ORGANIZED LABOR
and the BLACK WORKER

UNITED ELECTRICAL, RADIO & MACHINE WORKERS OF AMERICA (UE)
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United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE)

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As the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE) met for the union's 32nd Annual International Convention, in the summer of 1967, the issue of the struggle of the Negro people was not just Resolution Number 7, 55, or 56 in the book. It was not just a matter of "whereas" and "therefore be it resolved." It was a living issue that urgently insisted that well-meaning resolves are not enough.

It was the first issue that President Albert J. Fitzgerald took up in his keynote address on the opening day of the convention, and it was never really off the floor, no matter what subject was before the delegates. As Secretary-Treasurer James J. Matles told the Convention, it "involves every important aspect of the work of this union. It involves organization, labor unity, collective bargaining, legislation, and it involves the type of labor movement we are going to have in America."

Old approaches had gone up in flames in Newark and Detroit. It was recognized that this is not just a struggle for civil rights, and the convention, in unusual procedure, adopted a statement — not a resolution — on "The Struggle for Liberation of the Negro People."

On the following pages you will find excerpts from the comments of President Fitzgerald, Secretary-Treasurer Matles, William Burch, Secretary of UE District 11, and the text of the statement adopted by the convention.
We are meeting here at a very critical time for all of us and for all of the other people in our country. When we talk about being here in 1967, we have to also remember that in the 1930’s this union was born. It was born in one of our most critical periods in the history of our country. It was born when there were millions of working people in this country with their backs against the wall who had to fight for their survival.

We were in the midst of one of the worst depressions this country ever experienced. Men and women in America in the 1930’s were lined up to get to garbage pails to get something to eat. Men and women in the 1930’s were rebelling against society because society was unjust to them.

If you read the headlines of the newspapers in the 1930’s, you
will read where working people in this country, driven to the wall because of their desperation, desperation for themselves and their families, took to the streets, took over the factories of this country, sat down and said to organized society, "Go to hell. We're going to take over." They did it because they were desperate and there was no other course that they could follow to protect themselves and to save their families, and out of those struggles came the CIO and out of the CIO for the first time in the history of this country working men and women became dignified, responsible citizens of our land.

**The Riots in 1967**

I say this to you because during these troubled times that we are going through at the present time, when we read in the newspapers and we hear on television and radio about the riots, the looting, all that is going on in Newark, all that is going on in Detroit, in Milwaukee, and all the other great centers of our country, sometimes some of us may say to ourselves, "What's going on? This is wrong."

I want to say to you today that what is going on in this country today is not a damn bit different than what went on in the early 1930's when the working people of this country rebelled against injustice.

No American working man in the 1930's suffered the poverty and the lack of dignity that twenty million Negroes are suffering today in this country, and the only way that those brothers and sisters of ours can get any justice in America is by doing what they are doing today. And this country of ours has got to see to it that those people who fight and die for our country have equal dignity with every other citizen in this country.

**The Fight for Dignity**

They are fighting in the only way that it can pay off. They
are fighting in the streets of our cities for the right to walk through those streets with their heads held high, and this union, so long as it exists, is going to do everything it possibly can to support those black Americans in their struggle for equality.

That is the reason why this union was born and that is the reason why the CIO was born. This union is not going to fall by the wayside in that struggle like the CIO has fallen. And we are going to work side by side to see to it that what the labor movement was able to achieve in the 1930’s is going to be achieved by the Negro citizens of this country in the 1960’s.

Now, to obtain that objective, we must understand the possibilities and the practicality of carrying on this struggle to make this country of ours a great country for all of its citizens to live in.

**Vietnam and Poverty**

If we were willing as Americans to spend as much money as we are spending in South Vietnam, if we were willing to spend that kind of money for 20,000,000 Negroes in this country, you wouldn’t be reading the kind of headlines that you have been reading in America for the last two months.

We have to as a union raise our voices and fight as hard as we can to see to it that the wealth of this country is used to raise the living standards of the workers here in America and let us show in this country by example that our form of government and our kind of a society is the kind of a government and the kind of a society that dedicates itself to eliminating poverty and misery in America.

After the World War your dollars and my dollars went to rebuild Japan and your dollars and my dollars went to rebuild Germany. Your dollars and my dollars are now being spent for a so-called pacification program for the people of South Vietnam. Let us this week do what we can to see to it that your dollars and my dollars are spent to give dignity and respect to twenty
million Negroes in this country, twenty million people who have to desert each other in order to get welfare, who don’t have to live in rat-infested homes, who don’t have to sit back and read in the papers where the Congress of the United States can spend billions of dollars in a mad race to the moon or the Congress of the United States can spend billions of dollars poured into a sewer ten thousand miles away from here and can’t spend a few million dollars for a rat control program in this country, who say to these Negro people, “Sure you’ve got rats. Why don’t you set out some traps or put out some poison?” And the Negro mother says. “The traps and poison don’t know the difference between the rat and my child and I can’t set traps and I can’t spread poison throughout this dank hole without the possibility of one of my kids getting caught in the trap or one of my kids eating rat poison.”

**America Must Wake Up**

America, and especially white America, has got to wake up to its responsibilities. We have got to stop trying to hide our heads like ostriches in the sand. We have got to recognize, especially working people, that the fight of the Negro people for nothing more than human dignity is the fight of all American working people and all Americans everywhere, and until we do that, then next week we’re going to have more riots, you are going to have more killings, you are going to have more looting in this country, and I for one will understand why those riots are taking place. If you have to fight for justice, damn well make it a good fight and I am sure that we will win.
The statement presented by the Resolutions Committee to us involves every important aspect of the work of this union. It involves organization. It involves labor unity. It involves collective bargaining. It involves legislation and it involves the whole issue of the type of labor movement we are going to have in America.

We welcomed and supported the fight for integration of the lunch counters, the schools, colleges and universities and of public facilities. All of these we supported, and these are very important battles that were fought, but that was essentially a middle-class movement under middle-class leadership for middle-class objectives. While all Negro people welcomed and supported this fight for dignity and against discrimination, that movement
never touched the basic problems of working people and Negro
working people; that is, exploitation, unemployment, deprivation
and hunger that millions of poor Negro and poor white workers
suffer from in this country.

Union Workers Privileged

As we sit here and consider our own conditions, the condi-
tions in our own shops for white, Negro and Puerto Rican work-
ers, we have to understand that we are a privileged class among
the working people. The reason why we brought Andrew Haw-
kins, the agricultural laborer and leader of the Mississippi Free-
don Union before this Convention two years ago was to remind
ourselves of that fact.

What would happen if GE or Westinghouse or any of the
companies would, for example, say they were going to cut out
our 4-hour call-in pay? Is there a plant that wouldn't shut down
on that issue and walk out? This is just a simple proposition.
When the boss calls you into work, and when you arrive he says
he has no work for you and sends you home, he has to give you
four hours pay. How about the mass of the unemployed Negroes
who never get called in at all? Just don't get called in. Andrew
Hawkins gave us his story about exploitation on the job, and I
saw George Bobich sitting in the front row just where he is
sitting now and he was crying, and I saw other delegates cry
when Andrew Hawkins finished talking.

Burning the Slums

We talk about slums. To get rid of the slums is the same as
cooking an omelet. There is no way of cooking an omelet without
cracking the eggs. Impossible. You can remove those slums and
build new houses by government and society assuming its respon-
sibility, organize their removal, tear them down in an organized
way with bulldozers, put up new houses and move these people
into decent homes. That is a nice, constructive, organized way and if the government fails to do that, and if society fails to do that, the next most constructive way that you can handle slums is to burn them down.

And the Negro people are burning them down. There is no other way. So, if you want to cook an omelet, you have to crack those eggs, and let no one say it's too bad; that they are rough there; that they are burning them down.

Let me tell you we have been lucky so far. All of us. So far the Negro people are just burning down the slums.

The Alternatives of Despair

I told you once before at the Convention that before I came to this country I was waiting for my visa in the capital of Romania, and since it was delayed I went to work driving a city bus. One day I witnessed a big tie-up of traffic and the bus couldn't move any further. Right in front of the King's palace a big mob was demonstrating and crying for bread. Machine guns were mounted on the roof of the King's palace and they were mowing down the people. And as the thousands were dispersed, they didn't go to any slums. They went to the homes of the rich and they were burning them down. I predict to you here that if America doesn't wake up, when the Negro people get finished burning the slums down, and nothing happens, they will keep on burning. There will be no other choice. That is the only alternative for a man faced with hunger and desperation. And, again, we will say it is not nice and they ought to do it in a nicer way, but we will have to look at ourselves.

Labor's Failures

Now, how about the organized labor movement? We are not saying this in recrimination. We are a part of the labor movement, and we are sick at heart when we see a most desperate
struggle taking place involving millions of poor people and the labor movement is nowhere to be found.

I said to Fitzy when the riots were going on in Detroit, I wonder what I would do if I were sitting in the General Motors Building just as Reuther was sitting there negotiating the new contract while Detroit was burning. The big General Motors office building is right on the edge of the Negro slum area, on Woodward Avenue. I know. What a hell of a spot for any labor leader to be in. What a picture of failure. What a shame for the labor movement. When, at their recent convention, the Auto Workers analyzed the tragic situation that the labor movement finds itself in, and they said what they did, we welcomed it. I don't think we have to quarrel whether Walter knew in 1955 all the things that he knows now. I will give him the benefit of doubt and will say that he didn't. It is all to the good that the UAW declared that the labor movement was bankrupt and that we've got to do something about it.

Kind of Leadership Needed

I recall the story told to me by a man who was in the negotiations with Lewis during the sit-down strikes in Auto. He was sitting in the conference room where history was being made. Lewis was heading up the negotiating committee of the union and Knudsen was representing General Motors. The workers took possession of the plants and held them. A liberal Governor was running the State of Michigan, Governor Frank Murphy—later Supreme Court Justice. He was one of the most liberal men we had in government. Murphy asked for a meeting with Lewis and said: "Mr. Lewis, the pressure on me is unbearable. Washington is raising hell with me. GM is raising hell with me. They say we have anarchy. They say that it is the end of the private enterprise system. They say it is an uprising and, as Governor, I can't take the attacks anymore. I have to send in the National Guard to clean out those plants." And I was told by the man who was inside that room that Lewis ripped his shirt open, bared his
big chest and said: "Governor, you send those troops down to the gates and the first bayonet will have to go through me before they go into those plants." And the Governor folded up. He didn't do it. It was that kind of leadership that inspired working people in the 1930's and it is that kind of leadership in the labor movement that can inspire and give leadership, direction, provide the program and policy and give hope and win the battle for poor Negro and white working people of America.

**Danger for Union Movement**

If we don't do that I predict to you that we are going to see the most dangerous development take place in the trade union movement and to the people who sit in this room, both white and Negro, in the organized shops, in the better paying jobs. We will witness the organization of Negro trade unions in America, and we will criticize and say how terrible that is. We won't like Negro trade unions. If we don't want to see that kind of a division, if we don't want to see a Negro labor union consisting of exploited and unemployed Negro workers, and a labor union like ours that consists of workers both white and Negro who are better paid and better off, and if we don't want to see the most widespread scabbing and strikebreaking organized by the bosses to break strikes in America, we had better wake up.

We have already seen signs of that. We already know of examples of that. We already know of strikes broken where the boss turned to the Negro worker whom he had refused to hire before, but when the plant went out on strike he found him and he hired him and he brought him in and he busted the picket line and busted the strike. We better understand that.

**What Labor Must Do**

If the labor movement does not meet its responsibility to the Negro workers, we have no right to sit on the sidelines and criti-
cize and say they are not fighting in a nice way. There is going to be no powder-puff fighting—it is going to be rough. That is the reason we say to you here in convention that this is not a document or a statement on how to be nice to the Negro workers. This is not that kind of a document. This is a document of what the labor movement must do, not as a favor to the Negro worker, but as an absolute necessity for them and for ourselves.

And until that is done UE, itself, is going to work day and night, summer and winter, holidays and work days—we will do everything we can in our power to maintain and fight for these ideals and these objectives. No matter what happens we will be able to look straight in the face of the white worker, the Negro worker, the woman, the young worker, and proudly say we are trying our best to do the best we can for the workers in our industry.
As I view this situation—the struggle for liberation of the Negro people—it divides itself basically into two major aspects, one being economic and the other being political. Economically, it is well documented that there is a terrifically high unemployment ratio between Negro and white. It is also very well documented that there is a terrifically large disparity between the incomes of Negro and white. Though the prices may be the same, the taxes may be the same, the ability to earn a living is different.

Freeze-Out of Negro Youth

I see in my own city a complete freeze-out of Negro youth
in the major trade schools, in the finest trade schools in that city, a freeze-out between the labor unions, the employers and the school system, because the only way you can get into those schools is by a recommendation of either an employer or a trade union. Since a trade union doesn't recommend the Negroes, the employers don't recommend the Negroes. The school system goes along with this system.

I go out to the plant. I see the kids lining up for job applications. They got these doggone tests that the company is giving them, and I see the Negro kids failing out in math questions because they haven't been taught math, probably, or they don't have the equipment in those schools. So as a result the Negro kids even in the shops, never mind the trade schools, don't have the basic equipment to prepare themselves to get the jobs that may be open in the plants that we have by job posting, seniority, et cetera. They don't get into a training program or an apprenticeship program. They just don't get the skills for trade jobs.

**Total Change Needed**

The Negro youth are fighting for more than just integration, not just a question of wanting to live next to somebody or want to do this next to somebody. They are fighting for a total change in the economic and political and social status of their people, a complete and total change. They are not satisfied with a little bit. They are not anxious to get their heads bloodied by the police clubs. They are not anxious to have the dogs and hoses turned on them, but they are prepared and they are willing to make these sacrifices because they see that this is the only way they get attention. Even if they get just a modicum of something today, they know that the only reason they got it was because they were prepared and they did do some of the things that a number of people decry, and a lot of people decry the demands and the activities of the Negro youth.
Dying for Whose Freedom?

The kids see today the same thing I saw in World War II. They are being told to go to Vietnam, go this place, go that place and fight for freedom for somebody else. Be prepared to die for it some place else. When I was 21 and 22, I frankly didn’t feel like getting into the Army to go any place to fight. That is the doggone truth. I had enough sense to know at that time that I would rather fight right here than to go any place to fight for somebody else’s freedom. I wanted it for myself.

The Negro youth today feel exactly the same way. History hasn’t changed a single bit.

There has to be an alliance formed. That alliance is only going to be formed when the Negro people see white allies really taking issue with the basic and major issues in a hard-swinging way. This means we’ve got to have the kind of forces that will take off on these Congressmen in Washington, and really start working on them to take on the Southern Congressmen and to make basic changes in the South, so that the Negro workers and the white workers won’t find it necessary to migrate to the North and place more burdens on the tax structure and on the already ghetto-ized cities of the North, with more relief, more welfare, more of all of this. You got to take on your State Legislators, your municipal politicians, on issues like open housing, and I mean tangle with this.

Take on the “Dirty” Issues

You are going to have to take on the real dirty issues, those issues that become uncomfortable, those issues that mean something to all people. You are going to have to remember another thing, that the Negro people are not satisfied with this guy who plays in "I Spy," one Negro there, or Sidney Poitier, or Weaver in the cabinet, or Ralph Bunche as a UN delegate, or one Negro
here or one there or some professional athletes or somebody else making some money. They are concerned about the mass Negro, the Negroes in the masses. But until we look at it on that basis, that is, not just as individuals, but as total people and as a need for total change, we are going to continue to see the turmoil through this country.
The Struggle for Liberation of the Negro People

Statement by UE 32nd International Convention

During the last four years, we have witnessed serious outbreaks in the northern Negro ghettos and in the South. The outbreaks of 1967 have reached the proportion of mass uprisings in many instances.

The Plight of the Urban Negro

This month's special report of the U. S. Department of Labor on unemployment among Negro workers bears on the major causes of these upheavals. The Labor Department report reveals that while the average unemployment for the nation as a whole is 3.9%, in eight of the major urban poverty areas so far examined, the actual unemployment rate is as follows:
East Harlem 33.1%
Boston (Roxbury) 24.2
New Orleans 45.3
Philadelphia 34.2
Phoenix 41.7
St. Louis 38.9
San Antonio 47.4
San Francisco 24.6

The average unemployment of these eight cities is 36.2%.

The Plight of the Agricultural Worker

Now let us look at the conditions of the agricultural laborer in the South.

Two years ago, at our 30th Convention in New York, an agricultural laborer, and the leader of the newly organized Freedom Union of Mississippi, whose people were on strike at that time, appeared before the UE 30th Convention and described to our delegates the working and living conditions of the Negro agricultural laborers in the South:

"Down there our regular salary is 30 cents an hour in Mississippi. You know, it seems incredible to believe people are working for that but that is what is was when I left Mississippi just yesterday. Those people are chopping cotton for 30 cents an hour and tractor drivers are driving tractors for 60 cents an hour. Those tractor drivers and those cotton pickers work from 12 to 14 hours a day, and I hear you talk about an eight hour day. That word in Mississippi doesn't exist. And we are attempting to organize to combat these conditions where we can raise the standard of living."
"We are unable to keep our children in school past the 7th grade. They have to come out and try to help the family earn a living if they expect to exist.

"When I was in Washington in June, I appeared at the Senate Subcommittee on Labor, Health and Education and one question was asked of me: 'Andrew, don't you know if you really get the minimum wage it is going to cut down on employment?' Well, I told the subcommittee like this: It needs to be cut down simply for this reason. Those kids back in Mississippi need to be in school and it would be better if they were kicked off the farms and put back in school. And it would be better if that housewife didn't have to get out to help the husband earn the family bread, if she could stay in the house and do a job and give the family better care.

"Maybe one member of that family, under the minimum wage law, could do a better job for $1.25 an hour instead of working 10 hours for $3 chopping cotton. Under the minimum wage law one member of the family could make the earnings of that whole family.

"I don't think it is right for a man who has never been hungry a day in his life to make a decision for a man who has lived through starvation. There is no way for that man to tell me that he knows how I feel when he has a child who has never cried for bread and my kid, when I walk in, is crying for bread. Only experience can teach you these things, and nothing but experience.

"You don't know what it really means to wake up in the night and your kid is in need of a doctor and you have to walk to the boss man and wait for him. It's according to how he feels. He will tell you to come back in the morning, and your kid is dying. 'Come back in the morning and we will see about getting a doctor for you.'
"These things need attending to."

It is these conditions of mass unemployment, poverty and exploitation that are the cause of the upheavals in the Negro ghettos and in the South.

**Conditions Worse Than 1930's**

During the great depression of the 1930's, our country was faced with widespread revolts and violent struggles involving millions of working people. But even during the darkest days of that depression, the unemployment rates did not come close to those that prevail now in the black ghetto and in the rural South.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt's outcry of 30 years ago that "one-third of the nation is ill-housed, ill-clothed and ill-fed" does not describe the poverty, suffering and deprivation that now plagues the Negro in the urban slums and the Negro laborer in the South.

To add fuel to the fire of a Negro worker's anger is the inescapable fact that he sees himself sinking deeper into hopeless poverty in the midst of the greatest accumulation of wealth all around him from which he is brutally excluded. The scornful rejection of a modest rat-control appropriation by the House of Representatives, the emasculation of the Model Cities program, the attack on the Office of Employment Opportunity all are indications of the indifference and contempt that the politicians have for the poor and the underprivileged. Emmett John Hughes, an editor of *Newsweek* and a former administrative assistant to President Eisenhower, in August 7th issue of *Newsweek*, graphically describes the failure of our government to meet the greatest crisis that confronts our country today:
"Only a year ago the Bureau of the Budget had planned for the spending of at least $4 billion in the war on poverty. But even if Congress approves current Administration proposals, a sum of only $1 billion will go into the cities this year. And it is an interesting fact that urbanologists brooding over the decay of American cities estimate the annual price of their saving, over the next decade, to fall between $20 billion and $25 billion in U. S. funds, precisely the annual cost of the Vietnam war."

Negroes Struggle Alone

The upheavals of today have their parallel in the desperate struggles of the unemployed during the great depression of the 1930's. It was in the midst of this great depression that this Union and the CIO were born. Under the leadership of the CIO, millions of industrial workers organized, manned the picket lines, stormed the factory gates, took over the plants and held them. Working men were facing the guns, the clubs and the tear gas of the police, the National Guard and regular troops. They bled and died in the battle for a better life and a better America.

Today the Negro workers in the ghettos and in the rural South are engaged in the same kind of desperate struggle, but they fight alone—without an organization and without a program. There is no militant CIO to lead them. Instead the merged AFL-CIO has turned its back on them. Four years ago, the UE's 28th Convention had the following to say about the growing struggle of the Negro workers and the role of the labor movement:

"While all citizens bear a responsibility to support the movement of the Negro people for their full rights as citi-
zens—for full and equal rights in voting, holding office, housing, education and equal access to public accommodations and businesses catering to the public—the labor movement has special responsibilities. Organized labor should be in the forefront of those supporting equal rights of citizenship because every extension of democracy in the country is in the long term interest of working people.

**Labor’s Function**

"But as the labor movement’s principal function is to protect and advance the welfare of people as workers, its principal duty toward the fight of the Negro people for equality lies in protecting and advancing their rights as workers. . .

"While some unions, like the UE, constitutionally prohibit discrimination and combat it in their day to day work, many AFL-CIO unions, particularly those of the old AFL, actively practice discrimination; in extreme cases, constitutionally barring Negroes from membership. In many cases, though no constitutional bar exists, Negroes are in fact barred from membership and from jobs in the particular craft or trade. . .

"This is not to say that the labor movement, with all its faults and failings, is primarily responsible for discrimination against Negroes in any area of American life.

**Employers Responsible for Pattern**

"Responsibility for vicious economic and political discrimination against the Negro people lies with the employers, the same kind of people who owned, exploited and
oppressed them for the 100 years since slavery was officially ended. Nevertheless, the AFL has historically accepted the employer attitude and thinking on this issue as on so many others.

"... the leadership of the merged AFL-CIO has done little or nothing to combat the grossly disproportionate burden of unemployment that employers have laid upon Negro workers, and that the open or hidden practices of many AFL-CIO unions, by denying to Negroes the opportunity to obtain work or training in many crafts and trades, has added to the unjust burden of unemployment that the Negro workers bear.

"Negro workers complain not only that they bear an unjust share of unemployment, but that the jobs they get are generally the worst and lowest paid. They demand, and are right to demand, immediate action on the part of the labor movement to correct the accumulated neglect and injustices of 100 years."

By turning its back on the Negro workers, the AFL-CIO justifies the conviction held by many Negro workers that the labor movement far from being a friend, actually is allied with their enemies.

**Basic UE Policy**

We of UE are aware of our responsibilities in this crucial struggle. The cornerstone of UE policy is the recognition of the indisputable fact that effective resistance to the organized forces of the employers requires maximum unity of all workers. It dates back to 1936 when the UE Preamble to the Constitution was adopted by the founding convention:
"We, the Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (UE) realize that the struggle to better our working and living conditions is in vain unless we are united to protect ourselves collectively against the organized forces of the employers...

"We form an organization which unites all workers in our industry on an industrial basis, and rank and file control, regardless of craft, age, sex, nationality, race, creed or political beliefs, and pursue at all times a policy of aggressive struggle to improve our conditions."

The UE Record

From the very inception of our union we have fought for the full integration of Negroes and other minority workers into the life and leadership of our Union, from the steward and local level to the General Executive Board and the convention. It is especially important today that we focus our attention anew on this aspect of our internal union life, and thereby strengthen our united forces to advance the interests of all our members.

UE also has long understood that, as a union, it has special responsibilities to minority groups in our shops. The 1963 International Convention stated:

"UE always acted on the principle that it was the prime responsibility of the Union to fight company discrimination against Negroes in hiring, upgrading, skilled jobs and other working conditions. UE has, accordingly fought and won jobs for Negroes and other minority groups with the opportunity for training and upgrading to skilled trades. UE has also fought for legislation on a national, state and local level to prevent discrimination against Negroes and other minorities in job opportunities."
We reaffirm this position. We must redouble our vigilance and militancy in the continuing fight for these objectives.

The Tasks Ahead

We are resolved to intensify and extend our organizational program to wipe out the sweatshop and to destroy racketeering unions. This program, well under way in several cities, is still in its infancy. It involves the full collaboration with civil rights and community organizations so that Negro, Latin American, and workers of other minority groups trapped with low income wages and miserable working conditions can win their liberation from racketeer unions and build an honest militant union of their own.

UE has long understood the importance for all workers to organize themselves as a powerful force in the political arena. We reaffirm this position. We also support all efforts by the Negro people, North and South, to strengthen their political influence so that they can win programs that they are in desperate need of and elect political representatives they can trust.

The recent convention of the UAW spoke out strongly against the failures of the merged AFL-CIO in the field of organization, collective bargaining, legislation and for its failures to try to solve the problems of the minorities. The UAW convention pledged its full strength and resources to rebuild the labor movement.

This 32nd Convention of UE declares its readinesss to unite with all forces in the labor movement who are ready with deeds and actions to work for the rebirth of the labor movement, a labor movement that will organize the millions of unorganized workers, the poor, the exploited, the underprivileged to bring them and their families a brighter life.