

# POLITICAL AFFAIRS *A Marxist magazine*

*devoted to the advancement of democratic thought and action*

EARL BROWDER, *Editor*; EUGENE DENNIS, *Associate Editor*; V. J. JEROME, *Managing Editor*

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A number of contributions in this issue represent reports delivered at the meeting of the National Committee of the C.P.A., held in New York, March 10-12. The main report, by Earl Browder, President of the C.P.A., has been issued in pamphlet form, entitled *America's Decisive Battle* (New Century Publishers), in an initial printing of half a million copies.

Close to 5,000 new subscriptions to *Political Affairs* have been received since our first issue in January. This is the half-way mark toward our goal of 10,000 new subscriptions and a total circulation of 25,000 which we hope to reach in the course of the next few months. Reader, if you like *Political Affairs*, subscribe!

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# WORLD ASSEMBLY AT SAN FRANCISCO

By JAMES S. ALLEN

WE HAVE COME a long way since June, 1942, when a joint American-Soviet statement recorded a "unity of views" on cooperation to safeguard world security. We have progressed from a unity of views, achieved in only a very general form at the time of Molotov's visit to Washington, to a unity of action in the convening of the United Nations Conference at San Francisco on April 25 to establish a world security organization. In less than three years the United Nations, headed by the powerful Anglo-Soviet-American Coalition, has made the turn toward complete victory, now rapidly approaching in Europe, and toward laying the foundations of a durable peace. It now devolves upon the assembly of the United Nations at San Francisco to approve a charter which will conform with the new world relations emerging from the war and, in accordance with these, provide a world security organization.

The task has been greatly facilitated and rendered less complicated by the basic agreement already reached among the leading nations. From the Moscow Conference of foreign ministers in October, 1943, to

the Crimean Conference of February 1945, the Big Three were able to concert their military action and to evolve joint policies at a level which now makes the assembly at San Francisco possible, even before the war is over. Without cooperation among the Big Three all else would have been impossible; with the achievement of that cooperation it is possible to prepare the peace even as victory is being won. It is this tremendous fact that gives assurance of success at San Francisco and promises that the achievement there will be not of a transitory but of a durable quality. The perspective of peace for generations, raised by the Teheran Accord of December 1943, is now brought closer to realization.

The Moscow Declaration, signed by the Big Three foreign ministers and adhered to by China, recognized the necessity of establishing a world security organization at the earliest possible date. Following the Teheran conference discussions got under way to work out the principles and the form of the international security organization. During August and September, 1944, in conferences at Dumbarton Oaks (Washington, D. C.), the three Powers reached a preliminary agreement on the draft of the world organization, to which China also agreed. The major issue still left open at Dumbarton Oaks was resolved during the Crimea Conference which reached agreement on the voting procedure in the top Security Council of the proposed

organization. Having achieved complete agreement on the draft proposal, the Big Three—joined by China—have invited all the United and Associated Nations to approve the final charter. Actually, the San Francisco meeting is the constituent assembly of the world security organization.

#### THE SMALL NATIONS

San Francisco is not a conference to draw up a peace treaty. The task before it is to lay down the structure of the world security organization to be based upon the defeat of Germany and Japan, and upon the common task of preventing the resurgence of fascist aggression. Here all the United Nations, big and small, will be gathered to take action upon a proposal which has already been the subject for detailed study by governments and peoples since the Dumbarton Oaks draft was made public. Each nation has had the opportunity to study carefully its own national interest in relation to the whole; extensive public discussion has taken place. The nations which have not participated in the official preliminary discussions have had an opportunity to define their views in interim gatherings, notably the Latin American countries at the Inter-American Conference in Mexico City; the members of the British Empire will have had such an opportunity before San Francisco at an Imperial Conference. Extensive inter-government discussion has been held.

Hundreds of suggestions and amendments have been formulated to be placed before the San Francisco gathering. Rarely has a world conference of this type taken place which has been preceded by such extensive preliminary discussion and which has been prepared with such wide participation of governments and peoples.

In practice, the conference will be the first attempt at a General Assembly, which is provided by the Dumbarton Oaks plan as a permanent institution of the world organization. The charge has been made that the General Assembly will serve merely as a "rubber-stamp" for the Security Council, which is to consist of five permanent and six rotating members from among the smaller nations and which will be empowered to make decisions on the most important security questions. But the numerous recommendations already prepared by the smaller nations, their unmistakable intention to express their doubts and fears and to provide safeguards for their interests at San Francisco, and the readiness of the big nations to open the doors for the fullest expression of views, already reveal that such a charge is both groundless and malicious. The nations which have been liberated in Europe, others which have made big contributions to victory, and peoples of a colonial or semi-colonial status which are advancing toward greater freedom are in no mood to act as a "rubber stamp" for anyone. There is bound

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to be a difference of approach and views on many questions. But the basic proposition that a durable peace depends above all on the continued cooperation of the big Powers is unassailable.

The combination of Powers which will have brought about the military defeat of the fascist aggressors will of necessity bear the main responsibility for assuring the objectives of the peace. How well that is done must depend primarily upon maintaining cooperation among the three principal Powers, each of which has an abiding interest in the continuation of their alliance. Events have already shown that this common interest extends beyond the attainment of victory. The greatest political lesson of the war is precisely this: The fascist way out of the crises and difficulties of the capitalist world has been shown up as completely bankrupt. It could not achieve its professed aim of eliminating socialism. Victory means more than the military defeat of Nazi Germany. It means the collapse of anti-Soviet policies and programs as dominant tendencies within the capitalist sector of the world. It means that the policy predominant during the interwar years of attempting to solve the world crisis at the expense of the Soviet Union is replaced by the policy of attempting to solve the crisis through cooperation with the Soviet Union. That is at the heart of present collaboration between Britain, the United States and the Soviet

Union. It is the coming of that principle into its own which accounts for the cooperative solution of problems during this most difficult phase of the war, when the tasks of concluding the war are so closely interwoven with the problems of national liberation in Europe and of the transition to the peace.

The San Francisco Conference must therefore be seen not as the occasion for drawing up new principles and for fashioning the pattern of post-war relations. It must work with what has already been achieved, and conform with the formal and juridical expression of these relations as embodied in the Dumbarton Oaks plan. It must seek the freest interrelation of all the United Nations within the framework of a peace which must rely fundamentally upon the collaboration of the two most powerful capitalist States with the Soviet Union. If that principle should break down or be abandoned, the most perfect Charter juridically satisfactory down to the finest point would be of no avail against a third world war.

#### THE SECURITY COUNCIL

The solution of some of the most complex problems of the war at the Crimea Conference paved the way for the San Francisco gathering. Of central importance is the formulation of a joint policy toward defeated Germany aimed at the permanent elimination of the economic and political base of German aggression.

It is only on the foundation of eliminating Germany as an imperialist and aggressive power, removing the possibility of again building her up as the bulwark of reaction in Europe, that the Coalition can proceed safely toward the peace. The proposed solution of the Polish question, which it is expected will be realized by the time the San Francisco conference opens, will permit the full participation of the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity in the assembly of the United Nations. A new Yugoslav government, in which the exile leaders have merged with the previous liberation government as recommended in Yalta, will be represented at San Francisco. The Declaration on Liberated Europe adopted at the Crimea Conference reiterated in more precise terms the need to cleanse the liberated and former satellite countries of fascists and quislings, and provided for three-Power consultation and joint action to deal with internal crises, an arrangement which should have the effect of preventing the repetition of Greek tragedies anywhere in Europe.

The task at San Francisco is not that of reviewing such settlements as have already been made; it is to facilitate the anti-fascist and democratic solution of problems in accordance with the policies enunciated in Yalta, by completing successfully the central task before it—the chartering of the post-war security organization.

It is in the agreement on voting procedure in the Security Council that the principle of three-Power cooperation found its fullest expression. For what is involved in the principle of unanimity of the five permanent members is nothing less than a commitment by the big Powers that they will continue to solve their differences by the process of compromise and adaptation to new conditions. By the decision reached in Yalta, the three main Powers (later supported by China) propose that all decisions involving the use of sanctions shall be taken by a majority of the eleven members of the Security Council, but that this majority must include the five permanent members. Decisions on other matters and involving steps leading up to the consideration of sanctions can be taken by any majority of the Council, providing for the complete airing and discussion of all issues and the full participation of the nations involved. This permits of greater flexibility in the handling of the great variety of questions which are bound to come up before the Security Council, at the same time retaining intact the principle of joint action by the big Powers in any case involving sanctions.

In so far as it is possible to provide for it organizationally and in legalistic terms, this proposal is designed to safeguard the continuing cooperation of the main Powers. It is a recognition of the plain truth that should the situation ever arise where

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sanctions are imposed upon one of the big Powers war would become practically certain, or at least that the deterioration of world relations had already reached the point at which preparations for war had become uppermost. And the purpose of the security organization is to provide the channel through which such a situation is to be prevented from arising through maintaining cooperation among the big Powers, and between them, collectively and individually, with the smaller and weaker nations. In making the Crimea proposal, the Big Three assume the major responsibility for maintaining security. This should prove exceedingly welcome to all the smaller nations.

#### FRANCE AND CHINA

The inclusion of France and China among the five permanent members is a recognition of the leading role they must play in the post-war security system. Actually, neither nation has yet achieved in the waging of the war or in inter-Allied affairs a position equivalent to its expected post-war role.

In the case of France, there are a number of complicating factors, such as the intra-imperialist rivalry over her colonies in the Levant and in the Far East, as well as the intransigent position of General de Gaulle which is far from being merely a personal matter. There are other questions very vital to France which still remain to be solved, the most important being the final disposition of the

Rhineland, including the Ruhr and the Saar Basin. No one is attempting to exclude France from participation in the solution of such questions. It is clear that she must be one of the main pillars of security in Europe, and that her full cooperation must be assured in preventing the resurgence of German aggression. The Crimea Conference gave France's role full consideration, inviting her to take over an occupation zone in Germany, to participate alongside the three big Powers in the central control to be set up in Berlin, to join the other three Powers in consultation and action on European liberation problems, and to be one of the five Powers sponsoring the San Francisco gathering.

But the de Gaulle government refused to sign the invitation to San Francisco, retaining a free hand to fight for reservations to the Dumbarton plan which are evidently unacceptable to the other Powers. At the time of writing, the nature of these reservations are not publicly known, but more than passing indications appear that an attempt is being made to induce the French delegation to assume the leadership of the "discontented" small nations. It is extremely doubtful that the de Gaulle government could long withstand the popular pressure in France if such a course were adopted. As it is, the greatest uneasiness already exists in France over some of the recent policies of General de Gaulle, especially the failure of his govern-

ment to speed up the purge of fascists and Vichymen, to put an end to employers' sabotage in the war industries, to raise a big French citizens' army, and to put into effect some of the economic reforms which de Gaulle himself had proclaimed for the National Liberation Committee not so long ago. In addition, all reports from France seem to agree that no government could long maintain itself in power if it should swerve from a policy of cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other leading Powers. Many problems remain to be solved, but it seems improbable that the French delegation would deliberately isolate their country at San Francisco.

The situation with respect to China is far more serious; for her inner crisis presents a formidable obstacle to the waging of the Far Eastern war. Until this is solved on the basis of democratic unity within the country China will be unable to play her proper role either in the remaining phases of the war or in the maintenance of world security. Under the circumstances, China's role at San Francisco remains extremely dubious. Her assignment as one of the five permanent members of the Security Council must remain largely a token of good will on the part of the other Powers; she is still to achieve in life the position which will enable her to fulfill that responsibility. All talk of waging coalition war in the Pacific is largely academic as long as our government fails to implement its cor-

rect policy toward unity in China by actions which would have the effect of exposing the shameful sabotage of the Chungking clique and its policy of sitting out the war against Japan while preparing civil war against the Communists.

In this situation it is entirely out of place for anyone to speculate upon the Soviet Union taking on the burden of a Far Eastern war, especially when she has carried the main brunt of the war against Germany. She has already made great contributions to our cause in the Pacific. Her participation in the San Francisco Conference is further evidence, if any is needed, that she intends to play her full and legitimate role in the solution of Far Eastern, as well as world problems. It is certainly naive to expect that the security problems of the Pacific can be solved without the Soviet Union, one of the biggest Pacific Powers. In Asia, as elsewhere, the United States will be called upon to cooperate most intimately with the Soviet Union in the solution of common problems. Our biggest problem now in the Far East is to overcome the crisis in China so that she may contribute effectively to the defeat of Japan and assume her proper place in the world organization.

#### REGIONAL SECURITY

The Dumbarton Oaks plan allows for regional security systems, providing such arrangements are consistent with the purposes and principles of the world organization. The draft

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charter states that the Security Council should encourage the settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements, but declares that "no enforcement action should be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council." Thus, it is recognized that regional communities of interest in preserving peace do exist and that organizations based upon them and devoted to the safeguarding of regional security serve the purpose of bolstering up the world security system as a whole. At the same time, the Dumbarton Oaks proposal preserves the supreme right of the Security Council, above that of any regional arrangement, to take the final decision on the use of sanctions or other enforcement actions.

The Act of Chapultepec, providing for an inter-American security system against aggression from outside or from within the hemisphere, would seem to serve such a legitimate regional security purpose, especially since the Act recognizes the higher authority of the world Security Council. However, some of the amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks Charter proposed at the Mexico City Conference, to be transmitted to San Francisco without the formal endorsement of the inter-American gathering, seek to remove or weaken the final authority of the Security Council. The plea that inter-American disputes should be left to the "traditional American methods" of

solution is not likely to get very far at San Francisco. In the same way, each region of the world could claim priority for its own "traditional" methods, with the result that the Security Council would be thoroughly excluded from maintaining security anywhere.

Britain and a number of other European countries can very easily point out that their commercial and economic interests in South America are of such importance for their own prosperity that they have a legitimate interest in the maintenance of security in that section of the world, although it must be said that the policies Britain has recently adopted in regard to Argentina are far from conducive to promoting this security. An attempt to establish a *closed* security system in the Americas would be equivalent to setting up a special sphere of influence with the purpose of excluding the participation of non-American Powers. And from the viewpoint of the sovereignty and further growth of the Latin American nations such a closed system would be a serious disadvantage. It is therefore in the interest of all nations concerned, including the United States, that the inter-American security system shall be subordinated to the authority of the Security Council.

The series of pacts between the Soviet Union and a number of European countries providing for common measures to prevent the resurgence of German aggression serves as an example of special localized meas-

ures for security in accordance with the Dumbarton Oaks principles. In each case provisions are made for the participation of other Powers through parallel pacts. It is also clear that the Soviet Union conceives of these pacts as supplementary to the Dumbarton Oaks system and not as superseding it. Evidently General de Gaulle looked upon the French-Soviet Pact as a completely autonomous channel for dealing with the threat of German aggression, and even considered it a worthy weapon to be used in hard bargaining with Britain and the United States on the Rhineland and other questions. This is a complete misreading of the Soviet security policy, which is based fundamentally upon the principle of unanimity among all the leading Powers, as embodied in the Crimea decision on voting in the Security Council.

#### U. S. ADHERENCE

The major question for us in connection with the San Francisco Conference is to assure the adherence of the United States to the world security organization, in the spirit of the policies formulated in the Crimea Declaration. We have come a long way along this path. But the final battle has not yet been won, although we are in an extremely favorable position to destroy the remaining bridgeheads of opposition. In his address to the National Committee of the Communist Political Association in March 1945, Earl Browder signal-

ized the struggle for complete national adherence to the Crimea policies as "America's Decisive Battle."

At the time of the Moscow Conference in October 1943 the Senate voted 85 to 5 in favor of United States participation in a world security organization, even changing the phraseology of its resolution to accord with the Moscow Declaration. Only the diehard obstructionists voted against the resolution. This already reflected the basic change in national outlook and policy which had been brought about by the war and under the leadership of President Roosevelt. By the time of the presidential election campaign the popular sentiment in favor of world cooperation was already so overwhelming that the Hoover-Dewey-Vandenberg leadership of the Republican Party, while not surrendering its connections with the extremist "isolationist" and pro-fascist wing, felt compelled to fight Roosevelt by promising to carry out his program even more effectively. The general acclaim accorded the Crimean Declaration cut indiscriminately across party lines, even Hoover and Vandenberg having found it necessary to give it formal and grudging public support, though, of course, with "reservations" and criticism.

Obviously, the main political opposition has had to shift its ground, still further away from the extremist position taken by men like Wheeler. They have been forced to accept the fact that they will have to fight with

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in a new framework, recognizing that certain basic things have already been achieved which cannot be reversed by a head-on collision. In his speech on the eve of the Crimea conference, Senator Vandenberg, following along the line of Hoover's "cooling-off period" strategem, put forth as the kernel of his program that all wartime agreements and settlements should be subject to general review and revision at the peace table. The anti-Soviet undertone of his speech and his warm sympathy expressed after the Crimea conference for the Polish anti-Sovieters-in-exile showed that his main concern is to thrust back Soviet influence and delimit the range of cooperation with the Soviet Union. It remains to be seen to what extent Vandenberg will make himself the bearer of this line as a member of the United States delegation to San Francisco. We can be sure that whatever he does there will be done with the purpose of preparing the ground for the fight in the Senate against ratification of the San Francisco charter. Vandenberg's position is made even more difficult by the speech of his Republican co-member of the delegation, Lt. Commander Harold E. Stassen, who endorsed President Roosevelt's address to Congress on the results of the Crimea conference and supported the whole line of policy leading up to San Francisco.

The powerful swing toward the President's policies is also shown by the weakening of the opposition to-

ward the Bretton Woods proposals. It is notable that the American Bankers Association and the New York *Times*, which originally opposed both the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank, now find the Bank acceptable and concentrate their criticism upon the Fund. But as the Congressional hearings on Bretton Woods reveal, there is still a powerful current of opposition to the policy of world economic cooperation. The Vandenberg position for an American veto over the world's political affairs is paralleled by an attempt on the part of a sector of Big Business to utilize the great American preponderance of economic power to dominate world economic affairs. Passage of the Bretton Woods proposals, without crippling amendments, before the San Francisco Conference convenes would be a significant contribution to the success of that gathering. Failure to pass the proposals would aggravate the already serious commercial rivalry between the United States and Britain and have an unfavorable effect upon the San Francisco conference.

Building up vast popular support for the Crimea policy would create the best atmosphere for the United Nations meeting and for routing the opposition. After the charter is passed at San Francisco it will have to be approved by two-thirds of the Senate, and this action will establish a weighty precedent for other treaties and agreements still to come. But the victory cannot be won in the Senate



alone; it must emanate from the organized and broadening national support built up for the President's policy, on the eve of the San Francisco gathering and after. It would be a mistake to think that Vandenberg's post-war review-and-reversal strategy is restricted to a small group of top Republican leaders. That same strategy, sloganized by the Scripps-Howard press as "Let San Francisco Review Yalta," operates on all sides. David Lawrence, previously a Republican supporter of the war Coalition, was the first to take up that slogan in his weekly Washington magazine and write it over one of the most outspoken anti-Soviet editorials recently appearing in this country. That same influence operates among those groups and individuals who find common ground in their hate and fear of the Soviet Union, and therefore oppose any policy toward defeated Germany which would prevent her reappearance as a bulwark against "Bolshevism" in Europe. Opposition to the Crimea policy on this ground reaches into liberal ranks (witness Dorothy Thompson), and into the labor movement through the A. F. of L. Executive Council, John L. Lewis and his fellow-conspirators in the C.I.O. against Murray's leadership (Reuther, Wolchok and Rieve), Dubinsky and his Social-Democrat and Trotskyite friends.

Great popular support and enthusiasm for the United Nations policies should be built up, well organized and fully articulate. But it is also

necessary to do more than that. The opposition must be rendered so impotent that it will be unable to gather any significant support in the Senate against the United Nations Charter and the treaties which will follow. Here the labor movement has an especially important role to perform, to root out the conspirators at work within its own ranks, who are concentrating chiefly upon undermining the no-strike pledge. This is their main avenue of approach toward the goal they have set themselves of weakening the unity of the labor movement as well as national unity.

Through the C.I.O. our labor movement has helped lay the foundation of the new world labor center at the historic London Trade Union Conference, whose continuations committee is preparing to participate at San Francisco in an advisory capacity. The London and Crimea conferences, held simultaneously, are closely linked, not only in the common objectives set, but by the fact that one cannot succeed without the other. As was so dramatically emphasized at the Madison Square Garden meeting in New York last month, and as President Roosevelt indicated in his report to Congress on the Crimea, the lasting success of the Yalta meeting can be assured only through the support of the people. That support gains practical significance only to the extent that it succeeds in defeating the foes of the Crimea policies, whether it be in purging the fascists in the liberated

countries or in routing the opponents of world cooperation in the United States.

The new world labor organization is a powerful instrument for bringing about world unity of action. American labor bears a major share of the responsibility; for it is in this country that formidable forces operate to swing our country away from the

course of world cooperation. Political battles won up to now have prepared the ground for the still greater battles to be won. American labor has the tremendous responsibility of helping guarantee the full cooperation of the United States with the Soviet Union and Britain, in conjunction with all the United Nations, to attain a durable peace.

### JEFFERSON "VIEWED THINGS IN THEIR HISTORICAL SETTING"

JEFFERSON never adhered rigidly to previously conceived policies when changing times or situations demanded a revision of these policies. Indeed, if anything is characteristic of Jefferson's thinking it is that he viewed things in their historical setting. When criticized in 1816 for having revised an opinion he had expressed in 1785, Jefferson wrote: "Compare this state of things with that of '85, and say whether an opinion founded in the circumstance of that day can be fairly applied to those of the present."

"Nothing then is unchangeable," Jefferson once wrote, "but the inherent rights of man. . . ."

—Philip S. Foner, in *Thomas Jefferson: Selections from His Writings*.

# YALTA AND AMERICA'S NATIONAL UNITY\*

By EUGENE DENNIS

EARL BROWDER has correctly signalized\*\* that the consistent realization of America's foreign policy, embodied in the concords of Teheran and Yalta, will depend, to a considerable extent, upon the progress made in our own country in strengthening national unity. I should like to consider some aspects of this decisive question.

One of the main features of the present political situation, which now must be underscored and grasped, is that *new conditions exist today for consolidating as well as broadening the base of our national unity*. This is one of the principal conclusions which must be drawn from the immediate and long-range effects of the Yalta Conference and the London-held World Labor Conference on the course of American internal political relations.

For one thing, the accord of Crimea, not only facilitates and guaran-

tees the quickest military defeat and the destruction of Hitlerism, but it has also delivered a heavy blow at the Hearsts, McCormicks and Pattersons. These groupings have been greatly weakened. They have suffered a major political setback. While these pro-fascists will become extremely active in a desperate last-minute effort to nullify Yalta, they will now find it far more difficult to confuse and divide the main forces of the camp of national unity.

Equally important is the fact that influential sections of American capital and certain middle class circles, which heretofore remained apart from the pro-Roosevelt coalition, and which opposed Roosevelt's re-election can now be won over to participate in our national unity. These forces, who constitute a large segment of American political life, have till now had little or no faith in Teheran and our government's foreign policy. They saw and were disturbed and disoriented by the recent crises in Greece, Belgium, and Italy, and to some extent in Yugoslavia. They were confused by the difficult situation in Poland, as well as by the previous unsatisfactory state of coordination of Allied tactical military operations. Above all, these elements were fearful that the Soviet Union and the anti-fascist national liberation fronts in the various European countries would seek to impose "revolution" and "Communist regimes" in most of Europe. They were skeptical of the possibility of

\* Text of remarks delivered at the meeting of the National Committee, Communist Political Association, on March 10, 1945.

\*\* *America's Decisive Battle*, the published report of Earl Browder delivered to the National Committee of the Communist Political Association on March 10, 1945.

continued American-Soviet collaboration after victory over Nazism. And they doubted that the U.S.A. could obtain or exercise any serious influence in post-war Europe.

Yalta and the first results of the Crimea Conference have already dissipated these doubts and uncertainties which existed in the minds of many. New, concerted blows of the Red Army and of the Anglo-American armies are now speeding the final military defeat of Nazi Germany. Full and united agreements were reached by the Three Great Powers for destroying Nazism and German militarism; for creating a free, strong and independent Poland; for guaranteeing the restoration, independence and democratic development of the liberated countries; and for establishing, at the San Francisco Conference, a powerful international security organization capable of preventing or coping with new aggressions.

Roosevelt's policies have proved successful. The basis has been laid for firmer unity and ever closer cooperation of the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union; as well as of the entire anti-Hitlerite coalition. And the United States is now increasingly playing a leading and more progressive part in world affairs—not only militarily, but politically and economically.

A large section of the American people, especially of the skeptics and vacillating elements who doubted the soundness of the government's policies, now know better. They can see that complete victory over Naz-

ism and Japanese militarism, and the foundations for a stable and peaceful post-war world *are being achieved because of and on the basis of Teheran, Yalta and London.* Many, if not most, of these people, who include a sizable group of businessmen and middle-class citizens, particularly of Republican Party affiliation, can now be won over to active support of the Administration's foreign policy. They can be drawn into the national coalition in support of the Government and the Crimean Charter, especially in behalf of the general objectives of, and the concrete plans now being submitted to, the San Francisco Conference.

That this estimate is correct, is evidenced by a number of developments. It is borne out by the unprecedented favorable response in most of the press and even in most Congressional quarters to the President's recent report to Congress on the Crimea Conference. It is seen in the active and broadening support for the Dumbarton Oaks agreement, which has developed since Yalta, including support from varied Republican circles. It is also to be noted in the increased backing for the Bretton Woods proposals which was evidenced in Washington on February 28, when 103 national organizations, including the Independent Bankers' Association, the Farm Federation Bureau, the American Legion, and the A. F. of L., expressed support for the international bank and the monetary fund agreements.

While this is true, it would, however, be a mistake to exaggerate the present strength and solidity of the camp of national unity. It would be a fatal error to consider that the Crimea accord has resolved all the contradictions and closed the fissures in our national coalition, or that the present trend toward further unification of all patriotic forces will now proceed smoothly or automatically. In reality, the most resolute efforts of all anti-fascists will be required to overcome a number of serious weaknesses and dangers which still threaten the durability, growth, and progress of national unity.

For one thing, it is crystal clear that to develop our national unity on a firmer and wider basis it is necessary to expose and isolate the Tafts, Vandenberg, Wherrys, and Wheelers, and to organize a new, a more systematic, and a more convincing political struggle against them and the fifth column. Toward this end, it is necessary to show convincingly that in "criticizing" or directly opposing the decisions of Crimea, these elements are opposing not only London and Moscow, but also, and in the first place, Washington—our nation's foreign policy; that they are jeopardizing and obstructing America's national interests.

#### NON-PARTISANSHIP

The battle for strengthening national unity, for realizing the Yalta decisions, likewise demands the development of a more consistent and

effective policy of non-partisanship. Here it is essential to take into account the impact of Crimea on Republican ranks, as is reflected in the recent positions taken by Senator Ball, Lt. Commander Stassen, and Governor Goodland of Wisconsin. It is necessary also to note the initial post-election regroupings in Republican circles, as evidenced in the recent U. S. Senate vote on Wallace and the many positive bi-partisan developments which have taken place in a number of State Legislatures, such as New York and Washington.

*The tactic of non-partisanship is of crucial significance for consolidating the wartime and post-war unity of the nation generally.* It is needed for victory in the coming municipal elections, as well as in the vital Congressional elections of 1946. It is especially essential today for effecting a broader national bi-partisan coalition in the 79th Congress so as to create a sufficient majority in the Senate to act favorably on the Dumbarton Oaks world security agreement and its indispensable economic corollary, the Bretton Woods decisions.

In this connection, it should be remembered that the Crimea decisions will shortly face a major test in Congress. The required two-thirds majority for the international security organization has not yet been obtained in the Senate. According to the latest estimates, there are approximately 47 Senators who will support unqualifiedly the Dumbarton Oaks plan, twenty-two who are doubtful,

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and twenty-six who will oppose it. Of this line-up, there are thirty-one Republicans in the doubtful and the isolationist columns.

Obviously, this alignment in the Senate does not correspond to the relation of forces in the country. For around the united security proposals to be submitted to the San Francisco Conference jointly by the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China, there is overwhelming mass support from all strata. In fact, around this single proposition it is now possible to enlist the active and coordinated support of every major organization and group in the United States, ranging from national, State, and local governmental bodies, the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, the Farm Bureau, and the American Legion, to the A. F. of L., the C.I.O., and all other people's organizations.

This possibility can now become a reality, and a two-thirds Senate majority can be won. This will be achieved, if the fight for the international security organization, as that for its economic counterpart, Bretton Woods, is waged vigorously in the coming weeks *on a broad non-partisan basis, nationally, and in every community and mass organization*. This will be achieved, if this vital battle is fought out in an uncompromising manner so as to reject all amendments and reservations, and if it is waged in behalf and on terms of America's national interests, as well as those of the common

needs and the unity of action of all of the United Nations.

#### LABOR'S ROLE

Of special, even decisive importance for carrying through the task of broadening the base of national unity and isolating its pro-fascist enemies, is the need of enhancing labor's role, its clarity, unity, organized strength, and political initiative in helping weld the national coalition. This is perhaps the key link in the chain which must be seized upon to consolidate the country's anti-fascist unity in the final stage of the war, as well as in the post-war period. This is so because labor is the backbone of our nation and national unity and holds within its hands the means of influencing decisive sections of big capital and the middle classes to support an anti-Hitlerite national unity policy.

Unquestionably, the major policies of the main sections of the American labor movement, especially of the C.I.O., are directed toward forging national unity for winning the war, destroying fascism and German and Japanese militarism, and ensuring a peaceful and prosperous post-war world. However, labor is unable to exert its full and united strength and influence in the camp of national unity because of the reactionary Lewisite and Social-Democratic wreckers in its midst, and because of their confederates, the Trotskyites. American labor will be able to contribute its utmost to the further strengthening

of our national unity and the realization of the decisions of the Crimea Conference, as well as of the World Labor Conference in London, only by energetically combatting and defeating the anti-unity and anti-United Nations Social-Democratic and other reactionary elements operating within the ranks of labor. This requires that the *core* of this anti-Roosevelt and anti-war clique—Lewis, Dubinsky, Reuther, Woll—be unmasked, and the political-ideological struggle against them waged in a more concerted and far more convincing and bold manner.

As at no other time, the trade union movement and other anti-fascist forces must be shown the *intimate connection* between the various divisive and war-sabotaging policies of this gang: their opposition to labor's no-strike pledge, their opposition to national and international trade union unity, their opposition to Roosevelt's policies and national leadership, and their hostility to the Soviet Union and the alliance of the United Nations. All of their activities and treacherous policies have to be brought together and presented as stemming from one common source: opposition to the national war effort and America's program, concerted with its Allies, to destroy fascism and secure a lasting peace. The Lewis-Dubinsky-Woll-Reuther combination must be unmasked and fought for what it is: the enemy of labor's welfare and the opponent of America's national interests.

To expedite and reinforce the struggle against these enemies of labor and the nation, it is necessary to emphasize two additional points:

First, it is imperative that the entire labor movement be made to realize, more fully and in a most direct, personal sense, that Nazism and Japanese imperialism are not yet crushed, that the war must still be won in the Far East as well as in Europe. It must be made to understand that the road to ultimate military victory, whatever its length, will be tough, bitter, and costly to the very end. Moreover, it must be made to grasp that after military victory, further and sustained efforts of the peoples will be required to completely destroy fascism and Japanese militarism.

When, and only when, labor fully grasps this truth, will it be able to conduct the most effective struggle against Social-Democratism and its ally, Trotskyism, and therefore against the "isolationists" and obstructionists. Only then will it be possible to overcome existing vacillations and hesitations in the trade union movement, as well as in the broad democratic coalition, such as manifest themselves today on the manpower and wage questions, and above all on the vital issue of crushing the strike conspiracy of John L. Lewis and Company, of maintaining uninterruptedly labor's no-strike pledge, irrespective of employer and other provocations. Only then, will labor be able to face and satisfac-

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torily solve its current economic problems and all other pressing questions in the national interest, and therefore in the interest of its own welfare. Only then will labor be able to enlist the broadest public support, secure new allies and strength, and be in a position to cope even more effectively than it does now with all the manifold problems confronting it and the nation.

#### FOR CLARITY ON PERSPECTIVES

Secondly, and perhaps the single most important problem which must be solved in order to isolate and defeat Social-Democratism, Trotskyism and other reactionary influences in the labor movement, and to enable labor to play a much more decisive role in cementing and shaping our national unity, is that of establishing greater clarity in the labor and progressive movements regarding perspectives, regarding the full meaning of Teheran and Crimea for labor, the nation and the world.

This is a question of prime importance, because confusion regarding perspectives could lead to disaster. Absence of a correct perspective endangers the battle for realizing the new, anti-fascist future which is opening for mankind; it jeopardizes national and United Nations unity today, in the final stage of the war.

The lack of clarity in some sections of labor and elsewhere in the camp of national unity regarding the road ahead is utilized by the unstable

petty-bourgeois radicals of the newspaper *PM* variety, by the Dubinsky and Norman Thomas Social-Democrats, by the Trotskyites, as well as by the pro-fascists of all stripes, to confuse and mislead sections of the workers and popular forces, as well as various non-fascist elements among Big Business. It enables them to muddy the waters of national and international unity. It encourages and leads to irresponsible and adventurous action on the part of certain labor and progressive groupings. It feeds every form of sectarianism. At the same time, absence of a correct perspective and an intelligent understanding of how to struggle for its realization, also breeds opportunism and passivity and renders sections of the labor and anti-fascist movement impotent to help shape the present and future course of events.

Among the many vital questions which must now be raised and clarified in regard to perspectives are a number of basic conclusions and new Marxist theoretical propositions advanced by Earl Browder and our Communist Political Association on the basis of the new world situation which was registered at Teheran in December, 1943.

In this connection, we Communists must help establish more clearly and deeply in the thinking and orientation of the labor movement and the democratic camp generally, that Teheran and Yalta, and the changes in national and international relations which these signify,

mark the opening of a new stage in world history. This new period which is now unfolding, and whose objectives must be consistently struggled for by all freedom-loving peoples, if it is to be fully realized, can be characterized in part by the following features: the peaceful co-existence *and long-term collaboration* of the Socialist and capitalist systems; the consequent establishment of a durable peace and orderly progress; an unparalleled development of democracy in all lands, along many lines, under diverse social systems, and under conditions in which the Socialist sector will play an increasingly influential part; and the strengthened role and influence of the working class in the leadership of the nations as the most consistent and dynamic democratic force in anti-fascist national coalitions. This new historical period toward which the world is now moving under the combined leadership of the anti-Hitlerite coalition of the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., and Great Britain, makes it possible to create a world free of fascism, to build a non-fascist and anti-fascist world.

Further, it is necessary to explain that the line of world development laid down at Teheran and Crimea, based on the solidarity and long-term unity of the Big Three, is in the best national interests of the U.S.A. and will enhance America's leading political and economic role in a peaceful, progressive and stable world; that it will assure the most favorable condi-

tions for a prosperous expansion of our present economy, as well as for orderly social progress and democratic advancement within the nation; and that these factors and objectives create the foundations for extending national unity on a long-range basis after the war.

In this connection, it is necessary to make clear that while for some time post-war America will not be free of all political reaction, of reaction generated by pro-fascist monopoly capitalist circles, the policy of Teheran and Yalta, and of post-war, anti-fascist national unity in the United States, will strengthen the democratic coalition. It will produce progressive and anti-fascist forces of such power which will make it possible to prevent American reaction from again reaching the stage of a fascist menace.

#### POST-WAR NATIONAL UNITY

Thirdly, we Communists must explain and explain, and help orient the trade union movement and all progressive forces actively to fight for this perspective and democratic future. We must particularly make clear the need and basis for uniting and strengthening labor's organizations and political influence, especially for developing national unity in the post-war stage. We must point out the compelling, common national interests of all classes in American society which can take precedence over special and vested class interests.

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We must show the necessity of following up the military defeat of Hitler-Germany and Japanese militarism with completing the utter destruction of fascism and achieving orderly progress and stable democratic government based on and uniting all the anti-fascist forces of each nation. We must make clear that this is essential to prevent a third world war, achieve a stable peace, and a flourishing democracy. We must make clear that the problem of promoting expanding production and maximum employment under existing social conditions requires, not only a world at peace and cooperative international financial and trade relations, but also a minimum of internal industrial strife and a constantly rising standard of living for all Americans.

This is the basis for, and points the way to, a program around which to organize national unity in the post-war period.

However, it must be noted that some sections of the labor and progressive movement still remain dubious regarding the possibility of achieving national unity after the war. Among other things, such people confuse the maintenance and development of national unity with notions of abolishing class contradictions and differences within the nation.

It should be clear that national unity in the post-war period will not abolish classes or class conflicts. But it can and will provide the basis for subordinating sharp class differences

to national interests, for restricting or adjusting class struggles in the interest of the nation and the majority of the people, and not of a single class or vested group.

In the present circumstances, as well as in the coming post-war situation, it must be plain that the policy of national unity is not only the best, but the most effective way to defend and advance the interests of the working class and the people, that is, of the nation as a whole.

A post-war policy of class against class, of slugging it out, when shorn of its militant verbiage, could only lead the workers and the entire nation to sharpened class struggles and national division. It could only isolate the working class from its vital allies and help unify all sections of the bourgeoisie around its most reactionary and fascist-minded wing. It could only enable the pro-fascists to create a state of affairs which would divide the nation, break up the democratic coalition, and come into power.

This does not mean that the working class and the people will not have to wage a serious and sustained political struggle for the interests of the nation, for Teheran and Crimea. On the contrary, it will be necessary for labor and all democrats to continue to conduct a most stubborn struggle against the pro-fascist monopolies and their reactionary Social-Democratic and Trotskyite agents, and against all vacillations and deviations in the camp of national

unity. But the working class—as well as all progressives—will have to develop this struggle *within the framework of national unity* and on the basis of *strengthening labor's anti-fascist role and influence* within the national democratic coalition.

This means, among other things, that it is essential for the Communist Political Association, following the leadership and example of Earl Browder, to wage a most determined

political-ideological struggle for bringing about a deeper understanding, everywhere, of our Marxist theory and practice, for guaranteeing the extension of creative Marxist influence, thought and action within the labor and progressive movements. This, as American and world experience has demonstrated, is vital for strengthening the anti-fascist unity of our country, for winning the battle of America's future.

### THE ISSUE THUS JOINED . . .

President Roosevelt has returned from the Crimea Conference of the three leading powers of the United Nations. He brought back to us the agreements containing the key to early victory, the organization of a peaceful world, the healing of the ravages of war, and the inauguration of a long-time process of rising standards of life for America and for all peoples of the world.

The President has supplemented the official communique on the decisions of the Conference by a report delivered personally to the Congress of the United States, and through Congress to the people. In that report he said: "Unless you here in the halls of the American Congress—with the support of the American people—concur in the decisions reached at Yalta, and give them your active support, the meeting will not have produced lasting results."

The issue thus joined is the most important ever placed for decision in the history of our country. As goes the decision on this issue, so go the prospects of America and the world. To this dominant issue all else must be fully subordinated. The American people must be aroused and organized in support of the Crimea decisions in such overwhelming numbers that the potential opposition within Congress will not dare to show itself.

—Earl Browder in *America's Decisive Battle*.

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# LABOR'S VICTORY WAGE POLICIES\*

By ROY HUDSON

THE NEW YORK MEETING of the C.I.O. Executive Board was a major victory for national unity. The plans of Emil Rieve, Walter Reuther, and Samuel Wolchok to secure support for their Lewis-ite program of rescinding the no-strike pledge and scuttling the War Labor Board, went on the rocks. Their anti-C.I.O. program was decisively rejected by the Board which, by a vote of 45 to 2, supported the leadership of Philip Murray and adopted the wage program that he presented to the Board. These actions constitute the first major mobilization of labor's forces to defeat the conspiracy organized against the no-strike pledge by the Lewis-Hutcheson-Dubinsky-Rieve-Wolchok combine.

The wage program adopted provides the basis for carrying through victoriously the no-strike pledge against the attack which aims at shattering the nation's unity, at undermining support for the decisions of Crimea, and at preventing the success of the coming United Nations Conference.

The C.I.O. wage program takes

\* Based on a report to the National Committee of the C.P.A., delivered on March 12, 1945.

into account the new questions involved in relation to a national wage policy and provides the basis for solving them. It correctly points out that the solution of immediate wage questions and the development of adequate policies to meet the transition to a peace-time economy is an urgent problem and a major task for all supporters of the Crimea decisions, if the nation's unity is to be maintained and strengthened. The position of all labor is strengthened in its struggle to win the Government and people for a much-needed adjustment in wages, by this victory program which is based upon the proposition that labor's no-strike policy is its strongest weapon in the struggle to solve current wage questions.

To resort to or permit strikes in the final stages of the war would be a crime against the war effort. It would be equally disastrous to the immediate and long-term economic interests of the workers. Cooperation on the basis of the nation's war-time program alone has provided the solution of the workers' problems. The only thing won by the Lewis strike policy during the war was the infamous anti-labor, pro-strike Smith-Connally Act. Another strike would bring even more dangerous anti-labor legislation and prevent the solution of immediate wage questions. What is equally serious, it would pave the way for labor's defeat in the post-war period.

Strikes in the post-war period will not solve the problem of providing

sixty million jobs, of maintaining the take-home earnings established during the war. These things will be brought about by the more effective organization of labor's political strength to maintain unity and cooperation of all those who support President Roosevelt's program and the decisions of Teheran and Crimea. But this unity and cooperation cannot be secured if labor places its reliance on the strike weapon. *Those who plot to cut wages and smash the unions in the post-war period seek to provoke labor now into repudiating its policy of national unity in favor of strike action, knowing that it will isolate labor and split those forces which, if united, can guarantee the realization of the President's program.*

There can be no compromise with the strike threat of John L. Lewis. The nation and labor must either capitulate to his attempted insurrection or smash his treasonable attack against the policies of the government and labor movement. If his policies prevail, victory in the war will be more costly; the securing of an enduring peace will be endangered, and labor's chances of solving problems today and of securing a better world and happier life for the workers after the war will be lost. This applies particularly to the miners. Their just demands can be won only if Lewis' strike policy, which undermines and betrays their realization, is repudiated by them.

Therefore, labor, which is so united

in the resolve that fascism be wiped out, which has so much at stake in maintaining peace, which has won new advantages for advancing the well-being of labor in the post-war world, must be united in condemning Lewis' attack upon the war effort, upon labor's correct policies and prospects for higher wage standards. The defense of the economic interests of the workers now and after the war demands that the A. F. of L. should join with the C.I.O. in declaring that the national interests require emergency measures to prevent any stoppage in the coal industry. Labor should declare with one voice that the Government will have its full support in preventing a strike by taking over the operation of the coal industry now. It should demand the punishment of anyone who disregards the interests of the war effort and undertakes to trample on the policies of the Government and labor.

Responsible labor leaders should rally the workers to discipline those in its ranks who would undermine labor's no-strike pledge. This requires greater educational efforts to explain to the workers why the no-strike pledge is necessary for the prosecution of the war, why and how the policy of national unity, which has made possible the peaceful solution of disputes during the war, can also enable labor to meet the problem of increasing the strength of organized labor and secure full employment with rising living standards after the

war. This also requires that labor, and the nation fully understand the new questions involved in relation to a national policy on wages in the present period and the basis upon which these problems are correctly approached in the wage program adopted by the C.I.O. Board.

#### THE RELATION OF WAGES TO PRICES

Recognizing that the prosecution of the war requires a stabilized economy, labor has both refrained from exercising its right to strike and fully supported the President's Seven-Point Program by cooperating in stabilizing wages and in fighting for the full application of the other six points in the President's program. This program as a whole, however, has been sabotaged or undermined, especially by the failure of Congress to adopt legislative measures necessary for realizing certain of its stabilization aspects. This has resulted in rising prices and in bringing unnecessary hardships upon the workers. It has also endangered the whole struggle to organize the economy of the country for the all-out prosecution of the war. This situation, a year and a half ago, rendered it necessary to demand that wage adjustments be made in order to enforce the Little Steel Formula by bringing wages into line with the increase in prices, which, if continued unchecked, would have led to the complete defeat of the nation's effort to maintain

national unity and a stable war-time economy.

Labor's year-and-a-half campaign to this end undoubtedly was a major factor in preventing or slowing down the further rise in prices. It was also an important factor in ensuring that even under the Little Steel Formula the War Labor Board would apply its policies in accordance with the policies of President Roosevelt, thus making possible the solution of many burning grievances and the settlement of the workers' just demands. That important achievements can be made and have been made is to be seen in the final decisions on the steel contracts resulting in gains to the workers of \$60,000,000, even though the steel workers' demand for a general wage increase was not met. Undoubtedly, the campaign for a general wage increase to compensate for the increased cost of living helped ensure the nature of the Board's decision. This award must be made a precedent for meeting similar problems arising in other industries.

In connection with the question of a general wage increase, the public and industry members of the Board, in their report to the President, attempted to prove that the cost of living has not been greater than the increase in wages. This report fails to solve the fundamental problem confronting the nation, and does not answer a single one of the vital questions related to this problem.

Did the Board establish the real facts in relation to wages and the in-



creased cost of living? If the nation were to accept the report without qualifications, labor would stand guilty of disregarding the facts, of being indifferent to the war effort and of being motivated only by its particular interests without regard to the established policies of the Government. Labor's record shows that throughout the war it has had only one concern—WIN THE WAR! Leaving aside the reasoning of the Board in its report, and the "facts" upon which it was based, labor's record in the war demands that in simple justice to labor, the War Labor Board report must not be accepted as the final establishment of the facts in the case on an impartial basis.

All people—not only the workers—who are interested in victory, an enduring peace, and a prosperous nation and world after the war, have a vital interest in seeing that the facts are established and that a settlement is reached in a form that is in accordance with them.

The facts must not be disregarded; for the Government's established policy declares that to hold the line only on wages accomplishes nothing. If prices have gotten out of line, this can endanger the whole stabilization program in the final moments of the war effort when greater demands will be placed on the home front. Furthermore, the nation's goal of full production and full employment in the post-war period may also be jeopardized, because, in the words of Browder, "no basic section of the

population should, in the reconversion period, restrict its consumption under the present level." A reduction in real wages now as a result of increased prices means a restriction on the workers' consuming power in the period of transition from war-time to peace-time economy.

These are vital reasons which demand that all people should join labor in urging that the Board's report should not be accepted by the President as a final settlement of the issues involved.

#### THE TRANSITION TO PEACE-TIME PRODUCTION

But the basic problem confronting labor and the nation today is not limited to the war-time question of the relation of wages to prices. At one time this was the dominant issue involved in the fight for a satisfactory wage policy and the stabilization program. Today this is only one aspect of the problem. The fundamental problem raised is the development of labor's and the nation's wage program to meet the period of transition to peace production. To limit the right to the issue of whether the increase in the cost of living requires general wage increases cannot now provide an answer to the vital questions raised.

Today greater efforts and greater production are still required before victory in Europe will be finally won. But if these efforts are made, it is reasonable to expect that the European phase of the war will end in a

matter of months. Even after the termination of the war in Europe, production for bringing the war in the Pacific to a close will continue to be the first concern of the nation. At the same time, however, more materials and more factories and more manpower will be available for production to meet the needs of the home front and to aid in the reconstruction of Europe.

This approaching situation demands an answer to a number of questions. As more and more industries go off war production, how will disputes between labor and management be settled? Will there be wage-cuts and open-shop drives? Will workers, no longer needed in war production, find employment elsewhere? Will the take-home earnings be reduced? If there is to be a peaceful settlement of disputes, on what basis will wage issues be settled?

These questions must be answered. The demand to adjust the Little Steel Formula does not alone provide the main answer. The report of the War Labor Board raises some of these problems, but does not provide the basis for their solution. The national policy up to the present does not provide an answer, because this policy was designed to meet the problems connected with waging the war. The national objective has been the winning of the war, and the nation's wage policy, as part of the stabilization program, has sought to ensure unity for this purpose, by maintaining the relationship between wages

and prices. After the war our national objective will be to maintain peace and full production, and the wage policy must be aimed at achieving full production by maintaining and expanding the home market. During the war the demand for war material has exceeded the nation's capacity to produce, and production for the home front has been limited because the armed forces and our allies have had priority. After the war, however, production for the home front will depend upon the purchasing power of the people, especially the workers. Instead of the national interest requiring that wage rates be stabilized, it will require that the total earnings be stabilized and expanded. As Earl Browder has said: "It is basic policy for full employment that the working class, which is the largest group of consumers, should continue as a minimum to receive a take-home pay equal in volume to that it now receives, regardless of any change in average working hours."

The need to establish guarantees that this policy will be adopted and realized now confronts us. The heart of the wage policy question at this time arises out of the need for the Government, with the participation of labor and industry, further to develop our national policies and procedures to guarantee war production and to meet the problems of transition to peace-time production. The aim of such a peace-time policy must be to promote the continued peace-

ful solution of disputes and to achieve full production and full employment by maintaining and expanding the purchasing power of the workers. The national policy must ensure that full production after victory will result in increased benefits for the workers. To fail to face and answer this question NOW would be harmful to the prosecution of the war and disastrous in the period of reconversion.

Accordingly, this situation requires that labor fully understand that the adjustment of the Little Steel Formula to correspond to the increased cost of living does not provide the complete answer to the fundamental question of an adequate wage policy, as it did a year or more ago. Therefore, in opposing the Board's report, the trade union movement should make clear to the entire nation the need to develop further the nation's program *now* to provide for the transition from a war-time to a peace-time economy with which the country will be confronted on a major scale following the end of the war in Europe. Labor's demand that President Roosevelt appoint a committee of labor, industrialist, and Government representatives to begin working out such a program now deserve support. The public generally, and forward-looking industrialists in particular, should join with labor in such a demand.

The fundamental solution to the wage policy question at this time involves the further development of the

national policy to meet the transition to peace-time production.

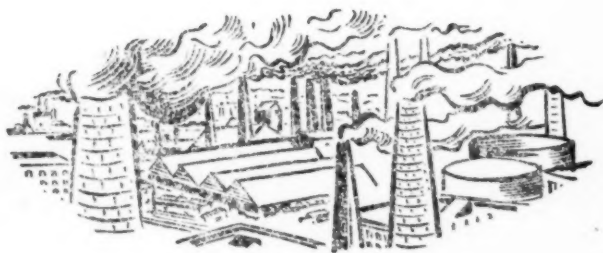
There is a burning need, however, to improve and speed up the handling of grievances and the general functioning of the Board. Labor should demand that the Board exercise its authority to correct sub-standards instead of passing the buck to Congress or proceeding in the inadequate manner in which it finally undertook to raise the minimum to 55¢, instead of the 72¢, demanded by labor. Likewise, labor is more than justified in demanding that ex-Chairman Vinson's order rescinding the Board's right to pass on consent agreements, night differentials, increased vacations, inter-plant inequalities, and reclassifications be withdrawn. Of equal importance, however, is a better utilization of the existing opportunities for correcting grievances. Not all labor leaders have demonstrated the same ability as Philip Murray and the leaders of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America to register important achievements by taking full advantage of established policies. In some cases, leaders who were loudest in demanding revision of the Little Steel Formula have, at the same time, neglected to secure solution of those problems that could be solved on the basis of existing policies. An end should be put to such situations where leaders conceal their own bankruptcy or shortcomings by irresponsible criticism of, or unjustified attacks upon, the Government's

policies.

Millions of unorganized white collar workers have not secured the benefits permitted under the present practices of the W.L.B. The special problems of these workers, and the substandard wage levels of large sections among them should become an issue for the whole labor movement. In the same manner in which special measures were worked out to organize the mass production industries,

special measures are also needed to help this important section of the workers to raise their wage levels.

Likewise, labor should at this time, justifiably, urge that the Board be authorized to approve bonuses and premiums, covering the period between now and the remaining time in which plants will remain on war production, through agreements reached by collective bargaining and without resultant increases in prices.





## MEXICO CITY — ON THE ROAD FROM YALTA TO SAN FRANCISCO

By FREDERICK V. FIELD

THE MEXICO CITY CONFERENCE ON War and Peace was symbolic of the decisive changes which the war against fascism has brought about in the outlook of all democratic nations. If world progress can be measured by the immense political distance between Munich and Yalta, that of the western hemisphere can be gaged by comparing the results of Mexico City with those of inter-American meetings prior to the formation of the United Nations.

The tone of the Mexico City Conference and particularly the approach which the North American government had to it were set by Secretary of State Stettinius in his opening address of February 22. The most conspicuous characteristic of that address was the emphatic way in which the problems of the western hemisphere were placed in a world perspective, a point which was dramatized by the fact that Mr. Stettinius came directly to Mexico City from the Crimea Conference. The traditional United States' attitude of regarding its twenty Latin neighbors as constituting its own special sphere of influ-

ence was abandoned in favor of a global outlook based upon Teheran, Bretton Woods, Dumbarton Oaks, and Yalta, with the perspective ahead of the forthcoming San Francisco conference.

The decisions reached by the twenty American nations—the fascist Argentine government being excluded—were far-reaching and comprehensive. They included immediate problems of the war, the transition from war to peace, and the longer term policies that must govern the post-war stage. The results marked a notable advance over any previous inter-American arrangement. They were geared to the global policies laid down by Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin. The Mexico City Conference as a whole and the resolutions and declarations which emerged from it call for our enthusiastic support.

The conference's conclusions did not, however, in all cases meet the requirements consonant with the tasks set by history. It is important to recognize what were the principal forces involved in the compromises

that were made. Primarily they were the interests of nations in very different stages of economic and political development, each of whose immediate and long-term needs differed from the others. The large division existed, of course, between the United States, an overwhelmingly powerful capitalist nation, on the one hand, and on the other hand, the republics of Latin America which are generally characterized as semi-feudal and semi-colonial and are in all cases comparatively weak and undeveloped. Even within this latter group there were many differences in form of government and in economic interest, as well as in geographic location to friendly and unfriendly states. There were also differences within the United States delegation, particularly in economic questions, and these roughly paralleled divisions in North American business circles which in domestic affairs recently expressed themselves in the controversy over Wallace's appointment. One outside power, Great Britain, while not represented in the inter-American system, was nevertheless extremely active outside the conference chambers at the Mexico City meeting, advocating a line sharply at odds with the United States in such crucial matters as the Argentine problem.

It is necessary to keep in mind these conflicting forces and the compromises which resulted in order to understand the criticisms of the Mexico City Conference which have

been made and which will continue to be pressed. These critical views have not been sufficiently clarified at the time of writing to make it possible to give them careful consideration in the present article. Coming as many of them do from certain sources for whom progressive circles in the United States have the deepest respect, we can at this time only express the hope that a full exchange of opinion among forward-looking individuals and groups throughout the hemisphere will take place and that in the course of such exchange many of the differences which at the moment seem sharp will be resolved.

Before passing to an analysis of the positive results of the Conference it should be noted that all progressive forces, whether of North or Latin America, agree that the Conference compromised too much on certain points. It exhibited a deplorable weakness in not facing up squarely to the issue of Franco, the end of whose pernicious influence in this hemisphere is long overdue. Even the recommendations made regarding his fifth column, the Falange and the Sinarquists, were indirect. These failures revealed a cowardly capitulation to the forces of reaction which, it may be pointed out, were strong at Mexico City precisely because the governments concerned had committed the error of not fully and adequately dealing with this entire problem sooner. The action taken against Argentina was a dis-

tinct improvement over the situation which existed before the Mexico City Conference. Nevertheless, to the extent that that action was vague rather than explicit, it has caused confusion among supporters of the United Nations and it has provided fuel to the fires of the demagogues.

The North American delegates went to the Mexico City Conference with certain serious handicaps. The failure of the Senate to deal rapidly and decisively with the Bretton Woods agreements gave an appearance of substance to the claims of those divisive elements intent on casting doubts upon the willingness of the United States to carry through the recommendations of its representatives. It undoubtedly prevented Assistant Secretary of State William L. Clayton and his colleagues from putting forward a more positive economic program. Another handicap borne by the North American delegation was the failure of the government to adopt a progressive policy with respect to our Caribbean colony, Puerto Rico. Our complete disregard of the needs and aspirations of this Latin American people is a flagrant violation of the world-wide principles in which we have assumed leadership among the United Nations.

It is a matter of common knowledge that Anglo-American commercial rivalry hampers the progressive solution of nearly every Latin American issue, Argentina being a classical and tragic example. Yet neither by

their acts or statements at Mexico City did the United States delegates give any leadership to the solution of this problem or even to the recognition of it as a major issue confronting inter-American relations. As will be indicated later, the Economic Charter of the Americas introduced to the Conference by the North American delegates called for a policy of expanding economy, a policy which will in part resolve the Anglo-American difficulty. But, at best, this was an indirect approach, and even the Economic Charter failed to give public recognition to the issue.

These weaknesses on the part of the approach of the United States to the hemisphere conference found their counterpart in the attitude of many of the Latin American states. To give one example, Brazil has not yet recognized the Soviet Union with whom it is allied in the war against fascism and with whom it will sit at the San Francisco Conference. As long as such an obscurantist attitude persists, Brazil's arguments in the counsels of the United Nations and in the counsels of the Inter-American system will be received with something short of mass enthusiasm.

Important as are the issues which call for these negative remarks, they must not be allowed to overshadow the main accomplishments of the Mexico City Conference.

#### BACKGROUND

At the time the Mexico City Conference convened there were serious



difficulties besetting the republics of the western hemisphere. On this side of the Atlantic the common danger of fascism had, with the notorious exception of the fascist government of Argentina and with the partial exception of certain other Latin American governments, Bolivia, for example, brought about the firmest unity and the most cordial and binding cooperation among the American nations in history. The war was not alone responsible for this achievement. Since 1933, when President Roosevelt, in his inaugural address had enunciated the Good Neighbor policy, the ground had been prepared for the favorable change which came about with the war.

During the eight years between 1933 and 1941 the United States undertook to repair the damage that previous decades had wrought in hemisphere relations. The crude methods of the past, whether under the name of the earlier Roosevelt's Big Stick, or Taft's Dollar Diplomacy, or Wilson's interventions, or the crass finance-imperialism of the Coolidge-Hoover days, no longer brought in commercial dividends. The hatreds and antagonisms which had been created as well as the backwardness in which the central and southern parts of the American continents had been held, had to be overcome before the United States could begin to improve its international position.

With the growth of the Nazi menace and the trouble that was brew-

ing in the Pacific during the middle thirties, the Good Neighbor policy assumed an urgent responsibility. There was a crying need to bolster all aspects of inter-American relationships. Fascism's method was not confined to military aggressions; the commercial, diplomatic and cultural fronts required strengthening. In many instances the job that had to be done in this hemisphere called, not merely for the reinforcement of something that already existed, but for the creation of something new after the wreckage of the past had been cleared away. Cuba is an example of where we first had to do away with the debris of past mistakes before a new relationship could even be begun; Nicaragua is another example, Panama another. Common to nearly all groups and classes of Latin Americans was a visceral hatred for the North American Yankee imperialist.

It is not within the scope of this article to review the steps taken during the 1930's to implement the Good Neighbor declaration of President Roosevelt's inaugural address. To have background upon which to understand the achievements of the recent Mexico City Conference, however, it is necessary to remind ourselves of the enormity of the task which faced us in the years of the economic crisis and during the period when fascism was riding high. And it is necessary to realize that a great deal of groundwork was accomplished in redirecting hemi-

sphere relationships during those years which prepared for the supreme test that came with Pearl Harbor.

The result has been impressive. That it was due as much, or more, to the democratic aspirations of the Latin American people and their consequent abhorrence of fascism does not detract from the fact that unless the United States had at the same time improved its hemisphere policy, the achievement of a pro-United Nations unity in the Americas would have been impossible.

#### FASCIST FORCES IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

The needs of the western hemisphere which lay behind the Mexico City Conference were both immediate and long-term, both war and post-war. In the first category, fascism has not been conquered in the Americas. All twenty-one nations that compose the inter-American system contain their fifth columns. For every Wheeler, every Rankin, every Father Coughlin or Gerald L. K. Smith in the United States there are twenty counterparts below the Rio Grande. For every fascist, semi-fascist or otherwise divisive newspaper, with their Hearsts, McCormicks, Pattersons and Peglers, there are similar enemies of victory in Latin America. There are Social-Democrats, Trotskyites, all types and forms of political vermin gnawing at the roots of democracy throughout the hemisphere.

While these evil influences are for the most part in a minority, the danger which they represent is of the utmost seriousness. The Falange (Sinarquists in Mexico) remain active throughout Latin America as the direct agency of the Spanish butcher Franco, who in this work, as in all else, stooges for Hitler. This extensive fifth column organization is directly allied with native fascist and reactionary circles which find their political and financial strength in the backwardness of Latin-American economy and in the poverty and misery of its masses. There is also, especially in Argentina, an extremely active community of German Nazis, heavily backed by Nazi funds, who also find a natural alliance with native reaction. At least in Argentina, and probably in Brazil and elsewhere as well, the numbers and the financial and industrial strength of these Nazis is increasing instead of diminishing as the days of Hitlerism come to a close in Europe. Both the German and Franco-Spanish infiltration are spear-headed by the major fascist danger in the western hemisphere, the outright fascist-Nazi government of Argentina under the Farrell-Peron dictatorship.

A malignant fascist cancer has been planted and is now growing within the body of the Americas. It was recognition of this condition which furnished one of the primary motives of the gathering of Foreign Ministers at Mexico City. In his opening speech at that Conference, Sec-

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retary of State Stettinius said: "We still face the danger of secret Nazi-Fascist infiltration into the political and economic life of this hemisphere." He expressed his confidence that the "American republics will join in whatever cooperative measures may be necessary to stamp out utterly every vestige of Nazi influence in this hemisphere."

#### THE ACTION AGAINST ARGENTINA

One of the principal acts of the recent conference was a unanimously approved resolution appealing over the heads of the Argentine fascist government to "the Argentine Nation" to return to the inter-American system and to join the United Nations, "provided always that it [Argentina] be in accord with the criteria of this resolution." The substance of the conference's action against Argentina lies in that simple phrase, "in accord with the criteria of this resolution." For elsewhere the resolution declares the Inter-American Conference as desiring "that the Argentine Nation may put itself in a position to express its conformity with and adherence to the principles and declarations resulting from the conference." These declarations and resolutions include the Act of Chapultepec, a multilateral mutual assistance treaty against aggression, support of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, strong pledges to eliminate the last vestiges of fascist intrigue from the hemisphere, an Economic

Charter which foretells the doom of feudalism, a special social charter which among other things calls for the protection of the working class, minimum wages and the right of collective bargaining, the prohibition of racial and religious discrimination, and the elimination of anti-democratic texts and teaching from the educational system of the hemisphere. If acceptance of, and conformity with, every one of the principles embodied in these resolutions are demanded of Argentina before she can rejoin the family of democratic nations, the action taken will have been far-reaching indeed. If adherence to conditions such as these is firmly demanded by the Mexico City participants in carrying out the resolution, it is evident that the end of the Farrell-Peron government is in sight. The present Argentine government has already begun to give lip service to the decisions of Mexico City. It will resort to more such demagoguery in order to survive in a world hostile to fascist deceit and brutality. We must guard against such attempts.

And, unfortunately, Mexico City's resolution on Argentina leaves the door open to just such fascist maneuverings. By failing to name the Argentine government fascist, by failing to state explicitly the need for that government to be overthrown by a democratic rising of the Argentine people, and by failing to specify the ways in which the other nations of the hemisphere would

come to the aid of the Argentine people for the attainment of this objective, the resolution revealed a shameful compromise with the forces of appeasement. How did it happen that this partial surrender to the enemy took place at the Mexico City Conference? President Roosevelt, Mr. Hull, and Secretary of State Stettinius had all branded the Farrell-Peron government as fascist; the United States had again and again made it plain that there could be no hemisphere security, so long as the Hitler beachhead in Buenos Aires existed. The Mexico City resolution on this subject falls far short of the views of the United States. It is known that elements in Paraguay, Chile, Cuba, and Peru supported the appeasers at Mexico City. Yet they in themselves were not sufficiently strong to force the United States to compromise on this all-important issue. The explanation lies deeper. Great Britain, in a desperate attempt to retain a commercial foothold in Latin America against North American competition, has resorted to the policy of backing reactionary governments which oppose the Good Neighbor policy. The resulting Anglo-American conflict finds its sharpest expression in Britain's support of the Farrell-Peron government of Argentina. It was this support lurking in the background that gave actual strength to the otherwise weak efforts of certain Latin American delegations and which evidently forced the United States to give way.

In a very real sense, then, the United States was blocked in carrying through its Argentine policy by the problem of Anglo-American economic rivalry in Latin America, a problem which has to be solved in the interest of the Americas and the United Nations.

#### THE ACT OF CHAPULTEPEC

The Act of Chapultepec provided a machinery whereby the American nations would be protected against any attempted act of aggression on the part of Argentina (or any other hostile state) should the present fascist government continue its threatening course. This Act, historically the most notable of the conference, and clearly directed against Argentina, provides for immediate consultation among the twenty signatories in case of attack "against the integrity or the inviolability of territory, or against the sovereignty or political independence of an American state" and provides for the institution of procedures beginning with diplomatic recall, moving through economic sanctions to the "use of armed force to prevent or repel aggression." The act goes into immediate operation, the United States being able to adhere to it without the delay of ratification, through the exercise of the President's special war-time powers. It should be noted that the machinery of the Act of Chapultepec, not only goes into action after aggression has been committed, but

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may be called upon when "there may be reasons to believe that an aggression is being prepared." A way has thus been formally adopted whereby the American states may take joint measures against the Argentine fascist state without waiting for it to send its armies across neighboring frontiers.

As noted above, other resolutions of the Mexico City Conference also dealt with the immediate problem of fascism in the hemisphere. Specific recommendations were made to prohibit the granting of refuge to war criminals, to turn over any war criminals already here to the United Nations for trial, to intensify "efforts to eradicate the remaining centers of Axis subversive influence in the hemisphere, whether such influence is exercised by the Axis Powers or by their satellites or by the agents of either," and, finally, "to take effective measures to prevent Axis-inspired elements from regaining or securing any vantage points."

#### THE ECONOMIC CHARTER

Underlying all other aspects of the political and economic behavior of the Latin American countries is the fact that they remain to this day semi-feudal and semi-colonial. With the exception of Canada and the United States, semi-colonialism and semi-feudalism are the dominant characteristics of the western hemisphere. Roughly half the hemisphere's population lives under these

conditions. In the Caribbean the United States, Great Britain, France and the Netherlands still possess colonies, but the large land mass of Central and South America and most of its population form a sort of collective colony, or series of collective colonies dominated by a number of capitalist nations which traditionally compete for imperialist preference.

It is not generally recognized that the disparity in economic and social development that distinguishes North from Latin America goes back to the sixteenth century when the Americas, north and south, were being colonized from Europe. The principal streams of migration across the Atlantic established a distinction which history had accentuated. North America was colonized primarily from England and Holland, nations which were relatively advanced in the old world; Latin America was settled by conquerors from the Iberian Peninsula, one of the most backward sections of Europe. The feudal institutions which were retreating before the onslaught of the industrial revolution in England were still ascendant in Spain and Portugal. These characteristics were transplanted from Europe to the new world, their mark survives today to set off the advanced character of North American capitalism against the feudal and colonial backwardness of the areas south of the Rio Grande.

Thus, as in the case of another ally, China, the principal internal enemy of Latin American progress is feudal-

ism, the principal external enemy, colonialism.

In examining the results of the recent Mexico City conference it is pertinent to remind ourselves of these characteristics of the hemisphere because the progressive development of the Latin American nations has now become as urgent for North American capitalism (and British) as it is for our Latin neighbors. The closing of the historical gap which makes half the hemisphere feudal and colonial and the other half a highly industrialized capitalism is in the mutual interest of all concerned. Jobs, full production, an expanding world economy in which there will be political security—that is the program for North America. If carried out, it will substantially aid the fulfillment of the program by which the Latin American nations can wipe out all remaining vestiges of feudalism, modernize their agriculture, develop their own manufactures and industries, raise the standard of living and improve public health, and complete their revolutions for economic as well as political sovereignty begun nearly a hundred and fifty years ago.

It was to this area of hemisphere problems that the Economic Charter of the Americas, introduced at Mexico City by the United States delegation, was addressed. Starting with the war period, during which the full existing resources of the hemisphere are pledged to the military requirements of defeating the enemy, the resolution provides for mutual

aid between the North American nation and those of Latin America for the period of transition from war to peace and then goes on to recommend far-reaching policies for an expanding market in the post-war period. The resolution regards as "a constructive basis for the sound economic development of the Americas" such items as the development of natural resources, industrialization, transportation improvement, modernization of agriculture, the development of power resources and public works, the improvement of the labor standards and working conditions "including collective bargaining," and "the encouragement of investment of private capital." The resolution also contains general warnings against government interference and favors a lowering of trade barriers.

Certain valid objections were raised by Latin American labor and business groups while the conference was still in session. These were aimed at the U.S. emphasis on free enterprise and against government intervention and customs barriers contained in the first draft of the Economic Charter. Some of these justified objections were taken into consideration by amendments which substantially strengthened the Charter in its final form. Among these was a provision allowing intervention by the Latin American governments to assure free access to products essential to rising living standards and economic progress; a sec-

and modified the free trade provisions to permit protective tariffs for new industry. Thus, while on the whole the Economic Charter is of a positive nature, representing for the United States a new approach to Hemisphere economic relationships, much still has to be achieved to realize the Charter and to ensure the unhampered industrial development and economic progress of all the countries of the Americas.

The unanimously agreed upon objectives of future inter-American economic relations are rising standards of living, increased consumption, expanding production in both agriculture and industry. "Such an economic program . . . to achieve higher levels of living is an indispensable factor in preventing the recurrence of war." Inasmuch as the Economic Charter was introduced to the conference by Assistant Secretary of State William L. Clayton on behalf of the United States delegation, it must be taken to represent the views of forward-looking North American business enterprise. As such, the views contained in the Charter, while not going as far in the direction of planned national and international economy as labor and other progressive forces might wish, nevertheless denotes a positive approach to the subject. The important role that must be played by governments to mitigate the conflicts and exploitation of uncontrolled private monopoly received recognition. This was to be found in the strong advocacy of the Bretton

Woods proposals and of increased activity on the part of the Export-Import Bank contained in Mr. Clayton's supplementary remarks. It was also evident in the specific recommendation contained in the Charter "to see early agreed action by governments to prevent these practices by cartels or through other private business arrangements which obstruct international trade, stifle competition and interfere with the maximum efficiency of production and truly competitive prices to consumers."

The primary requirement for the advancement of the Latin American nations out of their semi-feudal semi-colonial backwardness is industrialization. Industrialization of backward areas is also a key to the expansion of world markets for the products of American and British industry. Because of its positive recognition of that all-important point, the Economic Charter of the Americas approved in Mexico City is fundamentally attuned to the needs of the western hemisphere. The strategic turn has been made in the highway to the post-war world: the United States has recognized, publicly declared and solemnly pledged by international agreement its intention to move in a direction away from colonialism and toward that of expanding world economy.

#### THE HEMISPHERE JOINS UP FOR WORLD SECURITY

In voting support for the forthcoming discussion of the Dumbarton



Oaks proposals in San Francisco, the Mexico City Conference was giving notice of passing another historic milestone. For, whereas previous inter-American meetings of the Foreign Ministers or of other hemisphere agencies had turned their thoughts inward, the conference of Mexico City looked outward to global relationships. In the past it had been inherent in the imperialist relation of the Colossus of the North to the Latin American nations that the United States should seek to fence in the Americas from the rest of the world. The distortion which the era of American imperialism made of the Monroe Doctrine was to view Central and South America as an exclusive reserve for the exploitation of Yankee bankers and industrialists. Insofar as possible, others, particularly North America's imperialist competitors, were to be kept out. The Latin nations, moreover, were to deal, not among themselves, but each directly with the powerful northern neighbor.

That era has passed, and its passing has been happily celebrated at Mex-

ico City. Not only were the principles of Dumbarton Oaks supported, but the notable Act of Chapultepec explicitly states that the regional arrangement which it provides "shall be consistent with the purposes and principles of the general international organization, when established." Concretely and specifically the notion of a regional bloc or of an American sphere of influence has been voted out in favor of a world economic and political structure in which each of the American nations, as well as the inter-American system itself, shall have a place.

The atmosphere which pervaded the Mexico City conference was an inspiring one. The winds of progress had blown across from Yalta; from Mexico City they will blow north to San Francisco, carrying a new vitality to the forces of world democracy that will there gather. It is a wind which, unless diverted from its forward course, is bound to sweep away the debris of Franco, of anti-Sovietism, of colonial slavery. The net result of Mexico City will be to strengthen the world security system.

# A NEW WORLD TRADE UNION FEDERATION IS BORN

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER



THE WORLD TRADE CONFERENCE, held in London, beginning February 6, was an epoch-marking success. It assembled 250 delegates from 40 countries, representing 60,000,000 workers, the great majority of the world's trade unionists, established programmatic unity among them, and laid the basis for a new world federation of labor. Thus this historic conference took a tremendous stride toward achieving the international unity that the most progressive workers of all countries have longed and worked for over the decades. The London Conference marks 1945 as an historic year in the development of the world's working class.

The holding of the London Conference constituted a great victory for the progressive masses of the trade union world who swept aside all conservative and bureaucratic opposition. When Hitler began the present war this should have been a decisive signal for the trade unions of all countries to unite in order to do their maximum part in defeating the fascist threat to world freedom. Unfortunately, however, conservative and reactionary forces in the world

labor movement, especially hard-boiled Continental Social-Democrats and the top leaders of the A. F. of L., stood in the way of such action. As for the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Second International, both of which are dominated by conservative Social-Democrats, they remained quite inert and made no response whatever to the great tasks imposed upon them by the war. Both showed themselves to be politically bankrupt. Consequently, the movement for world trade union unity, which has just climaxed in London, came from outside their official leadership. Many British trade unions, the Soviet trade unions, the C.I.O., and other progressive labor organizations in many countries, as long as three and one-half years ago, began to call for world trade union unity on a new basis. The first big step in this direction was the formation of the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee in the fall of 1941. A determined attempt was also made to get the A. F. of L. to affiliate to this committee, but without success. Instead, the A. F. of L. leaders set up the abortive Anglo-American

Trade Union Committee in January, 1943, as a substitute for a real organization.

The demand of the workers for world unity persisted, however, and in November, 1943, the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress issued invitations to organized labor in all the democratic, peace-loving nations to come together in London to unite their forces. The A. F. of L. leaders, backed by conservative forces in British labor, did their best to wreck the proposed London Conference. They denounced it as a Communist "plot," and refused to send delegates. Also, even up to the holding of the Conference, in fact deep into its sessions, Sir Walter Citrine, head of the British labor movement, obviously working in cooperation with the A. F. of L. leaders, did his best to sidetrack or postpone the formation of the proposed new world labor federation. All this opposition was in vain, however, in the face of the irresistible mass demand, and eventually Citrine and the other go-slowers had to retreat. The London Conference adopted unanimously Sidney Hillman's motion, on behalf of the C.I.O. delegation, for the establishment of a new world organization.

Although the adopted resolution, in deference to those conservative British trade union leaders who feared an open break with the A. F. of L., read that the new world labor federation should be formed "at the earliest practicable date," actually the

movement took decisive steps for immediate consolidation. First, the Conference adopted a thorough-going program, which we shall discuss further on. Secondly, it took positive organizational steps, including the establishment of a fully representative World Trade Union Conference Committee of 45; laid plans to draft a constitution for the new body; authorized the setting up of a headquarters in Paris; provided an administrative committee of 13 to meet in Washington on April 10, and arranged to reconvene the World Conference in September at Paris, to take final action on founding the new world federation. Thirdly, the Conference authorized the standing committee to select such sub-committees as might be necessary to carry on political activity in the name of the new movement, especially the securing of labor representatives in the United Nations Conference at San Francisco on April 25, and in such other peace conferences as may take place, so that world labor may place its program before these bodies. All of which activities go to show that the new world movement launched at London is already in swing. From now on it will be a case of consolidating the new movement and of expanding its activities. Nor will the A. F. of L. leaders, the Greens, Wolls, Hutchesons, Meanneys, and Dubinskys, and their reactionary Social-Democratic allies in Europe, be able to block the forward march of world labor.

## THE NEW MOVEMENT'S PROGRAM

The formation of the new world federation of labor is fundamental to the realization of the great world program laid down at the conferences of Moscow, Teheran, Bretton Woods, Dumbarton Oaks, and Yalta. Although the prospects for victory in the war against Germany and Japan are now certain, there still remain a host of tremendously difficult problems ahead. The eradication of fascism from the world, the establishment of an effective post-war peace organization, and the economic rehabilitation of the war-ravaged world, constitute a complex of problems far more difficult of solution than any mankind has faced in all its long and stormy history. In the face of the opposition of powerful reactionary forces, especially in the United States, their solution will require the fullest support from a solidly organized world labor movement.

The policy makers at the London trade union conference worked with the realization of the tremendous tasks lying ahead of the peoples of the world. Their final program constituted, not merely a list of economic demands (although the workers' special interests were very much attended to), but a broad political program to cope with the gigantic military, economic, political and social problems of this period. One of the most significant features of the

London trade union conference was that, while the Second International (which claims to represent the world's workers) was soundly asleep (at it had slept all through the war), the great trade unions of the world grasped the initiative and worked out the political program for the workers of the world. This great fact is one more indication of the decay of reactionary Social-Democracy.

The program adopted at London dovetails with the general policies of the United Nations, with special emphasis upon the workers' demands. This is as it must be, because the 60,000,000 trade unionists represented at London constitute the very backbone of the United Nations in general. The Manifesto issued upon the conclusion of the Conference summed up its program in broad terms as follows:

Our deliberations in the World Conference enable us to declare, with emphasis, and without reservations, that the Trade Union Movement of the world is resolved to work with all like-minded people to achieve a complete and uncompromising victory over the Fascist Powers that sought to encompass the destruction of freedom and democracy; to establish a stable and enduring peace; and to promote in the economic sphere, the international collaboration which will permit the rich resources of the earth to be utilized for the benefit of all its peoples, providing full employment, rising standards of life, and social security to the men and women of all nations.

In order to achieve these great goals, the Conference adopted many specific proposals, including: a rousing support of the decisions of the Crimean Conference, as well as endorsement of the Atlantic Charter and the decisions of the conferences of Moscow, Teheran, Bretton Woods, and Dumbarton Oaks. The London meeting declared itself for unrelenting war until the unconditional surrender of the enemy is achieved, and the unions pledged themselves to furnish limitless supplies of war materials to this end. The gathering demanded the extermination of Nazism, the rigorous punishment of war criminals, and the repayment of reparations in kind by Germany. It also named the Mikado among those responsible for Japan's war crimes and demanded the eventual establishment of a Japanese democratic regime. The Conference demanded, too, that recognition be withdrawn from such fascist countries as Argentina and Franco-Spain. It further called for the abolition of the colonial system and insisted upon systematic industrialization of backward and war-devastated countries. The Conference demanded the right of trade union organization for the workers in all countries, and the right to "participate in the shaping and the direction of the economic policies of their respective countries." Together with a program of advanced social legislation for the various lands, including a universal 40-hour maximum work week, the Conference submitted a

series of demands for the education, technical training and health protection of veterans returning from the war.

Altogether, the policies adopted were of a progressive character, fitted to the big problems now confronting humanity. They will serve effectively, not only as an inspiration, but also as a practical guide for the scores of millions of workers who have turned their eyes to the London Conference for leadership.

#### THE HIGH UNITY LEVEL

A fundamental feature of the Conference was the altogether higher plane of unity upon which it operated as compared with the old International Federation of Trade Unions. The London Conference gave a broad expression of its unity in its Manifesto, issued at the conclusion of the deliberations, the declaration proposed that the new world labor federation should be composed of "all the trade unions of free countries on a basis of equality, regardless of race, creed or political faith, excluding none and relegating none to a secondary place."

The political program adopted is in harmony with this basic statement of labor unity. As we have seen, this program is composed of broad anti-fascist, progressive proposals, capable of uniting the widest ranks of the workers. In this general connection, it is interesting to note that the Conference, although made up overwhelmingly of workers with Socialist

and Communist convictions, did not concern itself with the more distant objectives of Socialism, or even of extensive nationalization of industry, but dealt only with those questions of the most immediate and burning importance that could unite the very broadest ranks of the toiling masses in all lands.

In line with this unifying political program, the Conference displayed a powerful tendency to bridge the long-standing gulf between "Rights" and "Lefts" in the trade unions, as well as to draw the so-called "Christian" unions into the general stream of world labor. At London, there were Socialist, Communist, Progressive and "Christian" trade union leaders working together harmoniously. During the whole period between the two world wars, great schisms of incalculable harm to the workers' cause, existed among these groups in the trade unions in all capitalist countries. As for the leaders of the old I.F.T.U., they did nothing to heal these breaches, but, on the contrary, by their narrow, factional, conservative Social-Democratic policies, deepened and widened them. The decisions of the London Conference, of course, did not put an end to these rifts, but they went far in that direction—a matter of gigantic importance to the workers of the world.

Organizationally, also, the Conference struck out boldly upon a broad unity line. Representative of unions from two score countries, it was truly

a global gathering, including the great unions of the big capitalist democracies and the U.S.S.R., with the organizations from Latin America, China, India and other colonial and semi-colonial lands also playing a vital role. The one important hold-out was the A. F. of L. This global representation gave the unity pattern for the new world labor federation that will result from the London Conference. This is a tremendous advance over the I.F.T.U., which, at best, was hardly more than a federation of workers in West European countries, and which never paid real attention to the workers in the colonial and semi-colonial lands. The broad unity character of the new world labor federation was re-emphasized by the fact that the London Conference also discarded the constitutional provision of the I.F.T.U., which admitted only one labor center from each country and thereby excluded many important and progressive unions, among them the American C.I.O. and Railroad Brotherhoods.

The strong unity trend was further manifested by the demands formulated for labor representation at the United Nations' conferences. The Manifesto declared:

... the world trade union movement will make its claim to a share in determining all questions of the peace and post-war settlements, and for representation at the Peace Conference and all international commissions and agencies concerned with the peace settlement in

all its phases, beginning with the San Francisco Conference in April.

Upon the complaint of Sidney Hillman and other delegates that the labor movement had not been represented at such vital conferences as Bretton Woods, Dumbarton Oaks, the Chicago Civil Aviation meeting, etc., the Conference resolved that this weakness should be overcome in the future. The trade unions of the United States would do well to follow up the sense of this resolution for strengthening labor's representation in the leading governmental bodies, in the interests of national unity.

Behind the Conference's insistence upon labor's right to representation at the big security and peace conferences, was the conception that organized labor is a vital part of the national and international unity of the peoples fighting to destroy fascism and that, if the workers are to exert their full influence, they must have representation all along the line. It was a graphic demonstration of the fact that in these years the great proletarian slogan of "Workers of the World, Unite!" dovetails with the United Nations' principle of peoples of the world, unite.

The unity trends so strongly in evidence at the London Conference will have profound repercussions in the various countries in strengthening both labor unity and national unity. This will be so all the more, because the new world federation of

labor will have far greater prestige and discipline than did the old formless, decentralized, and discredited I.F.T.U. Its decisions, therefore, will not remain "mere scraps of paper," as was so often the case with the I.F.T.U., but, with due regard to the principles of autonomy for each organization, will have living force among all the affiliated unions. This is one of the major reasons why it is so important that the A. F. of L. become part of this vital new world organization.

#### THE A. F. OF L. AND THE LONDON CONFERENCE

The delegation of the C.I.O. played a vital and constructive role in the Conference. In supporting the formation of the new world federation of labor; in helping develop the program of the Conference; in backing up all the progressive, unity tendencies of the gathering, the C.I.O. delegation represented the true spirit of the great, new American labor movement. The C.I.O. delegates, in fact, spoke almost as much for the A. F. of L. masses as they did for their own organization. The American trade union movement as a whole may well be proud of the way the C.I.O. upheld its best interests and traditions.

With the A. F. of L., however, it was quite a different story. The most serious threat to the developing world solidarity of labor as expressed in London, is the obstructionist stand taken by the top leaders of that



organization. Although cordially invited and urged to attend the London Conference, the A. F. of L. stubbornly refused to do so. Moreover, its spokesmen, before, during, and after the Conference, delivered broadsides against it. They served notice that the A. F. of L. intends to have nothing to do with the new world labor federation, except to fight it. William Green, Matthew Woll, William L. Hutcheson, George Meaney, David Dubinsky and other reactionaries have suddenly blossomed forth as ardent defenders of the near-defunct I.F.T.U. and they are determined, if they can, to use that organization to sabotage and disrupt the new-found solidarity of world organized labor.

The arguments being used by the reactionary elements among the A. F. of L. leaders to justify their obstructionist, isolationist, dog-in-the-manger position are an insult to the intelligence of the American workers. Mr. Green has a brazen disregard for the truth when he calls the new world labor organization "a dual, rival, international labor movement." For it is absurd to designate this new, broad, vital movement of the workers, embracing as it does three score millions of workers, as in any sense either "dual," or "rival" to the narrow, half-dead, I.F.T.U., which has long since defaulted any right it ever had to speak in the name of the world's trade unionists. That the new movement is not "dual" was dramatized by the fact that the two

top leaders of the I.F.T.U., Citrine and Schevenels, its President and Secretary, respectively, participated in the London Conference and are both elected members of its World Trade Union Conference Committee. Louis Stark, a New York *Times* reporter, friend of the Green clique, signaled the bankruptcy of the I.F.T.U.: "The I.F.T.U. has lived a moribund existence since the war began. . . . So it could not speak for world labor." (Dispatch of February 15, 1945.)

The Soviet labor organizations are bona fide trade unions working under the special conditions of a Socialist State. Like the unions in other lands, they have the function of protecting the interests of the workers, except that in this respect their influence is incomparably greater than that of the trade unions in any other country. Also, their specific tasks differ considerably. Thus, the Soviet trade unions have full charge of the vast Soviet social insurance system and they also have the complete enforcement of labor laws. Their voices are very powerful in Government and industrial spheres. They are not State organs, however, as scores of impartial observers have pointed out, and as unions all over the world, except the A. F. of L., recognize. This Mr. Green knows quite well. The Soviet trade unions are independent organizations, with a voluntary membership, financing themselves out of their dues collections, electing their own officials, and adopting such organizational forms as they see fit.

Naturally, however, living in a Socialist society where the means of production are owned by the workers, and where there is a workers' and farmers' government, the relation of the workers to industry, agriculture, and their management, are different from those prevailing in other countries. As regards strikes, the Soviet trade unions have never had need to tie up the industries of their country to advance the workers' cause; for the welfare of the toiling masses is the central purpose of the Soviet government. And the capitalists, against whom the unions strike in capitalist countries, have long since been only a thing of the past in the U.S.S.R.

The real reason, of course, for the antagonistic stand of the A. F. of L. leaders toward the London Conference and the great unity movement it has set afoot is not because it is "a rival, dual movement" or because "the Soviet trade unions are not genuine labor organizations." These are only spurious excuses. The basic cause for the A. F. of L. Executive Council's stand is that the well-organized minority clique which now controls the Federation—Green, Woll, Hutcheson, Meaney, and Company—are tied up with the reactionary, anti-Roosevelt sections of the American bourgeoisie, those forces which are seeking to establish American imperialist world domination. The A. F. of L. leaders reflect the view of these capitalists in their obstructionist tactics regarding the world solidarity

of the workers and the nations against fascism. The dominant core of the Council leadership is Republican, and its views run along pretty much the same channels as those of Messrs. Dewey, Vandenberg, and Hoover. It is no accident that even as we find these militantly imperialist Republicans sabotaging the decisions of Moscow, Teheran, Bretton Woods, Dumbarton Oaks, and Yalta, so also do we find the Republican-dominated A. F. of L. Executive Council opposing the vitally important decisions of the World Trade Union Conference.

#### THE A. F. OF L. MUST JOIN THE WORLD FEDERATION

The A. F. of L. leading clique, who are sabotaging world labor unity in the name of the American working class, will eventually be defeated and forced to change their policy. The world-scale unity trend, both in the labor movement and in the United Nations, is running strongly against them and will eventually overwhelm them. A big blow suffered by them in the London Conference was the stand taken by the British union leaders in favor of the new world labor federation; for Green and Company had depended upon these conservative elements to stand with them to block the proposed organization.

Nevertheless, the A. F. of L. leaders may do considerable harm with their reactionary activities. At this moment of history there is a supreme

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need for the international unity of organized labor. Consequently, if Wolf and his friends are able, through their pretense of supporting the I.F.T.U., to create even a temporary disruption in the ranks of the world trade union movement, this can become a real danger to the whole Teheran-Crimean program. In taking its present divisive stand, the A. F. of L. is issuing a standing invitation to obstructionist Social-Democratic, Trotskyite, and other reactionary elements all over the world for struggle against the present great advance of the workers and the success of the United Nations.

The position taken by the dominating Woll-Green-Hutcheson group against the new world labor federation does not represent either the interests or the will of the A. F. of L. membership. There can be no doubt but that if the members had a chance to express themselves on the issue, an overwhelming majority would vote to join the great unity movement launched in London, even as the unions of the CIO have done. The same spirit also prevails among the lesser officialdom of the Federation unions. Even in the Council itself there are opponents to the Woll-Hutcheson clique; but they are not well organized and they lack leadership. How matters stand in this respect of official sentiment was illustrated by a letter written by L. P. Lindelof, President of the Brotherhood of Painters, Paperhangers and Decorators, made public on February 20

by C. D. Ward, who went to London as an observer delegate from the Ohio State Council of Painters. Said Mr. Lindelof, regarding the situation existing at the recent A. F. of L. convention:

I know that, had President Green spoken just briefly in favor of delegating a representative or an observer to the London United Nations Labor Conference, the delegates would have voted practically unanimously in favor of it.

Obviously, it is the task and duty of the members and progressive leaders of the A. F. of L. to compel the Executive Council to change its reactionary line and to affiliate the A. F. of L. to the new world federation. The reactionary clique controlling the Council must not be allowed to isolate the A. F. of L. even temporarily from this great movement. Local unions, city councils, State federations and international unions should speak out on the matter; mass meetings should be held, endorsing the decisions of the London Conference and demanding that the A. F. of L. take its proper place in the ranks of progressive world labor. The Executive Council leadership is in an impossible situation, and if the progressive forces in the unions, cooperating with the C.I.O. and Railroad Brotherhood organizations, are active on the question, the Council will soon be compelled to abandon its position and to send delegates to the developing world movement.

The reactionary activities of the

A. F. of L. top leadership regarding international trade union unity emphasize afresh the danger presented by the Woll-Hutcheson-Meaney crowd (soon apparently to be reinforced by John L. Lewis) who are now dictating the policies of the A. F. of L. It points up the need for liquidating their control. For many years past the domination of this clique has been a curse to the A. F. of L. membership. It prevented for years the organization of the basic industries and it blocked the passage of needed social insurance legislation; it was also responsible for splitting the labor movement into A. F. of L.-C.I.O. sections. And during the recent national elections there can be no doubt but that the Executive Council, dominated by the reactionary Republican Woll-Hutcheson elements, with the connivance or surrender of William Green, tried to defeat Roosevelt and to elect Dewey. Had they succeeded in this plot, it would have constituted a disaster, not only to our country, but to the whole democratic world. This disaster was prevented only by the fact that the great mass of A. F. of L.

members, disregarding the line of the Executive Council, came out actively, together with the C.I.O. workers, with the railroad men, and with the coal miners, in defiance of Lewis, for Roosevelt. The reactionary minority clique in the A. F. of L. Executive Council, which has long injured the American labor movement, is now becoming a menace to world progress and it must be taken seriously in hand by the progressive forces in the A. F. of L.

The interests of organized labor in this country, the welfare of the whole American people, require imperatively that the A. F. of L. become part of the great new world federation of labor. The Greens, Wolls, Hutchesons, Meaney, Lewises and Dubinskys must be pushed aside by the workers and the progressive-minded leaders in the A. F. of L. When the new world movement assembles again in September finally to consolidate the trade union international, there must be present a full delegation from all sections of American organized labor—A. F. of L., C.I.O., Railroad Brotherhoods and coal miners.



# THE 1945 MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

*Memorandum submitted by the National Board to the meeting of the  
National Committee, C.P.A., March 10-12, 1945*

In the period ahead the problem confronting the American people is that of guaranteeing that the present course of the nation toward world cooperation, lasting peace and orderly domestic progress, is not reversed in the elections of 1946 and 1948.

It is with this over-all objective in mind that we approach the preparations for the 1945 municipal elections. These elections, coming as a prelude to the crucial congressional and gubernatorial elections of 1946, must help consolidate and further extend the democratic coalition which elected President Roosevelt and which supports his policies.

Towards this end the following is needed:

1. The realization wherever possible of local electoral coalitions which unite labor and all the pro-Roosevelt forces (whether Democratic, Independent or Independent Republican) around one progressive mayoralty candidate or ticket.

2. Such coalitions can only be formed and can only be successful where the elections are kept from degenerating into unprincipled partisan brawls. Any tendencies towards narrow partisanship will only rebound to the advantage of the reactionaries in both parties, especially to the reactionary Republicans, for it will drive progressive Republicans who voted for Roosevelt back into the traditional Republican fold; it will alienate a considerable body of independent voters; and it will create an atmosphere of indifference on the part of a large section of the electorate, with the consequences of a low registration and a large stay-at-home vote.

3. In those cities in which local elections are conducted along traditional party lines, it is advisable that the coalition be formed around an acceptable pro-Roosevelt candidate or ticket. However, it is extremely important that special care be taken in the selection of the right type of candidate. The prime consideration should be to find the candidate who can unite around himself the broadest coalition and who therefore has the best chance of victory. This rules out the hack type of candidate who may be strong with the political machine but weak with the people. Such candidates cannot rise above narrow partisan considerations and cannot therefore successfully

appeal to the independent voters. It also rules out the tendency of certain liberals who want only "perfect" candidates and of certain labor forces who want only so-called "labor candidates" irrespective of the needs of the coalition as a whole and the practical problems of the given election.

4. Where local elections are conducted on a non-partisan basis without the two traditional parties on the ballot, the best opportunity exists for unscrambling old party lines and uniting the broadest forces of both parties around progressive policies and candidates. Of course, in many places the non-partisanship exists only in form, while the content remains the same old two-party tug of war. However, it is true that under this form of election it is more possible to concentrate the attention of the voters on issues and men and women as they stand on issues instead of on party labels.

The stronger the Republican tradition, influence and organization are in a community, the more important does it become to utilize these non-partisan forms in a truly non-partisan fashion, with the objective of bringing together a new type of local coalition. In such places it may be necessary to unite around some progressive Republican or independent Republican candidate, as long as such action does not lead to a strengthening of the Republican machine, but on the contrary, to the weakening of the Hoover-Dewey-Vandenberg leadership in the Republican Party. For this reason it is extremely important that such local coalitions include the basic pro-Roosevelt forces in the community and, wherever possible, the local leadership of the Democratic Party itself.

5. Of prime importance is the correct selection of issues. This cannot wait until the last phase of the campaign has begun or after the selection of candidates. The most qualified candidates cannot and will not emerge from a vacuum; they can only come forward on the basis of vital issues and the public discussion of these issues. These issues will of course vary from city to city, depending upon the kind of administration the city has had, the specific local developments, the nature and extent of the city's war-time and post-war reconversion problems, etc.

To guarantee that a broad program is put forth representative of the needs of the city as a whole and acceptable to all the basic forces in the coalition, it would be advisable to encourage the holding of broad *Citizens' Conferences* which, in advance of the elections, can discuss the problems of the city in a dispassionate fashion and urge certain policies and measures upon all parties and candidates. Such conferences, having the active participation and support of the labor movement, can do much from the outset to give a correct non-partisan tone to the election.

This year there exists an excellent opportunity to utilize the municipal

elections as a means of reaching the people and clarifying them on the bigger issues of foreign and domestic policy, as well as to get all local candidates to express themselves one way or another on the policies of the Roosevelt Administration and on specific legislation before Congress and State Legislatures. This is so because not a single issue of any importance to our cities today can be solved within the four walls of those cities alone, for these largely depend for solution upon state and Federal policies and aid. This arises from the chronic financial crisis in which our cities find themselves; a crisis which urgently calls for a sharp revision in state and city relations in the direction of more home rule and a greater share of state taxes for the cities. Neither the problem of education, nor of frozen wages of civil service employees, nor of the realty tax burden on small home owners, nor of the antiquated transit systems, can be met in anything more than a superficial fashion so long as this situation prevails. Likewise, post-war slum clearance and housing and public works programs are entirely dependent upon how much assistance the cities will get from the Federal and state governments and on what happens to President Roosevelt's post-war sixty-million jobs program.

6. The organized labor movement carries a great responsibility in these elections. It must strive to unite its own ranks (A. F. of L., C.I.O. and Railroad Brotherhoods) behind one set of candidates in each municipality. It must help unite the broadest coalition which includes, not only labor, but the progressive forces of all classes and the Negro people. It must display initiative and heightened independent political and electoral activity.

7. The lessons learned in last year's election, emphasizing the importance of registration and getting out the vote, must not be forgotten this year. It is of tremendous importance that the electorate be aroused and that the country reach a new high water mark for popular participation in local elections. This of course necessitates special steps to reach our men in the armed forces, particularly those overseas.

8. The C.P.A. as an organization must participate actively in all phases of the election campaign. Its prime role must be that of bringing forth and clarifying issues and influencing the course and tone of the election in a non-partisan direction.

Only in this fashion can the mayoralty and local elections this year help strengthen the democratic coalition around President Roosevelt and the unity of the nation.



# THE OUTLOOK FOR THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS\*

By GILBERT GREEN



IN INTRODUCING the memorandum on the *Municipal Elections* for your discussion and action, let me first emphasize the decisive importance of the time element. Approximately 50 per cent of this year's city elections take place before July. For these spring elections, it is already too late to prepare adequately. Even for those taking place in November, preparations cannot be delayed, but must get under way immediately.

In the second place, I should like to repeat what is emphasized in the memorandum: namely, the need for viewing all local elections in perspective, as they relate to the lineup for 1946 and 1948. This means that the major objectives must be the consolidation and strengthening of the coalition around Roosevelt; and, conversely, the weakening of the reactionary forces in both parties, especially the Hoover, Dewey, Vandenberg, Taft leadership of the Republican Party.

The key that will open the door

\* Remarks delivered at the meeting of the National Committee, C.P.A., March 11, 1945, in introducing the discussion of the preceding Memorandum.

to the broadest unity in every municipality is that of non-partisanship. A non-partisan approach is more necessary this year than ever, and has greater possibilities of success. It is interesting to note that of the 181 cities with a population of 25,000 or over which are holding elections this year, 40 per cent have so-called non-partisan administrations, 31 per cent Republican administrations and 25 per cent Democratic administrations. If all Southern cities are eliminated from this calculation, there are left 144 Northern cities with elections this year. Of these the non-partisan group would still make up 40 per cent of the total; the cities under Democratic administration would fall to 20 per cent, and those under Republican administration would rise to 36 per cent.

These figures are very revealing, for they are based, not on the type of election in the given cities, but on how the various city governments view the character of their own administrations. For example, in the material prepared for this meeting, New York is listed as having a non-

partisan administration, which it has, but New York nonetheless has a partisan type of election, with party primaries and party tickets. On the other hand, Cleveland and Chicago are listed as having Democratic administrations, which they have, yet the type of elections held in these two cities is non-partisan.

Let us therefore look at the relative figures pertaining to types of elections. In the United States there are 409 cities with a population of 25,000 or over. Two hundred and forty-two of these, or 59 per cent, hold non-partisan type of local elections; and 167, or 41 per cent, the partisan type with the traditional two parties on the ballot.

*There is therefore a fundamental distinction between local and Federal elections of which we must not lose sight.* It is obvious that the voters are even more prone to disregard party labels in a local campaign than they are in a national one. Even where the two party tug-of-war still takes place behind a façade of non-partisanship, it is still more possible to sway the voters by issues and for or against candidates on the basis of issues.

Let me cite an example from New York State to prove this. The city of Jamestown is located in Chautauqua County, one of the rock-ribbed Republican regions of our state. Yet in this city there is a local administration which was elected with the support of labor, and having labor men in the administration itself. And

although the mayor of the city is an independent Republican, his administration is none to the liking of the old-line Republican machine.

In communities of this kind where the Republican influence is so strong, the only hope of influencing the course of the election is to help find a candidate who is independent of both machines. And where he happens to be nominally a Republican, it is all to the good, as long as he has enough gumption to remain independent and not become a tool of the Republican machine, and as long as the local coalition remains strong enough to bolster him in this resolve.

A similar positive experience took place in the 29th Congressional District represented formerly by Hamilton Fish. Had the Democrats not agreed to run an independent Republican on their ticket against Hamilton Fish, this pro-fascist demagogue would still be the representative of that district today. And let me add in passing, that there are very many honest and progressive Republicans who can be worked with and can help widen the breach inside the Republican Party between the progressive and the reactionary forces.

Only by an approach of this kind to predominantly Republican regions, can the labor movement begin to play a vital role in the political life of such communities and help weaken the grip of reaction in the Republican Party.

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*Now as to issues.* These will of course vary from city to city, but I want to take this opportunity to speak about one or two issues that affect all, or nearly all, cities at this time. Nearly every city in the United States is in the throes of serious financial difficulties. This situation has, in fact, become chronic. Our cities today derive the largest portion of their revenues—some as high as 75 per cent—from taxes on real estate. These revenues accruing to the cities are barely sufficient to meet static operational expenditures, and are completely inadequate to deal with the dynamic needs of a modern city for expanded services of every variety—increased salaries for city employees, improved schools, hospital and recreational facilities; or to make basic capital investments for long-time city improvements, whether in the form of road building, the construction of new schools, hospitals and libraries, or slum clearance.

In most states the realty tax is held down by statutory limitation. In New York State this limitation is 2 per cent of assessed realty valuation. At the same time, most cities have no independent taxing powers of their own, except those given them by the state. The city is thus forced to go hat-in-hand to the state begging for the right to levy this or that tax, most often meeting with refusal; the only recourse before the city is to request increased state aid.

There was a justification for this

type of city-state relationship when our cities were small and far-between, or when our American economy was mainly agrarian in character. Today, a city like New York, with more than seven of the state's thirteen million population, is still without home rule when it comes to taxation. Even this would not be so bad if the state gave the city its proper share of state collected taxes, or increased state grants for specific purposes. But this is not the case. The state holds on tightly to its purse-strings, while refusing to release the city from its financial strait-jacket.

In the last decade the states themselves were in dire straits due to the terrific burden of unemployment relief, prior to our system of unemployment insurance, and the generally lower revenues from income taxes during the depression years. Under such circumstances the cities could only grumble as to their sad fate, although they did receive generous amounts of aid from the federal government for relief, education, housing, etc. Now, however, we are confronted with a national picture of mounting state surpluses, going into the hundreds of millions of dollars yearly, contrasted with the continued unalleviated plight of the cities. Thus the grumbling of yesterday is assuming the material proportions of a movement insisting upon a change in state and municipal fiscal relations.

Let me give you a few facts as to

the financial status of the states as compared to the cities. New York State has already accumulated, in fact has actually frozen, a surplus of 313 millions of dollars. Pennsylvania has a surplus of approximately 170 millions. North Carolina has 57 millions. New Jersey expects by next year to have 68 millions, and figures could be cited from many other states—all pointing to a similar development.

To sum it up. By the end of 1945 the state governments will have accumulated surpluses approximating the total indebtedness of our state governments the year before, which amounted to the huge sum of \$2,768,000,000. The city governments, however, without adequate surpluses, remain burdened with a staggering total of indebtedness of 13 to 14 billions of dollars.

Superficially, the situation of our cities appears better than it really is because the worst features of the above situation are being cushioned by the wartime restrictions on building activity and by the forced wartime reduction in city service and personnel. These have temporarily removed from city budgets items which relieve part of the immediate pressure but only at the cost of future accumulated demand. Also, the curtailment of building activity and the consequent housing and building shortage which has developed, has raised realty values, created a tight housing situation, with the result that the realty interests are at this

moment better able to meet their tax obligations to the city than ever before.

Once priorities are lifted on building materials, what will be the situation? There will be a pent-up demand for immediate action on long-needed repairs and construction. This is taken into account by the various city post-war plans. New York City is planning projects totaling \$1,200,000,000. Detroit is planning to spend \$270,000,000, Chicago \$900,000,000, Los Angeles \$400,000,000 and Cleveland \$170,000,000—to take a few.

But—and this is the nub of the problem—these cities do not have sufficient funds with which to carry these post-war plans through. They are all depending to a greater or lesser degree upon receiving large-scale federal and state assistance for the execution of these plans. Milwaukee and Lansing, Michigan, are the only two cities that are exceptions to this rule. Milwaukee is thinking of financing its own post-war projects through its yearly tax returns, but then again its post-war projects total only \$22,000,000, which is little indeed for a city of the size and importance of Milwaukee.

Thus this problem of city finances emerges as a central issue, and around it, two things should be achieved: (1) a greater mass pressure upon the state administration for the basic remedying of this situation; and (2) a closer cooperation between the city and federal governments and

support for Roosevelt's sixty million jobs program as a fundamental prerequisite to the basic solution of the problem of our cities. Thus, every important question which touches on local finances, and what local issue does not, can and must be tied up with the national perspective.

• • •

As most northern states are at this time in the hands of Republican administrations (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Minnesota, Wisconsin, California, etc.) this also provides an exceptional opportunity for developing a non-partisan pressure upon Republican governors and state legislatures, while at the same time winning non-partisan support for the Roosevelt program.

In New York State we are witnessing a very sharp cleavage in the ranks of the Republicans on this and other matters. The New York State Conference of Mayors has asked for state aid for New York cities and a change in fiscal relations. Republican mayors are just as anxious to get this as Democratic mayors. In fact it was the Republican mayor of Yonkers, N. Y., who pleaded in person at the state budget hearings some weeks ago and criticized firmly, though gently, Dewey's fallacious arguments on this subject.

However, this problem has not yet been made the concern of the people in the cities. It is looked upon too much as merely a problem for the

city administrations. Until we bring it to the people, the city administrations themselves will hesitate to open their guns on Dewey for fear of retaliation when they want some special favor, or in the case of Republican mayors, for fear of reprisals in Republican ranks.

It is no longer enough to press upon city governments for this or that need. It is also necessary to develop a movement that can help the city government solve its problems more basically.

There are many questions of municipal government that require deep thinking on our part, a thinking based on our general perspective for the years ahead. For example, when realty taxes were a few decimal points below the 2 per cent limit in the city, we used to raise a hue and cry demanding that realty be taxed to the hilt. In fact if there were no 2 per cent limit, we would have been asking for 5 per cent or 10 per cent. But this whole question deserves more basic consideration. There is considerable merit to the charge that certain types of realty is overtaxed, or that the form of taxation upon realty is bad. I believe that there is justice in the argument that the weaknesses in our present system of realty taxation is a contributing reason for the large blighted areas in all of our major cities. These obsolescent neighborhoods exist for years upon years, deteriorating before our eyes. Why? Because it is unprofitable to redevelop

op these formerly over-developed areas due to the high cost of this land and property and the higher rate of taxation. It is much more profitable to purchase cheaper land, and to develop new communities, on the outlying sections of the city or in the suburbs and at lower taxes. Thus we have a situation in which new cities are constantly growing up around old, dirty, disease-ridden blighted areas and slums. There is a flight of capital to the periphery followed also by a flight of city population which is aided in this quest for a decent home and a green tree by modern transportation facilities, especially the automobile.

The problem of our cities today is not so much that of expanding outward. That will take place anyway even though this process multiplies the cost of city administration in geometric proportions. The big problem before us is that of rebuilding and redeveloping huge areas of our present cities on a planned basis and at the expense of our present slums.

A great improvement over the present form of realty taxation would be to tax real estate not on the basis of its assessed valuation, but on the basis of its current income, that is, upon the gross rental value of occupied properties. This would mean

a far increased revenue for the city, when realty is doing well, but in those areas where buildings are partly occupied or where they stand vacant, taxation would be reduced proportionately.

The tendency of the labor movement to press for a solution to city finances by demanding increased realty taxes is also one of the reasons why the reactionary Republicans have been able to make such firm inroads among the hundreds of thousands of small home owners who usually see in every demand of labor upon the city government the threat of increased taxation for themselves. If, however, more pressure could be exerted in the direction of a fundamental re-examination of state and city fiscal relations, and of city finances as a whole, it would be possible to turn the ire of these small home owners from the labor movement and the progressive forces in the city to the Dewey administration in New York State and similar state administrations elsewhere.

These are a few thoughts on the memorandum before you. The municipal elections this year give us the opportunity to begin to fashion the thinking of the people about their city as it is related to the America of the future and as it is related to the state and federal governments.

# A NATIONAL BUDGET FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT

By J. R. WILSON

THE PRESIDENT'S fourth wartime budget message pictures a nation geared to global anti-fascist war. It is a monetary measure of the efforts of our nation dedicated, along with its Allies, to the completion of military victory and to the achievement of a post-war economy of maximum production and employment.

The budget is an important weapon. The 1942 Budget was an instrument for transforming a peace economy into a war economy. The 1943 Budget was an instrument for waging total war. The 1944 Budget was an instrument for the great offensives against the Axis. The 1945-46 Budget is a weapon for climactic battles while preparing for the transformation of an all-out war economy into a full-employment peace economy.

The budget, despite its 1500 pages, must be mastered. Financial affairs, fiscal policy and taxation must become weapons in the hands of the people. The stakes are too high to leave them to be shaped alone by fiscal experts or financiers. These matters perform a vital role in the winning of the war. They are destined to

play a vital role in winning the peace—in achieving the President's program to attain 60,000,000 jobs and an Economic Bill of Rights.

## THE NEW BUDGET

In over-all terms the new budget calls for a total expenditure of \$83 billions in the fiscal year 1946, beginning July 1, 1945, and ending June 30, 1946. \$70 billions will be spent for direct war expenditures. This is a tentative estimate. Actual expenditures, the President has emphasized, will depend on developments on the battlefronts. Lend-lease will take about one-sixth of war expenditures.

The completion of military victory is the predominating consideration and purpose of the new budget. "We on the home front must back our fighting men and women to the limit," is the keynote with which President Roosevelt opened his message to Congress on the Federal Budget. The message warned against complacency and over-optimism. "I have not made in the past," said the President, "and I shall not now make, any prediction concerning the length of the war. My only prediction is that our enemies will be totally defeated before we lay down our arms."

From July 1, 1940, to June 30, 1946, World War II will have cost the United States \$450 billions. The national debt will have risen to \$292 billions—a per capita debt of \$2,116 for 138,000,000 Americans. At its peak



after World War I the per capita debt was only \$242; after the Civil War, \$76.

To meet the interest on this unprecedented debt will require \$4.5 billion annually. Veterans' pensions and benefits for 1946 will reach \$2.6 billion. Tax refunds will require \$2.7 billion, of which \$1 billion will be refunds of excess tax-withholdings to wage and salary earners, and the balance to corporations.

These "aftermath-of-war" expenditures—veterans' benefits, interest, refunds—will thus rise to a total of \$9.8 billion in the coming fiscal year. This total, the President noted, "is larger than the whole Federal budget five years ago." To meet these costs, high taxes will be required.

#### INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL PROGRAMS

The budget message faces the problems of the transition period and the post-war period. In the international sphere, the President stressed the need to secure world-wide economic cooperation. He said:

We have learned that just as the United States cannot afford to be isolationist in its political philosophy, neither can it stand the malignant effects of economic isolationism.

The President presented a comprehensive program to stimulate international trade and investment. He called for immediate Congressional action on a 3-point program:

1. *Acceptance of the Bretton Woods agreement.* This agreement was formulated by the United Nations' representatives in July, 1944. It sets up an International Monetary Fund to eliminate artificial and destructive exchange and currency practices which result in economic waste and economic warfare. The Fund is essential to free the flow of commerce. An International Bank would also be established to make direct long-term loans to war-torn countries for the reconstruction and development of their industry, agriculture and trade. The bank will also guarantee private loans for these purposes. The loans would be used to purchase equipment. Losses resulting from these loans would be spread equitably among all member countries. The President urged Congress to accept the Bretton Woods proposals and enact legislation permitting the United States to make its proportionate investment in the fund and the bank.

2. *Expansion of the lending power of the Export-Import Bank.* There will be many types of foreign investment which may not be fulfilled by the International Bank. There may be demand for loans in which other countries may not wish to participate. Here the Export-Import Bank would undertake long-term lending for reconstruction and development. It could also provide short and medium-term credit to finance our exporters, especially during the succeeding years when foreign demand for our prod-

ucts will be very heavy. At present the resources of the Export-Import Bank are very limited. Expansion of its lending power is essential to the promotion of foreign trade and investment.

3. *Repeal of the Johnson Act.* This law restricts loans which may be made to countries in default on debts arising out of World War I. It blocks foreign investment. It is a remnant of economic isolation. It should be wiped off the statute books.

Certain banking circles are plotting to scuttle the Bretton Woods proposals. They would dwarf the international monetary fund and restrict the role of the international bank. The C.I.O. is to be applauded for the campaign it has undertaken to rally public support for their adoption.

The American people must be mobilized on this issue. The complexities and technical provisions of Bretton Woods must be translated into language which can be understood by the common man. It involves his bread and butter and his security.

Foreign trade is a strategic sector in our economy, far outweighing its magnitude. We are apt to forget that our pre-war exports of cotton alone furnished more employment than the P.W.A. and W.P.A. provided at their peak. The loss of our export market for corn and hogs resulted in long years of declining farm prices. The motion picture, machine tool and automotive industries rely on foreign markets to maintain

the extra volume of business which is often necessary for profits.

Full employment at home will not be achieved unless international trade and investment are revived and living standards abroad lifted. Reciprocally, American prosperity is essential to world prosperity. With full employment assured in the United States, other nations will be more ready to undertake international commitments. Thus, American prosperity and world prosperity are interlocked.

#### POST-WAR FULL EMPLOYMENT

Full employment has been achieved under the impact of huge war expenditures. In the spring of 1940, we had about 500,000 in the armed services, about 8,000,000 idle and 45,000,000 employed. At present our total labor force is employed. There are about 12,000,000 serving in the armed forces, and about 52,000,000 working in war and civilian production. What changes have occurred in our national economy in this period?

The over-all changes are dramatically outlined in the "Nation's Budget"—a statistical table appearing for the first time in the President's fiscal message. This table shows the changes which have taken place in the magnitude of incomes, expenditures and savings of the economic groups of the nation from 1939 to 1944.

THE NATION'S BUDGET  
CALENDAR YEARS 1939 AND 1944  
(Current prices\* in billions)

ECONOMIC GROUP	Calendar year 1939		Calendar year 1944	
	Receipts	Expen- ditures (+), def- icit (-)	Receipts	Expen- ditures (+), def- icit (-)
<i>Consumers</i>				
Income after taxes .....	\$67.3		\$132.8	
Expenditures (consumer goods and services) .....	\$61.7		\$97.0	
Savings (+) .....		+\$5.6		+\$35.8
<i>Business</i>				
Undistributed profits and reserves .....	\$8.3		\$12.3	
Capital expenditures (investment) .....	\$10.9		\$2.6	
Excess of receipts (+) or capital expenditures (-) .....		-\$2.6		+\$9.7
<i>State and Local Government</i>				
Revenues and taxes .....	\$8.9		\$10.4	
Expenditures .....	\$9.1		\$8.8	
Excess of receipts (+) or deficit (-) .....		-\$0.2		+\$1.6
<i>Federal Government</i>				
Revenues and taxes .....	\$6.5		\$47.9	
Expenditures .....	\$9.3		\$95.0	
Excess of receipts (+) or deficit (-) .....		-\$2.8		-\$47.1
Less: Adjustments† .....	\$2.4	\$2.4	\$5.9	\$5.9
<i>Total: Gross National Product</i>				
Receipts .....	\$88.6		\$197.5	
Expenditures .....	\$88.6		\$197.5	
Balance .....			0	0

\* Prices in 1944 were between 25 and 30 per cent above 1939.

† Mainly government expenditures for other than goods and services.

Note that, despite the monumental volume of war expenditures, amounting to \$95 billions, expenditures for consumer goods and services increased—from \$61.7 billions to \$97.0 billions, or \$74.6 billions in 1939 prices (assuming 1944 prices were 30 per cent above 1939 prices). Civilian production *increased* while produc-

ing the colossal volume of goods and services needed for the war effort. While fighting the greatest war in history, the country has succeeded in raising the standard of living of the population as a whole above the level of any peace-time year.

Note that the total output of our productive resources has made a tre-

mendous leap. The gross national product has climbed from \$88.6 billions in 1939 to \$197.5 billions in 1944—or \$151 billions in 1939 prices—an increase of more than 70 per cent over 1939 levels. This vast co-operative achievement of our people—industry, labor, agriculture, and all other groups—was only possible because of Government organization of united effort, Government planning, Government financing, and Government settlement of conflicts of interest on the economic front. It is within this framework that the magnificent accomplishments have been achieved.

The sum total of expenditures of the four economic groups adds up to what the economists call the "gross national product." This is equivalent to the total production of goods and services, without reduction of depreciation charges and reserves which accountants treat as deductions from production but which are often fictitious bookkeeping figures. The gross national product is the generally accepted measurement of our nation's total economic activity.

The statistics show that there has been a sharp reduction in private capital investment. Capital investment for war production has been financed mainly by the Government which is now the owner of a tremendous production plant.

Note, too, that the total income and the total expenditures of the four economic groups balance. These pivotal facts point the way to the

attainment of full employment in the post-war era.

### THE ANATOMY OF FULL EMPLOYMENT

Look back at the statistics cited in the Nation's Budget. Note that our economy is producing goods and services at the rate of \$197 billion a year. In 1929 the gross national product was around \$99 billion—half the size. During the war we have created a giant economic skyscraper. But almost half of the anatomy of this giant structure is composed of war expenditures. When war expenditures are withdrawn, the danger is that the skyscraper may cave in. A transfusion is imperative.

We must fill in the gap left by the drop in war expenditures. Consumers' expenditures and business investments must offset the reduction in war expenditures. The President has concluded that consumers' expenditures and business investments must increase by about 50 per cent above the 1939 level if full employment is to be provided by private enterprise. A radical improvement in the standard of living in the post-war era is a fundamental necessity for full employment.

Harry Hopkins has put his finger on the core of the problem when he said:

America's economic future and sustained prosperity lie more in the expanding of consumption and raising the

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standard of living of her masses than in any other single direction. (*The American* magazine, October, 1944.)

We must maintain the total stream of purchasing power at high tide. In the sphere of Federal Government, the President outlined a six-point program:

1. Full civilian use of war plants no longer needed for war production;
2. Assistance for travel and retraining of war workers;
3. Development of transportation facilities and river valleys;
4. Expansion of coverage under social security, including medical care, liberalization of unemployment compensation benefits;
5. Adoption of national and international policies affecting trade, credit, investment competition and monopoly;
6. Overhauling the wartime tax structure.

It is such measures which will help overcome the deep dislocations in our economy stemming from the war and hasten the transformation to a full-employment civilian economy.

#### FULL EMPLOYMENT ACT

OF 1945

The Nation's Budget mirrors the maturing approach to the problem of maintaining full employment. It is

a landmark of progress. It is a balance sheet of the whole economy. It blends with the legislation (S. 380) introduced by Senator James E. Murray of Montana to establish a national policy and program for assuring continuing full employment. While it should not in itself be regarded as a panacea for full employment, the bill aims at creating a dynamic approach to the problem of providing expanded production and consumption, thus creating sufficient job opportunities. This is the twentieth-century extension to the Homestead Acts, the Railroad Land Grant Act, and the mineral and mining laws of the nineteenth century which helped expand our economy.

The bill sets up a "National Production and Employment Budget." Its purpose is to provide a business-like way of appraising:

A. The number of jobs needed over a given period to guarantee full employment;

B. The total of consumer-business-Government expenditures required to provide that number of jobs;

C. The prospective volume of investment and other expenditures by consumers, business, and Government, including expenditures in our foreign trade.

If C equals B, the national production and employment is balanced, and full employment would be assured.

If, however, C is less than B, unemployment would result. This deficiency, which would show up in un-

derproduction and unemployment, is to be over come by increasing aggregate expenditures of business, consumers, and Government to equal the amount B required to assure full employment.

Suppose 60,000,000 persons are looking for jobs, and it is estimated that private enterprise can provide only 45,000,000. The bill sets out a twofold program to balance the deficiency.

First, the Federal Government will undertake measures to stimulate and encourage the highest feasible levels of employment through *private and other non-Federal investment and expenditure*. Taxes might be reduced. Loans might be made easier; interest rates reduced. Anti-monopoly legislation might be tightened to loosen the flow of trade and commerce. Wage policies and working conditions might be revised; social security, expanded. Government policies and programs to stimulate maximum activity by private enterprise would be the major front.

Second, if this program will not assure the required level of expenditures necessary to guarantee full employment, the Federal Government will undertake a program of *Federal investment and expenditure* to fill the gap. This could include public works, public services, specific programs for assistance to business, conservation, and other public activities. Where public works are undertaken, all construction work is to be performed by private concerns.

#### EXECUTIVE-LEGISLATIVE RESPONSIBILITY

The President's responsibility, under the bill, is to report to Congress, at the beginning of each regular session, on the extent to which the economy is providing jobs for all. If he finds that there is unemployment or danger of unemployment, he must transmit his program for assuring full employment through stimulating private enterprise and through necessary Government programs, together with recommendations for additional legislation.

Congressional responsibilities are clearly defined. The full-employment bill sets up a Joint Committee on the National Budget, composed of 15 members of each House. The committee would make a detailed study of the National Budget prepared by the President.

By March 1, at the very latest, this committee would be expected to report to both Houses a joint resolution setting forth a general policy for the National Budget for the next fiscal year. The joint resolution would be debated and could be amended by a majority of Congress. As finally agreed to, it would serve as a *general policy framework* within which the individual committees of Congress could work on individual appropriation acts, revenue acts, and related measures.

These provisions go a long way toward establishing the active interplay between the Congress and the

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Executive so essential for the coordination of the two branches of the Government. The complex economy of today calls for overhauling the outmoded and inadequate relations of these two branches. This joint executive-legislative responsibility for full employment opens the path to the modernizing of antiquated Government machinery. It begins to extract some of the desirable features of the British system. At the same time, the bill avoids the danger of delegating excessive power to the Executive, and the danger of involving Congress in administrative determinations.

And, truly significant, it would enable the man on the street to know whether his representatives were properly serving him. If wrong policies were adopted, if good policies were resisted, the voter would more easily know which political group or political leader was responsible. As Henry Wallace has said, the full-employment bill "would provide a method of political accountability to the people of our country." And it would have the added virtue of stimulating political action by the people to see that the Congress and the President adopted the concrete programs and policies essential to assure full employment.

#### OTHER FEATURES OF THE FULL-EMPLOYMENT BILL

It is well to note that the bill does not set any preconceived figure for

the total number of jobs needed to provide full employment. The actual number depends on changing factors—total population, the number of young people entering the labor force, the size of our post-war armed forces, the number of women and old people leaving the labor force, the number of hours worked, technological progress, and other considerations. The exact number of jobs needed can best be determined currently. The 60,000,000 figure for the post-war period represents the best estimate presently determinable.

The enactment of the bill would have a healthy effect on the national debt. By stimulating high levels of national income, it would permit the collection of a comparatively high volume of taxes for debt-retirement purposes. It would thus tend to reduce the annual service (interest) upon the debt.

Full-employment legislation also provides protection against inflationary tendencies by stimulating a larger volume of production of goods and services. It would also guard against deflationary tendencies by stimulating the volume of expenditures and investment which in turn would result in higher national incomes and mass purchasing power.

The philosophy of the bill differs from the "compensatory economy" philosophy developed during the 1930's. First, it places major emphasis upon *non-Federal expenditures*, while Federal expenditures are only to be used as a last resort. Second,



it aims to *prevent* unemployment, rather than taking up the slack after unemployment occurs.

#### THE PEOPLE'S FIGHT FOR FOR THE FULL-EMPLOY- MENT ACT

The full-employment act would set up machinery invaluable to assuring full employment. It paves the way for the strategic battle-plans to win the fight for full employment. It is an important weapon. It should be speeded into law.

Already serious opposition is developing to the full-employment legislation. Senator Taft, a Republican spokesman of reaction, has attacked the bill, implying that it would create a "panacea of public spending." The prior analysis shows how false is this charge.

The National City Bank, in its monthly bulletins, challenges the concept of full employment. It contends that employment is the sole responsibility of private enterprise and that Government must not intervene. Stripped of its elaborations, its thesis is that nature must take its own course. And, it holds, private enterprise cannot guarantee full employment. Before denying Government responsibility, it might well consider the following quotation:

If Government responsibility means stabilization of high business volume by control of the over-all volume of spending and other general measures which

do not dictate how men shall earn their livings, it would be a capitalistic blessing.

This quotation appeared in the January 8, 1945, issue of the magazine *Time*.

It might also examine an editorial which appeared in the June, 1938, issue of *Fortune* magazine which said:

Every business man who is not kidding himself knows that he does not know how to guarantee, without government intervention, the markets with which alone his free competitive capitalism can function. Every business man who is not kidding himself knows that, if left to its own devices, business would sooner or later run headlong into another 1930.

And, finally, it might reread the statement made by a political leader:

Government's first job in the peacetime years ahead will be to see that conditions exist which promote widespread job opportunities in private enterprise. . . .

If at any time there are not sufficient jobs in private employment to go around, the government can and must create job opportunities, because there must be jobs for all in this country of ours.

That statement was made in San Francisco on September 21, 1944, by none other than the Republican candidate for the Presidency, Thomas E. Dewey!

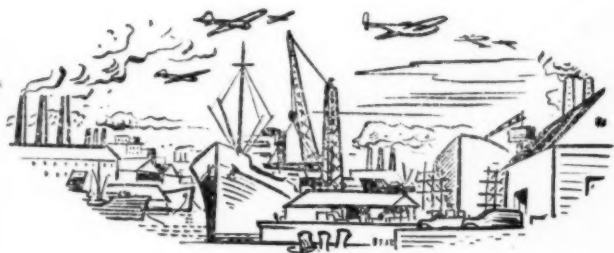
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itably be read by those who may be disposed to oppose the full-employment bill.

The full-employment act will, of itself, not achieve the goal. It would create the framework for the policies and programs that would be under-

taken within that structure. The goal can be made a reality only through the concerted action of the people of our country—labor, business, agriculture, and all other groups—acting unitedly through the medium of their Government.



# A PROGRAM FOR DEVELOPING COMMUNIST CADRES



By JOHN WILLIAMSON

THE CAPACITY of the Communist Political Association to translate into action the policies of its leading committees is directly related to the development of its cadres. It calls for their systematic cultivation, for their theoretical development, for the full unfolding of their abilities and effectiveness to win broad mass support for our policies.

The historic decisions of the Moscow, Teheran and Crimean conferences, which have established for the entire epoch ahead, the scope, political objectives, and social alignments, provide the basis for the relations of the C.P.A. with other groups. In accordance with this perspective we must now promote and train all C.P.A. cadres.

When we speak of a new historic period of world democracy opening up for mankind, characterized by the peaceful co-existence and collaboration of the socialist and capitalist sectors of the world, and the collaboration of all classes in our nation dedicated toward this end, it becomes essential that the training of all C.P.A. cadres shall be conducted

with the view to systematically equipping our members and leading forces with a full understanding of the historical significance of these developments. Under conditions of long-term collaboration with all other groups, it becomes doubly necessary to help our cadres master the science of Marxism-Leninism in its application to the new epoch now unfolding, so that they can make a distinctive contribution to the solution of the new and complicated problems of today.

The main objectives of our cadre training shall be to enable Communists better to serve and contribute to the labor and democratic peoples' movements, and thus to the nation. Toward this end it is necessary to equip them with a firm grasp of the essentials of creative Marxism, to deepen their understanding of the special vanguard characteristics of the Communist organization as an integral part of the working class, always concerned with advancing the interests of all labor and the nation. While the C.P.A. has the same immediate objectives as many other forces and

organizations within the democratic coalition, it is distinguished from all these organizations and groups by its Marxist ideology, and consequently its ability to foresee developments, provide answers to new and complicated problems, and to fight consistently for the realization of the policies demanded by the new conditions. The promotion and training of our cadres should occur in an atmosphere and in a spirit of pride in the role and contributions of the C.P.A. in the interests of labor and welfare of our nation. Precisely because our organization is based upon tested Marxist principles, all C.P.A. members are cadres of leadership in relation to the mass movements. Our organization must not only be a place where the principles of Marxism are learned and where they are applied to the working out of immediate policy, but must also serve the function of preparing our members and leaders to function in the mass movement. Therefore attention shall also be given to specialized training for various specific phases of work, equipping our members to become experts in the numerous problems now connected with the development of mass work today.

#### PRESENT-DAY STATUS OF OUR CADRES

The extensive and effective work of the C.P.A. in the past period is measured in a major way by our contribution to the democratic coal-

tion, our analysis especially of the significance of the Teheran concord, our role in the national elections, in the struggle for maintaining the no-strike pledge, etc. This work is an outstanding tribute to our present cadres, with all their inexperience and consequent weaknesses.

Some twelve thousand Communists have entered the armed forces of our nation. Among this number there were several thousand Communist leaders. These included 86 full-time State officers, many times that number of County full-time officers, and the hundreds of full-time Communist trade union or other mass organization leaders. In making their contribution to the armed services, some counties and states have been stripped of leadership several times. Thousands of club leaders and other thousands of trade union leaders are included in these twelve thousand. This condition inevitably created the need to train a substantially new leading cadre, which was effectively met only by the bold promotion of hundreds of new men and women to key posts in our Association.

The significance of the contribution and work of our present cadres can be fully estimated when we consider the following main facts:

Their role and contribution in the many labor and political mass organizations, committees and movements—all serving the war effort and the nation.

Their almost complete lack of organized training, seen in the fact

that for three years, full-time schools were almost entirely suspended.

The long hours of work in war industries.

The large number of women members drawn into leadership, particularly in the clubs, who had no previous experience and have many family difficulties and obligations.

The large number, not drafted, who moved to new localities to work in war industries, uprooted from the communities where they were known and had accumulated experiences.

The more complicated problems facing a C.P.A. leader today than in the past.

The fundamental changes in policy during the war years would have taxed even our old cadres; yet the new leading forces responded and fulfilled their responsibilities in the main with great effectiveness. This has been possible, of course, because of the fundamental soundness of the C.P.A. policies as outlined by the National Committee; the strength and sustained work of the core of national leadership operating from the National Office and in a number of key districts; the confidence in promoting inexperienced members to positions of leadership; and the hard work of our entire membership, their extreme confidence and devotion to the policies of the C.P.A. and its leadership.

In correctly evaluating these positive contributions of our present leading forces we cannot and must

not overlook certain existing weaknesses. The absence of adequate training and experience of our club and county functionaries often results in an inability fully or skillfully to grapple with tactical questions, or to show the necessary initiative in the development of our activities. The lack of experience in the development of political and organizational policies, especially in relation to mass work, becomes evident in the absence of sustained work, in repeated "crises," and a general thinning out of our ability to fulfill adequately our responsibilities and tasks throughout the nation. The absence of a conscious and organized Negro cadre-training program in the communities outside of the New York district accentuates the problem of high fluctuation among our Negro membership. These conditions have created certain critical spots in the functioning of our clubs and in providing a broad cadre for all phases of work, both C.P.A. and mass work, in such districts as Michigan, in the area in Western Pennsylvania outside of Pittsburgh, in a number of key industrial areas such as Gary, Akron, McKeesport, Chester, Cincinnati, Racine, Rhode Island, East St. Louis, Buffalo, Vancouver (Washington), and Portland (Oregon).

In addition, we find that our present cadres, as a result of their own inexperience, long hours of work, and increased responsibilities, find it difficult to read even the necessary

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minimum of the literature published, let alone engage in any organized study of basic theoretical works, and thus find it hard to keep up with the rapidly changing events.

In summarizing the entire situation, one must never forget, however, that in the long run, particularly with the return of the veterans, the new cadres that have been developed, particularly women, now carrying the burden of the organization, will result in a much larger group of experienced, trained and tested leaders than our organization has ever had before.

#### THE POLITICAL GROWTH OF OUR CADRES

The very conditions under which we work and live today demand that we approach the cadre question in our Association in the broadest sense and *not limit ourselves to C.P.A. officers*, decisive as they are in meeting our present-day responsibilities. An all-around training program for C.P.A. cadres today must include the following categories: club, county and state officers, trade union leaders, Negro leaders, women, national group forces, leaders of political and legislative work, of educational institutions and in editorial activity, as well as leaders among the youth. We must pursue a policy of giving sustained everyday political leadership to all of our cadres, wherever they are, providing the means by which to further their training and development.

We cannot separate the training of our Communist personnel from the task of equipping our entire membership with a full understanding of the new epoch and the specific role of the C.P.A. under the conditions of today. While membership in the C.P.A. has no other limits beyond those outlined in our Constitution, it is expected that we bring into our ranks the most advanced, and not the most backward, elements in the country, people who demonstrate their desire and ability to react speedily to new developments, to participate in activity and to give leadership to others, who distinguish themselves from others by systematic reading and study. If these are the standards for our membership, then we must have still higher standards for our leaders. They must understand our policies—not just accept and follow them blindly—because they must be able to lead and influence others. They must show initiative in the solution of new problems, arriving independently at the same conclusions as the *Daily Worker* editorially. They must above all organize to carry through and achieve the objectives we set.

Communist leaders must be prepared to take issue with proposals that are incorrect and, therefore, harmful to the labor movement and the nation. This is necessary even if such proposals come from other individual Communists. There can be no toleration of the false concept that we shall remain silent when mis-

takes are committed to spare a comrade's feelings. Rather, let us understand that it is far worse to hurt the labor movement or the nation than it may be to take issue with an incorrect policy advocated by a single Communist trade union leader.

Communist leaders cannot live a life of their own separated from our organization. Through the normal channels, as well as supplementary organizational forms, Communist leaders should actively participate in the life of the C.P.A., helping to hammer out in committees the policies of the organization, and participate in the execution of decisions. Such participation will strengthen their own political understanding and make their own work much more effective and fruitful.

We recognize that in our collaboration with the mass movement of labor and the people—a collaboration that will further deepen and extend in the period ahead—we shall come in contact with other ideologies and influences. The great majority of our cadres, because of their Marxist training, loyalty, working class origin, and as a result of systematic reading and discussion, will not fall victim to such influences. However, we are compelled to raise this question because there have been some examples, though isolated, of succumbing to such influences, as, for instance: the influence of *PM*-ism and other forms of petty-bourgeois "Leftism" which in the recent period has made some headway in the ranks

of labor and the middle class; instances of a disregard of correct C.P.A. policies formulated in the interest of labor and the nation, as on the question of manpower and national service legislation; some hesitation in coming forward boldly in condemnation of Rieve of the Textile Workers Union, or in calling upon the government to take the strongest measures against John L. Lewis.

Communist leaders have been trained, and live in an atmosphere of exclusive devotion to the people and organizations they serve. Their C.P.A. membership, the training and understanding that accompanies it, equip Communist leaders to set examples of integrity, steadfastness, courage and personal conduct. Our cadres should never stray from these criteria. There are no dual standards in our organization. Our standards for leadership apply equally to C.P.A. functionaries and the still greater number of Communists who are leaders of mass organizations. Here it is not just the question of personal morality, important as that is. It is above all, the principles and prestige of the C.P.A. that are at stake, and without which, we cannot maintain or strengthen our ties with labor and the people, nor win the confidence and adherence of ever larger numbers.

This criticism is not directed to the overwhelming majority of our Communist trade union leaders, who belong to the best core of our Associ-

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ation's cadres. The reason for raising these questions so sharply is precisely because our trade union leaders occupy a decisive role in our general leadership and we must work with the objective of further strengthening their role as Communist leaders, in order to make still greater contributions to the labor and people's movement. Many of these shortcomings arise because the leading committees of the Association have not encouraged and practised sufficient self-criticism in their own ranks to serve as an example for all other Communist leaders.

It is clear, of course, that we cannot have the same approach to everyone. Those longest in the movement, and those holding the most responsible posts, must set an example to other leading forces. There must be a persistent struggle against the influences of routinism in the work of all of us. Everyone should maintain a self-critical attitude to his own work. Everyone should recognize that there can be no effective leadership if it is separated from the responsibility of testing the correctness of our policy in the crucible of life. We cannot merely live on our past today. We must constantly read and study anew, refresh our own knowledge and understanding again and again. To merit leadership today we must participate in activity, struggle for correct policy, exercise initiative, and strive to teach others in the process of the day-to-day work.

A group of immediate tasks con-

front the organization in facing the problem of extending and further developing our present leading cadres. I want to select what to me are the most essential questions at the moment in determining the kind of program to be formulated in each district for the development and training of our leading personnel.

### ON TRAINING CADRES

First of all, it is necessary that we overcome in the quickest possible time the absence of a systematic training program of all our cadres, and that we stimulate the desire for mastering the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism. This should be approached specifically for each of the different categories of leading forces we have in our Association. Since full-time schools are available only for a handful of our cadres, we must:

1. Create an atmosphere for achieving this goal by relating present problems to previous experiences, constantly referring to both current literature and Marxist classics in reports and speeches; encouraging people to get together for discussion and study, organizing the work in such a way as to provide time for reading and systematic self-study.

2. Establish as a regular procedure in our organization broad discussion conferences as a means of training and developing our present-day leaders. Broad functionaries conferences, for one reason or another neglected

today, remain a key medium of political education. Our members will respond to such conferences, if they are guaranteed a serious political presentation of current problems.

3. Make effective use of material we have at hand and not overlook this material in the search for substitutes. We refer particularly to the *Daily Worker* club subscriptions, *Political Affairs*, the Browder books, and the abundance of rich literature now available for cadre training.

4. Popularize Earl Browder's statement that "the only cure for incomplete understanding of Lenin lies in an ever more emphatic demand for deeper study of Lenin, as well as Marx, Engels and Stalin," by encouraging all cadres to buy and study the Lenin Home Library, to read Engel's: *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific; The Communist Manifesto*; and *The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, edited by Stalin.

5. Develop as a system the practice of sending memoranda on key questions to all cadres, calling attention to pamphlets and books, as well as referring to specific pages or chapters of such literature, in connection with the study of current problems.

6. Encourage each C.P.A. leader to give personal attention to the political development of two or three other promising and potential leaders.

In addition, every large district should follow the example of the New York, California, and Illinois

districts, which have re-established the system of short-term full-time training schools with a great degree of success.

#### CADRES FOR SPECIALIZED FIELDS

We always believed, on the basis of information and observation, that the overwhelming majority of club officers today, are women. However, a partial survey of a majority of the clubs in the large cities shows that 49 per cent of our club officers are women. Only in Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, New York, Milwaukee, Boston, Connecticut, and St. Louis do we have a majority of women occupying the leading posts in our clubs, and even in some of these, including New York, a majority of the club presidents are men. In a survey of county officers of five important districts we find that women comprise only 36 per cent of the officer cadre. Clearly, there must be a bolder policy of promoting women in all positions, especially in county and state posts, with particular attention to the drawing in of women in key political positions. To facilitate this, special classes, schools and conferences for women members should be organized. Arrangements should also be made to help our women cadres solve or ease their family and household responsibilities.

Among the Negro members in our ranks we find a growing number of trade union shop stewards and committeemen, local union officers, as

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well as officers of other mass organizations. In general, one might say that this is the first generation of Negro leadership in mass organizations, especially labor organizations, comprising Negro and white. In our own ranks, while there are a growing number of Negro members participating in committee work, there is a very unsatisfactory promotion and training of Negro cadres to posts of specific responsibility in the C.P.A. It is necessary that we boldly and unhesitatingly promote Negro comrades to posts of responsibility and take the needed measures to help them meet their new responsibilities through continuous personal guidance and a systematic class program. We must abandon the practice of having white comrades in key posts of leadership in clubs in Negro communities, while Negro comrades are supposed to serve an "apprenticeship."

Today there is only a minimum of organized guidance and training given to our Communist trade union cadres, and this is limited primarily to a handful of full-time functionaries. Special attention should now be given to the training of the broadest section of trade union activists. These should be helped through the organization of discussion groups and classes, the more systematic reading of the *Daily Worker*, *Political Affairs*, and other current literature. These comrades should be encouraged to make reports on political questions at classes and dis-

ussion groups, as well as at their clubs and county committee meetings.

In the field of the national groups there is a real dearth as far as new and growing Communist cadres are concerned. Every district has a responsibility as part of its general political activities, to review the situation in each national group, especially Polish and Italian (or whatever other specific national group is politically decisive in the area) and take bold steps to assign young native-born comrades of the particular national group to give leadership to the work, to organize the systematic training of all national group forces.

#### TO STABILIZE CLUB LEADERSHIP

The 1945 club elections of officers is now completed. A greatly strengthened leadership has been elected to guide the work of the clubs for the coming year. It is necessary, however, that we set ourselves the objective of overcoming the fluctuation and instability of some one-third of club officers which took place last year. We are certain that an energetic carrying through of the program outlined here will contribute to accomplishing this objective. But it is necessary to emphasize and make clear the role of the C.P.A. club as a mass organization in its own right, which requires an able, adequate and stable club leadership, with the same political status as leadership in any other organization.

We should strive to guarantee that the newly elected club leadership serve out with honor their full term of office and thus fulfill their responsibility to the membership which elected them. To make this possible we should also provide the necessary specialized knowledge all club functionaries need for carrying out their specific responsibilities. We must not forget that 21 per cent of the newly-elected officers have never held office before, that 54 per cent have not even read the C.P.A. Convention Proceedings, and that these officers will require a great deal of assistance to increase their knowledge as to how to carry through the tasks confronting the clubs, to strengthen confidence in their own abilities to lead the clubs.

Another related question is the need of giving special attention to the promotion and training of cadres of working class composition within the general framework of this problem. Of the 1,267 club officers analyzed by the districts, we find that only 38 per cent are shop workers, while 28 per cent are white-collar workers or professionals. We can assume that the remaining 34 per cent are in the main housewives. This means that, whereas the majority of our membership consists of shop workers, only one-third of our club officers come from the shops. While organizing training for all club officers, special attention should therefore be given to the shop workers, who must be encouraged to assume

real responsibility in the club even though they might not be as articulate as others. They must be convinced that their trade union training and consciousness enables them to sense more quickly the needs of the people, to react quickly and with understanding to the numerous problems which require answers from our Association, and to fulfill adequately the role of leadership in our clubs.

An indispensable part of the training of our cadres is the establishment in all committees of the practice of collective leadership, the creation of mutual confidence and respect, the encouragement of a constructive critical and self-critical attitude aimed at improving the work of each committee member. The art of working collectively should be accompanied with a feeling of responsibility to the membership and a keen awareness of the needs and problems of the members.

#### WHAT DISTINGUISHES COMMUNIST CADRES

Finally, plans should now be worked out for the full integration and utilization of all returned veterans who were in leading positions at the time they left for the armed forces, as well as plans for the training and promotion of veterans who never held posts within our organization. This question should not be left for some distant future, but should concern our leading committees today.

To sum up, let us be clear as to the special qualities Communist leaders must strive to attain. We all know what we have in common with the broad democratic mass movement, and yet there are certain distinctive features in the quality of our work that masses have learned to expect from Communist leaders.

The first point is *perspective*. Every Communist leader must have perspective in relation to his own organization, community or industry, just as we all have in regard to national and world-scale issues. It is not enough that the C.P.A. have definite perspectives in relation to the large issues. Each Communist leader, as a result of his own initiative and understanding, must have the same ability in relation to every issue that arises within his own sphere of activity.

The second point is *principle*. It is not enough to believe in and understand our principles in general. Every Communist leader must demonstrate through his own actions his adherence to these principles by maintaining and defending a correct position, and not yielding on decisive questions.

The third point is *an understanding of the use of flexible tactics*. The mastery of the use of flexible tactics in the application of our policy can be gauged by our ability to mobilize

mass support for a correct stand, in conformity with our basic principles.

The fourth point is *courage*. Here we are not referring primarily to personal courage. Rather, we have in mind political courage, which is demonstrated in speaking out boldly when necessary, irrespective of whether the majority has already been won over at that moment, and which does not waver from expressing disagreements with someone else if the conditions demand it. For even if one is not fully understood immediately, the masses of the workers will soon learn the correctness of the position taken and when another such occasion arises will more readily render support.

The fifth point is *ability to be practical in achieving results*. Workers want to know, not only the objective or ideal goal, but expect from Communists the very practical means by which to achieve the goal. This too distinguishes us from those liberals inside and outside the labor movement, who always set ideal goals and shed many tears when such goals are not realized, but never know how to develop the practical measures to achieve them.

The mastery of all these qualities is to be found in the further study, understanding and application of the science of Marxism. It is in this light that our cadre training policy must now be energetically developed.

# LENIN AND DEMOCRACY



By I. SMIRNOV

*[In view of the still persisting uncertainty in certain sectors of public opinion with regard to the Socialist democratic content of the Soviet State, even among many who profoundly admire the decisive military contribution of the U.S.S.R. and its Red Army to the common victory over Hitler-Germany and her satellites, we take pleasure in presenting the following authoritative article on the nature of Socialist democracy by a Soviet Marxist scholar. The Editors.]*

AS A THINKER, Lenin devoted a very considerable part of his literary works to democracy: an analysis of its form, its content, and the historical role it has played. As a politician, Lenin took into consideration world experience in democracy, and considered democratization, political and civil, to be the great victory gained by civilization.

Lenin had a detailed knowledge of the theory and practice of the democratic states of the entire world. Lenin's detailed study of the work of the civilized states of the West is explained by the fact that the interests

of the masses were dear and comprehensible to him, a socialist whose whole life had been devoted to the service of the people.

From the very beginning of his political career, Lenin gave proof of the fact that socialism and democracy are indivisible and do not contradict each other, a principle which he always maintained. As early as 1897, in one of his first works, *The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats*, Lenin evolved the postulate that the consistent socialist should be a consistent democrat.

One of Lenin's distinguishing features was his realism, his historical approach to democracy. He considered democracy to be the victory that humanity had gained in the struggle against the middle ages, autocracy and reaction. Lenin, however, taught that democracy is not something constant, stagnant, and changeless. He considered a parliamentary democratic republic to be a big forward step in the development of human society.

"Naturally," he wrote, "bourgeois democracy is tremendous historical progress as compared with Tsarism,

autocracy, monarchy, and all the remnants of feudalism."

Lenin believed that a democratic republic is the best form of state for the proletariat under capitalism. Democratic forms of government are, in Lenin's view, an indispensable condition for the defense of the rights of people against the dark forces of reaction, obscurantism, and plutocracy.

Being a consistent democrat, Lenin realized better than anyone that the democracy of the parliamentary system is historically limited and conventional, and he was the supporter of a democracy of a higher type, whose state form was discovered in the Republic of the Soviets.

Lenin worked out the theoretical principles of Soviet democracy and applied them in practice in building up the Soviet State.

Soviet democracy is expressed in the direction of the state by the whole people, in the real power of the people. The Soviets, as the expression of the interests of the working people of town and country, possess complete state power in the USSR.

How was the real power of the people achieved? How do representative bodies become genuine expressers of the will of the people? Lenin gave an exhaustive answer to this question. All elected representative bodies become a genuine expression of the people's will when the electors enjoy the unrestricted right to recall those they elect. Only under these circumstances is it possible to

establish real unity between the deputies to the Soviets, between the representatives of the people in government institutions, and the people themselves.

Lenin considered that the right of recall was, in principle, the basis of Soviet democracy.

Soviet democracy really expresses the interests of the majority of the peoples, and expresses the will of all those who toil. In order that this may be really effected, Soviet democracy draws into active political work, into control of the state and election of the organs of state power, sections of the population that did not enjoy full rights: the peoples liberated from national oppression, the youth, the Army, and women.

Soviet democracy guarantees complete equality of rights to all citizens, and political liberties to all working people, irrespective of their sex, nationality or religious beliefs. In so doing, Soviet democracy advances from the formal acknowledgment of equal rights and privileges, to their actual accomplishment.

Lenin said that all talk of universal suffrage, of the will of the whole people and the equality of all voters, would be a mere formality as long as economic inequality remained. There can be no real equality between the hungry and the well-fed, between the rich and the poor, between the exploiter and the exploited.

Soviet democracy knows no contradiction between the proclamation of equality and its actual existence.



Lenin said that all talk of freedom—freedom of the press and assembly, for example—are mere empty words as long as the material means of accomplishing them: printing presses, paper, the best buildings, etc., remain in the hands of a handful of rich people who use their property against the interests of the people. The Soviet system affords the people every opportunity for the enjoyment of civil and political liberties, and does not know any contradiction between the declaration of liberties and the possibility of actually enjoying those liberties.

Soviet democracy has effectively solved the national problem by granting to all peoples the right to political self-determination, including the right to form separate states. The Soviet system knows no national oppression; for, as Lenin said, a nation that oppresses other nations cannot itself be free. In the Soviet State, the equality of all nations is not merely a proclamation, but all measures are taken to abolish the remnants of actual inequality and to overcome the economic and cultural backwardness of all peoples that form a part of the Soviet Union.

Soviet democracy means that all cultural achievements are at the disposal of the people. The strength and durability of the Soviet State, said Lenin, depends on the education of the people, on their consciousness, and their understanding of the tasks of foreign and internal policy. "According to our concept," he said, "the

consciousness of the masses makes the state strong. It is strong when the masses know everything, when they can judge everything, and do everything consciously."

Soviet democracy is active; it is not confined to the proclamation of equality and liberty, but arouses the masses of people to the conscious building of a new way of life.

It was on these principles that Lenin built up the Soviet State. By steadfastly putting into practice the fundamentals of Soviet democracy, the Soviet State grew and became stronger. These principles underwent further brilliant development under Joseph Stalin. These principles were coordinated and given legal force in the Stalin Constitution, which at the same time summarized all the historical achievements of the Soviet people in building up the society and state, in the years that had passed since Lenin's death.

In building up the new state and in organizing its defense during the years of the Civil War and the foreign intervention in 1918-1920, Lenin relied on his faith in the people and in the strength of Soviet democracy. In this period of difficult wartime trials, Lenin produced a profound analysis of the invincibility of the Soviet people, of the vitality and indestructibility of the Soviet State, and established direct bonds between the armed might of the Soviet Union and its democracy.

"That nation can never be defeated," said Lenin, "in which the

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majority of the workers and peasants have learned, feel and see that they are defending their own Soviet power, the power of the working people; that they are defending that cause which will insure for them and their children the possibility of enjoying all the benefits of culture and all that human labor has created."

In his speech at the pre-election meeting of the electors of the Stalin District in Moscow, December 11, 1937, Stalin gave a clear picture of what a deputy should be under the conditions of Soviet democracy. Stalin said the following:

The electors, the people, should demand that their deputies always live up to their job; that in their work they should never fall to the level of professional politicians; that they should continue at their posts as political workers of the Lenin type, that they should always be as clear and determined in their actions as Lenin was; that they should be as fearless in battle and as merciless to the enemies of the people as Lenin

was; that they should be free of all forms of panic or anything like panic, when matters become difficult and there is some danger looming on the horizon, that they should be as free of anything similar to panic, as Lenin was; that they should be as wise and unhurried in deciding intricate questions, where all-around orientation and all-around consideration of the pros and cons are necessary, as Lenin was; that they should be as just and honest as Lenin, and that they should love their people as Lenin loved them.

The Soviet people's war against the German-fascist invaders has been a serious test of the correctness of the Leninist state principles. Life itself has shown the strength of Soviet democracy and its ability to withstand the evil forces of fascism and to defeat them in open battle.

History, therefore, is the best confirmation of the justness of Lenin's views on democracy, an irrefutable confirmation of the progressive nature of the Soviet democracy created by Vladimir Lenin.

### THE SCIENCE OF MARXISM . . .

All of our success flows from the fact that over the years we had equipped ourselves with the highest of sciences, Marxism, the science of history which enables us not only to understand events but to help shape them; because we understood that Marxism is not a dogma but a guide to action in the present unique historical moment.

Because we were not paralyzed by the fear of making mistakes, we avoided the greatest mistake of all, that of remaining in old rigid attitudes amidst a rapidly changing world, the mistake of losing the great current of history and drifting into the rotting backwaters of sectarianism.

—Earl Browder in *America's Decisive Battle*.

## BOOK REVIEWS

### AN IMPORTANT WORK ON CHINA'S LABOR MOVEMENT

Review by FREDERICK V. FIELD

THE CHINESE LABOR MOVEMENT. *By Nym Wales. The John Day Company, New York, 1945. 235 pp. \$2.75.*

**NYM WALES**—Mrs. Edgar Snow—has written an able book on a subject of unquestioned importance. Until her book appeared there was no authoritative source of information on the history and present status of the Chinese labor movement. The task of preparing this book must have been an exceedingly arduous one; for not only was it necessary to pioneer in a field in which the sources of information are few, fragmentary and difficult to find but there was in addition a heavy layer of Kuomintang propaganda and distortion through which to cut before any semblance of truth could be found. The author is to be warmly congratulated for her diligence, for the exercise of political judgment and for achieving an eminently successful result.

The scope of this volume is as wide as the subject demands. Neither the beginnings of an organized Chinese labor movement after the first World

War, nor its glorious period up to the betrayal of the revolutionary movement in 1927, nor its trials during the inglorious civil war period from 1927 to 1936, nor its role and problems during the present war period can be understood without a knowledge of the political setting in which it has struggled. This the author succinctly and ably provides in the opening chapter as well as throughout the body of the book. The reader is at all times kept aware of the character of the country and the broad relationship of forces at each stage in the development of the labor movement. The final chapter on "China and International Labor" carries the perspective forward to the present day in which the Chinese people find themselves allied in a coalition war against the common enemy, Japan.

Within this national and international framework Nym Wales has described and analyzed the history



of the Chinese labor movement in each of its principal stages.

Labor and labor leaders in many other parts of the world are very poorly informed regarding the Chinese labor movement, a point which Nym Wales believes to be especially pertinent to the United States. The Allied War Relief Committees of the C.I.O., A. F. of L. and Brotherhoods of Railroad Trainmen, for instance, transmitted \$600,000 in 1943 and \$650,000 in 1944 to a Board of Custody of the American Labor Fund for Aid to China. The Chairman of this Board is Chu Hsueh-fan, president of the Chinese Association of Labor, a pseudo-labor organization under the Chungking Ministry of Social Affairs which is in turn controlled by the notorious C.C. (Chen Brothers) clique which operates the Kuomintang party machinery. The author points out that "The Board of Custody has given no share of American labor funds as yet either to the workers in the Industrial Cooperatives or to the labor unions of the North China Trade Union Federation in guerrilla areas, these being the other two principal labor organizations in China aside from the C.A.L."

It was the C.A.L., moreover, which "represented" Chinese labor at the World Labor Congress in London, which furnishes the "worker" delegate at meetings of the I.L.O. and which, during the war, has had extensive dealings with American officials. The closer relations among

the allied nations which the war has forged and the necessity, clearly recognized by labor, for the trade unions to play an important role in shaping the post-war world place an urgent obligation upon the American trade unions to become more closely acquainted with the characteristics and conditions of organized labor in China.

Nym Wales' book will fulfill the purpose for which it has been written only if our own labor leaders study it and give careful consideration to the issues which it raises. Principally for this reason, that it provides us with a detailed and well-balanced history and analysis of the labor movement of our Far Eastern ally, *The Chinese Labor Movement* is a welcome and timely contribution to the problems of the war and the post-war period.

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It was, of course, not a coincidence but rather cause and effect that the great period of the Chinese revolution followed upon the rise of the labor movement as an organized force. Set off by the May 4, 1919, Movement in Peiping, which had originated among students and intellectuals, the proletariat of the Chinese cities quickly joined the anti-imperialist agitation of the period immediately following the first World War. As the movement spread, the nature and direction of the revolution changed. A revolutionary movement which before 1919 had been initiated and haltingly

carried forward by elements of the bourgeoisie and which had been aimed at achieving a limited democracy under bourgeois dictatorship after 1919 became fundamentally transformed. From that crucial date on leadership in the revolutionary movement was increasingly shared (not monopolized) by the workers and their organizations—to be joined a few years later by a militant peasant movement—the immediate objective of whom was the establishment of a united democratic nation under a coalition of all groups and classes which were anti-imperialist and anti-feudal.\*

The ebb and flow of the Chinese revolution, the weakness and strength of the Chinese nation, from that period on are measured in direct proportion to the role which organized labor and the peasantry was able to play. The history of the Chinese labor movement constitutes therefore a vital aspect of the history of modern China.

Nym Wales is fully aware of this factor in presenting her material. As I have noted earlier, she provides the national and international perspective in which Chinese labor operated and upon which it sought to exert its influence. In the introductory "Background" chapter she begins with an able political summary

\* For a theoretical understanding of China's new revolutionary movement cf. *China's New Democracy* by Mao Tse-tung; and for a more popular treatment of this subject as it pertains to the present situation cf. *China's Greatest Crisis*, by the reviewer—both published as pamphlets by New Century Publishers.

which indicates the three divisions into which China is now divided: the large cities and lines of communication under Japanese occupation; the guerrilla areas with their democracy and large trade union movement supporting the best organized military effort against the enemy; and, lastly, the area under Chungking domination. Writing about the latter in the fall of 1944 she says: "the Kuomintang has changed its tactics and is now openly substituting regimentation and organization for the former negative control and strict regulations. The San Min Chu I Youth Corps, patterned after the Hitler Youth Movement, has been started and a program of 'thought control' for students and young people has been promulgated. Under the regulations aimed at labor, workers are forced to join and pay dues to 'unions' under control of the Ministry of Social Affairs."

The political background section is followed by one on the economic and social framework of the Chinese labor movement in which reasons for the rapid rise of organized labor after the last war, in spite of the country's feudal background, are advanced. The author then elaborates upon three characteristics of the labor movement which she regards as peculiar to China: the semi-colonial nature of the country which made Chinese labor even in its purely economic struggle a strong anti-imperialist force and thus at certain stages brought it the support of sections of

the bourgeoisie and of the Kuomintang; the preponderance of light as against heavy industry in China giving Chinese labor a less strategic political position than in more advanced countries and causing a large proportion of women and children to be employed; and, the large number of handicraft workers in the interior whose militancy has been at the forefront of the anti-feudal struggle, a movement which today finds expression in the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives.

These characteristics, I would say, are not so much peculiar to China as they are attributes of the labor movement in any semi-colonial, semi-feudal area. In this respect Chinese labor has much in common with that of India and of the nations of Latin America.

The body of the book is devoted to the various stages of the Chinese labor movement which followed the preparatory period from 1919 to 1922. These stages are: (1) from 1922, a year of rapid organization and successful strikes, to the massacre of the railway union leaders early in 1923; (2) the underground period until the spring of 1925 when the new revolutionary movement again broke the bonds of oppression; (3) the "high tide of revolutionary activity" from the May 30 Incident—the massacre of workers and students in Shanghai—to the betrayal of the revolution by the Right Wing of the Kuomintang under Chiang Kai-shek and the

Shanghai bankers in 1927; (4) the period of civil war, with the suppression of all forms of democracy and the ruthless killing of tens of thousands of labor and revolutionary leaders, which lasted until the outbreak of the present war against Japan in 1937; and (5) the wartime period to the present.

Fortunately included in the discussion of the current period is the highly significant work of the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives toward which both the author and her husband, Edgar Snow, have contributed so much and to whom one of the movement's principal leaders, Rewi Alley, the volume is fittingly dedicated. The reader not already familiar with Indusco, the name by which the Chinese cooperative movement is known in this country, should pay special attention to pages 124-136 where an account of its development and problems will be found. For not only does Indusco represent one of the most virile organizational forms which the Chinese labor movement has devised—the only form, indeed, which has managed to survive the oppression of the Chungking reactionaries—but it also constitutes a system of democratic and decentralized production for war and for civilian consumption which may well furnish the pattern of China's economic rehabilitation.

In her description of this fifth and current stage Nym Wales also contrasts labor unions and labor activi-

ties in the guerrilla areas and those—or, rather, the lack of them—under the Chungking government. Needless to say, it is a contrast which is as praiseworthy to the Communist-led regions as it is condemning to the reactionaries in control of the so-called “unions” under Chungking. The facts and conclusions given by Nym Wales deserve the careful consideration of American labor, as does the following proposal: “the best suggestion I can make,” she writes, “is for American and British labor unions to make their own thorough investigation of the subject by sending a delegation to China to show their good-will and interest in the problems of the Chinese working-man.”

The last eighty pages of this book are given over to appendices in which are included—along with figures on the number of workers in various industrial categories, hours, wages and living costs and a summary of strikes—a detailed analysis of four of the unions in the 1930's, a picture of the famous Canton unions in the great days of 1926-27, the personal biographies of two of the most famous labor leaders, and a useful chronology of events affecting the Chinese labor movement.

\* \* \*

I have left for the end a few remarks on the personal qualifications of the author of this book. The nature of the subject as well as the extraordinary difficulty of finding written source material from which

to write it have thrown a tremendous burden upon the judgment and experience of the author herself. She has boldly and successfully shouldered this responsibility.

Nym Wales lived and travelled in China for nine years, from 1931 to 1940. In 1937 she spent five months in Yen-an, the northwest Communist headquarters, “for the purpose of obtaining firsthand information on the labor and peasant movements and similar subjects.” There, she writes, “I made a special point of getting detailed accounts from the labor leaders and experts, some of whom had been active organizers from 1919 on.” She quotes at some length from these interviews which thus become a primary source hitherto unavailable to us.

Even these special sources of guidance would have been of little value to a person less familiar than Nym Wales with the general situation in China or less aware of the needs of the present situation. *The Chinese Labor Movement* has fortunately been written by a person active in China for many years, deeply sympathetic to the cause of a democratic victory, capable of using sound sources of information and discarding those that would mislead public information. We have, in consequence, a book of great present value which will remain an indispensable source on the Chinese labor movement until something better is written. And that, I think, is not likely to happen for a long time.



# HISTORIC DOCUMENTS

## PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS ON THE BRETTON WOODS MONEY AND BANKING PROPOSALS:

To the Congress of the United States:

In my budget message of January 9 I called attention to the need for immediate action on the Bretton Woods proposals for an international monetary fund and an international bank for reconstruction and development. It is my purpose in this message to indicate the importance of these international organizations in our plans for a peaceful and prosperous world.

As we dedicate our total efforts to the task of winning this war we must never lose sight of the fact that victory is not only an end in itself but, in a large sense, victory offers us the means of achieving the goal of lasting peace and a better way of life.

Victory does not insure the achievement of these larger goals—it merely offers us the opportunity—the chance—to seek their attainment. Whether we shall have the courage and vision to avail ourselves of this tremendous opportunity—purchased at so great a cost—is yet to be determined. On our shoulders rests the heavy responsibility for making this momentous decision. I said before, and I repeat again: “This generation has a rendezvous with destiny.”

### PLANS CALLED CORNERSTONES

If we are to measure up to the task of peace with the same stature as we have measured up to the task of war, we must see that the institutions of peace rest firmly on the solid foundations of international political and economic cooperation. The cornerstone for international political cooperation is the Dumbarton Oaks proposal for a permanent United Nations.

International political relations will be friendly and constructive, however, only if solutions are found to the difficult economic problems we face today. The cornerstone for international economic cooperation is the Bretton Woods proposals for an international monetary fund and an international bank for reconstruction and development.

These proposals for an international fund and international bank are concrete evidence that the economic objectives of the United States agree with those of the United Nations. They illustrate our unity of purpose and interest in the economic field. What we need and what they need correspond—expanded produc-

tion, employment, exchange and consumption—in other words, more goods produced, more jobs, more trade and a higher standard of living for us all.

To the people of the United States this means real peacetime employment for those who will be returning from the war and for those at home whose wartime work has ended. It also means orders and profits to our industries and fair prices to our farmers. We shall need prosperous markets in the world to ensure our own prosperity, and we shall need the goods the world can sell us. For all these purposes, as well as for a peace that will endure, we need the partnership of the United Nations.

The first problem in time which we must cope with is that of saving life and putting resources and people back into production. In many of the liberated countries economic life has all but stopped. Transportation systems are in ruins and therefore coal and raw materials cannot be brought to factories.

Many factories themselves are shattered, power plants smashed, transmission systems broken, bridges blown up or bombed, ports clogged with sunken wrecks, and great rich areas of farm land inundated by the sea. People are tired and sick and hungry. But they are eager to go to work again, and to create again with their own hands and under their own leaders the necessary physical basis of their lives.

### BIG JOB MUST BE STARTED SOON

Emergency relief is under way behind the armies under the authority of local Governments, backed up first by the Allied Military Command and after that by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Our participation in the U.N.R.R.A. has been approved by Congress. But neither U.N.R.R.A. nor the armies are designed for the construction or reconstruction of large-scale public works or factories or power plants or transportation systems. That job must be done otherwise, and it must be started soon.

The main job of restoration is not one of relief. It is one of reconstruction which must largely be done by local people and their Governments. They will provide the labor, the local money and most of the materials. The same is true for all the many plans for the improvement of transportation, agriculture, industry and housing, that are essential to the development of the economically backward areas of the world.

But some of the things required for all these projects, both of reconstruction and development, will have to come from overseas. It is at this point that our highly developed economy can play a role important to the rest of the world and very profitable to the United States. Inquiries for numerous materials and for all kinds of equipment and ma-

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achinery in connection with such projects are already being directed to our industries and many more will come. This business will be welcome just as soon as the more urgent production for the war itself ends.

The main problem will be for these countries to obtain the means of payment. In the long run we can be paid for what we sell abroad chiefly in goods and services. But at the moment many of the countries who want to be our customers are prostrate. Other countries have devoted their economies so completely to the war that they do not have the resources for reconstruction and development.

Unless a means of financing is found, such countries will be unable to restore their economies and, in desperation, will be forced to carry forward and intensify existing systems of discriminatory trade practices, restrictive exchange controls, competitive depreciation of currencies and other forms of economic warfare. That would destroy all our good hopes. We must move promptly to prevent its happening, and we must move on several fronts, including finance and trade.

#### "U. S. SHOULD ACT PROMPTLY"

The United States should act promptly upon the plan for the international bank, which will make or guarantee sound loans for the foreign currency requirements of important

reconstruction and development projects in member countries. One of its most important functions will be to facilitate and make secure wide private participation in such loans. The articles of agreement constituting the charter of the bank have been worked out with great care by an international conference of experts and give adequate protection to all interests. I recommend to the Congress that we accept the plan, subscribe the capital allotted to us, and participate wholeheartedly in the bank's work.

This measure, with others I shall later suggest, should go far to take care of our part of the lending requirements of the post-war years. They should help the countries concerned to get production started, to get over the first crisis of disorganization and fear, to begin the work of reconstruction and development; and they should help our farmers and our industries to get over the crisis of reconversion by making a large volume of export business possible in the post-war years.

As confidence returns private investors will participate more and more in foreign lending and investment without any Government assistance. But to get over the first crisis, in the situation that confronts us, loans and guarantees by agencies of Government will be essential.

We all know, however, that a prosperous world economy must be built on more than foreign investment. Exchange rates must be stabi-

lized and the channels of trade opened up throughout the world. A large foreign trade after victory will generate production, and therefore wealth. It will also make possible the servicing of foreign investments.

Almost no one in the modern world produces what he eats and wears and lives in. It is only by the division of labor among people and among geographic areas, with all their varied resources, and by the increased all-around production which specialization makes possible, that any modern country can sustain its present population. It is through exchange and trade that efficient production in large units becomes possible. To expand the trading circle, to make it richer, more competitive, more varied, is a fundamental contribution to everybody's wealth and welfare.

#### ECONOMIC COOPERATION ASKED

It is time for the United States to take the lead in establishing the principle of economic cooperation as the foundation for expanded world trade. We propose to do this, not by setting up a super-government, but by international negotiation and agreement, directed to the improvement of the monetary institutions of the world and of the laws that govern trade.

We have done a good deal in those directions in the last ten years under

the Trade Agreements Act of 1934 and through the stabilization fund operated by our Treasury. But our present enemies were powerful in those years too, and they devoted all their efforts not to international collaboration, but to autarchy and economic warfare. When victory is won we must be ready to go forward rapidly on a wide front. We all know very well that this will be a long and complicated business.

A good start has been made. The United Nations monetary conference at Bretton Woods has taken a long step forward on a matter of great practical importance to us all. The conference submitted a plan to create an international monetary fund which will put an end to monetary chaos. The fund is a financial institution to preserve stability and order in the exchange rates between different moneys. It does not create a single money for the world; neither we nor anyone else is ready to do that. There will still be a different money in each country, but with the fund in operation the value of each currency in international trade will remain comparatively stable. Changes in the value of foreign currencies will be made only after careful consideration by the fund of the factors involved.

Furthermore, and equally important, the fund agreement establishes a code of agreed principles for the conduct of exchange and currency affairs. In a nutshell, the fund agree-

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ment spells the difference between a world caught again in the maelstrom of panic and economic warfare culminating in war—as in the Nineteen Thirties—or a world in which the members strive for a better life through mutual trust, cooperation and assistance. The choice is ours.

I therefore recommend prompt action by the Congress to provide the subscription of the United States to the international monetary fund and the legislation necessary for our membership in the fund.

The international fund and bank together represent one of the most sound and useful proposals for international collaboration now before us. On the other hand, I do not want to leave with you the impression that these proposals for the fund and bank are perfect in every detail.

It may well be that the experience of future years will show us how they can be improved. I do wish to make it clear, however, that these articles of agreement are the product of the best minds that forty-four nations could muster. These men, who represented nations from all parts of the globe, nations in all stages of economic development, nations with different political and economic philosophies, have reached an accord which is presented to you for your consideration and approval. It would be a tragedy if differences of opinion on minor details should lead us to sacrifice the basic agreement achieved on the major problems.

#### OTHER PROPOSALS DUE SHORTLY

Nor do I want to leave with you the impression that the fund and the bank are all that we will need to solve the economic problems which will face the United Nations when the war is over. There are other problems which we shall be called upon to solve. It is my expectation that other proposals will shortly be ready to submit to you for your consideration.

These will include the establishment of the food and agriculture organization of the United Nations, broadening and strengthening of the Trade Agreements Act of 1934, international agreement for the reduction of trade barriers, the control of cartels and the orderly marketing of world surpluses of certain commodities, a revision of the Export-Import Bank, and an international oil agreement, as well as proposals in the field of civil aviation, shipping and radio wire communications. It will also be necessary, of course, to repeal the Johnson Act.

In this message I have recommended for your consideration the immediate adoption of the Bretton Woods agreements and suggested other measures which will have to be dealt with in the near future. They are all parts of a consistent whole.

That whole is our hope for a secure and fruitful world, a world in which plain people in all countries can work at tasks which they do well, exchange

in peace the products of their labor and work out their several destinies in security and peace; a world in which Governments, as their major contribution to the common welfare are highly and effectively resolved to work together in practical affairs and to guide all their actions by the knowledge that any policy or act that has effects abroad must be considered in the light of those effects.

This point in history at which we stand is full of promise and of danger. The world will either move to-

ward unity and widely shared prosperity or it will move apart into necessarily competing economic blocs.

We have a chance, we citizens of the United States, to use our influence in favor of a more united and cooperating world. Whether we do so will determine, as far as it is in our power, the kind of lives our grandchildren can live.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

The White House.

February 12, 1945.

## NEW BOOKS ON OUR TABLE

- America's Decisive Battle.* The text of a report by Earl Browder, President of the Communist Political Association, to a meeting of its National Committee held in New York City, March 10, 1945. (New Century Publishers) New York. 32 pp. 5¢
- The Soviet Spirit.* Harry F. Ward. (International Publishers) New York, 1945. 160 pp. \$1.75
- The Chinese Labor Movement.* Nym Wales. (John Day) New York, 1945. 236 pp. \$2.75
- World Cooperation for Postwar Prosperity.* James S. Allen. (New Century Publishers) 1945. 64 pp. 10¢
- Communists in the Fight for Negro Rights.* Contributions to a Round-Table Symposium by James W. Ford, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., William L. Patterson, Earl Browder. (New Century Publishers) 1945. 24 pp. 5¢
- Memorandum in Support of Petition by the National Lawyers Guild to the President of the United States Requesting Cancellation of Deportation Proceedings Against Harry Bridges.* New York, March 15, 1945
- The Harry Bridges Case.* The famous Dissenting Opinion of Mr. Justice William Healy and Mr. Justice Francis Garrecht of the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the Ninth District, with a Foreword by Philip Murray, President of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. (Harry Bridges Victory Committee) San Francisco. 16 pp.
- New Poland.* Boleslaw Gebert. With an Introduction by Arthur Upham Pope. (Polonia Society of the International Workers Order) New York, 1945. 32 pp. 10¢
- The Communist Political Association.* David Goldway. (New Century Publishers) 1945. 32 pp. 10¢
- Challenge to Freedom: The Story of What Happened in Greece.* From the Reports of Leland Stowe and Constantine Poulos. (The Greek American Council) New York, 1945. 32 pp. 5¢



- The Coal Miners.* William Z. Foster. (New Century Publishers) 1945. 24 pp. 5¢
- 1945 *Illinois Legislative Program.* Illinois State Industrial Union Council, C.I.O. Chicago, 1945. 24 pp.
- The Communists and the Liberation of Europe.* Maxine Levi. (New Century Publishers) 1945. 64 pp. 15¢
- Estados Unidos, Teheran y La America Latina: Una Carta a Earl Browder.* Blas Roca. (Ediciones Sociales) Havana, 1945. 32 pp.
- The Trotskyite Fifth Column in the Labor Movement.* George Morris. (New Century Publishers) 1945. 32 pp. 5¢
- Lenin y el Problema Agrario.* Anna Rochester. Translated into the Spanish. (Editorial "Paginas") Havana, 1944. 192 pp.
- China's Greatest Crisis.* Frederick V. Field. (New Century Publishers) 1945. 32 pp. 10¢
- Haiti Faces Tomorrow's Peace.* Max L. Hudicourt. Translated from the French by Anita Dlyn Weinstein. (Sponsored by L'Association Democratique Haitienne) 1945. 24 pp. 10¢
- A Better Canada.* Electoral Program of the Labor-Progressive Party. Toronto, 1945. 32 pp.
- 5 or 10 Cents—Which Is Fair?* Peter V. Cacchione, Member of New York City Council. (Issued by Peter V. Cacchione) New York, 1945. 24 pp.
- The Private Life of the Master Race: A Documentary Play.* Bertolt Brecht. English version and an Essay on the work of Brecht by Eric Russell Bentley. (New Directions) New York, 1944. 152 pp. \$2.50
- Poems.* Joseph Eliyia. Translated from the Greek by Rae Dalven. Illustrated by Johan A. Van Zuylen. Published in Memoriam by the Greek Jews of New York. (Anatolia Press) New York, 1944. 208 pp. \$3.00
- What New York State Needs: An Analysis and Answer to Governor Dewey's Annual Message.* (The Communist Political Association of New York State) New York, 1945. 24 pp.

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