be covered by taxes.

I recognize with pleasure that labor helped to draft and is supporting the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill. We doctors who approve the bill have made some suggestions for changes in it so that it will give the highest type of medical care to you, the consumers, and also guarantee the right of adequate medical education, intellectual freedom and economic security to us doctors.

We feel very strongly that such a system of national health insurance should be compulsory rather than voluntary. Voluntary schemes of health insurance have been with us for a long time. In fact, there are more than 200 such plans in effect now, enrolling 21,000,000 of the population, and new ones are springing up all over the country, raised as last-minute dikes by some frightened doctors and others against the encroaching tide of public action. The main objection to them is the very fact that they are voluntary.

Now, I am all for the individual and against regimentation, but there are times when even the individualist with the best of intentions needs a little prod. We would need a vast amount of education before the public would join in the numbers necessary—the majority of the population, remember—and ask to be enrolled in a scheme of health insurance. Many millions of persons who need health insurance—in fact, those who need it most—will never recognize that they need it or be able to afford it.

The main argument for compulsory health insurance is that nearly all existing voluntary systems give only *limited* service. The Blue Cross Hospital plans have been quite successful in reaching many people in many cities, but they only pay your hospital bill, not your doctor bill. In twelve years they have reached only 1 per cent of the population. The voluntary plans generally accept for membership only those entering in a group. This usually excludes wives and children of workers. A few plans have experimented and have permitted everyone to join. This has usually been disastrous financially, for the poorest medical risks rush into such a plan.

Normally there must be at least fifty in a group. Thus, employes in small units, the self-employed and the farmers are not taken care of.

*American* FEDERATIONIST

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Further, this type of insurance is expensive.

Some plans are sponsored by commercial insurance companies that operate on the cash indemnity system, whereby a flat payment of cash is made to cover certain specified ailments. For instance, the company will pay you \$75 for an appendectomy, \$25 for the removal of tonsils or \$50 for a fractured pelvis. But your doctor bill alone may exceed these sums, not to mention the weeks of hospital care that may run costs up hundreds of dollars more.

This sort of insurance puts the emphasis in the wrong place. It treats illness *after* they have occurred, rather than trying to prevent them before.

"With the growth in the powers of medicine to prevent and control disease," says the report of the Health Program Conference, which is made up of eminent doctors, economists and medical administrators, "a program that mainly deals with serious or 'catastrophic' illness is insufficient medically and uneconomical financially."

These cash indemnity plans are favored by the American Medical Association, however, because they preserve an illusion of the traditional method and because payment comes not from the state but from a private company, a large proportion of whose directors are often doctors.

Medical societies also sponsor health insurance plans that go further than cash indemnity. These usually provide insurance only to cover surgical or obstetrical cases in hospitals and the doctors must be paid on the usual fee-for-service basis. The Pepper Committee report said of fee-for-service:

"The pay-as-you-go or fee-for-service system, which is now the predominant method of payment for medical service, is not well suited to the needs of most people or to the widest possible distribution of high-quality medical care. It tends to keep people away from the doctor until illness has reached a stage where treatment is likely to be prolonged and medical bills large. It deters patients from seeking services which are sometimes essential, such as specialist care, X-ray and laboratory examinations and hospitalization. Individuals with low incomes, whose need is greatest, are most likely to postpone or forego diagnosis and treatment."

Organized medicine has insisted on this fee-for-service principle

which invites abuse when carried over into a health insurance system. The best and most economical type of service can be given the ailing public by a group of doctors who work together instead of in separate offices. This is called "group practice." The group should include general physicians and specialists in various fields, since the advance of medical knowledge makes it no longer possible for one physician to master more than a fraction of medical knowledge and skill. Moreover, modern equipment such as X-ray machines and other facilities costs too much for each individual physician to own.

Under the group practice plan you, as a patient, would have the advantages of pooled knowledge, experience and equipment. Doctors in the best group practices are paid on salary. They work like a well-organized hospital staff and they can supply good care at lower cost than solo doctors.

The enemies of compulsory insurance attack the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill on many counts. Actually, the "compulsory" feature does not mean that everyone would be compelled to receive government-ordered care. There will be no regimentation of either doctors or patients. There will always remain those patients who prefer to pay the private fees to one man rather than accept the services of another, just as there are private schools and public schools, and there will always be



doctors who will cater to this type of practice.

We progressive doctors, along with other liberals and friends of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, say:

The bill would not rob the patient of his right to choose his own doctor, but would extend that privilege to those who have never had it before.

Standards of care would be raised because a physician, working in a group in a hospital or health center,

could make free use of costly equipment, specialists' services and laboratory tests, now often too expensive for patients to use.

Doctors would be as independent as now, except that they would be sure of getting paid.

Most doctors' incomes would be raised (certainly the half of all U.S. doctors who earn less than \$3000 annually would benefit.)

The many persons who now have no care at all would receive it.

This method would not violate any of our American traditions, since the government already helps pay the medical bills of many impoverished people, and the local and state health departments and the U.S. Public Health Service look out for the health of all of us in certain particulars.

Medical fees could be kept as stable as in the past, with the net income of the profession increased through the increased consumption of medical care.

Very little "new" money would be called for, since the American people already spend between three and four billion dollars on medical care and the latter sum is what would be spent under the Wagner-Murray-Dingell plan.

Passage of a national health insurance bill would not destroy voluntary plans meeting good standards—many would continue.

Along with the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill there is a hospital construction bill which we favor because it would provide hospitals and health centers in all those sections

that are now so pitifully devoid of them—especially the rural sections where it is a commonplace for sick people to travel from twenty-five to a hundred miles to visit a doctor or a hospital. If these hospitals are built they will help to draw some of the 20,000 young doctors returning from the war to the areas that need them so badly. The doctors would be glad to go where they are sure of a livelihood and of the opportunity of taking their

patients to fine modern hospitals, of using the laboratories and of consulting with other doctors on the hospital staffs.

We progressive doctors believe, along with organized labor, that a bill of the nature of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill should be passed as quickly as possible by the Congress. We hope that organized labor will be active in pushing it, and we ourselves will do all we can to make our voices heard.



# Progress IN NEW YORK

By WILLIAM COLLINS  
*Regional Director of Organization*

NEW YORK housed the first modest office of the American Federation of Labor set up by Sam Gompers at the beginning of his long struggle to build the American labor movement. Since those days of six decades ago great progress has been made in the nation's largest city by the trade unions of the A. F. of L.

The principal duties of the New York City office of the A. F. of L. are organization work and the administration and servicing of federal labor unions. At the present time there are about 150 federal unions in the Empire State, most of which are located in the metropolitan area.

Among the unions in Gotham are many with long histories. For example, the Sailmakers of the Port of New York have a recorded union history going clear back to clipper days. The introduction of steam rendered their trade less important than it had formerly been, and today this venerable organization has only a few hundred members, engaged in producing hammocks for the Navy and sails for yachts. We have at least three federal unions in New York City that are nearing the half-century mark.

During the past ten years one hundred and twenty-five federal unions have been chartered in the metropolis. During the same period some twenty-five have been transferred to international unions. Recently 2,000 members were trans-

ferred to the new International Chemical Workers Union and about 4,000 to the Office Employees. All told, some 20,000 workers have been transferred to international unions during the past decade. The Aluminum Workers and the Wine, Liquor and Distillery Workers organized their first unions and negotiated their first contracts under the supervision of the New York City A. F. of L. office.

The federal unions cover workers ranging from men who fill vending machines in the subways with gum and candy to brush makers, tobacco salesmen, rubber workers and olive packers. The occupations mentioned represent only a fraction of those covered by our federal labor unions, made up of workers who, up to now, are not eligible for membership in existing internationals.

## Education in Contract Talks

Negotiation of agreements covering wages and working conditions for this great variety of wage-earners is the best practical education for the officers and membership. Some of our contracts cover as many as 3,000 items in one plant.

New production problems involving job classification and job evaluation have arisen in recent years. It has been necessary to instruct our unions in the filing of War Labor Board forms, the setting of ranges, the workings of the Little Steel formula and the operation of merit increases under General Order 31, and to be prepared to clarify for them the meaning of puzzling orders and directives issued under the Economic Stabilization Act.

To meet this situation, and to

bring about more cohesion among the federal labor unions, we formed the Sam Gompers Federal Labor Union Council of Greater New York. Each union that affiliates elects three delegates and pays dues of \$2 monthly. Meetings of the council are held monthly and the regional director of organization or his representative serves as honorary chairman.

The council's object is to foster cooperation between the federal labor unions and all other unions and branches of the American Federation of Labor in Greater New York. The council strives to promote, practice and further the American trade union principles and policies of Sam Gompers, including voluntary association, no discrimination because of creed, color or national origin, the Brotherhood of Man and the Fatherhood of God. The constitution of the council provides that actions of the council must not in any way intrude upon the jurisdiction of any established branch of the American Federation of Labor.

At the meetings of the council delegates report on the activities of their respective unions and; through an exchange of views, gain information that helps or guides them to a practical solution of their problems.

Guest speakers are invited to talk on such subjects as the War Labor Board, price control, workers' education, war bonds, the Red Cross and the Free Trade Union Fund.

During the sixth war loan drive the council undertook to sell enough war bonds to buy a B-29, which costs about \$650,000. Actually,

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more than \$1,000,000 was raised. A special certificate of merit was awarded by the state chairman of the War Finance Committee.

It is interesting to recall meetings between managements and unions which were arranged under council auspices prior to Pearl Harbor. At these meetings the question of changing over from a peacetime to a wartime economy was discussed. Several of the unions were doing some contract work for foreign countries that were already at war. The point made at these meetings was that we should be prepared to meet the problems that would arise in case our country became involved in the conflict. There was some skepticism at the time, but later events proved the value of the meetings.

Now we still have the big job of defeating Japan, but at the opportune time the council and its officers will again cooperate with management in order to solve the problems of the change back to a peacetime economy.

From various sections of the country come complaints of raiding of A. F. of L. federal unions by the C.I.O. This was attempted by the C.I.O. in our region in the early days of the National Labor Relations Act, but the would-be raiders were unsuccessful. Our old and new unions, through their council, met the foe and stopped him in his tracks. An institution built as the American Federation of Labor has been built can't be pushed around by people who never established a union until the government came along to do it for them.

Federal union officials are instructed to give full cooperation to officers of the Central Trades and Labor Council, the Building Trades Council, the Metal Trades Council and the Printing Trades Council. In this connection I should like to note that John Brennan of the Building Trades Council had a complaint about some construction work which was being done in a building where a shop of one of our federal unions was located, and within two hours it became a union job. This is an example of what can be accomplished where federal unions are trained in the principles of the movement.

We are very proud of the fact that there has been no strike during the period of the war involving any of our New York federal labor unions. The members have been purchasing war bonds regularly and have contributed to the war effort

in a number of other ways, including the donation of blood.

A. F. of L. representatives who may be interested in setting up similar Federal Labor Union Councils should make it a point to enlist the aid and cooperation of officers of central labor unions and state federations of labor in the particular sections in which they operate. With this background, the council will understand better how the work of the A. F. of L. is carried on.

When unions are newly organized the power and purpose of the membership are focused upon immediate economic improvements. As time goes on, some members in their enthusiasm or through a lack of understanding of the functions of an A. F. of L. union try to wander into fields that are purely the functions of the city central and state

bodies. Upon occasion it has been found that some delegate with a penchant for some particular political program will try to "use" the union or the council. At such times it is the duty of the organizer in charge or the presiding officer to inform the erring member or delegate that in the A. F. of L. the purposes of trade unionism are economic and that political soapboxes are regarded as excess furniture.

The *FEDERATIONIST* and *Labor's Monthly Survey* furnish information and ideas for much discussion. Postwar plans and other A. F. of L. literature, as well as the radio broadcasts, help the membership to understand the difficult problems that have to be met by the Federation's national officers and the Executive Council.

The voluntary association of the national and international unions



June, 1945

FEDERATIONIST

is the strength of the American Federation of Labor. The same principle applies in the administration of federal labor unions. There must be created in the officers and members of these smaller units the feeling that they, too, are privileged to play important parts in the great family of organized labor. For, even though federal labor unions

may be small, it is within their power, as within that of larger organizations, to see to it that the principle that the laborer is worthy of his hire is carried out in practice.

It would not be proper to close this article without giving full credit to the A. F. of L. and international union organizers, to the busi-

ness agents and officers of unions and to the central labor unions and the State Federation of Labor for the splendid cooperation which they have constantly extended. The American Federation of Labor is a strong, respected movement in New York today, and I believe it will grow and prosper in the years of peace that lie ahead.

## Union Wages

(Continued from Page 5)

sults, depending on whether a promotion from one job to another would result in an increase of one cent an hour or five cents an hour.

The alleged justification for the evaluation of jobs is the contention by the management that many jobs are "out of line" in relation to wages paid for other related jobs. Such a claim is an admission by the management that job evaluation is simply a means of correcting mistakes that the management itself has committed in the past. Proper management, with proper supervision and with effective acceptance of collective bargaining, would provide a vastly sounder basis for proper appraisal and adjustment of pay in relation to the real worth of the job in terms of the actual operating experience. The only real judges of what a job is worth can be the workers themselves and the supervisors who come in actual contact with the performance on the job when the work is in progress.

There is nothing truly scientific about the job evaluation procedures of "industrial engineering." It is a poor substitute for day-to-day experience, implemented by effective union-management cooperation. The complicated method of arbitrary point values and other devices is surrounded with technicality, but has no scientific basis whatsoever. The evaluation plans are merely given scientific disguise in order to give respectability to the ultimate objective sought by the management through evaluation. That objective is to substitute mechanical procedures for true collective bargaining. The unions should be prepared to meet the proposal of such plans effectively through careful preparation and thorough analysis of all facts relating to work classification and performance standards imposed on their members.

Job evaluation and wage incentive systems which rely on point values

and other arbitrary measures of performance are not only designed to undermine collective bargaining procedure but also serve to deprive the worker of a firm wage standard. In the years of reconversion and postwar readjustment many workers will be forced to move to other areas and new jobs. A worker who leaves a job of a given skill and designation and moves to another section of the country should be in a position to know his proper wage standard for the same or similar work. He should be able to carry his rate with him, commensurate with his skill, experience and ability to perform the job. The use of wage incentive plans based on fluctuating point values makes this impossible. The worker never knows exactly where he stands.

The development of uniform wage standards for the same work is one of labor's important postwar objectives. The War Labor Board policy of freezing-in geographical differentials under its cumbersome "wage bracket" system has done untold damage to sound wage determination. Labor is facing a postwar economy with greatly speeded transportation and increased overlapping of regional markets. Competition based on substandard wages in depressed and distressed areas must not be allowed to prevail. For, such wage competition, giving competitive advantage to low wage areas, can become a great disruptive force whereby all wage standards would be pulled down to the lowest competitive levels.

Another vital and difficult problem of postwar wage policy is the adjustment of wage rates necessary to meet the reduction in weekly earnings due to the elimination of overtime and shortening of hours. In war industries the most general reduction in weekly hours is likely to be from the 48- to the 40-hour week. As time goes on, even a 30-

hour workweek may become practical and desirable in many industries.

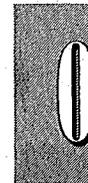
The immediate change from a 48- to a 40-hour week involves the elimination of overtime pay, now generally paid for work done after 40 hours. If the rate of pay is \$1 an hour, this change involves a reduction of 15 per cent in the time worked and a 24 per cent reduction in weekly pay. At this rate, to preserve the same weekly income on the reduced work schedule, a 30 per cent increase in the straight-time pay would be necessary.

The worker paid \$1 an hour and working a 48-hour week is now receiving \$52 a week. If the hours are reduced to 40, his weekly income would be cut to \$40 a week. In order to maintain the same weekly income for the shortened workweek, it would be necessary to increase his hourly rate from \$1 to \$1.30 an hour. In any establishment where hours of work are to be reduced or have been reduced, the War Labor Board should give automatic approval to adjustment in the hourly wage rates of employes concerned, to compensate for the loss of weekly earnings resulting from the reduction in hours worked and elimination of overtime. Such approvable compensatory increases in wage rates should be permitted up to the percentage necessary to maintain the weekly earnings yielded by the longer workweek. While this will establish the limit for approvable compensatory increases, the actual determination of such increases should be left to collective bargaining.

Drastic loss of pay is likely to result in many areas where workers move from higher-paying war jobs to lower-paying peacetime jobs. This is especially true of shifts from heavy industries to distributive trades and services. To meet this loss of income through downgrading, adjustments in substandard wages now limited to a minimum of 55 cents an hour should be raised to a considerably higher figure—the A. F. of L. has recommended 72 cents an hour as the proper minimum. In addition, wage adjustments claimed by the American Federation of Labor

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as necessary to meet the inadequacy of the Little Steel formula, to the extent of 11 per cent, should be permitted as a matter of general application.

Reconversion wage policy should take into account increases in productivity which have taken place during the war. In most war industries, technological changes have brought with them a greatly increased work-load per worker. In any case, where it is shown that the skill requirements, the work-load or the hourly output of employes has substantially increased since May, 1942, upward adjustments in wage rates should be permitted, to correspond with such increases in output or productivity, up to 30 per cent

of the wage rates currently paid.

So long as the war with Japan continues, it is necessary to safeguard the wages of workers who must forfeit the more permanent job opportunities in order to man essential wartime jobs. Wherever war production may be threatened by the desire of war workers to seek stable peacetime employment, wage adjustments should be permitted, up to 30 per cent of wage rates currently paid, to aid in the continued effective prosecution of the war.

Establishment of this permissive element of wage adjustment would retain the essential framework of basic wage stabilization as a part of the wartime economic stabilization policy. Within these limits, the ac-

tual adjustment in wage rates should be left to labor and management, with wage determination arrived at through the process of collective bargaining.

Collective bargaining on a voluntary basis is the most effective and efficient machinery for the complex process of wage determination in the great multiplicity of work relationships in our industry and trade. In the acceptance of this process, and the maximum utilization of it, is our best assurance of orderly transition to full employment. Reliance on collective bargaining as a basis for union-management cooperation is our strongest guarantee of durable industrial peace in the years after the war.

## OUR READERS Write

### Learn From the Generals

SIR: The motto of our armed forces, "The best defense is a strong offense," is well applied to labor organizing. In the American Federation of Labor it has been found that adherence to this principle produces telling results.

In my experience, American Federation of Labor organizers and the majority of international union organizers prefer to wage offensive battles rather than defensive campaigns. The forward attack method is employed in clear-cut fights between the employer and the union. However, often we enter a campaign in which the rival organization has an opening wedge and, upon the appearance of the American Federation of Labor organizers, the rival group loses a flood of vilification, falsehood and propaganda.

Naturally, such malicious and often libelous attacks are resented by the American Federation of Labor organizer, who is usually a member of some skilled craft, steeped in the ideals of true trade unionism, proud of his international union and justly loyal to its democratically elected officers. He feels impelled to make heated reply to the falsehoods.

From my own experience, I have found it most effective to answer attack with attack, rather than seek to "justify" myself or the organization in a defensive answer to irresponsible and unwarranted charges. Instead of making an angry defense, which is what the opposition hopes to see, the well-known benefits of A. F. of L. membership should be aggressively presented. Never offer apologies or excuses for the craft setup, but, on the contrary, stress the value of craft unionism from the standpoint both of pride and of financial gain to the worker.

What form of organization tactics is best? It all depends upon the circumstances. However, all organizing campaigns require good publicity. In each instance, the publicity should be positive, should be so constructed as to point out

▶ All letters for this page should be addressed to Letter Editor, Room 209, A. F. of L. Building, Washington 1, D. C. Write on one side only.

the value of the A. F. of L. The A. F. of L. has a story of superior achievement to tell. Apologetic, defensive tactics should be avoided at all costs.

Offensive warfare is effective in coping with enemies of our nation abroad. Offensive organizational tactics can be equally effective in the trade union field at home. David defeated Goliath with a sling and a pebble, but just picture what he could have done with a bazooka.

Roanoke, Va. ORGANIZER.

### C.I. Joe and Unions

SIR: I wonder if the leaders of the American labor movement realize that, while it is true that the press and certain members of Congress have attacked labor unfairly during the war, there are many loyal members of labor unions in the armed forces who are doing their level best to explain the objectives and policies of organized labor.

As a union man who has seen more than three years in uniform, I can tell you that there are many articulate trade unionists in the service who have been acting as a self-appointed public relations staff for the labor movement. They don't hesitate to speak up and tell the plain truth. Of course, it is hard going at times, for most of the men on active duty are very young and a lot of them have been taken in to some extent by the misrepresentations of the anti-labor press.

What the local unions back home are doing is very helpful to the defenders of trade unionism. One of the best aids has been the cigarette fund. Of the cigarettes distributed overseas, it would be safe to say that 65 to 75 per cent have

been from union people. When the fellows receive these packages and someone remarks, "Why, some union sent them," you can tell by the look on their faces that they are thinking that union people can't be bad if they could take the time out to remember the serviceman. It's only a small thing, true, but it makes a deep impression.

You would be delighted, too, to see the pride of union members as they share gift boxes sent to them by their local unions. There is a noticeable look of worry on the non-union person as he asks himself, "I wonder what is going on in my open-shop plant," as the union man and his buddies enjoy the "little reminder" sent by his union. The better union papers have also done a great deal of good as they are passed around and digested.

I am not trying to make out that everybody in the service is now 100 per cent pro-union. But, on the other hand, there is much more sympathy for organized labor than anyone would imagine from reading some of the public prints back home. The boys have all seen the stuff that was produced by union labor on the home front and they have enough common sense to realize that *somebody* must have been working like a beaver to turn it out. This is the stuff that made it possible for us to whate the daylight out of the Nazis and to save hundreds of thousands of American lives.

It is my impression that a lot of men who went into the service either ignorant of, indifferent to or just plumb agin' organized labor have learned to respect and admire the labor movement because of the vast quantities of equipment you people on the home front produced and also because they have met plenty of union men in the service and found them to be good Americans, good fighters and regular guys. I think a lot of fellows who knew very little about unions four years ago are going to be putting in bids for union membership soon after they come home.

Franca, S/Ser. J. H. Hovr.

# LABOR NEWS BRIEFS

▶ The Progressive Mine Workers of America and the Coal Producers Association of Illinois have negotiated a new two-year wage agreement benefiting 17,000 members of the A. F. of L. union in Illinois mines. Pay for underground travel time is one of the provisions and will increase the daily wage considerably.

▶ Wage increases of seven and one-half cents an hour, retroactive to March 1, 1944, have been awarded to members of Local 229, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, employed by the Cudahy Packing Company at San Diego, Calif.

▶ Free eye examinations and correctives are being provided for 60,000 dress workers in New York City, members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. The rate of production is expected to increase 30 per cent through this service.

▶ A four-cent hourly wage increase and approximately \$10,000 in back pay has been won by members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America employed by the Judd Company of Chattanooga, Tenn.

▶ The United Textile Workers of America are now the official bargaining agent for workers of the Shetucket Worsted Mills, Baltic, Conn., as the result of a sweeping victory in a recent election.

▶ More than 100 members of the Chicago local of the American Federation of Radio Artists are participating in veterans' hospital shows sponsored by the Red Cross.

▶ Travel-time pay has been won by the International Union of Operating Engineers for members employed by the Colorado-Wyoming Gas Company, Denver, Colo.

▶ About 950 coal dock workers, members of Coal Dock Workers, Local 1343, Superior, Wis., and Local 1328, Duluth, Minn., will derive benefits from the new contract with the commercial coal dock operators. Paid vacations and five and one-half cents wage increases have been won by the workers.

▶ As the result of a recent finding, members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters employed by the McKeown Transportation Company, Gary, Ind., are to receive a wage increase.

▶ The Portland, Ore., Waitresses Union, Local 305 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees, has contributed \$250 to the American Cancer Society drive.

▶ A closed-shop agreement has been negotiated with the Associated Repair Basin, San Diego, Calif., by the International Association of Machinists.

▶ The Pence Construction Company of Hutchinson, Kans., has entered

into a closed-shop contract with the A. F. of L. building trades unions.

▶ The International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Union won an election at the Stone and Webster Engineering Corporation, Boston, by a large margin.

▶ A crippled children's clinic was painted and decorated without charge at West Palm Beach, Fla., by members of Local 452, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers.

▶ The A. F. of L. Boot and Shoe Workers whipped the C.I.O. in an election at the Milius Shoe Company, Festus, Mo., by 2 to 1.

▶ The International Association of Fire Fighters was victorious in an election held recently at the Todd-Pacific Shipyards, Seattle, Wash.

▶ Employees of the Pyott Foundry and Machine Company, Chicago, voted 4 to 1 for the International Molders and Foundry Workers.



Cake cutting marks fourth anniversary of Philadelphia's USO-Labor Plaza

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# Jamboree in June

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Labor Plaza

ERATIONIST

"I DON'T see how I get so much to do," said Ethel.

"Me either," said Hugh. "Gee, when I think school is practically out and next year high school—wow! Just think, senior high!"

"I wonder if we'll feel different being in senior high instead of junior high," Ethel said.

"No, it'll be just about the same. We may have to hit the old books a little harder, but gee, we'll have lots more to interest us," Hugh responded.

"Golly, if we have more to do than we do right now, I'm sure I'll never survive," Ethel declared.

As they continued their conversation they were joined by Pete Atkins and Keith Durant, and in a short time Virginia and Polly Drake made their appearance around the corner of the house.

The young people sat in the cool side yard of the Malone home, and from all outward signs a passerby would imagine the boys and girls had time just to fritter away. However, such was not the case. They were in the final rush at the end of the school year and, in addition, they were finishing their plans for the junior union jamboree. The jamboree was to be their part in the seventh war loan drive, and they were confident that they would succeed in selling more bonds than ever before.

"Miss Hildreth called and said she would be a little late and for us to go ahead," said Ethel.

By the time Miss Hildreth, their faculty adviser, arrived, they had a full report to make to her. She was enthusiastic over their plans and commended the committee for its splendid work.

As the evening set aside for the junior union jamboree approached, the junior unionists were busier than bees.

"Even if V-E Day has come and gone," said Hugh, "we're going to keep right on till the war's really over."

The night of the jamboree was clear and warm. The vacant lot



next to the union temple was decorated and lighted. Crowds came and soon the merry sounds of carnival filled the air. One of the main attractions was the athletic display. Coach Courtney had helped the boys and girls work out an interesting set of acts. Another was the exhibit of handicraft, all articles having been made by the junior unionists.

All admissions to the individual acts or displays were by war stamp purchases, but anyone desiring a "cover-all" ticket could buy a bond, which entitled him to a special pass for everything.

"This is too much money for me to handle," exclaimed Hugh as he hunted up Miss Hildreth. "I've been around to everyone to take up their money and bond pledges."

"Let's put it in the safe, then," said Miss Hildreth. "Mr. Drake will open it for us."

Mr. Drake helped them put the money away and then locked the safe.

"When you take up another collection we can put it in for safety, too," he said.

The boy and the teacher went back to join the throng. Hugh went ahead, but Miss Hildreth was stopped by Polly. The tears were streaming down her face.

"What has happened?" Miss Hildreth asked.

"Our money. It's been stolen! I asked Ginny to watch it, and she's sure she put it in the drawer at our booth, but it's gone." Polly

sobbed harder. "And we had so much."

"Are you sure?"

"Yes, it's gone. Ginny is at the booth trying to act like nothing has happened, but it's gone. Vanished."

"Who else was at your booth?" asked Miss Hildreth.

"There wasn't any one but Ginny and me, and Pete, but he's gone to do his act for Mr. Courtney."

"Hugh!" called Miss Hildreth as she espied the boy. "Come here."

He joined them and soon he was given an account of what had happened.

"Oh, gee, Polly, the money wasn't stolen," he said. "I collected from your booth. Didn't Pete tell you?"

"No, he didn't say a word. Oh, let's hurry and tell Ginny."

The three fairly flew to the booth where Ginny was valiantly keeping back her tears.

"It's all right, everything's all right," called Polly.

Then they explained that the money had been collected.

"We can't blame Pete, either," said Virginia. "He tried to tell me something, but I was busy and didn't listen. Keith was telling him to hurry or he'd be late for the act, and I guess he was trying to let me know you had taken the cash box."

As soon as Pete was through with his part of the athletic events he returned to the booth. When he was told of the scare the girls had had he laughed. Turning to Miss Hildreth, he said:

"That's the trouble with girls, always so wrapped up in their own affairs they don't listen to anyone else."

"Or boys are always in such a hurry they don't make themselves heard," retorted Polly.

"Anyway, it's all safe now."

And that night, when the final results were in, it was found that the junior union jamboree had netted more than double what the junior unionists had expected to make. For their part, the seventh war loan drive was over the top—and more.