

*Proceedings*  
of the  
**FOURTH  
CONSTITUTIONAL  
CONVENTION**

of the  
**United Steelworkers  
of America**



**WEDNESDAY,  
MAY 12, 1948**

**Boston, Massachusetts  
Mechanics Building**

**Proceedings**  
of the  
**Fourth Constitutional Convention**  
of the  
**United Steelworkers of America**  
**Boston, Massachusetts**  
**May 12, 1948**

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**SECOND DAY—WEDNESDAY MORNING SESSION**

The convention was called to order by President Murray at 9:30 o'clock a.m.

**MESSAGE FROM WALTER REUTHER**

To the Delegates

Convention of the United States Steelworkers of America, CIO  
Fraternal Greetings:

I had been looking forward to the pleasure and honor of standing before your great assemblage, to bring you a message of friendship and solidarity from the auto workers and their union, UAW-CIO. Since I cannot be with you in person, I must content myself with sending you these few words.

I know you will take the occasion of your convention deliberations to remind yourselves of the great common struggles of a decade and more ago, when the steelworkers and the autoworkers, shoulder to shoulder, forged a mighty instrument to advance the cause of economic justice and social betterment for the common people of this land. Our common sacrifices and our common determination gave birth to CIO, serving notice on the reactionary masters of industry that the mass-production workers at Pittsburgh and Gary and Detroit had struck off, once and for all time, the shackles of meekness and subservience that had bound them in the past.

In the ten years since that historic milestone in the emancipation of labor, the steelworkers and the autoworkers have learned and prospered together, building our great unions, administering the daily round of collective bargaining, contributing to the welfare of our own members and to the common national good. Throughout this eventful and trying time, you have had the rare good fortune to possess in Philip Murray a sober and stable leader whose qualities of statesmanship have exerted their steadying influence not only on your own organization but on the entire labor movement and the nation as well. All of us can be thankful for the mellow wisdom and mature firmness

of Philip Murray, for his calm devotion to the tasks of the present and his quiet dedication to the broader goals of our movement. We may well be grateful that it has fallen to our lot in these critical years to serve under such a chief.

The CIO today is the strongest force in America working toward that better life of security, abundance, dignity, and peace for which millions have died and countless others have sacrificed. And the steelworkers and the auto workers, standing shoulder to shoulder, are the bulwark of this massive movement. We stand together today, as we stood and fought together in those earlier years, conscious that powerful, disciplined and disruptive elements on the left and right seek to divide us, to crush us, and to destroy the free way of life we have sworn to preserve and extend.

Your great convention will sound an eloquent warning that these corroding and corrupting forces are doomed to failure and ultimate defeat. The CIO program for a better America in a better world will be carried out, item by item, goal by goal. Together, against extremist disruption from any source, we will see democracy's agenda through. The faith that sustains us, the solidarity that binds us in brotherhood and ideas and ideals that give our movement life cannot be killed by guns nor will they be stopped by violence that strikes at a man's back in the dark.

We shall not be diverted by shotguns in the hands of cowards. We are more determined than ever to reach out and struggle until we win a better life for the average American and his family.

Our two great unions are together in that resolve. In the unity of action and solidarity of purpose which the steelworkers and the autoworkers have so clearly demonstrated, the CIO has its pillar of strength.

We shall pioneer in the years to come, as we have pioneered in the past, to bring about in our country and in the world the kind of society in which men and women can live in peace, security and brotherhood. This is our challenge. Let us move forward with banners high.

WALTER P. REUTHER,  
President UAW-CIO.

**MESSAGES OF GREETING**

Messages of greeting were also received from the following:

Earl Lawyer, Vice-President and Executive Board, Local 1299, U. S. A., Detroit, Michigan;

Charles L. Cowl, and Staff CIO Organizing Committee, Tampa, Florida;

Patrick J. Flaherty, Mayor James Ryan, Wallace Chapla, Theodore Walker, Austin W. O'Toole, Norman Donohue, Carl Finnegan, Joseph Ujhelyi, John D. Pincura, Joseph Mitock and Members of City Council, Lorain, Ohio;

Pittsburgh Screw and Bolt Local Union 1848, Pittsburgh, Pa.;

John Zeman and Office Staff District 32, U. S. A., Milwaukee, Wisconsin;

Thomas Flynn, Recording Secretary, William Spratley, Jr., President, Columbus CIO Council, Columbus, Ohio;

James Dibert, President L.U. 3194, Columbus, Ohio;

William Green, Secretary L.U. 3970, Columbus, Ohio;  
Samuel D. Lee, Secretary L.U. 2606, Columbus, Ohio;  
James Durkin, President, John J. Stanley, Sec.-Treas. United Office & Professional Workers, New York;

Harry Bridges, President; Louis Goldblatt, Secretary, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, San Francisco, California.

PRESIDENT MURRAY: Anyone who has examined the officers' report which has been distributed to the delegates cannot but be impressed with the manner in which the operations of the United Steelworkers of America at almost every point rely upon the use and interpretation of economic facts which affect labor.

Unfortunately for the convention sickness has precluded the possibility of the Secretary of the Department of Labor attending our convention this year. He has forwarded his greetings and extended his best wishes to the delegates. However, he has requested that Mr. Edwin Clague, who is Commissioner of Labor Statistics, act for him and deliver a message from the Department of Labor to this convention.

Mr. Clague is a native of the State of Washington. He went to college there and also at the University of Wisconsin. He has been a student and teacher of labor problems for more than a quarter of a century. He is the author of many studies on these problems, including the effects on workers of unemployment in the rubber industry in 1930 and of the employment problems of the older workers.

I take particular pleasure in now presenting to the convention Mr. Clague, who will speak for the Department of Labor in behalf of Secretary Schwollenbach.

**MR. EWAN CLAGUE**  
(United States Department of Labor)

Mr. Clague made a brief address to the convention in which he said, in part:

"Mr. President and members of the convention, the Secretary of Labor, Mr. Louis Schwollenbach, asked me to greet you today for him in a personal greeting because he was unable to be here. As you may know from the papers, Mr. Schwollenbach has been quite ill for the last several weeks. He is in the hospital in New York, but he hopes to be back at his job in the near future.

"I would like also to bring you greetings from the Assistant Secretary of Labor, John Gibson, whom I saw in Washington yesterday just before I came up. He asked me to bring you his greetings as well. Then in the third place I am speaking to you in behalf of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and I would like to say just a few words about us.

"I would like to bring greetings to the members of your Research Department, Mr. Otis Brubaker, and members of his group who work with us in our regular work. We have an advisory committee to the Commissioner of Labor Statistics, and Mr. Brubaker serves on that committee. We have always found him extremely cooperative and very valuable to us in giving us advice on our work.

"I see that The New Yorker has a solution for this cost-of-living question, and I quote from their issue of May 8th. I know the Bureau of Labor Statistics does get out this figure and I know it is somewhat high. This is The New Yorker's solution for the problem:

"The Bureau of Labor Statistics continues to give us bad news about the high cost of the necessities of life. It must be obvious that the only way for Congress to deal with this situation is to abolish the Bureau of Labor Statistics."

"I note in the annual report of your officers that you do draw very freely upon the data provided by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in cost of living, wages, earnings, hours of work, and a whole variety of other statistics. We try to put our material up in a form that can be readily understood by the average person. We try not to have highbrow words or expressions. We believe our reports are sound and accurate, and we try to make them understandable so they can be used.

"I want to mention the Monthly Labor Review, which is our journal and which presents every month a variety of data useful to you and everyone in the Union world, as well as to the public and the employers.

We are also acquainted in our work with Vint Sweeney, who edits your journal, and we have constant association with him.

"We do thank you for your cooperation and we want you to use us whenever you find it possible to do so. I think it is very fortunate we live in a society where data, statistics, and facts are the things that determine our decision. In other parts of the world that is not always the case."

"So in closing I want to thank you again for your cooperation."

PRESIDENT MURRAY: All members of the Committee on Resolutions will please come to the platform.

**REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS**

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BITTNER: Mr. Chairman and delegates to this convention, the Resolutions Committee is reporting to this convention in the same manner that they have always reported to our International Convention. We take the resolutions that deal with one subject and blend them together and bring out a substitute resolution for all of them. You can understand that is the only way the committee or the convention can operate on a report of this kind. I simply make this explanation, Mr. Chairman, so that the delegates will understand the report of the committee when it is read by the Secretary, Director Joseph Molony.

Committee Secretary Molony submitted the following report:

**Resolution No. 1**

**PHILIP MURRAY AND THE INTERNATIONAL OFFICERS**

In April, 1947, our Union concluded two-year contracts with the Basic Steel companies. Under these contracts provision was made for negotiation



as to wages at the end of the first year. Our organization duly served notice on the Basic Steel companies for the purpose of discussing wages. Pursuant to this notice, negotiating committees, headed by President Philip Murray and the other international officers, have met with the Basic Steel companies and have presented the case of the Union for a substantial wage increase.

Our Union's case was most ably presented and the arguments made by our negotiators have not and cannot be answered by the steel industry. Notwithstanding the justice of our demands, the Basic Steel companies have adamantly refused to grant to their steelworker employees as much needed wage increase to cover the rise in living costs which has occurred since last April.

Our President, Philip Murray, has laid before the American people through the press and the radio the plain facts of this situation.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as expressing our complete confidence in and our heartfelt appreciation to President Philip Murray, Secretary-Treasurer David J. McDonald, and Vice Presidents Van A. Bitner and James Thimmes for their valiant and able efforts in behalf of the organization in connection with these wage negotiations. We likewise express appreciation to the members of the negotiating committees for their efforts in behalf of the membership. We pledge to our international officers our complete cooperation, now and in the future, for the continuation of the great work of our organization.

Resolutions dealing with this subject were submitted by the following Local Unions:

304, 336, 1066, 1126, 1131, 1147, 1187, 1445, 1408, 1478, 1592, 1601, 2041, 2047, 2054, 2113, 2122 2330, 2374, 2405, 2607, 2608, 2674, 2809, 3063, 3485, 3542, 3743, 3348, 3991.

Committee Secretary Molony moved the adoption of the resolution.

DELEGATE TUCK, District 4, Local Union 1743: Before voting on the adoption of this first resolution I would like to ask one question of our President—before the 1949 contract expires, in the near future of the 30 or 60 days, as the high cost of living spirals, will our Union go into negotiations with the steel companies for a further raise?

PRESIDENT MURRAY: Well, I am not prepared at the moment to give a definite answer to the question the delegate has asked. The companies, in the course of the negotiations and before we had broken off, stated that their price-reduction program was an experiment, and if an experiment in price reductions did not prove to be successful they would be delighted to meet with the negotiating committee representing the United Steelworkers of America for the purpose of giving added consideration to the problem of wage increases. That statement was made by the spokesman for the United States Steel Corporation to the full negotiating committee before our negotiations broke off. I assume that they will, in the event their experiment in price cutting does not prove to be successful, ask for a meeting with the representatives of our organizations. There is nothing definite about that.

The delegate had asked the question and I have provided the answer as best I know how.

The motion to adopt the resolution was seconded and carried.

## Resolution No. 2

### HOUSING AND RENT CONTROL

During the past session a reactionary Congress has wrecked the government's housing program.

In addition, the rent control law has been so weakened as to open the door to immediate increases in rents and eliminate even the meagre protection against widespread evictions which formerly existed. Both in the housing and rent fields the triumph of the real estate lobby has been complete.

This callous and irresponsible course of conduct on the part of Congress has deprived the American people of adequate housing at reasonable costs. As a result of the crippling of the housing program and the rent control act thousands of families are daily joining the ranks of those in desperate need of housing facilities.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That

(1) As a minimum concession to the desperate needs of our people the Wagner-Ellender-Taft housing bill (S. 866) must be promptly enacted.

(2) The needs of the American people demand that the federal rent control law be strengthened and that the so-called "voluntary rent increase" provisions of the existing law be eliminated.

(3) There must be enacted now a large scale program for the construction of housing by the federal government with sufficient subsidies to house all Americans, without regard to race, creed or economic status, who cannot now secure adequate shelter within their means at today's exorbitant costs.

Resolutions dealing with this subject were submitted by the following Local Unions:

185, 1011, 1066, 1126, 1190, 1211, 1211, 1253, 1397, 1592, 2018, 3657.

Committee Secretary Molony moved the adoption of this resolution.

DELEGATE PHILIP LINOSKI, District 31, Local 1066: I think that this convention here is overlooking one big thing and that is that all these displaced persons are coming in here and they are passing a law through Congress to let them in while American people who fought for this country cannot find places to live. I would like for this convention to go on record as being against those people coming in here to live until we get a place to live.

The motion to adopt the resolution was seconded and carried.

## Resolution No. 3

### THE UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA

The recent Taft-Hartley injunction case against the United Mine Workers presents a grave threat to the basic rights of all American labor.

These proceedings have the effect of leaving an American labor union and its members helpless to resist either collectively or individually the determination of their employers to deprive them of vitally needed pensions.



In this dispute a federal judge has issued a shocking injunction, exhibiting a cynical disregard for the rights of human beings. It condemns the individual miners in the industry to work against their will under conditions which they deem intolerable. It revives outmoded notions of conspiracy.

The entire controversy between the mine operators and the union of their employees demonstrates the vicious purpose and effect of the Taft-Hartley Act. Even today the mine operators are successfully evading their obligations to establish a pension for their employees upon the basis of the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That we pledge our support in the fight of the mine workers for adequate pensions and for the right to be treated by the courts as free Americans.

On motion of Committee Secretary Molony, the resolution was adopted.

#### Resolution No. 4 CRUSADE FOR CHILDREN

World War II has left in its wake a generation of children, starving, undernourished, and diseased, who are the men and women of the world of tomorrow in Europe and Asia. It is estimated that 230,000,000 babies, children and adolescents are not receiving enough food to keep them alive or build their bodies. The United Nations General Assembly, recognizing responsibility for the well-being of the children of the world, has established the International Children's Emergency Fund to feed them. Money for support of this fund is now being sought from all of the people of the world through the United Nations Appeal for Children. This United Nations Appeal for Children is the first request for support that the United Nations has made directly to all of the people. In the United States, the appeal is combined with the appeal of twenty-five American voluntary agencies who are in urgent need of funds to continue their work of rehabilitation and relief in war-stricken areas of the world. Among these agencies is the Overseas Relief and Rehabilitation Fund of the National CIO Community Services Committee, which will work closely with trade unions overseas in alleviating suffering and rebuilding bodies of workers and their children.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED: We endorse this "CRUSADE FOR CHILDREN" of American Overseas Aid-United Nations Appeal for Children; we recognize our responsibility toward the children of Europe and Asia, as well as our obligation to provide the children of America with healthy neighbors overseas; and urge all members of the United Steelworkers of America, CIO, to give generously to this campaign.

On motion of Committee Secretary Molony, the resolution was adopted.

#### Resolution No. 5 PALESTINE AND THE JEWISH PEOPLE

During the war years more than 6,000,000 unarmed defenseless Jews—more than one-third of all world Jewry—were slaughtered by mass murder through unbelievably cruel methods which have only partly come to light.

Despite the fact that three years have elapsed since the end of the war in Europe the displaced persons' camps in Europe are still filled with Jews, living the life of uprooted people, without homes and without means, and almost without hope. They yearn to return to a life of human dignity and self-support. Confronted with the barriers raised by cruel immigration restrictions in this country and by the restrictions of prejudice and intolerance in most other countries, they turn to Palestine as their main hope.

The Jewish Community of Palestine stands ready to receive them and care for them and in fact to fight for them and their existence.

A report by the majority of the United Nations Special Commission on Palestine has recommended a just and honorable plan for partition and the establishment of a Jewish state. This report was approved at a special meeting of the Assembly of the United Nations.

Our country, the United States of America, played a leading role in this meeting of the United Nations in obtaining approval of the partition program, and in so doing won acclaim both in the United Nations and in the eyes of public opinion. More recently, however, our country has repudiated its suggestion for partition and adopted a position of appeasement in the face of threatened Arab aggression.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That

We urge immediate support and implementation of the United Nations' partition decision.

We urge that the American embargo on arms and equipment for the Jewish people in Palestine be lifted at once.

We urge that these steps be taken immediately in order to restore respect for the United Nations as a force for world peace and international justice.

Committee Secretary Molony moved adoption of the resolution.

The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE KRUPSAW, Local 1010, District 31, stated that while he agreed 100 per cent with the resolution he felt that in some respects it was inconsistent, because of the fact that the British government was still permitted to subsidize the Arabs with uniforms and guns, thus defeating the aim and purpose of the resolution. He stated he felt the Government should be asked to lift the embargo and thus enable the Jewish people to establish a home for themselves.

DELEGATE LINOSKI, Local 1066, District 31, speaking as a World War II veteran, said he believed we should keep our arms and ammunition in this country.

DELEGATE TUCK, Local 1743, District 4, concurred in the suggestion made by Delegate Krupshaw and suggested an amendment to the committee's report.

PRESIDENT MURRAY: I might explain for the benefit of the delegation here that the substance of the resolution comports itself to the requirements

of our national CIO declarations of policy on this subject matter. The National CIO conducted a battle within our government for partition in Palestine, contending then, as we do now, that the Jewish people were entitled to a home, a country in which they could live and provide for themselves the means of living. The United Nations General Assembly, all countries participating, after a vigorous fight which lasted for a period of approximately one year, finally adopted a method of procedure which, in substance, also provided for the partition of Palestine and the establishment of a Jewish Home State. That decision of the United Nations General Assembly met with the whole-hearted approval of organized labor in the United States, and I believe most of the people living here in our country.

Later, however, after the partition plan had been approved by the United Nations General Assembly our country evidently reneged on its promise, and in the course of the past few months it has endeavored to escape its responsibilities and its obligations by prosecuting vigorously within the United Nations the partition resolution adopted by that body. I have addressed communications to the President of the United States about this matter, also to the Secretary of State, and to the members of the House of Representatives and the United States Senate insisting, on behalf of the CIO, that the country carry out its commitments and lend every possible degree of support toward the establishment of a Jewish Home State. Up to the present moment our country, in so far as I am aware, has not taken the appropriate steps to fulfill its obligation. The resolution before this convention is in complete accord with the formal declarations of the CIO, both its Executive Board, the last convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and its several meetings of its Vice Presidents.

It is not a weak resolution; it is a strong resolution. It comports itself to the requirements of the decision of the United Nations in this matter and merely insists that our country carry out its obligations. It may be true that Britain is lending support to the Arabs in the war of aggression against the Jews. This resolution substantially provides that the United Nations carry out its commitments and if the United Nations does so then Britain will be required to cease and desist in its efforts to support the Arabs in their war of aggression against the Jews.

The resolution for that reason could be no stronger than it is written. The preamble to the resolution sets forth the facts and the resolution which follows the preamble insists upon our country carrying out its commitments, its obligations. Now, that is as far as we can hope to go in a convention of this description. As to the question of lifting the embargo on the supplying of arms to Jews who are fighting the Arabs, the resolution provides that the embargo be lifted. That portion of the resolution meets the requirements of the decisions of the organized labor movements of America, both the American Federation of Labor and the C.I.O. We do not believe that a small population of Jewish people living in Palestine today without the necessary equipment to ward off and fend off this war of aggression which has been conducted against them by the Arabs can be successfully concluded unless the United States lifts the arms embargo and provides the Jews with the materials essential to provide for themselves, their home state and their freedom and their liberties within that state. So that the resolution in all respects meets with exactitude the requirements of the organized labor movement here in the United States of

America, and if our government follows the course of action suggested to them by the National CIO and by the American Federation of Labor in this situation, there is no question in my mind but that this brutal guerilla war which is now underway over in Palestine will cease, but it will require the unanimous decision, the majority decision at least, of the United Nations General Assembly to make that kind of a plan truly effective. So I hope I have provided an answer to the delegates who asked the questions, and to those who suggested amendments.

The resolution meets completely the requirements of the National CIO and the organized labor movement of the United States.

The motion to adopt Resolution No. 5 was seconded and carried.

**PRESIDENT MURRAY:** Secretary McDonald yesterday announced to the convention that at 10:30 this morning we would have a special order of business—that business being the introduction of one of America's outstanding citizens, a leader in the field of liberalism, an energetic, intelligent young man possessed of great brilliance who believes in the fundamental concepts of true democracy here in the United States of America, a great friend of organized labor, who has fought the battle of labor in the field of politics. I have come to regard him as one of our nation's outstanding and most brilliant citizens. He has devoted a life time to progressiveness and to the cause of true democracy here in the United States of America. In passing I might observe that he has fought the Taft-Hartley Act.

As Mayor of the City of Minneapolis he has developed within the framework of this political government within that city an F.E.P.C. which provides for equality of treatment for all people within the confines of the city and who may be working for the city, regardless of race, creed, or color. He is a candidate for the United States Senate from the State of Minnesota. His opponent will be a man named Ball. He is deserving of the support of not only organized labor in the State of Minnesota, but also all right-thinking citizens in that great state.

It affords me great pleasure at this moment to present to the convention your friend and my friend, Mayor Hubert Humphrey of the City of Minneapolis, Minnesota.

#### **HONORABLE HUBERT HUMPHREY**

**(Mayor of Minneapolis, Minnesota)**

Mayor Humphrey spoke in part, as follows:

Thank you very much, Mr. Murray. Delegates to the Fourth Convention of the United Steelworkers of America, visitors and guests, ladies and gentlemen: I never thought this would ever happen to me, that I could come to this great citadel of American liberty, Boston, Massachusetts, and talk to some of the strongest defenders of American liberty that this nation has ever known. What is more, friends, I never thought I would ever be able to escape the omnipresent eye of some of my good friends and delegates from the State of Minnesota. They are out covering the waterfront right now, looking for the Mayor of Minneapolis. They tell me they have delegates in all parts



of this city trying to find out whether I came in by covered wagon, train, bus, or airplane. Frankly, the way things are I thought I was going to walk, but I got here.

I wish some of my good friends from Minnesota who are in and about the City of Boston looking for me could be present at this particular moment, because frankly one of the first things I wanted to do was to say "hello" to them and to receive that sort of inspirational pat-on-the-back that my fellow associates from that great State are always willing to give one of their own sons.

I do bring you the greetings of our good people in the City of Minneapolis, and I hope I can bring you the greetings of all of the good people in the State of Minnesota—and that is about 99.44 per cent of them.

I know that here in this convention hall we have Mr. Henry Burkhammer, of our Steelworkers up in the Iron Range. I know my good friend, Earl Bester, who wanted to be here, is back there doing a job that every one of us have to do, and it is a job of political action. He sends his regrets that he cannot be here. I understand my good friend, George Tuller, from Hibbing; Sam Swanson, Glen Peterson, Russell Monson, and others from around that iron country send their greetings, and if I don't see you I want to wish you well and tell you to behave, because I have messages from their wives. You know what Abe Martin said—he said that all men are alike when they are away from home. The trouble is that he told too many wives about that.

When I came into this hall I met my good friend and your good friend, a guy by the name of Smaile Chatak. I don't need to tell you anything about Mr. Chatak. We have been out in the countryside and in the towns of our state in that Iron Range, and we have been really working it over, and I want to thank you, President Murray, and the officers of this organization for being willing to send to us that regular, hard-hitting, true, and good loyal friend, Smaile Chatak. He really gave us a boost out there.

And I wouldn't want to forget Jim Thimmes over here, because after I gave him a ride in a car at about 80 miles an hour he has not been the same since. If he seems a little jittery it was just because he had one of those good, fast, progressive Farmer-Labor rides out in the State of Minnesota.

(At this point in the Mayor's address a dog ran across the platform.)

MAYOR HUMPHREYS: (Continuing) I want to tell you that even in the best conventions you can never tell when a scab is going to come in. I knew that the political opposition would stoop to a lot of tricks, but I never thought they would get a mongrel to come in.

I do bring you greetings from the Iron Range, and I think you know what I mean when I talk to you about the Messaba Range, the Cayuna Range, and the Vermillion Range, those great deep ore pits of Northern Minnesota that give forth the great bulk of iron ore that makes possible the production of fabulous steel in this country.

I want to say that the Steelworkers in that section of America have been the most loyal workers in the cause of liberty and production that America has ever known, in war and in peace. Not only are they good workers, not only do they give an honest day's labor in their bargaining contracts, but even more than that, may I say that they have the good sense to vote

right, they know how to carry on political action and they know how to elect people to the Congress of the United States. They knew four times in a row—in 1932, 1936, 1940, and 1944,—how to deliver an overwhelming, smashing majority for our late, beloved President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Yes, my good friends, four times that State of Minnesota cast its electoral vote for our late President, and it cast it on the basis of the majority that was delivered out of the homes and the families of the Steelworkers of Northern Minnesota.

I want to thank you and the people of America, and the people of America can thank you for that kind of devotion and loyalty to progressive principles of government.

We have had a lot to do out our way. I don't need to tell you right now there are disputes around this country, and one of those major disputes is in the packinghouse industry. Down in my section of the country we have big packing houses, we have Swift, Armour, Wilson, Cudahy. We have big packers, if you please, who are not willing to negotiate fairly and in good faith. We have packers, if you please, who are trying today to settle a labor dispute between the Packinghouse Workers, not on the basis of the bargaining table, not on the basis of the law, not on the basis of good faith, but on the basis of starving out a group of workers who have, let me say, one of the most difficult and trying types of employment of any working people in the country. It is tough going—I know, because I have just visited their homes. In fact, in our City of Minneapolis the clergy visited the homes of the Packinghouse Workers in South St. Paul, and they came back with a report which was anything but a compliment to management in that particular instance.

Out of that report I am happy to be able to say to this convention that it has become my privilege and my honor, along with one of our leading clergymen in the City of Minneapolis, to be Co-Chairman of a state-wide organization to raise funds for the Packinghouse Workers who are being denied the opportunity to even arbitrate their dispute.

Today throughout our State people who are not in labor, people who are in the professions and in the educational field, clergymen, and businessmen, have organized themselves into an over-all state committee. We do not intend to permit the question of labor-management relations or the solution of a labor dispute, the solution of a strike to be written on the basis of which organization can starve out the other. We intend to have it written on the basis of equity and justice, and I think if all of us insist on it we can have it in this America in every instance.

By the way, I don't want to forget this: you know when Mr. Murray was so gracious as to give me that wonderful introduction he brought up the name of a gentleman from the State of Minnesota who says he represents the State of Minnesota in the United States Senate. I noticed there was a considerable amount of, let me say, negative type of expression from this convention. Now, gentlemen, I realize we have a housing shortage in Minnesota, but I invite you to take up residence there immediately, because I can use these votes—believe me, I can use them. Not only that, may I say I think you would be making quite a contribution toward the solution of some of the difficulties that are now facing us in this nation.



I want to lay this line down right now, and don't you think for a single minute that we are not going to put on a political struggle and a political battle in the State that is going to be heard about not only in Minnesota but in other parts of America.

We don't intend, if you please, to have people who carry the philosophy, who speak the mind and the philosophy of the National Manufacturers Association represent the progressive people of Minnesota in the United States Senate. I deem it a real privilege and an honor to be a participant in that struggle, and I don't mind telling you I like politics, I enjoy them. It is not hard work, it is good, clean invigorating work, and we are going into that struggle with that spirit. I am convinced from all that I have been able to find out that our State is going to give something to America, it is going to give America a chance at least to have an opportunity to have out of the Senate—not talking about what is going in, just what is coming out of the Senate—a force, a ghost writer who had more to do with the writing of the Taft-Hartley Act than either Mr. Taft or Mr. Hartley.

I think you have probably heard about those ball-point pens. They say they can write under water or in the stratosphere and I might also say that they can write in closed committee rooms, too, and they can put some vicious amendments in labor legislation. They can write all kinds of things. Well, personally, I am a sort of an old fashioned guy. I never wanted to write a letter under water and I never wanted to write one in the stratosphere. I believe in open statements arrived at in the open, and not under water, and not 25,000 feet in the air.

... Mayor Humphrey continued and said in part:

"It is about time that the people of America demand from their public servants, and from their elected officials, a type of high performance and a type of high integrity and honesty of purpose, that the people are wholly worthy of."

Mayor Humphrey said that he had been elected three times as Mayor of the City of Minneapolis. He said that in the first election he had the endorsement of all the labor forces in the city; in the second election he had the endorsement of every single labor union, the CIO, the A. F. of L., radio unions, brotherhoods, and independent unions; and in the third election he not only had the endorsement of these organizations but their fighting spirit. He stated that he carried as a result of this support 353 out of 357 districts.

Mayor Humphrey said he never knew of anyone winning elections by reading literature or pamphlets or passing resolutions; the only way to win was by talking with people and working with people, and believing in people.

He said the only way to let democracy live and move ahead was by the action of the great rank and file of the American people being a driving force, and through their participation in politics electing the people to represent them truly.

Mayor Humphrey said that one of the real problems in America today was that too many people think things are good. They read reports of production figures, and profits being record high, and fall into a spirit of complacency. He said that anyone, by reading a 10-cent pamphlet on economics,

can determine that the real wages of the American people today in our shops and factories are not up; that they are actually down below levels of 1942.

He said there was a new type of rationing in this country today, where a man walks up to a shirt counter and he finds out that a shirt that he bought formerly for \$1.95 is now \$3.95 or \$4. He walks up there with \$3.50 in his pocket and is rationed—he is rationed right smack back out of the shirt market, and the only guy who can have the shirt is the guy with the \$5 bill in his pocket. He said that was the new kind of rationing in this country.

Mayor Humphrey spoke of the housing situation and said there was a shortage of 15,000,000 homes for young men and women in the United States today. He spoke of the real estate and rent control lobbyists in the Congress emasculating housing legislation.

Mayor Humphrey said further, in part:

"Quite frankly I think we are at the crossroads in American life as to whether or not this country is going to take a forthright position and an aggressive position in offering to all of its people, regardless of race, religion, or creed, an equal educational opportunity, equal employment opportunity, and equal political opportunity. The day has arrived in America. In fact, we are 175 years late for human equality in America. I believe it is time to act and to act now."

Referring to fair employment practices, Mayor Humphrey said that in his City of Minneapolis there was in existence a fair employment practice ordinance with punitive powers and with a commission established, as a result of which it was now possible for Negro citizens to find employment in 75 of the department stores of St. Paul and Minneapolis as clerks and supervisors.

Speaking of organized labor and politics Mayor Humphrey said:

"Organized labor is in politics and I hope it is there to stay. I hope organized labor will not only be in politics as a sectarian group, I hope it will move into the political parties and send delegates to the national conventions, who will stand up and fight for the kind of leadership that America needs in these days. Friends, unless you are willing to go into the political parties and participate in the precinct caucuses, in the county conventions and in the state conventions, unless you are willing to get your membership out to vote in the primaries, you are putting the selection of your political leaders in the hands of a little clique professional politicians, and that is one thing that America cannot afford any longer.

"I want to remind you there are other people who feel about things as you and I do, there are farm people who feel that way, and there are business people who feel that way. No organization can expect to win an election in a spirit of anger. I realize that the Taft-Hartley law is punitive legislation, the rankest kind of anti-labor legislation, but I want to caution you that the American people are not going to back somebody who just wants to get even, the American people are looking for leadership conceived, not in the spirit of anger and vengeance, they are looking for leadership brought out and put forward in the spirit of understanding, and a comprehensive program of all America, and not just a part."

Continuing, Mayor Humphrey expressed the hope that the CIO and other labor organizations would become the champions of soil conservation, of rural electrification, of the cooperative movement, and of the further development of water power projects, such as T. V. A.

Referring to foreign policy the Mayor said:

"We are going to fulfill our foreign commitments and keep up what we want to do with the European Recovery Program, we have to be strong at home. There is a definite inter-relationship between a successful domestic policy and a successful foreign policy. You can't have a strong America in the foreign relations field and a confused and weak and unemployed and depressed America on the domestic field. They go hand in hand, and it is about time that those people who are voting for ERP and who stand for the Marshall Plan—and I stand for it and will continue to stand for it—it is about time, if we are going to be the economic blood bank for Europe that we make darned sure we have some blood to give. Europe is not looking for speeches or pious platitudes; Europe, Asia, and the world today look to America for moral and for political leadership, but they are likewise looking to us for that ever-flowing series of goods and commodities that can rehabilitate their countries, and we had better make sure we have them to give, because if we haven't I need not tell you what is going to happen. That is why I believe in full employment and a better distribution of goods and service. That is why I know that the purchasing power of our people must be kept up. That is why I know that in America we cannot long endure this individual capriciousness, such as the companies you are dealing with have enjoyed. I watched that deal—\$5 a ton up, \$4.20 down, reduced prices, with about \$5,000,000 extra. That's a good deal if you can get by with it.

"We can't afford that kind of hokus-pokus bookkeeping in this country. That will not win anything for us."

Addressing himself to the political field Mayor Humphrey said:

"Conservative, reactionary leadership is having a field day at the present time. They are watching a new political force and they are watching the development of the Third Party. I don't mind telling you that reaction on the one hand and the extremism of the Third Party on the other hand are locking hands, and they are tightening up all around the great, vital, militant centers of America. I for one have never liked to be in gutters; I don't like the gutter of the Right or the gutter of the Left. I would rather be on the broad highway of American democracy, and that is where I think you people want to be.

"I don't want to be caught up in this subtle, treacherous type of infiltration into the progressive movement of America that is now taking place, and, thank God, may I thank this great leader of yours, this great American—and I say this in all sincerity, I never in my life have had a chance to visit with a man who has so profoundly impressed me with the depth of his character and his understanding as your own Philip Murray. I don't mind telling you that I consider it a signal honor to be marching arm in arm down the pathway of American democracy with that kind of leadership, with a man who believes in this country, with a man who believes in the free way of life, who not only believes in this country but believes in his God and believes in his people. Those are my kind of people.

"The Third Party threat in America—there is only one way to deal with it—lick it, and lick it good, and in the process of being able to spank that little movement, give the other guys a good shellacing along with it, and in the meantime have enough force, enough spirit in that direction, enough energy to elect to the 81st Congress of the United States that overwhelming majority of sound, liberal, progressive leaders that we must have.

"We cannot endure four years of this hokus-pokus called the Third Party. They used to talk about a 5-year plan or a 10-year plan, and now they have cut it down to four, to meet the American way of thinking. They are not kidding anybody at all.

"We know where the force behind this Third Party comes from. That they have been able to trap some good people is a tragedy, and there are many decent people in America being led down the path of disillusionment. There is no such thing as the American Communist Party, it is the Communist Party in America, and I will say that every single "commie" in America is for the Third Party. That does not mean that everybody who is for the Third Party is a "Commie," but the driving force is the Communist Party of America, that takes its orders, not from the banks of the Potomac, not from the plains of the Middle West or from the mountain ranges of the Far West, but takes its orders from Moscow and from a foreign force.

"I want to say that as soon as the labor movement gets itself scot-clean of this raggedy-taggedy outfit, the better off the labor movement will be. They tell me that I shouldn't talk that way, that it will make somebody mad. They are already mad, and not only that, but there is no love lost between that outfit and Humphrey. I don't need their support and I don't want their votes."

Mayor Humphrey characterized the real threat in this country as the reactionary element which opposes the cooperative movements the element which was responsible for the enactment of the Taft-Hartley law, and the element which removed the excess profits tax. In this connection he said:

"Let's not lose our sights, let us not get off the beam, let us not be disturbed over this little skirmish over in the squirrel bushes, but let's keep our eye on the job that needs to be done—the rebuilding of a democratic, progressive political force in America that will take out of office those people who do not represent the American people."

In conclusion Mayor Humphrey said:

"Abe Lincoln gave us a challenge once, folks. Abe Lincoln said, 'America is the last best hope on earth.' If there ever was a day in our lives when that was true, that hour is here. Not only is America the last best hope on earth, but all that this country stands for—not its wealth, not its territorial limits, not its mountains and lands and factories, but what this great nation stands for, a haven for the oppressed—the great symbol of America is the liberty that is ours, this great symbol of free men and of free women. My good friends, it is the only hope on earth and it is our task to uphold it."

PRESIDENT MURRAY: My good friends, there he is, the Mayor of the City of Minneapolis, the spirit of America, with faith in his country and faith in his country's people. I am quite sure that what you have had to say to the



delegates here this morning, Mayor Humphrey, has provided them with a great source of inspiration and encouragement. You are a great American.

I hope, like millions of other people are hoping today, that success will attend your efforts in the coming election in the State of Minnesota. I am asking our people, members of our organizations, and all CIO unions in the State of Minnesota, to lend every possible degree of support toward the election of Hubert Humphrey as United States Senator.

It is regrettable that even out in that great State the so-called Third Party reactionaries are proposing to thrust a candidate into the election in the State of Minnesota against Hubert Humphrey, and by the same token hope to re-elect Joe Ball to the United States Senate. The experiences of all people in that particular connection are not unusual—attempts have been made by the Third Party to do exactly the same thing in many other States where there is a distinct hope for the election of a liberal Congressman or a liberal member of the United States Senate. They are attempting to foist upon the people candidates representing the so-called Third Party, and the only hope they have in the outcome of such elections is the possibility of some reactionary representative being elected to the Congress in the coming election.

I am delighted that our delegates had an opportunity to meet Hubert Humphrey. He is a young man possessed of great talent, vigor, integrity, and sincerity. He is the type of man that I believe reflects the true spirit of America. He is the kind of man that should be elected to public office.

I noted with delight in the course of his opening statement the support which he and other people were giving the Packinghouse Workers in the State of Minnesota. I am proud to report to this convention that your International organization has contributed \$60,000 to the Packinghouse Workers. We are urgently requesting all of our Local Unions throughout the entire nation to lend every possible degree of moral and financial support to the Packinghouse Workers now engaged in this great strike.

Hubert, it is a source of great satisfaction to not only myself as President of this Union, but to the delegates attending this convention also, to meet with you here this morning and to hear from your lips those words of inspiration and encouragement. May God bless you in all of your undertakings.

## REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

(Continued)

### Resolution No. 17 POLITICAL ACTION

The Congress of Industrial Organizations, at its last constitutional convention, reiterated the declared policy of the CIO against the establishment of a Third Party at this time.

At a meeting of the National Executive Board of the CIO, held in January of 1948, the entire political situation was again reviewed and after a full and democratic debate it was resolved by an overwhelming majority of the Board to reaffirm the CIO policy against the establishment of a Third Party.

This action of the CIO Executive Board was considered at a meeting of the International Executive Board of the United Steelworkers of America which, recognizing its moral obligation so to do, expressed support of this CIO policy.

It is the considered view of the United Steelworkers of America that the Third Party movement under the present circumstances can serve no purpose other than aid in the defeat of liberal candidates within the major existing parties and that the Third Party movement is providing aid and comfort to reactionary candidates for public office and to the enemies of organized labor. It is further obvious that the so-called Third Party has no basic support in the ranks of organized labor devoted to American institutions and that the premature organization of such a party can only contribute to the disunity of the people of this country in the present circumstances in which this Nation finds itself.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That

(1) We fully support the policy of the CIO in opposing the Third Party movement at this time.

(2) We pledge our full and complete support to the Political Action Committee of the CIO in its independent political activity to assure the election of a Congress that will be dedicated to the interests of the American people.

(3) As an independent force without commitment to either of the major parties, we pledge to give our support to those progressives of either major political party whose record carries the assurance that they will work with courage and vigor for a program of peace, security, and progressive democracy, and to oppose those who have forfeited the people's confidence by their failure to act in the people's interests.

(4) Every local union of our organization, in fulfillment of this task, shall, through their local political action committees and in cooperation with CIO-PAC, make certain that the full energy and activity of our entire membership shall be mobilized for this all-important task and shall support the PAC campaign for independent voluntary contributions.

Resolutions dealing with this subject were submitted by the following Local Unions:

14, 22, 86, 169, 185, 215, 310, 332, 1002, 1003, 1010, 1010, 1011, 1115, 1124, 1131, 1138, 1145, 1147, 1156, 1163, 1187, 1190, 1196, 1200, 1211, 1220, 1246, 1248, 1256, 1272, 1273, 1275, 1287, 1288, 1307, 1308, 1323, 1330, 1330, 1333, 1338, 1359, 1374, 1375, 1415, 1418, 1434, 1445, 1448, 1461, 1462, 1496, 1512, 1526, 1577, 1592, 1601, 1608, 1617, 1626, 1650, 1670, 1688, 1744, 1749, 1808, 1822, 1843, 1856, 1858, 1861, 1865, 1870, 1886, 1898, 1904, 1928, 1932, 1940, 1947, 1972, 1974, 1975, 1988, 2016, 2018, 2047, 2054, 2075, 2081, 2092, 2098, 2122, 2128, 2136, 2148, 2155, 2163, 2173, 2176, 2179, 2211, 2221, 2229, 2233, 2239, 2247, 2282, 2253, 2310, 2324, 2332, 2341, 2342, 2345, 2347, 2355, 2359, 2361, 2365, 2367, 2369, 2391, 2412, 2422, 2438, 2449, 2492, 2498, 2499, 2511, 2515, 2528, 2574, 2606, 2633, 2654, 2657, 2659, 2634, 2635, 2644, 2708, 2710, 2721, 2721, 2731, 2737, 2741, 2748, 2759, 2772, 2781, 2791, 2839, 2849, 2887, 2896, 2922, 2953, 2956, 2956, 2968, 2989, 3029, 3036, 3052, 3057, 3059, 3076, 3080, 3081, 3115, 3134, 3138, 3146, 3152, 3179, 3194, 3217, 3218, 3219, 3225, 3231, 3243,



3269, 3283, 3286, 3301, 3328, 3347, 3367, 3380, 3384, 3396, 3399, 3417, 3418, 3455, 3508, 3523, 3539, 3548, 3558, 3567, 3587, 3610, 3631, 3634, 3641, 3655, 3688, 3708, 3721, 3737, 3753, 3754, 3763, 3766, 3771, 3774, 3793, 3838, 3842, 3855, 3885, 3900, 3935, 3949, 3965, 3970, 3977, 4001, 4015, 4030, 4032, 4034, 4038, 4039, 4051, 4069, 4076, 4112, 4114.

Committee Secretary Molony moved the adoption of the resolution.

The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE McCONNELL BARR, District 34, Local 1055, spoke in favor of the resolution and said that the trouble in this respect always had been the failure to bring the CIO-PAC to the proper attention of the leadership of the Local Unions, whereby they might see the light and the necessity of political action. He said, "If you don't go back home and do a job you may not be able to come to a convention two years from now."

Delegate Barr cited an example of the failure of the Steelworkers in his Local to come out and register in order to enable them to vote on election day. In conclusion he said, "Are the delegates going to do something about it? If you don't get them registered you can't have them vote in November."

Delegate Charles Fizer, District 31, Local 1011, requested Committee Secretary Molony to read the resolution submitted by Local 1011, Indiana Harbor, Indiana.

Committee Secretary Molony read the resolution as requested.

Delegate Fizer, Local 1011, recommended that the convention adopt Local Union 1011's resolution. He spoke at some length on the Third Party movement, and said they, like the CIO in its early formative years, had been accused of fostering Communism, as did the New Deal program of President Roosevelt. He suggested giving the Third Party an opportunity to prove what they could do for the working men.

Delegate Zonarich, Local 332, District 37, spoke in opposition to the Third Party. He pointed out that in his experience he had found that advocates of the Third Party, while talking about things that are progressive, at the same time worked diligently to defeat men who stood for the things for which organized labor is fighting.

Delegate Fleet, Local 2898, District 7, stated he favored the building of a power PAC which would guarantee the election of a progressive, pro-labor Congress of the United States. He stated further, however, that the records of both the Democratic and the Republican Parties were not such that organized labor could support candidates on either of those tickets. He also stated that all Third Parties in their infancy were weak, that they all had to go through a period of growth and experience a certain amount of division until they had achieved maturity and national support.

Delegate Barilone, Local 2018, District 38, spoke in support of the resolution and stated that in his locality the Third Party was being led by individuals who have a bad record.

District Director Germano, District 31, spoke in support of the resolution, pointing out that in the State of Illinois those who are sponsoring the cause

of the Third Party are directing their efforts toward the defeat of men like Congressman Madden, and Paul Douglas, a candidate for the United States Senate on the Democratic ticket. He pointed out further that people who tried to crucify good trade unionists in the past are the people who are today damning the United Steelworkers of America's policy, and the policy of the CIO. He urged the delegates not to be confused or kidded by those kind of people.

Delegate Younglove, Local 1299, District 29, stated that the officers of his Local Union voted against the Third Party and the rank and file, in a large mass meeting, voted unanimously against a Third Party, because of the tactics that were being used by the supporters of that Party in Michigan in attempting to defeat progressive candidates for public office.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BITTNER: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, I am not going to take up a lot of your time, but as Chairman of the Resolutions Committee I am certainly going to defend the resolution that the committee unanimously adopted.

There are several matters contained in this resolution that I think are important to this delegation. As far as the Third Party is concerned I am sure that in the United Steelworkers of America it never existed, so we are not going to spend too much time on the Third Party.

You have just heard this delegation stand and applaud one of the greatest speeches ever made to our convention by a candidate for public office, and yet you find in Minnesota the so-called Third Party, whatever it is, coming out against Mayor Humphrey for United States Senator from that State. Well, when you say you are against a man like Humphrey and you are for the United Steelworkers of America, I just can't understand your way of thinking.

The only reason that the Third Party in Minnesota is fighting Mayor Humphrey is the fact that he stands for the European Recovery Program. So do we, as members of the United Steelworkers of America.

This resolution says we are against a Third Party at this time, and we are against the kind of a Third Party that is in the field at this time. Nobody asked the United Steelworkers of America whether they should form a Third Party. Nobody asked the President of our Union and the President of CIO whether they should be candidates for President or any other office. I realize that is not necessary, but I certainly believe that if there is a Third Party formed in the United States in the future, the United Steelworkers of America will have something to say about that Third Party. There isn't any question in the minds of anyone. Read The Daily Worker. That is all you have to do.

The Third Party was foisted on the United States by the Communists and they can't get away from it. We know it and they know that we know it. I don't say that everybody that is in the Third Party is a Communist, but every damned Communist in America is for the Third Party.

What is the philosophy of this so-called Third Party? Their candidate for President, in a speech delivered about a month ago, stated very definitely the Third Party didn't expect to win, but they expected to see such a reaction-

ary administration in this country that after four years everybody would be disgusted, and "then we could go some place."

The members of the United Steelworkers of America are not thinking about 1952; we are thinking about 1948. I went through four years of starvation under Hoover and the others who were in control of the policies of our government. I am certainly not going to be a party, and I know the United Steelworkers of America in this convention are not going to be a party to four more years of Hooverism in order that we may be able to finally decide we want something better.

My God, anything was better than that and nobody can argue that things are not better today than they were during those days, but you will find in this campaign of the Third Party throughout the whole country—there may be an exception, but it just proves the rule—every progressive candidate that supported the policies of the United Steelworkers of America, and the CIO organization and organized labor in general—every last one of them is being opposed by this so-called Third Party. What does that mean? Does it mean that we are going to defeat the few friends that we have in Congress, or are we going to support them?

That is what the resolution says. I say again, there may come a time in this country when we need a Third Party, but listen, that Third Party is not going to be foisted upon me as a trade unionist or an American citizen. It is not going to be foisted on the American people, if I can prevent it, by the Communist Party.

So much, my friends, for the Third Party. The resolution says that we shall elect men that we know will be friends of our organization and friends of the people. I am sure that no trade unionist can disagree with that sort of a policy, as stated in that section of the resolution.

The one thing you need more than anything else to win the election is to carry out the policies of our own CIO Political Action Committee—our own Steelworkers Political Action Committee, and the CIO Political Action Committee. So, my friends, let's decide very, very definitely here today in this convention, by adopting this resolution, that the United Steelworkers of America stand for Americanism first, last, and all the time. The United Steelworkers of America believes in electing our friends—our real friends—to office, and the United Steelworkers of America is overwhelmingly, in this convention, against a Third Party. Let that be the action of this convention.

**PRESIDENT MURRAY:** I want the Secretary-Treasurer of this International Union to explain to the delegates here an aspect of this resolution that has to do with the collection of your dollar, and see what you want to do about it, after he gets through.

**SECRETARY-TREASURER McDONALD:** Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, the second section of this resolution states that we pledge full and complete support to the Political Action Committee of the CIO in its independent political activity to assure the election of a Congress that will be dedicated to the interests of the American people.

There has been a bit of discussion on the resolution so far, but very little attention has been given to those few words which read, "Full and

complete support to the Political Action Committee of the C.I.O." We not only have a Political Action Committee in the C.I.O. but we ourselves have a Political Action Committee in the United Steelworkers of America. On the top level, on the district level, through our staffs, and through the officers of many Local Unions, we have been trying to build a real, potent, nationwide Steelworkers political action movement, and we have made some progress. We have made considerable progress over that which we enjoyed last year, but we happen to be the type of people in the International organization who are not satisfied with some progress. We are always shooting for 100 per cent accomplishment.

Amongst the jobs which have been given to me by President Murray is that of Secretary-Treasurer of the C.I.O. Political Action Committee. Well, as Secretary-Treasurer of the CIO-PAC the same sort of ideas go through my mind as when I have on my other hat,—when I am Secretary-Treasurer of the United Steelworkers of America. Basically those ideas are these: that you can't do anything worthwhile unless you have some money to spend. In 1947 we made a fair record. We collected \$1 from each of approximately 200,000 members of our Union. We collected about \$200,000 which went to the C.I.O. Political Action Committee. Fifty cents out of each dollar went to Washington, and another 50 cents was split up between the state and local industrial CIO-PAC committees, and in some situations arrangements were made whereby Steelworkers Political Action Committees on a local or a county basis, got back a certain proportion from the local CIO committee.

The policy which was builded in 1947 is the policy today. We are a potent force, we the Steelworkers, in 100 Congressional districts. We can, without the assistance of anybody else, elect 34 Congressmen if we do the right sort of job. Thirty-four, we can elect! There is no question about that, and there are these other people, 66, where we will help to elect Congressmen. We are potent in 100 districts.

There are 928,670 dues-paying members in the United Steelworkers of America. Two hundred thousand dollars is about one-fifth collection—it is between one-fourth and one-fifth.

On the 17th of June, 1936, the Union was founded. The first Steelworkers convention named June 17th as "Phil Murray Day". In some parts of the country there are celebrations held on June 17th in honor of Phil Murray and the founding of our Union.

The committee of your Union which is charged with looking after the political action affairs on a nation-wide basis has decided that the "kick-off" day for the start of the campaign to raise 1948 Political Action Committee dollars shall be "Phil Murray Day", June 17, 1948. So, when you go back home representatives of the Union will be coming to you, saying, "Boys, get the ball rolling. Get your campaign underway." They are going to urge you to collect at least \$1 from every member of the United Steelworkers of America.

We are going to try to clean up this job in one month in the year 1948. We would like the "kick-off" day to be June 17th, and we would like to have on July 17th, \$928,670 from the United Steelworkers of America membership. We can do it if you will work toward that end. We can't do it if you won't work.



We can elect progressive Congressmen and we can elect progressive Senators, and we can elect progressive people on the state and local level, if you will go out and raise the money. That is very important.

Everybody who was ever engaged in any sort of a political campaign knows that you must have some dollars to spend. We want the dollars to spend. You work with us—you get the dollars, you indorse the right people, you have your people registered, you get out the vote, and you will elect a progressive Congress. When you elect a progressive Congress then you will get rid of the Taft-Hartley law, and then you won't have the sort of political program and economic program which is spelled out in the officers' report.

Now, if you don't do anything about this fund-raising campaign you are not going to get anywhere, believe me. Everything is dependent upon that. Go out and get the dollars and we will help you to do the job you want done.

**PRESIDENT MURRAY:** All delegates will please be seated. There are about a dozen delegates clamoring for the floor; there seems to be an overwhelming desire on the part of the convention that debate cease. The Chair will naturally have to be governed by the will of the convention. I am therefore going to ask the convention to vote.

A motion to cease debate on the resolution was seconded and carried by a large majority.

The question recurred upon the motion to adopt the report of the committee.

The motion was carried.

At 12:40 o'clock, p.m., under suspension of the rules, the convention adjourned to 2:15 o'clock, p.m.

## SECOND DAY—WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order by President Murray at 2:15 o'clock, p.m.

### COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary McDonald read the following messages:

Atlantic City, N. J., May 11, 1948

Philip Murray

Statler Hotel, Boston

Please accept most heartfelt greetings from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, in Convention assembled, to its great sister organization, the United Steelworkers of America, on the occasion of its own historic Convention.

The nearly 1,000,000 organized steel workers have made great gains under your brilliant guidance. They have fought zealously for their rights as men and citizens and have given a shining example of what a great union can do in a basic American industry.

Your vision and leadership, which have steered the United Steelworkers of America through many storms, will continue to serve the membership in the crucial days ahead. Both on the economic and political fields, the steelworkers will display the same courage and discipline which have made their union the most outstanding labor organization in the country.

We are confident that your embattled delegates will administer a stinging rebuke to the authors of the shackling Taft-Hartley Law and other repressive measures. We know that your members will be in the forefront of the battle to defeat the present reactionary members of Congress and will leave nothing undone to make the next Congress forward looking and progressive so that peace on the international scene and progress for all workers will be achieved.

Our delegates have asked us to express our appreciation to you, as President of the CIO, of your inspiring address to our convention.

Please accept the most fraternal good wishes from the officers and 1500 delegates of the 16th Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, now meeting in Atlantic City.

JACOB S. POTOFSKY, General President,

FRANK ROSENBLUM, Gen. Sec'y Treas.,

HYMAN BLUMBERG, Exec. Vice President.

Philip Murray,

President United Steelworkers of America,  
Hotel Statler, Boston.

On behalf of the Transport Workers' Union of America I wish to extend greetings to your fourth constitutional convention. The United Steel Workers of America and you as founder and leader have inspired all organized labor and especially every CIO union in this country. Your success in bringing legitimate trade unionism to the steel mills of America encouraged many of



us to shake off the chains of company unionism. This was particularly true of the transit industry. The officers and members of the Transport Workers Union deeply appreciate the help and guidance you and your organization have given in solving our many wage struggles. And working people all over the United States vigorously support your present wage fight with the steel corporations. We know your convention will be a great success and from its deliberations will come a continuing constructive program for the months ahead. In this coming wage fight you can be assured of the full cooperation of the Transport Workers Union of America. Good luck to all of you.

MICHAEL J. QUILL,  
International President,  
Transport Workers Union of America.

Other messages of greeting were received from the following:

Thomas W. Reese, Treasurer, Local Union 1220, Ellwood City, Pennsylvania;

Entire Membership Local 1870, Newport, Kentucky;

Membership of Local 2610, District 8, Baltimore, Maryland;

Officers and Members of Local 2609, Baltimore, Maryland.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (Continued)

Committee Secretary Molony continued the report of the committee, as follows:

##### Resolution No. 7

##### WALTER REUTHER

A few weeks ago a brutal attack was made on Walter Reuther, President of the United Automobile Workers, CIO. It is obvious from the known facts that this attack represented an attempt to assassinate President Reuther. It is further obvious that this attempt to assassinate President Reuther arose out of his life of devotion to the labor movement.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That

(1) We express our horror at the attempt to assassinate President Walter Reuther of the United Automobile Workers.

(2) We declare that no effort must be spared to bring the perpetrator or perpetrators of this crime to justice and we pledge our entire support to this end.

(3) We extend to President Reuther and to his wife our sincere wishes for his speedy recovery and our hope that he will soon recover and resume his former position of leadership in his great union.

Committee Secretary Molony moved the adoption of the resolution.  
The motion was seconded and carried.

##### Resolution No. 16

##### PEACETIME MILITARY CONSCRIPTION

The last CIO convention meeting in October of 1947 passed a resolution expressing the opposition of the CIO to peacetime military conscription.

Since that time, however, international relations have been strained almost to the critical point. Although war, for the differences that divide the chief nations of the world today, would be an unmitigated folly, nevertheless, we in the CIO cannot blind ourselves to the real and pressing dangers to which the United States is now exposed.

This country cannot depend alone for the protection of our interests on the machinery existing for the purpose of composing international disputes. We must not permit ourselves to fall into such a position, spiritually, economically, or militarily that aggressor nations might consider us no obstacle to their imperialistic objectives. Although at the present time our greatest need is to strengthen our productive apparatus and improve our democratic processes, it is possible that a reappraisal of our stand on peacetime military conscription may be necessary before the next convention.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED,

(1) That the United States take immediate measures to step up our industrial potential. This should include establishment of allocations on such basic products as steel, chemicals, oil and aluminum. Price controls should immediately be reimposed.

(2) That Enlistment in the armed forces be made more attractive by eliminating the abuses of the caste system by ending segregation and discrimination practiced with reference to Negro troops.

(3) That the United States continue its efforts to bring about a peaceful solution to world problems. This should include support of the United Nations, wise and considerate administration of the European Recovery Program and the offer of a conciliatory but firm hand to the Soviet Union.

(4) That We reaffirm our opposition, in principle, to peacetime military conscription, but in view of a possible further worsening of international relations, President Murray and the Executive Board of the United Steelworkers of America be authorized to enunciate such future policies as realistic considerations may, in their judgment, require.

Resolutions dealing with this subject were submitted by the following Local Unions:

1014, 1029, 1190, 1256, 1330, 1330, 1798, 2633.

Committee Secretary Molony moved adoption of the resolution.

The motion was seconded and carried.

PROTECTION OF DEMOCRACY

Today in America civil rights are under attack as never before in our history. Un-American doctrines of intolerance have steadily grown stronger since the end of World War II. The same pattern of repression which followed the last war is again reproduced with grave danger to our democratic institutions.

The workers of our nation are among the chief victims of this drive against our basic liberties. The Taft-Hartley Act has marked an intensification of this movement against freedom. The legislative attack upon the basic rights of labor has been accompanied as well by an attack from the courts. During the past year a shockingly large number of injunctions have been issued by courts restraining the constitutional rights of free American workers.

Police brutality against labor and against other groups in our population has occurred with increasing intensity. During a strike called by our Union in Nashville, Tennessee, State police distinguished themselves for their ferocious strike-breaking tactics and abuse of authority through violence and other means against peaceful strikers. It was the same Tennessee State Police who shocked the nation by its indecent attacks upon Negroes at Columbia, Tennessee.

Another manifestation of this growing type of lawlessness has been the action of the Kansas City, Kansas, police. These police officers made a mockery of their oath to uphold the law and freely used violence against peaceful packinghouse strikers. These lawless policemen so completely identified themselves with the employer in their strike-breaking tactics that in clubbing innocent strikers they warned them to return to work and abandon their strike.

The growing hysteria which has blinded many to our American traditions of democracy has taken many forms. The attack upon the rights of labor has been accompanied by a persecution of labor leaders. Re-introducing the pattern of repression of the 1920's, deportation proceedings have been commenced against labor leaders who are not citizens and who have resided here for many years. Labor leaders have been held for deportation solely on the ground of their alleged political beliefs and denied bail.

Racial minorities are faced with the tragic revival of the persecution which prevailed after the last war. Violence against Negroes by mobs and by local law enforcement officers has increased. Discrimination in employment because of race, creed or color has grown to alarming proportions. The evils of segregation and discrimination in educational opportunities and religious intolerance have secured a dangerous beachhead in our country.

The infamous Thomas-Rankin House Un-American Activities Committee continues to demonstrate its complete disregard for the constitutional rights of minorities with whose ideas it disagrees. As in the past it continues to slander minority groups in our society and engage in witch-hunts, to use its authority for anti-labor purposes and, as in the past, it continues to function

as a kangaroo court denying to accused persons the right to be informed of the charges against them or the opportunity to answer such charges.

This Committee with its long record of repression and anti-labor bias has sponsored a new bill, the Mundt-Nixon bill (H.R. 5852). This bill contains a dangerous threat to freedom of speech and freedom of association. Its provisions endanger bona fide labor organizations.

The Keefe Rider to the Federal Security Agency Appropriations Bill (H. R. 6355) likewise presents a serious threat to the labor movement.

The President's Loyalty Order, Executive Order 9835, purporting to weed out those who are disloyal to the government fails to protect employees against unfounded charges of disloyalty. This Order disregards basic democratic principles of a fair hearing and imposes undemocratic controls upon the political freedom of our government workers.

There are hopeful signs that we have not remained completely indifferent to the monstrous growth of intolerance and repression in our land. The President's Committee on Civil Rights has presented a vital program of recommendations for legislation and administrative action. The support which this Committee's report has received demonstrates an awakening of the people to the importance of civil rights in our democratic society.

Congress must act now to protect our civil rights. Legislation must be enacted to protect the right to vote. This most precious civil right of a free American is being denied millions of our people either through the poll tax or through other devices to prevent Negro citizens from voting.

The growth of racial intolerance in this country has been encouraged by the failure of Congress to enact a Fair Employment Practices Act establishing the right to equal job opportunities without regard to race, creed, color or national origin.

Congress has refused to enact an anti-lynching bill, thereby denying to Negro citizens federal protection from mob violence.

At this time we are faced with a danger to our democracy. We together with millions of freedom-loving Americans must rededicate ourselves to the American ideal of preserving and maintaining freedom.

We demand:

- (1) The passage of federal and local fair employment practices acts.
- (2) The establishment of a fair employment practices committee with power to eliminate discrimination in the government service and in employment on government contracts.
- (3) The abolition of segregation in the armed forces.
- (4) The enactment of a federal anti-lynching bill.
- (5) The passage of federal and state legislation outlawing poll taxes and other restrictions on the right to vote.
- (6) The passage of measures to ban segregation in interstate travel.
- (7) The enactment of safeguards against racial discrimination in federal appropriations for state aid.



(8) The enactment of civil rights laws in all states which now do not have such laws eliminating segregation.

(9) The abolition of the Thomas-Rankin Committee.

(10) The enactment of laws protecting aliens long resident in the United States and regularizing their status.

(11) The defeat of the Mundt-Nixon bill (H.R. 5852) as a threat to the civil rights of our people. Similarly, the defeat of the Keefe rider to the Federal Security Agency Appropriation Bill (H. R. 6355).

(12) The establishment of guarantees to protect the freedom of thought and the freedom of political views of government workers and the revocation of Executive Order 9835.

#### NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED:

In recognition of the vital importance to our democracy of safe-guarding civil rights we authorize the creation of a special committee of Executive Board members to foster the above objectives.

Resolutions dealing with this subject were submitted by the following Local Unions:

185, 1010, 1010, 1010, 1011, 1011, 1014, 1066, 1190, 1190, 1199, 1601, 1798, 1904, 2342, 2599, 2599, 2600, 2898, 3657.

Committee Secretary Molony moved the adoption of the resolution.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously by a rising vote of the delegates.

#### Resolution No. 19

##### VETERANS

More than 25% of our membership are veterans of World War II. These young men and women have resumed their employment and places in our organization with a minimum of difficulty. Although the reemployment rights section of the old Selective Training and Service Law was inadequate, collective bargaining for the most part has made possible restoration on the principle that an ex G. I. is entitled to all rights, privileges and benefits which would have been his had he not left his job to join the Armed Forces of the United States.

Veterans as citizens have not fared as well. They are the chief sufferers in the housing shortage and the rise in the cost-of-living. The democracy they fought so hard to preserve is weaker today than it was when they left to fight in its defense. While liberating foreign nations, they preached equality of worker and employer, and now their words have been turned into mockery with the passage of the Taft-Hartley law.

As ex G.I.'s, their needs have received somewhat more recognition. The 1946 convention of the USA proposed a nine-point veterans program. Four of these recommendations have since been enacted into law. The other needs remain and additional problems have arisen since that time.

Now therefore, be it resolved that we pledge the continued efforts of our organization for

1. Full vacation benefits for every veteran, commencing in the year of his return, and special employment of the war disabled in jobs they can handle.

2. Repeal of part of the Senate Joint Resolution 123 which declared the war at an end so far as veterans benefits are concerned, thus, setting up premature deadlines which will deprive most ex-G. I.'s of many promised benefits.

3. Amendment of the G.I. Bill of Rights to remove disqualification of veterans who are unemployed as a result of labor disputes, and the raising of readjustment allowances to \$25.00 a week.

4. A housing program calculated to assure immediate large-scale construction of decent low-cost homes.

5. More liberal and effective provision for direct loans to veterans to purchase homes, businesses, and farms, operating through a veterans' equivalent of the RFC.

6. Real veteran priority in the purchase of surplus properties and special provision for the sale of these properties in units small enough to bring them within the reach of all veterans.

7. Appropriation of sufficient funds to the Veterans Administration to permit rapid completion of VA studies essential to the payment of National Service Life Insurance dividends, enlargement of VA hospital facilities and services and of its staff or professional workers and counsellors, and reduction of delay and red tape.

8. Democratization of the armed forces, including elimination of unwarranted special privilege or caste distinctions and reform of the present out-moded and unjust court-martial system, with special attention to the condition of our forces of occupation abroad.

9. Full social security credit for time spent in military service.

Resolutions dealing with this subject were submitted by the following Local Unions:

1011, 1211, 1601.

Committee Secretary Molony moved the adoption of the resolution.

Delegate Charles O'Malley, District 31, Local 1478, spoke in favor of the resolution and pointed particularly to the first section of the resolution with reference to special employment of the war disabled in jobs they can handle.

Delegate O'Malley spoke of his activity in veterans' affairs in the AMVETS and in the Chicago Industrial Union Council, on behalf of disabled union veterans covering the re-employment of men who left for the service from plants which at that time were not organized.

He outlined the program which his Local has worked out with the various veterans' organizations including the DAV and the Chief of Chaplains in his area as well as the Chief of Chaplains in Washington, D. C.



Delegate O'Malley presented a memorandum of understanding regarding employment of disabled veterans of World War II, which is in effect between his Local 1478 and the American Can Company at the Englewood plant in Chicago.

(This memorandum will be incorporated in the final proceedings of the convention.)

Delegate O'Malley said they had not given publicity to this working arrangement with the American Can Company until they had seen how it had worked out in practice. He said that when they did tell some people about how well it had worked out they seemed to be surprised to see a Union doing such a thing.

Delegate Campbell, Local 1011, District 31, requested that the resolution submitted by his Local Union on this subject be read.

The Secretary of the Committee complied with his request.

Delegate Campbell then spoke in support of that resolution, particularly as it favors a national soldiers' bonus to combat the high cost of living, and to stave off inflation.

The motion to adopt the resolution was carried.

#### Resolution No. 9 AMERICANISM

Our organization is an American organization, truly American in every sense of the word.

We are devoted to our democracy, to our Constitution, to our country and to its institutions.

We abhor and condemn totalitarianism and political dictatorship in any form. We disavow the advocates of such foreign ideologies who seek to promote disunity in the ranks of labor.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That this convention re-dedicates our organization and its membership to the support and preservation of our constitutional form of government and our democratic way of life. We condemn and declare to be abhorrent any and all forms of totalitarianism. We stand opposed to both domestic and foreign political dictatorships. We believe that the greatest good for the greatest number can be found in the preservation and in the extension of our democracy. We assert that a free and strong labor movement can only exist in a free and democratic country.

Resolutions dealing with this subject were submitted by the following Local Unions:

1272, 1800, 1886, 1927, 2359, 3267, 3356, 3405, 3422, 3657, 3751, 3965, 4076.

Committee Secretary Molony moved the adoption of the resolution.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Uehlein, Local 1104, District 28, said that he was very much in favor of the resolution but he did not think it went far enough. He thought

the convention should go on record as not allowing Communists or advocates of Fascism, Naziism or any other sort of "ism" to hold office in the local unions.

PRESIDENT MURRAY: I might explain, for the information of the delegate, that the whole subject matter to which he makes reference will be brought to the attention of the convention when the Committee on Constitution submits its report.

The motion to adopt the resolution was carried.

#### Resolution No. 10 FOREIGN POLICY

Our Union and the CIO by democratic processes endorsed the principles of the Marshall Plan as an instrument for world peace and prosperity.

The Marshall Plan has now been enacted into law as the European Recovery Program. Representatives of our Union and of the CIO participated in the formulation of the basic principles which have been incorporated into the European Recovery Program. Congress has established the European Cooperation Administration to administer this program.

It is imperative, if the European Recovery Plan is to succeed and if the European Cooperation Administration is to enjoy the confidence of the common people everywhere, that labor shall be given representation and an important role in the administration of the program.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED,

(1) We hail the enactment of the European Recovery Plan and we urge Congress to appropriate sufficient funds to enable this program to be implemented promptly and with full force and effect.

(2) We urge that organized labor be given adequate representation and an important role in the administration of this program. This is essential if the program is to succeed as a force for peace and for the prosperity of the peoples of Europe and of the world.

(3) We urge that in the administration of the European Recovery Program there be close cooperation with the United Nations so that the United Nations may be strengthened rather than weakened as an instrumentality for peace.

(4) We call upon those European nations not now cooperating in the European Recovery Program to abandon their unjust and shortsighted opposition to this program. Surely there can be no valid reason for opposing a program intended to rehabilitate the war-devastated economy of Europe and to enable the peoples of Europe to regain some semblance of economic security and freedom from want.

Resolutions dealing with this subject were submitted by the following Local Unions:

185, 1003, 1010, 1010, 1010, 1010, 1011, 1046, 1115, 1124, 1138, 1145, 1156, 1163, 1170, 1196, 1200, 1220, 1246, 1263, 1275, 1277, 1308, 1323, 1333, 1346, 1374,

1404, 1415, 1448, 1608, 1626, 1670, 1688, 1744, 1749, 1843, 1856, 1886, 1898, 1928, 1940, 1972, 1974, 1975, 2016, 2040, 2075, 2092, 2180, 2229, 2253, 2323, 2327, 2345, 2359, 2365, 2371, 2443, 2492, 2499, 2511, 2515, 2574, 2599, 2600, 2602, 2657, 2659, 2670, 2683, 2710, 2716, 2719, 2731, 2759, 2812, 2826, 2839, 2844, 2887, 2898, 2922, 2989, 3052, 3152, 3153, 3217, 3218, 3269, 3283, 3298, 3301, 3328, 3341, 3342, 3367, 3482, 3548, 3555, 3610, 3631, 3641, 3657, 3688, 3699, 3727, 3763, 3775, 3794, 3828, 3885, 3900, 3935, 3949, 4032, 4069, 4076, 4112.

Committee Secretary Molony moved adoption of this resolution.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Campbell, Local 1011, District 31, spoke in favor of the resolution, but said he did not believe it was sufficiently strong in its wording to carry out the purposes of the European Recovery Program. He advocated complete support of the independent countries of Europe, even to the extent of supplying them with arms.

Delegate Krupsaw, Local 1010, District 31, stated he believed a labor representative should be named to have a part in the administration of the recovery program, and particularly with reference to the distribution of food and other necessities of life. He urged that these supplies go into the hands of those who need it most, and that they be not diverted into other channels.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BITTNER: I just want to explain that the resolution provides for all of the things that the delegate asked about. They are all covered when we say very plainly in the beginning, in the third paragraph, "It is imperative, if the European Recovery Plan is to succeed that there be close cooperation with the United Nations."

Then the second "Resolve" on Page 9:

"We urge that organized labor be given adequate representation and an important role in the administration of this program. This is essential if the program is to succeed as a force for peace and for the prosperity of the peoples of Europe and of the world."

As far as prices are concerned, and all of the other elements that go with the administration of European Recovery Plan, I know of no man or group of men in America that can and will do a better job in this respect than the representatives of the organized labor movement. We demand that they be given a part in the important administration role of the European Recovery Plan.

A delegate from Local 2018, California, spoke in favor of the resolution, but said that it should be implemented by political action on the part of the Steelworkers. He said America must save the European democracies if we are to save our own form of government. He said it would take cooperation to do that job, and the only way to do it would be through the PAC and that \$1 or \$2 spent in the coming elections to accomplish this purpose would be worth \$10 in lobbying to accomplish the same end.

Delegate Clinton Carlton, District 26, Local 1340, spoke on behalf of the motion to adopt the resolution as written, and said he thought a lot of emphasis

should be put on the desirability of having more labor representation in the administration of the ERP.

The motion to adopt Resolution No. 10 was carried.

## Resolution No. 11

### STATE LAWS

The legislatures of over 30 states have, in the past year, enacted the most dangerous and reactionary body of anti-labor laws which our country has ever seen. At the instance of the vindictive lobbies for big business, laws have been passed restricting the exercise of the right peacefully to strike, picket and boycott, limiting or prohibiting various types of union security and regulating the internal affairs of labor organizations. These laws have been passed not merely by rural or semi-rural legislatures but in such industrial states as Michigan and Pennsylvania.

Employer-dominated legislatures have not merely confined themselves to a savage attack upon the rights of working people. There has been a dangerous and growing attempt to rob working people of the protections which have stood upon the books for years. These legislatures have callously turned their backs on the needs of the people for progressive legislation dealing with wages and hours, assuring protection of the health and welfare of women and children, providing for the elimination of the abuse of government-by-injunction the strengthening of workmen's compensation and unemployment insurance laws, and for adequate housing to meet the desperate needs of our people.

### NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That

(1) The legislative drive toward reaction in the states must be stopped if our democracy is to continue upon a sound basis. We cannot disregard the inroads upon our basic freedoms which are being made by employer-dominated state legislatures. Existing statutory restrictions on labor's rights and upon free collective bargaining must be repealed.

(2) The wilful disregard of the social welfare needs of our people by state legislatures must end. The various legislatures throughout the Nation must not be permitted to evade any longer their responsibilities in such fields as housing, wage-hour legislation, public health, unemployment insurance and workmen's compensation.

(3) The fight against reaction and repression on the national scene must be accompanied by a fight to preserve our freedom and our social gains on the state level.

Committee Secretary Molony moved the adoption of the resolution.

The motion was seconded.

District Director Crawford, a delegate from Local Union 2401, District 35, referred to the vicious anti-labor legislation which had been passed in the State of Georgia. He stated that Joe Rabun, a candidate for Governor in that state, had the courage to go before the State Legislature and make a vigorous speech against the white primary law, and because of his stand on anti-labor



legislation he asked the membership to support him in his campaign for the governorship.

The motion to adopt the resolution was carried.

#### Resolution No. 12

#### PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

A number of resolutions have been submitted relating to candidates for the Presidency. Many of these resolutions request that General Dwight D. Eisenhower be drafted to accept nomination for President of the United States. These resolutions are a testimonial to the high esteem in which General Eisenhower is held by the membership of our organization.

It is the position of the National CIO, however, that the time is premature for endorsement of Presidential candidates. It has always been the policy of the United Steelworkers of America, recognizing its moral obligation to do so, to conform with National CIO policy. Sound judgment dictates that final decision on Presidential candidates be delayed until the two major political parties have had their conventions and until all the facts are before the American people.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That we refer to the International Executive Board for its consideration and decision at the appropriate time the matter of endorsing a candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

Resolutions dealing with this subject were submitted by the following Local Unions:

14, 22, 63, 64, 169, 310, 332, 1027, 1033, 1053, 1115, 1123, 1124, 1133, 1135, 1136, 1153, 1170, 1196, 1200, 1220, 1245, 1253, 1277, 1287, 1299, 1338, 1359, 1374, 1375, 1431, 1434, 1448, 1461, 1462, 1478, 1496, 1506, 1512, 1526, 1545, 1574, 1592, 1608, 1617, 1626, 1688, 1650, 1670, 1701, 1749, 1808, 1821, 1822, 1834, 1856, 1858, 1861, 1865, 1870, 1871, 1877, 1897, 1928, 1932, 1940, 1947, 1952, 1972, 1974, 1975, 1987, 1988, 2015, 2016, 2040, 2049, 2057, 2060, 2075, 2081, 2092, 2098, 2099, 2101, 2136, 2128, 2148, 2155, 2163, 2179, 2211, 2227, 2229, 2239, 2243, 2253, 2282, 2300, 2310, 2324, 2345, 2347, 2350, 2355, 2365, 2369, 2371, 2412, 2416, 2438, 2449, 2492, 2499, 2511, 2515, 2528, 2563, 2574, 2590, 2606, 2610, 2624, 2620, 2654, 2657, 2659, 2670, 2671, 2708, 2710, 2716, 2719, 2730, 2731, 2737, 2741, 2748, 2759, 2772, 2781, 2839, 2849, 2869, 2887, 2896, 2922, 2953, 2968, 2989, 3016, 3036, 3052, 3057, 3059, 3063, 3076, 3080, 3081, 3134, 3138, 3146, 3152, 3164, 3179, 3185, 3194, 3214, 3217, 3218, 3219, 3225, 3232, 3243, 3269, 3281, 3283, 3286, 3294, 3298, 3341, 3342, 3347, 3367, 3380, 3384, 3399, 3417, 3419, 3424, 3442, 3455, 3482, 3494, 3522, 3523, 3539, 3548, 3555, 3587, 3610, 3611, 3619, 3631, 3634, 3641, 3655, 3657, 3670, 3688, 3699, 3708, 3721, 3727, 3729, 3737, 3754, 3763, 3766, 3771, 3774, 3775, 3793, 3794, 3798, 3838, 3817, 3842, 3847, 3949, 3855, 3885, 3900, 3935, 3970, 3977, 4015, 4030, 4032, 4038, 4039, 4051, 4080, 4112, 4114.

Committee Secretary Molony moved adoption of this resolution.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Sargent, Local 1010, District 31, stated he was a supporter of

Henry Wallace for President. He then asked President Murray the following question: "If my personal political convictions are such that a vote for Henry Wallace is something that will do me and the country some good, is that in line with the proposal here that the CIO will not endorse any political candidate, and will I be out of order to use my own personal prerogatives, as a CIO member, as a Local Union officer, to support a Presidential candidate that I think is all right for me in this country?"

PRESIDENT MURRAY: The delegate knows quite well that although this convention may, as a matter of policy, refrain from endorsing any candidate for office at this time, and if the members of the International Executive Board in due course and in conformity with National CIO policy decide to approve the candidacy of a particular aspirant for the Presidency, that no action taken either by the National CIO Executive Board, or by the Steelworkers Executive Board, or by this convention, deprives any individual of his constitutional prerogatives to vote for and support whoever he wants to. That is his right.

Delegate Stofko, Local 65, District 31, spoke in support of the resolution and urged that the membership follow the lead of President Murray and other officers of the International Union in matters of policy such as the one under discussion.

DISTRICT DIRECTOR GERMANO, District 31, discussed the resolution and said, in part:

"Four years ago the President of this organization submitted to the International Executive Board the policy of this organization concerning individual political freedom. It was approved by the International Executive Board and published in 'Steel Labor'. The reason for that was that many of our good trade unionists who happened to be Republicans were being attacked by the same people who are now asking what is going to happen to them. I don't think President Murray intended to change the policy of the organization at this time. That is his belief all the time and I think we are going to continue it. But you see people now who will go back home and engage themselves in a campaign for the Third Party and say they are not violating the policy of the organization.

"I am saying to Brother Sargent and to every delegate from District 31, that I understand what the policy of this organization is, and there is a moral obligation on the delegates of this convention and the members of our local unions throughout the country to follow that policy."

Delegate J. R. Moore, District 26, Local 1331, spoke in favor of the resolution and said it seemed to be all right with the exception of one thing and that is the putting of the burden of endorsing a candidate completely on the shoulders of the International officers. He said the rank and file of the organization do not doubt their integrity and feel they are very able men, but strong as they are they can't stand too much of a burden.

Delegate Moore said he felt the Political Action Committee was set up for the purpose of endorsing liberal and progressive candidates and he didn't think the Steelworkers should wait until after the Presidential nominations were made, but should take a stand now to back up Liberals and Progressives.

Delegate John Katrinsak, District 15, Local 1397, said he was 100 per cent for the motion and felt the convention should go along with the resolution. He said that he thought the Third Party candidates should come forward and tell labor what they have done in the interests of labor.

Delegate Krumenacker, District 19, Local 1196, said that there seemed to be some confusion in the convention regarding the so-called Third Party. He said he didn't know why the delegates were discussing the Third Party, that so far as he was concerned it was a Communistic Party. He favored the resolution and recommended that the delegates go along with the thinking of their great President, Philip Murray.

A delegate from Local 1069, District 38, called for a point of order, and quoted Rule 3 of the Rules and Order of Business. He said he thought there were other delegates present who wanted the floor to speak on the subject.

Delegate John Nash, District 17, Local 1556, said that nobody would tell him how to vote, whether it was for Truman, Wallace, Dewey, or whoever might be running on the Republican ticket. He said he could be told to vote a certain way, but would vote for whom he wanted to.

... Delegates from Locals 3848, 3808, and 3979 moved the previous questions.

The motion was seconded and carried that debate cease.

The question recurred on the motion of the committee to adopt Resolution No. 12.

The motion was seconded and carried.

The committee reported upon Resolutions Nos. 14 and 28 jointly, inasmuch as they were similar in character. The resolutions are as follows:

#### Resolution No. 14 SOCIAL SECURITY

Our social security program, enacted 13 years ago, is creaking and obsolete. Since 1935 we have seen an intensification of the need for a revision and overhauling of our entire social security system.

Despite the tremendous rise in living costs there has been no change in the level of old age and survivors' benefits.

Despite the dangers to the public welfare and despite the human misery which results from the lack of a medical care program our nation provides no insurance to protect its people against the costs of medical care and to sustain them in the event of illness. Thousands of unnecessary deaths occur each year and hundred of thousands of our people suffer from physical handicaps resulting from illnesses which could have been avoided if Congress had adopted a national program providing adequate medical care for all Americans and an assurance of an income during disability.

Our unemployment insurance system lags far behind the needs of our people. Benefits originally inadequate have now become pitiful in the light of present day living conditions.

Even the limited benefits of our social security system are denied to large portions of our people, both under national and state laws. These include agricultural workers, domestic workers, employees of non-profit organizations, the self-employed, small business men, farmers and government employees.

Although five years have passed since the original Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill was introduced to provide a single national program for permanent disability insurance, public assistance, unemployment insurance and health insurance, and although an Advisory Council on Social Security has recommended that the archaic provisions of our Old Age and Survivorship Insurance system be revised along modern lines, there is ominous evidence that Congress will not take a single constructive step toward even limited improvements in our social security system.

Already Congress has passed a bill narrowing instead of expanding the scope of social security coverage. A second bill is pending, the Gearhart bill (H. J. Res. 296), which would eliminate hundreds of thousands more from social security coverage.

The House of Representatives has slashed the appropriation for the Federal Security Agency, and has crippled the administration of the United States Employment Service.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That prompt action be taken:

(1) To enact a broad program of social security in conformity with the provisions of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill.

(2) To put into effect immediately the recommendations of the Advisory Council on Social Security with respect to liberalizing old age and survivorship insurance protection.

(3) We urge prompt passage of the National Health Insurance and Public Health bill.

(4) We denounce and oppose legislation such as that introduced by Senator Taft and others to reduce the national health program to the level of a charity relief project.

(5) We urge the defeat of measures designed to weaken the administration and tax structure of the unemployment insurance system.

(6) We urge the defeat of all legislation limiting the coverage of our social security system, and

(7) We urge the restoration of the cuts in the appropriation for the Federal Security Agency and the defeat of attempts to transfer Unemployment Insurance Administration from the Social Security Administration.

Resolutions dealing with this subject were submitted by the following Local Unions:

185, 185, 1193, 1211, 1288, 1330, 1519, 1577, 1743, 1904, 2054, 2367, 2599, 2600, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2644, 2791, 2844, 3317, 3657.



## Resolution No. 28

### SOCIAL INSURANCE AND PENSIONS

At this time as never before in the history of the labor movement there is presented a direct challenge to preserve the gains which have been made through collective bargaining and to achieve for the members of our Union through collective bargaining an adequate program of insurance and welfare benefits. The collective bargaining contract must furnish an ever stronger bulwark against insecurity and exploitation. The collective bargaining relationship and the collective bargaining agreement must become a means of insuring security to the worker against all of the hazards created by his employment.

The development of a collective bargaining program in the steel industry covering life insurance, medical, health, hospital care and disability insurance is an important step in this direction. We are determined to go forward along these lines and to obtain through collective bargaining a sound and well-grounded welfare insurance program.

But this is not enough. We must develop a collective bargaining program which will meet the growing problem of the older worker who is being forced on the street to face hardship and want. An increasing body of American workers are being pauperized by the ruthless displacement policies of large-scale American industry. The pitiful social security pension which they are forced to accept is totally inadequate to maintain them for the remainder of their lives.

The decision of the National Labor Relations Board in the **Inland Steel** case has recognized that the industry can no longer evade its responsibilities by refusing to bargain concerning this vital problem. We are determined to protect the vital needs of our older members through the negotiation of adequate pension plans in the steel industry.

The struggle for a guaranteed minimum annual wage at a level sufficient to insure an adequate income is part of the struggle for the preservation of our human resources. But it is more than that. It is a struggle to bring to our economy a stability which will assure a sound economy. A guaranteed minimum annual wage is a just and sound means of bringing security to workers in industry and at the same time establishing an expanded purchasing power as a foundation for a stable economy.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That

(1) Negotiating committees of our Union shall continue to negotiate with employers in the steel industry until the program of our organization for adequate social insurance paid for by the industry shall be achieved.

(2) Our International Officers and Executive Board shall develop appropriate proposals as to pensions to be negotiated with employers in the steel industry.

(3) The achievement of a guaranteed annual wage continues to be a primary objective of our organization.

Resolutions dealing with this subject were submitted by the following Local Unions:

1010, 1011, 1054, 1070, 1105, 1105, 1147, 1187, 1187, 1190, 1211, 1219, 1253, 1256, 1277, 1306, 1357, 1357, 1391, 1397, 1397, 1408, 1843, 2618, 2227, 2227, 2381, 2381, 2529, 2604, 2609, 2609, 3317.

Committee Secretary Molony moved the adoption of the resolution as read.

PRESIDENT MURRAY: The motion before the house is to approve the report of the committee, and with the indulgence of the convention for a few minutes I should like to explain the status of our negotiations with the United States Steel Corporation with regard to social insurance and pensions.

When the collective bargaining negotiations broke off with the major steel companies some few weeks ago there was agreement that the standing committees selected by the United States Steel Corporation and by the United Steelworkers of America should continue in their endeavor to arrive at satisfactory conclusions on the question of social insurance.

In the course of our collective bargaining conferences the representatives of your Union presented to the United States Steel Corporation a definite proposal concerning social insurance. That proposal comprehended life insurance for employees of the Corporation covered by our contract, amounting to 18 months of the average wages of the individual. The life insurance policy, therefore, under those circumstances, would amount to approximately \$5,400, or a little in excess of that amount. That is the average—some might be less, others more.

We suggested to the companies that employees reaching the age of 65 be given a fully paid up life insurance policy amounting to \$1,500.

We suggested that hospitalization provided by the Steel Corporation should amount to a figure of \$8 per employee, and that hospitalization should continue for a period of one year, at a rate amounting to \$8 per day for hospital expenses.

We suggested the inclusion of a provision which required the Corporation to pay our people who are off work on account of sickness \$35 per week during their period of illness.

We suggested maternity care for mother and child care for all children under 18 years of age.

We suggested surgical care amounting to a maximum figure of \$225 per employee, and other type of fees for particular kinds of surgical operations, such as the removal of the appendix, tonsils, etc.

The over-all plan suggested by the representatives of your Union to the Corporation involved a cost of 9.65 cents per hour. This plan was brought about as a result of a considerable amount of factual and actuarial study. For example, your International Union has had in its service since September of last year Mr. Murray Latimer, who has been in the government service for many years, and who I believe is one of the finest social insurance experts in the United States. The Corporation employed the services of another social insurance expert, and these two insurance experts had no disagreement as to the cost of the particular items and the total cost to which I have referred, namely 9.65 cents per hour, to carry social insurance of this description.

Your organization, through Mr. Latimer, has also prepared a pension scheme which, in due course, will be presented to the steel industry. This pension scheme comprehends the institution of pensions amounting to \$150 a month on the basis of optional retirement. There is no compulsory retirement. That is, an individual, after reaching the age of 65, may exercise in his own option to continue at work. If, however, he decides to retire, the amount provided him during the period of his retirement would be that figure of \$150 per month.

The cost incident to the introduction of a pension plan such as I have mentioned would amount to approximately 13.5 cents per hour.

The combined cost of the social insurance and pension plans, therefore, comprehends a total expenditure of a little in excess of 23 cents per hour.

I should like, with your sanction, to impress upon the delegates the fact that your negotiating committees, the members of your International Executive Board, and the officers of your International organization have been pressing those points. After this convention concludes its sessions and you return to your homes, the United Steelworkers negotiating committee shall meet with the committee representing the United States Steel Corporation in the City of Pittsburgh.

The committee appointed by the President of the organization to represent the Union is composed of your General Counsel, Mr. Goldberg, Mr. Latimer, Mr. McDonald, and Mr. Thimmes. They will represent the organization in the negotiations which we hope will resume no later than the week after next.

In the course of these recent negotiations which broke off, the United States Steel Corporation offered a plan. The plan which they offered comprehended an expenditure of approximately 2½ cents per hour on the part of the Corporation. They suggested the joint contributory plan in which our Union would pay one-half and they would pay the other half, a total amounting to a figure of about five cents.

Their plan suggested the introduction of the life insurance policy amounting to a year's salary based upon the average hourly earnings of the individual; a paid-up insurance policy for men over 65 years of age, amounting to \$1,000; hospitalization at the rate of \$6 per day in hospitals, and \$21 per week during the individual's period of sickness, with a limitation of this as to the number of weeks that the individual would receive this \$21 a week; surgical care, I think, amounting to a figure of \$175; maternity care, and child dependent care for those under 18 years of age. That substantially comprehends the plan which the United States Steel offered us in the course of these negotiations. We told the representatives of the Steel Corporation that their plan was not a satisfactory one, and that we expected the Steel Corporation to carry all of the financial burden incident to the administration and financing of the plan.

The plan offered by the United Steelworkers suggested also the creation of a Board of Trustees, one representing the Union, one representing the company, and these two to select some individual who might represent the interests of the public or be an impartial member of the Board of Trustees. Our original plan comprehended the setting up of a trust fund,—all dividends derived from the use of the fund or the use of these monies to be placed in a fund and to be put to usages where it might help families in health and welfare situations.

The company's proposal, on the contrary, did not suggest a joint administration of the plan nor did it suggest a board of trustees for the trust fund. It merely said this is the plan that we offer; we will buy the policy, you help buy the policy, and the administration of the plan will be under the control of the companies or perhaps the insurance company.

So, we have not agreed with any of the major corporations upon the whole question of social insurance or any part of it, although it should be

understood, as I have told you, that negotiations will resume upon these fundamental issues when this convention closes its sessions.

For the moment I am not discussing the first resolution presented to you by the members of your Resolutions Committee. My discussion is confined to the second resolution which has to do with social insurance. I believe, like many other people do believe, that there is a distinct social and moral obligation on the part of these industries to provide adequate social insurance and pensions for the workers and that Unions like the United Steelworkers of America should carry that kind of a bargaining program forward in all of our negotiations. It may be that we will not be able to achieve many of the things that we aspire to in the course of the current negotiations, but nevertheless we should energetically apply ourselves to the task of securing under existing circumstances the best kind of collective bargaining agreements obtainable so that our people may be provided a measure of relief, particularly in the field of social insurance, and also in the field of pensions.

In this year of 1948 it is to be regretted that this country, our Congress and American industry particularly have been delinquent in the performance of their duties and obligations to American workers. There is no hope under existing circumstances of securing from the Federal Congress any form of adequate social security. The Congress, as it is constituted today, is a hostile and reactionary Congress representing the vested interests, and it is not prepared to give proper consideration to any type of legislation which has for its purpose improved social security benefits for American wage earners.

In the absence of Congress's willingness to meet its responsibilities it becomes imperative that American wage earners, particularly that group associated with labor organizations, should devote more of their time and more of their energies toward the cooperative and collective bargaining contracts of suitable social insurance programs and suitable pension programs. Hence your organization in the course of the past 12 months has done a considerable amount of work in this field. It has done a considerable amount of study. It has brought forth actuarial facts that heretofore have never been developed in the history of collective bargaining. We know more about social insurance today that we did a year or two, or five years ago. We are coming to have a better understanding and a great appreciation of the benefits that flow to American wage earners and their dependents from suitable satisfactory social insurance and pension plans when they are incorporated in the collective bargaining contract.

The time has come for the owners and the leaders in American industry to recognize these deep-rooted responsibilities and obligations to their workers, and I believe that with increasing pressure and increasing interest on the part of our unions all over this nation the time may not be far distant when at least more satisfactory arrangements can be perfected through the mechanisms of collective bargaining, to provide some measure of substantial relief to not only the wage earner, but to his wife and his dependents. It is upon that problem that the representatives of your Union are now concentrating their attention.

We hope that the leaders of industry, particularly the steel industry, when negotiations are resumed and this matter has to be considered, will give ample, due, and wholesome consideration to the constructive plans offered them by representatives of your Union.



I oft-times wonder when I look at the financial pages of the daily newspapers and steel magazines such as "Iron Age" and "Steel Magazine," and others, and I read statements accredited to the leaders of industry, in which they contend that the steel industry is now appropriating sums of money in the course of the next few years which might amount to \$750,000,000 for the improvements of its machine, for the improvement of its facilities, and for the improvement of its plant.

If a machine breaks down, repairs are rushed. If new machinery is needed, appropriations are provided, and a major industry such as the steel industry of the United States undertakes the herculean task of appropriating, in the course of the next five or six years, and expending in that same period a sum of money approximating \$750,000,000 for the improvement of its plant, yet that industry at the same time boldly states that it does not propose to borrow any money, it expects to take the money from its profits and place it in its improved facilities. Then one wonders why these mighty corporations who can expend so much money for plant improvement—and I do not deny them the right to improve their plants and to improve their machines to increase their productivity, but I contend that an industry that can afford to expend out of its profit margin these large sums of money for purposes of this description without involving any financial risk or any borrowed money, can certainly do something to protect the lives, the homes, and limbs of the people who are producing these things and providing this money to improve their plant.

The industry today arbitrarily assumes the attitude that when a man reaches the age of 65 he gets out, he is done, he is cast upon the industrial scrap heap; he is finished.

Does this industry provide adequate pensions? I presented a letter addressed me by a man 66 years of age, who had been employed at the Homestead Works of the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation, and in this letter this man said:

"I have worked 52 years for the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation. I was forced to retire one year ago when I reached the age of 65. I received a pension from the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation amounting to \$34.15 per month. My social security benefits amount to exactly \$34 per month.

"The Carnegie-Illinois pension amounts to 15 cents more than my social security pension, and I am enclosing in this letter which I am addressing you, Mr. Murray, a copy of a letter addressed me by the Comptroller of the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation."

I read that letter, and the Comptroller of the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation said to this aged citizen who had spent 52 years with that Company:

"Dear Mr. So-and-So:

"We are sorry to advise you that inasmuch as your social security pension amounts to approximately the same amount of money you are supposed to receive from the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation, effective as of a certain date—(about a year ago)—your Carnegie-Illinois, Steel Corporation pension will be discontinued."

And that letter concluded with this statement:

"I hope you have a happy retirement and many, many happy days."

A disgraceful letter that reflects the attitude of a corporation with no soul, no heart, no blood flowing through its veins. It is an inanimate object, only interested in profit. Here was this aged gentleman, cast upon the industrial scrap heap, getting his \$34 out of the Federal Government, and Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation advising this same man that under existing circumstances it could not afford and would not pay him any type of pension whatsoever.

That type of treatment is becoming more repugnant to the average American month by month and year by year. That calloused, soulless, heartless type of treatment accorded the elderly men who have given their sweat, their blood, and their limbs to produce for these corporations, is becoming more distasteful.

So it must be your business, not alone today but tomorrow and tomorrow's tomorrow, at the expiration of your wage agreement and in your next negotiations also, to carry forward this banner of wholesome, constructive social insurance and pension planning to protect the interests of the aged, the decrepit and the sick, and the lame, the wives and widows and the dependents of these soldiers of labor who have sacrificed their very lives to build up this tremendous corporate system here in the United States of America.

My good friends, there is a certain type of consideration attached to this No. 1 resolution which may be properly regarded as legislative in nature, and that is improved social security for the Federal Government. I have said there is no hope of the 80th Congress doing a thing about it. It therefore becomes more and more imperative that each man and each woman representing a local union of the United Steelworkers of America in this convention devote some of their time toward the upbuilding of a wholesome, constructive CIO-PAC movement in this country, contributing your dollars, your time, your effort and your energies in all of the communities from which you hail, to elect substantial representatives to the Federal Congress, men and women of substances to your state legislatures.

It is idle for either you or me to plead, to lament or to wait about inadequate social security. It is better that we do as Mayor Humphrey said we should do—march forward with our heads erect and with our faces to the sun fighting for a better life and a better system of social security through the enactment of proper legislation by our Federal Congress. That is your bounden, God-given obligation, and your duty. You cannot shirk that duty if you sense your proper responsibilities to the families you represent in this convention, to your communities, to your state, and to your nation. You must make an effort to elect a Congress in this coming November that will be favorable, and the only sound, constructive way that has been provided you to do that is through your National CIO-PAC, your local CIO-PAC.

I said at the outset that it was not my purpose to elaborate at great length upon these matters, but I am so obsessed about the various aspects of these situations that I would be remiss in the performance of my duty did I not remind you of the need of applying yourselves more diligently to the two tasks: No. 1, in the field of CIO-PAC politics, and secondly, in the great, big, broad field of collective bargaining, where you can properly present over the collective bargaining conference table your point of view regarding the social and moral obligations of American industry to the workers whom you are privileged to represent in these meetings.

I brought along here today Mr. Murray Latimer. I asked him to talk to you about these matters and the work that he has been doing, in order that

you might have an appreciation of the great interest we have manifested in the promotion of this work.

I now take great pleasure in presenting to the convention Mr. Murray Latimer.

#### MR. MURRAY LATIMER

Mr. Latimer spoke, in part, as follows:

"The state of social security in this United States today is very sad, and I would like to go over a few of the items that are involved. First, old age security. There is on the statute books of the United States, Title II of the Social Security Act, the old age and survivors insurance. The old age insurance has become a misnomer. The general old age insurance system does not exist. It provides benefits in such small amounts and under such conditions that only those who can work no longer will take it when they are forced out of employment.

"In the February, 1948, social security bulletin there was published a study made by the Social Security Administration as to the cost of supporting an elderly couple in several cities of this country as of July, 1947. The standard adopted in that study was extremely low. It expected a coat to last 20 years. It allowed one dress a year and one suit a year, and it expected a blanket to last 20 years. On that low standard the cost of living per elderly couple in the City of Boston per year, was \$1,638, or \$135 a month plus. There is no provision by industry, by government, or anywhere else for the income required to meet the standard of living for elderly persons in this country. There is only one way that standard can be provided at the present time, and that is by collective bargaining and by the enforced acceptance of the kind of proposal that President Murray outlined a few minutes ago.

"The provision made by the steel companies has not improved over these last few years. President Murray gave you an example of what has happened in one plant in the last month or two. He could have told you that in the year 1947, when the Steel Corporation retired more than 2,000 people who has attained the age of 65, merely because they had attained that age, 30 per cent of them were retired without one cent, and there were 400 others retired on disability annuities, pittances for the most part,—men who were cut off when they attained the age of 65."

"The Steel Corporation made 143 million in profits and threw out one thousand workers last year just because they attained the age of sixty-five, and they will get no better.

"The formula for the computation of benefits under the Steel pension plan requires that those pensions be reduced year by year until within the next five or six years no rank and file worker will ever be retired by the Corporation under the present plan who will receive one red cent from the Corporation at age sixty-five. That can't go on. The only way to stop it is by the collective demands of the Union representing the workers in the Steel Corporation.

"The Steel Corporation has a group life insurance plan. It calls for the payment of approximately one year's pay. It has been in effect for twelve years now, but 85% of the cost of that plan has been paid for by the workers. The contribution of the workers has been reduced, but only because if they hadn't been reduced the Steel Corporation would have made a profit on the plan.

"There exists among the steel companies a few plans for the payments of benefits during sickness and a few cash benefit payments, and a few hospitalization payments and a few surgical benefits. Not one of those plans provides for the payment of anything approaching full expenses during a period of illness and the great majority of them—all of them in fact with the Steel Corporation and the Bethlehem—are paid for one hundred per cent by the workers. The rising cost of medical care, the rising cost of being sick, the rising cost of dying as well as living, have made these plans more and more mere formalities, less and less adequate.

"Only by the provisions of the benefits, the amounts of the benefits and the conditions of the benefits proposed under the plan of this Union can we, in the next few years, approach any semblance of security. These are the demands made by the Steel Workers and it is to these demands that these two resolutions are addressed."

Delegate Nathaniel E. Sallie, District 15, Local 1557, spoke of the resolution sent in to the Convention in 1946 by his Local calling for the program now under discussion. He said the reason his Local Union took up this matter was because of the fact that so many of their veteran employees were being forced to leave the plant, not with \$42.00 or \$34.00 a month, but with zero pensions, because they didn't have the necessary twenty-five years service.

A delegate asked President Murray what Ben Fairless' pension would be when he retired.

President Murray called upon Otis Brubaker to answer this question and Research Director Brubaker informed the delegate that Mr. Fairless' retirement pay would be approximately \$27,000.00 a year at the present time, and might possibly be far more by the time he retires because his salary last year was approximately \$187,000.00

Delegate Archie Breen, District 31, Local 1010, arose in support of the resolutions and told the convention of the plight of the 65 year olds in the Inland Steel case in Indiana Harbor. He gave a history of his Local's attempts to secure redress for these men through the National Labor Relations Board, and how two years later the new Labor Relations Board set up under the Taft-Hartley Law had given the men a favorable decision, with the string attached that the officers of the Local had to sign non-communist affidavits. He said the present status of the case was that the Inland Steel Company had appealed the case and if the Company wins on the appeal, the Union will be unable to go further because of their failure to file the non-communist affidavits. He asked President Murray to give him a definite answer to take back to his Local Union and the four hundred employees fired by the Inland Steel Company.

PRESIDENT MURRAY: I might say in response to the question presented to the convention by the delegate that the subject matter to which he makes reference will be discussed at tomorrow's session of the convention. The question will then be debated as to whether this organization wants to comply or not comply with the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. The resolutions here under discussion have no particular relationship to the question of compliance. They merely set forth facts which relate in the first instance to Federal Social Security, and in the second instance to the matter of collective bargaining over the broad question of social insurance and pensions. Tomorrow morning, the Taft-Hartley resolution will be presented to the Con-



vention, and I might say to the delegates before we adjourn this evening what I said yesterday when I opened the convention. When I first took my position as President of the CIO, to not comply with the Taft-Hartley Act I did so with this distinct understanding, and I said so to the members of the National CIO Executive Board—my position may not be a definite position. My mind is susceptible to change, wholly contingent upon the willingness of either the National Convention or the Steel Workers Executive Board to change my mind. I will do whatever my convention wants me to do about the matter and I will do whatever the members of my own International Executive Board suggest should be done, and I wish to make more explicit my position upon this question of the Taft-Hartley Act when the resolution is brought up for consideration tomorrow forenoon. In the meantime I do not think this resolution is the place, nor is today the time to pass upon either compliance or non-compliance with the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. That, I suppose, will answer your question, Brother, so that you may understand my position.

Delegate Winship, District 2, Local 1833, arose in support of the resolutions but requested the Resolutions Committee to advise him what became of the resolution his Local sent in.

Committee Chairman Bittner informed the delegate the Resolutions Committee had never received the resolution from Local 1833, and requested the delegate to read the resolution.

Delegate Winship read the resolution sent in by his Local and said the members of his Local Union were very much concerned with the actions of their employer, the Worthington Pump and Machinery Corporation, one of the largest fabricating corporations in the steel industry, and one of the most hard-boiled. He said a year ago when they negotiated their contract with Worthington that corporation decidedly and emphatically stated that they would not negotiate any form of a retirement fund or any social security whatever.

The motion to adopt the resolutions was seconded and carried unanimously.

#### **COMMITTEE TO ESCORT MR. HARRY DOUGLAS**

Secretary McDonald announced that Mr. Harry Douglas, Assistant General Secretary of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation of Great Britain would address the convention under a special order of business at 2 o'clock Thursday afternoon, May 13. The following committee was named to escort Mr. Douglas to the convention hall: Nathan Cowan, Chairman; James Nicholson, District 5; John Mitchell, District 6; Daniel Skelly, District 11; R. E. Farr, District 36; Allan S. Haywood; and the following delegates: Clarence McInnes, Local Union 1064; Harry Pomeroy, Local Union 1005; Charles Hess, Local Union 2634; and Edward Arrington, Local Union 1013.

After miscellaneous announcements by the Secretary the convention adjourned at 5:10 o'clock p. m. to 9:30 o'clock Thursday morning, May 13.

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#### **CONVENTION SUMMARY FOR MAKING REPORTS TO LOCAL UNIONS**

For the convenience of delegates who desire this service, the official convention reporters will prepare a condensed summary of the official convention proceedings, which will be mailed to your home address a day or two after final adjournment. This summary will enable delegates to make brief, but concise reports to their Local Unions and will contain a review of all important convention actions—facts and figures as to membership, a digest of resolutions and constitutional amendments considered, and a convenient index showing where the various subjects dealt with during the convention can be found in each day's proceedings.

The cost of this summary will be Two Dollars, and orders may be placed with the attendant at the entrance to the convention hall.

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