

Report

OF THE
EXECUTIVE
BOARD

CALIFORNIA CIO COUNCIL



6th ANNUAL
CONVENTION

F R E S N O
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1943



WITHOUT THE HARD WORK of the officers and members of the committees of the California CIO Council, much of the activity and program covered in this report would not have been possible. The Executive Board wishes to express appreciation of the industry and interest of the individuals listed on this page.

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Introduction

LAST year, in October, 1942, the California CIO Council held its first wartime convention.

Officially titled the Win-the-War convention, this gathering of delegates from the unions, councils and joint boards of the CIO in California set about to gear the CIO to its new, wartime role.

Conversion of our production machinery and organization of our home front for war was in its first hesitant stages. Our concern was with making the greatest possible contribution to war output and welding a stable, unified home front behind the men behind our guns.

At that time the forces of the United Nations were on the defensive everywhere. At Stalingrad the Soviet fighters were making an epic last stand against apparently irresistible Nazi hordes. In North Africa, Rommel's German and Italian divisions had penetrated into Egypt and were slashing toward Alexandria. The Japanese were advancing steadily in the South Pacific. In the Pacific zone we were frantically rebuilding a Navy all but destroyed at Pearl Harbor; in the Atlantic and on tributary seas packs of Nazi U-boats were torpedoing our ships with alarming frequency.

A long string of triumphs lay behind the three bandit powers of the Axis and they were surging ahead. It was the Valley Forge of the world forces of democracy.

Tables Are Turned

Today, barely a year later, Italy has been blasted out of the war and Anglo-American troops have a foothold on the continent of Europe. A tremendous Russian counter-offensive has sent the Nazi forces reeling back across the Dnieper river and is erasing Hitler's gains of the past two years. American troops and naval forces have ousted the Japanese from the Aleutians and have gone over to the offensive in the South Pacific. Air-borne death and destruction are showered on the heart of Nazidom on a 24-hour daily schedule.

As the Nazi war machine begins to falter Hitler's junior partners seek a way out of the war and the enslaved millions of Europe begin to rouse themselves. Yugoslav partisans fight side-by-side with the Allied armies.

Only one thing is lacking to insure speedy and total victory over the main enemy, Hitler—a second land front in western Europe. President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and the military leaders of America and Britain have declared that only when that great western invasion comes will we have engaged the major force of the enemy and set the stage for final coalition victory. The world awaits that hour eagerly.

But the feet of the United Nations are firmly planted on the road to victory as this second wartime convention of the California CIO Council assembles.

Home Front Fighters

Not reflected by the headlines and the war casualty lists but as definitely related to the growing success of Allied arms has been the war record of labor, occupying the home-front pill boxes of total war. The tanks, planes and guns which pulverized the Nazis at Naples had behind them the workers in the war plants and in all essential home front services as truly as the men in khaki and blue who came to grips with the enemy.

What the men and women of the California CIO have done as individual workers with their tools and in their industries is only one part of their outstanding contribution to victory.

The collective strength and wisdom of the state council and its affiliated local councils and unions have been applied solely to the defeat of fascism. Organizing drives which brought new workers into our unions provided those workers with a means of working collectively and more effectively for victory. The pork chop struggles for security, working conditions and wage improvements within the framework of stabilization also had the aim and effect of increasing the war-time efficiency of the workers involved.

Cooperating with government, management and community groups wherever it could, the California CIO strove for solution of manpower problems, better housing and transportation, adequate feeding of war workers, more child care centers, extension of the labor-management production committee program—in short, did everything possible to increase production.

More Than Our Share

Because national unity and the full integration into the war effort of every American regardless of race, color or creed are desperately needed, the California CIO has taken the initiative for solution of minorities problems. The clamor of our membership for democratic rationing and for effective price control has played its part in promoting stability of the home economy.

Our organized workers have done much more than their proportional share in supporting community war activities such as the War Chests, the Red Cross and the plasma banks with dollars and with blood. Together with organized labor across the nation, the California CIO shares the honor of being the largest purchaser of war bonds.

In the arena of political action—given greater importance than ever by the facts and problems of wartime existence—the California CIO Council, its affiliated groups and members acted to stave off attacks by fifth columnists in the State Legislature and national Congress and supported legislative measures which would improve America's fighting efficiency.

Cooperation Paid Off

Labor's contribution has been greatest where its acceptance and participation have been greatest. That has been as much true of the federal war agencies as it has been of community groups and state and local governmental bodies. The War Labor Board, with direct and equal labor participation has been the most adequate of the war agencies. The War Chests, Red Cross and similar groups which have cooperated with labor have reaped the benefits of that cooperation and done magnificent jobs. Agencies such as OPA which spurned labor support did not do their jobs as well as they could have done them.

Because the contribution which it can make to victory is so great, the California CIO will continue to battle for a greater voice and a chance to do a bigger job. But win, lose or draw—where it has been most successful and where least successful—the CIO in California has worked whole-souledly for victory in this, our war, and for a durable people's peace in this, our world. And its contribution, together with that of all organized labor, has been not the least reason for the mounting success of United Nations arms.

A Hard Road Ahead

But the war has not yet been won.

There are those who say that the struggle is practically over and who clamor for relaxation of wartime controls and let-down in tempo. Some of them know better, some are carried away by false optimism. But the nation cannot be diverted by these blind or vicious counsels.

A few Allied victories, important though they may be, provide no reason for complacency. The bitterest, most costly battles lie ahead. They can be won in the shortest time and with the least loss of life only if the home front warriors work harder and produce more. Military victories will bring "unconditional surrender" and the right kind of peace only if we continue to build national unity at home and greater understanding between the peoples of the United Nations.

Thus the principal reason why the California CIO Council is holding a convention this year is to further unify and mobilize CIO in this State to make its maximum contribution to achievement of complete victory through utter annihilation of fascism.

This convention must assume an added responsibility because of a coalition of die-hard Republicans and poll-tax Democrats in Congress which handed the cause of democratic victory a severe set-back in the past session of Congress. Their actions have sabotaged the war, bred disunity and left loopholes for Hitler's agents to play their last trump card—a bid for a negotiated peace.

Broad national unity is needed to set Congress back on the victory beam, and prevent seizure of the government in the elections of 1944 by those who would obliterate our military triumph with an appeasement peace. It therefore becomes our main task to carry on a program of political action which will unify the American people behind the victory program of our Commander-in-Chief.

This new and most important issue has compelled us to declare that the keynote of this Convention must be "SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT FOR TOTAL VICTORY."

Labor's Aims

THE military victories now being won by the United Nations in Italy, at Kiev and in the air over Berlin are bringing closer the end of the fighting and the shaping of the peace. Now—at this very moment—there are being made military and political decisions which will shape the kind of world in which we and our children will live for decades to come.

But this war to annihilate fascism cannot be won just by the defeat of the fascist armies on the battlefields and on the seas. If we knock out Hitler and conquer Japan but emerge from our military triumphs into a world seething with hunger, misery and suspicion we will not have won the war.

The real test of the outcome of this global conflict will be how the people fare the world over. There can be an extension of democracy and prosperity, or there can be widespread economic chaos, mass unemployment, desperation and antagonisms, in which will take root and grow the seeds of another war.

It is America's job NOW to take the steps necessary to insure a total victory under conditions which will promote a peace based upon everything that is the opposite of the greed and power politics which in the decades after the last war led straight to economic and political turmoil and spawned the fascist regimes which launched this war.

International Cooperation Vital

Labor is resolved that when the sound of firing ceases there must be full employment, world-wide democracy, universal right to organize and maintain trade unions, governments of the people's own choosing and broad international cooperation.

The democracy which we're talking about for the whole world certainly includes us, too. Here at home we must make the letter of American democracy stand for the living fact of full equality and opportunity for all our people, regardless of race, color or creed. If we fail, there will be distrust of any international slogans of democracy which we may advance.

Acting on its own, however, our country can have only a limited influence on the course of world affairs. A real people's peace cannot be achieved by an American-British imperialist partnership; neither can it be achieved by countries building barriers about themselves and separating into armed camps. It can come only through the flow of trade, exchange of information and mutual cooperation between all the nations of the earth, and particularly between the main partners of the United Nations—the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and China. It must arise from a new deal for the suppressed millions in the colonial regions, with self-government, freedom and economic opportunity especially for the peoples of India, the Philippines, Africa and the South Pacific.

Labor can be a decisive force in bringing about this kind of postwar world by developing international trade union unity. Alignment of the organized workers throughout the world for these objectives would be the best guarantee of a peace that will secure for the people the benefits of their victory.

To achieve this postwar purpose, it becomes our responsibility to start working for international trade union unity now. We favor the calling of a conference of trade unions of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the other United Nations in which free trade unions exist, to lay the foundation for a world congress of labor.

Place at the Peace Table

But unity of international labor alone is not enough. It is essential, too, that organized labor be represented at the peace table. The California CIO Council demands that one of our nation's representatives at the peace conference be CIO President Philip Murray. The CIO leader's presence would assure consideration for the proposal which he has advanced, and which the California CIO supports, for writing into the peace an international Wagner Act or labor charter to promote establishment of free trade unionism in every country of the globe.

American labor's stake in the war and in the peace is so great, and the contribution which it is in position to make so important to the nation that the long-overdue steps to give labor real representation in our government must be taken at once.

The post of Secretary of Labor in the President's cabinet should be held by a leader of organized labor. Labor representatives should hold high and responsible posts in the State department, whose international policies are so vital now and in the postwar, and whose record is so tainted with appeasement. A labor man should head the Social Security agency, whose program affects the lives of so many millions of Americans.

The timetable of the war permits no further delay in this involvement of labor's own representatives in our government. The knockout blows against Hitler and Tojo are now being readied; the war is entering its decisive phase. To stall on this issue now is to give labor the brush-off and show clear intent to deny to organized labor an official hand in conducting the war and guiding postwar adjustment.

In calling for labor representation we don't mean the handing of jobs to worn-out labor political hacks who have lost touch with the rank and file of labor and the common people. We mean the appointment to responsible posts in government of those dynamic, aggressive representatives of the workers who do enjoy the support of the rank and file and who symbolize and fight for labor's aims.

Recognition of the CIO

Certainly that requires recognition of the CIO's role as a force for victory and democracy by inclusion of a proper number of CIO leaders. Selection of the cream of labor's leadership is not possible without drawing upon such outstanding Americans as Philip Murray, Sidney Hillman, R. J. Thomas, Harry Bridges and Joseph Curran, to mention but a few.



GOVERNMENT truly of the people, by the people and for the people has never been needed more in this country than now, when we must already be preparing to cope with the gigantic problems with which peace will confront us here at home.

America at war presents the picture of a huge, incredibly complex machine racing at top speed. To stop it suddenly would create stresses which might tear it apart. The drag and friction to overcome in starting it again after it had been patched up would require tremendous motive power.

Our nation's vast industries, broad acres and busy workers are now pouring out goods and services at the unprecedented rate of \$180 billion of value a year. Half of that total product is diverted into war channels. The market for much of the rest of it exists only because of employment in our industries and in agriculture of the greatest labor force in our history.

Peace May Bring Chaos

If, when the war ends, our economy should be allowed to snap back like an over-stretched rubber band the production of goods and services for war would jolt to a sudden stop. Wartime need for at least half our total output would cease overnight. Plants of every kind—whole industries, in fact—would shut down, some for a lengthy process of reconversion to peacetime production; some, perhaps, permanently.

Nearly 10,000,000 men and women would be thrown into idleness at a moment when an even-greater level of production was needed to provide jobs for some 8,000,000 men and women demobilized from our armed services.

A week after peace was signed there would be hundreds of thousands of candidates for the breadlines here in California. Under present conditions, what would happen to the 700,000 workers in California's aircraft and shipbuilding industries? Where would they go to work when their plants shut down? What about the thousands employed in emergency government services?

What will YOU do when the war is over?

Pause for a moment to look at this problem and its outlines become plain and frightening. It is clear that unless this coming crisis is foreseen and steps to meet it are initiated—sweeping and immediate steps—the United States faces the certainty of economic disaster after this war, with mass unemployment, want and despair such as it never knew even in the depths of the depression of the '30s.

The fascism which we are now attempting to root out and destroy was born of just such dilemma and desperation, created by the backwash of the last war. It would be one of history's greatest ironies if the aftermath of America's participation in a war to rid the earth of fascism should be permitted to create the conditions in our country for economic reaction and its political form of control—fascism. Not the least of the consequences would be the sowing of the seeds of another war.

Opportunities and Hazards

The opportunities ahead are as golden as the hazards are great. If the American nation can demonstrate the courage and wisdom in peace which we are now showing in war there is a straight-line road ahead which leads to a flourishing economy with useful work, health and happiness for all.

This is not a Utopian view or idle dreaming. It requires meeting the problems of transition to peace and turning the momentum of production for war into production for peace without serious slackening. If in the postwar we can keep the national income near its present \$146 billion annual level we won't need to dream. The employment and earning pattern which this would bring would provide adequate diets, comfortable living conditions, health, leisure and education for the mass of Americans.

This is the promise, and this is the threat.



NO one group in the nation can be relied on to provide the answer. Labor, management, the farmer—all must work together. And the instrument they wield must be the instrument of the people in a democracy—their government.

A morning-after headache and heartache at the conclusion of hostilities can be averted in the United States only if we have a government which will face and master the problems of demobilization and reconversion. There must be an administration at the helm with a resolve, and above all with a program, to conserve the people's interests.

The big job we can do TODAY in preparation for the postwar period is to unify and rally labor's numbers in a political action program which will make certain that we get that kind of government in 1944.

But labor's political action drive to assure a real people's Congress requires working unity with the AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods on issues of the war and peace. In the postwar years a fully unified labor movement would be able to beat down attacks such as almost destroyed organized labor after the last war. It would be the strongest democratic force in America. We therefore call upon the national CIO to continue and seek to bring to successful conclusion its unity negotiations with the American Federation of Labor.

In the meantime we of the California CIO will exert every effort toward achievement of practical working unity with AFL, Railroad and all legitimate independent unions on all issues of common interest and concern.

In addition to working for election of the right kind of Congress and President, labor must also help make certain that the nation is armed with an emergency plan for meeting the contingencies of peace and with a long-haul program for security and plenty afterward.

We begin with the premise that if we can risk and sacrifice and pay for war, we can do as much or more for peace.

Plan Is Needed

Thus the democratic answer to America's postwar emergency requires:

1. An administration and a Congress with the wisdom to recognize the problems and the courage to tackle and solve them. In 1944 we propose to elect such a president and Congress.
2. Immediate first steps toward preparation of a comprehensive federal program to cope with the problems of demobilization of our fighters and return to an economy of peace.

Such a program must include:

1. MAINTENANCE OF EMPLOYMENT AND EARNING POWER.

A federal blueprint for planned and speedy conversion of our industries to a basis of productivity for peacetime living must be prepared. This conversion should be stimulated by subsidies when necessary, exactly reversing the procedure by which we spurred the change to war production. After the war, tax provisions should be adopted which would encourage production and jobs by giving favorable treatment to profits from useful enterprise.

Conversion, no matter how efficiently it proceeds, will take time. The millions whose jobs have folded up under them must be protected against hardship during that interval. This must be done through a federal public works program of at least \$100 billion which will provide jobs at full wages. Irrigation dams and hydroelectric projects; public housing; slum clearance projects; the building of airports, schools, libraries and hospitals—these and similar government enterprises can supply the jobs. *We stress, however, that by the term jobs we don't mean boondoggling or puttering around at anything, just so it doesn't trespass on private interests. We mean useful labor whose products will contribute to the welfare of the nation and betterment of the people.*

The tremendous investment of more than \$20 billion which the public, through the government, has made in war plants and which has been handed over to private enterprise, must be protected and made to work in the interests of the people. For unless proper safeguards are provided, this \$20 billion of taxpayers' money will become, when the war is over, little more than a gift to a few large corporations. To insure rapid conversion to peacetime production and full postwar employment by these plants the government must maintain control over them.

Severance pay for workers displaced as a result of demobilization and return of workers also must be secured.

The postwar full employment program must provide for a national minimum wage of not less than \$30 a week.

There must be an agricultural policy which protects the small farmer and the family farm; maintains an equitable balance between agricultural and industrial prices; provides for long-term, low-interest federal credit to farmers, crop insurance and protection of prices and safeguards against foreclosure or eviction.

The varied forms of subsidies granted to business during the war are evidence of the government's ability to maintain and even increase production when the national interest demands it—in peace, as well as during wartime.

2. REWARDING AND PROTECTING THE SERVICEMEN.

All men and women in the armed services should, after demobilization, remain on the government civilian payroll with pay and subsistence allowance until jobs are provided for them. Generous discharge bonuses should be provided for. It is our responsibility to provide work at decent wages to all those who risked their lives for our national survival and who return able to work. Those who desire it should be given free technical or professional training. For those who are wounded or ill there must be the best of care. The disabled or incapacitated must be rehabilitated at government expense. There must be adequate pensions for the disabled and for bereaved families.

3. ENLARGEMENT OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY PROGRAM.

A system of federal health insurance to be paid for by employers and workers must be instituted which will provide hospitalization and medical and dental care for all workers and their families; emphasis on hygiene, preventive medicine and child welfare; rehabilitation of victims of industrial diseases and accidents.

All persons must be certain of security after they reach the age of 60 on a decency, not the present inadequate basis. The same security must be guaranteed the blind, the maimed and the infirm.



TODAY and for many bitter tomorrows the war against fascism continues. The California CIO Council and all of labor know that its hardest battles lie ahead and that they must continue to give their total effort for total victory.

But today, somewhere in a dusty field in Italy, an American boy—perhaps your brother or cousin or neighbor—perished to achieve that victory. He was fighting to preserve our democratic way of life, against fascism's slavery, bigotry, fear and want.

In labor's hands are the responsibility and the opportunity to see that his sacrifice was not futile.

Only through the shaping and execution of a plan for the peace such as the one outlined here can the provisions and the spirit of the Atlantic Charter be brought to life and the Four Freedoms—freedom from want, freedom of worship, freedom of speech and freedom from fear—be assured for all of mankind.

This is part of our battle task. It is for this that we fight.

Political Action

POLITICAL action must become the No. 1 activity of the CIO in California.

Notable progress has already been made in this direction. This report and the recommendations of the State CIO Legislative and Political Action Committee propose to hasten that progress markedly.

We are a nation at war. Labor is setting notable production records. Major military victories are being scored by our forces in Europe and Asia.

Meanwhile, a dangerous coalition of forces in Congress threatens to destroy everything for which we are fighting.

This bloc presents a dangerous trend toward fascism—alarming alike to the fighting men in the services and the working men and women of America.

This is the Congress which has:

1. Refused to prevent price and profit increases while limiting wages, thus failing to stabilize the national wartime economy.
2. Bestowed tax favoritism on the wealthy while deducting 20 per cent from the wages of labor.
3. Denied adequate appropriations to vital war agencies.
4. Vented its hatred on President Roosevelt and labor at the expense of the national security. The Smith-Connally bill, a discriminatory, undemocratic and provocative anti-labor law, is the classic example in this regard.

(A thorough analysis of the role of the national Congress will be given the membership in a Legislative Manual now in preparation by the Political Action Department of the California CIO Council, and which will be published shortly after this convention.)

How the Program Developed

It was the actions of this Congress which brought home to the CIO during the early months of 1943 the need for labor political action on an heretofore unprecedented scale.

It became clear that this was not a Congress which could adequately prosecute the war or write a people's peace.

It became clear that labor must speak sharply at the ballot box against a Congress which has shown an unmistakable trend toward appeasing fascist forces.

It became clear that a wage increase for labor meant nothing if it were to be inequitably taxed out of the pay check.

Labor had foregone its traditional and strongest weapon—the strike—for the duration. Labor was now pleading its case before government agencies.

It became clear that if such agencies became the tools of special interests, then labor's only recourse was the political ballot.

From these realizations grew the political action program as it is developing today.

In April of this year the Executive Board of the California CIO Council created a permanent Legislative and Political Action committee to promote year-around political activity. That was the beginning.

On July 8, 1943, at the very moment when the national CIO Executive Board was adopting a similar program in Washington, D. C., the California CIO Executive Board adopted a political action program which surpassed in emphasis and scope any previous CIO venture into political activity.

The Program

The program was one of action, not just for CIO members but for *all* people who want to win the war decisively and quickly and who want victory to bring a just and durable peace.

The California CIO political action program coincides in every respect with the national CIO legislative program.

The program is two-fold.

One phase concerns the present Congress, which will be passing laws until January of 1945.

The other phase concerns immediate preparation for the elections which will be held in the summer and fall of 1944.

Fundamental to each phase of the program is the establishment of a political action committee in each local union and CIO Council.

In laying down this program the California CIO Council reaffirmed its no-strike pledge for the duration of the war.

THERE are five specific legislative proposals which are being constantly advocated as a part of the program. They are:

1. *Repeal of the Smith-Connally War Labor Disputes Law.*
2. *Enactment of an adequate subsidy program to assure increased production of food and reduction in the cost of living to the level in effect on September 15, 1942.*
3. *Enactment of a fair tax program based on ability to pay. This includes repeal of the present modified Ruml tax law and unalterable opposition to a federal sales tax in any form.*
4. *Adoption of the anti-poll tax bill.*
5. *Enactment of the Murray-Wagner-Dingle Bill.*

Watchword of the program has been "SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT."

Fundamental to the entire program is the business of preparing for the 1944 campaign.

The final answer as to whether the reactionaries and appeasers in Congress will succeed in defeating the President, labor and the people will be given by the voters in the presidential elections of 1944.

The CIO program contains five specific recommendations in this regard.

They are:

1. *Registration of all union members as voters.*
2. *Listing the names and addresses of all union members by precinct, assembly district and congressional district.*
3. *Creation of effective political organizations in assembly and congressional districts.*
4. *Checking voting records, speeches and actions of incumbent congressmen and other public officials to determine whether these representatives have fully supported President Roosevelt and are entitled to the support of labor and the people in 1944.*
5. *Cooperating with AFL, Railroad Brotherhoods, Democratic party representatives and other groups in selection of candidates for the 1944 elections.*

That's the program:

To implement it, the state Executive Board called for a minimum political action war chest of \$100,000. To raise this money, the committee asked for the equivalent of \$1 from every CIO member in the state of California.

To carry out the program the committee employed two full-time legislative directors.

Progress to Date

The program first put forward in April has now become a political crusade, a crusade on behalf of all of the common people to support the President and win the war. Today that crusade is gaining momentum.

We already stand far better prepared for the battles which are being waged in Congress than we were in April when the congressional tide of reaction was gaining the momentum which reached a climax in the Smith-Connally bill.

Let us examine briefly the record of accomplishment and the prospect for the immediate future:

1. FINANCES.

The July program called for the equivalent of \$1 from every CIO member in the state. This meant a realistic prospect of \$100,000 to finance the 16-month campaign. Subsequently, the political action committee set \$20,000 as the convention goal. To date \$18,025.50 has been raised.

A wide variety of methods are being used to raise this money. Some unions are voting it from their treasuries. Others vote assessments. Some have donated wages received for overtime. Others give pay received for doing farm work. Some stage benefit affairs. One dollar "SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT" stamps are available for those who wish to use this method. Rank and file reaction to the appeal has generally been good.

2. ENGLE CAMPAIGN.

Major item on the credit side of the ledger in evaluation of the CIO's fledgling political action crusade is the election of Clair Engle, a pro-Roosevelt, CIO-endorsed congressman

in the vast and mountainous Second Congressional district. Engle was elected August 31 in a special election held to fill the seat left vacant by the death of Republican Harry Englebright.

This campaign was made a point of major emphasis by the political action committee, which concentrated every resource on mobilizing CIO vote in the area.

An analysis of election returns proves conclusively that Engle's margin of victory was established in precincts where there was a labor vote.

This first practical application of the political action program proved the value of the personal contact method of campaigning as well as the fact that effective labor unity for political action can be built on a rank and file level with the AFL, independent and railroad brotherhood unions. Cooperation of the Sacramento CIO Council in this campaign was notable. The Council aided in carrying the campaign directly to the workers—most of them sawmill and timber workers employed in remote Sierra counties.

3. LABOR UNITY.

All elements of labor are rallying to the banner of political action. AFL, Independent and Railroad Brotherhood unions are joining with us in an ever-growing alliance against the forces of appeasement and reaction. The Engle campaign stands as a concrete example of what can be accomplished when labor pulls together.

In the East Bay a labor unity organization known as United Labor's Legislative Committee is setting an exemplary pace in the field of joint action. The United Labor League of Santa Clara County is another example of an effective joint AFL, CIO, independent and Railroad Brotherhood organization. The San Joaquin County Labor Defense League has revived the joint action spirit which defeated "Hot Cargo" in that county last November. A start has been made toward unity in Sacramento and in Monterey. In Los Angeles monthly meetings with the AFL on political action have been arranged.

Prospects for effective joint action in San Francisco are good since the CIO, railroad unions and large and important sections of the AFL have united on a candidate for mayor in the municipal election November 2.

4. VISITS TO CONGRESSMEN.

Never has the California congressional delegation been greeted by such an alert, articulate, well-informed labor constituency as waited upon it during the July to September recess. Every California congressman with an appreciable CIO constituency who came home during the recess was visited by at least one committee.

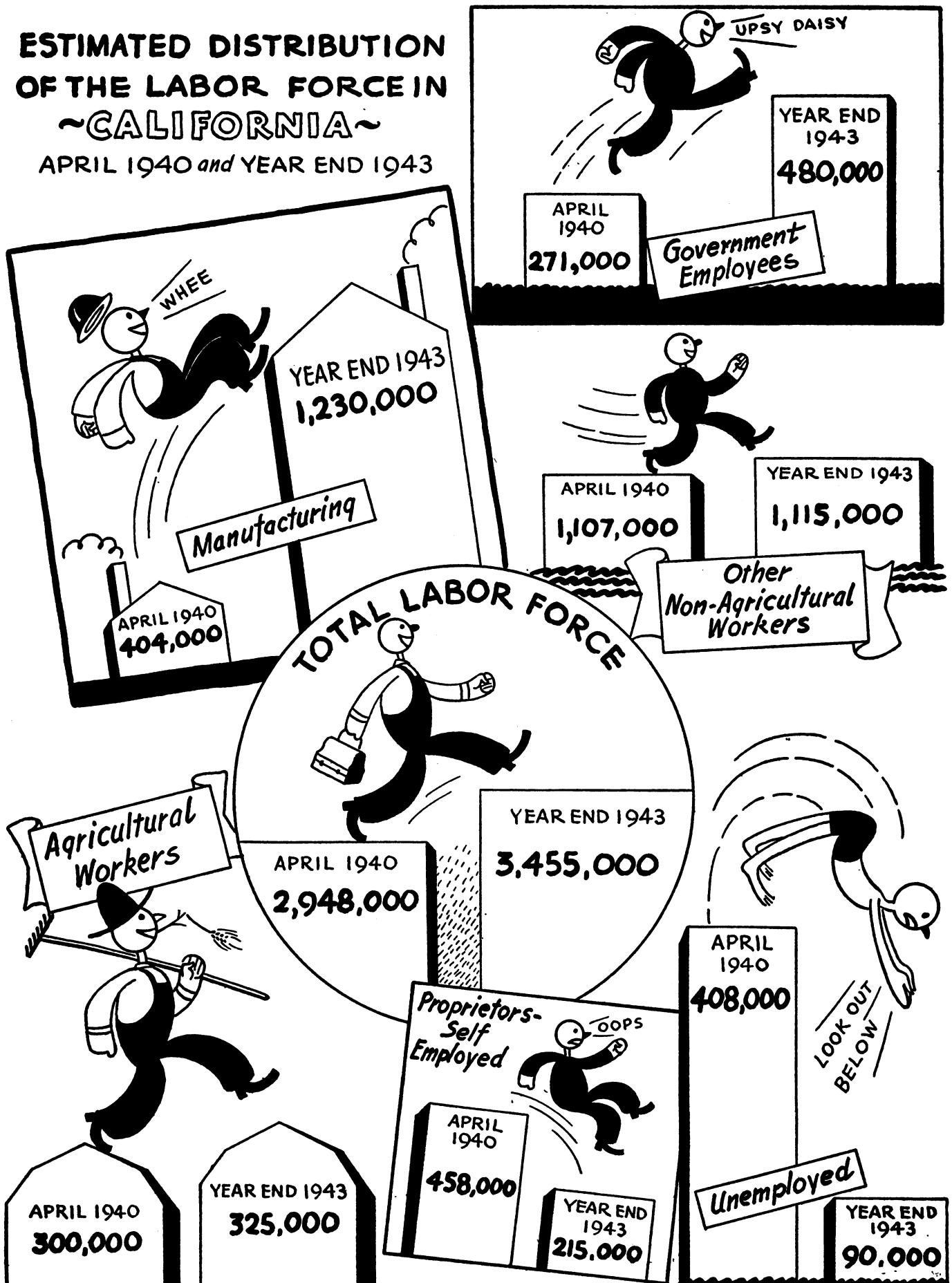
These committees confronted the congressmen with their records, commended them upon their good votes, asked them to explain their bad votes. The congressmen were asked to state their position on the basic points in the CIO program. Some congressmen made favorable commitments. Others stood firm against the program. Some just ducked the issues.

In many cases the delegations included AFL, independent and Railroad Brotherhood members. Many congressmen received visits from several delegations.

More CIO members saw their congressmen at close range than ever before. The congressmen whose records could stand the test must have taken heart from the character and quality of these delegations. If the others did not take warning they should have.

ESTIMATED DISTRIBUTION OF THE LABOR FORCE IN ~CALIFORNIA~

APRIL 1940 and YEAR END 1943



5. COOPERATION WITH GROUPS OUTSIDE OF LABOR.

It was early recognized that to have an effective political action program, the CIO must work with other groups of similar interests—minorities, consumers, farm groups, pensioners, etc. Although much remains to be done in this field, some progress can be reported.

In the case of the minorities problem, the political action committee and the legislative directors are cooperating closely with the CIO minorities committee and its directors. The CIO Minorities Conference held in San Francisco, August 8, is an example of such cooperation.

Assistance was given the Consumers division of the Los Angeles CIO Council in sponsoring a consumers' meeting in the 14th Congressional district.

The CIO participated, together with the AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods, in a program staged by the Townsend groups in Sonoma on September 19.

There was similar participation in a conference of war housing tenant associations at Vallejo on October 3.

A definite cooperative relationship has been established with the Women's division of the Democratic State Central Committee and with the League of Women Voters.

6. DEMOCRATIC-LABOR CONFERENCES.

A series of Democratic-Labor conferences are now definitely in the offing. These conferences, which are to be called through the official machinery of the Democratic party, are for the purpose of bringing labor and Democratic party leaders together in the various areas to discuss program and the selection of candidates for the 1944 elections.

The conferences, which give official recognition to the fact that labor is the Democratic party's strongest single ally, are being planned for San Francisco, Oakland, Los Angeles and San Jose with additional meetings a distinct possibility. First conference will probably be an Eighth congressional district meeting in San Jose in November. A meeting in Sacramento for the Third congressional district is also being proposed.

7. LITERATURE.

In the field of the written word, the political action program has forged ahead at an effective pace. Output in this regard is, however, definitely slated to increase.

The legislative directors are contributing a weekly column to the LABOR HERALD designed to provide latest political action information. In this connection all CIO unions in California are being urged to subscribe to the LABOR HERALD for every member.

Political action bulletins are being used to mobilize rapid CIO action on key issues pending before Congress. A special political action letterhead has been designed for this purpose. Arrangements have been completed to have word of pending actions flashed directly from Washington to the state Council office, from where the bulletins will be dispatched to a special political action mailing list.

This is one reason why it is important for the names and addresses of political action committee members to be on file with the state office.

A political action manual will be ready for distribution shortly after the state CIO convention. Purpose of this manual will be twofold. It will contain technical information such as lists of congressmen, state legislators, voting requirements, information on how service men vote, etc. In addition, it will also contain the CIO political action program and

specific advice on how to put it into effect, as well as the voting records of congressmen and state legislators on key issues. The manual is designed to answer all of the major questions which the average political action committee may encounter.

A large poster is now ready for distribution containing the voting records of California congressmen. This poster, which contains space for adding the votes of congressmen on new issues, is designed to be posted in union halls where it can be a constant reminder to the membership.

That in brief is our progress to date.

What Remains to Be Done

Based on the findings of the Legislative and Political Action committee, the executive board makes the following recommendations:

1. That emphasis in organizing for political action be concentrated within neighborhoods and precincts.
2. That an intensive registration campaign be conducted between January 1 and March 23, 1944, designed (a) to register every eligible CIO member and (b) to give selective emphasis to registration among minority groups.
3. Immediate intensification of the drive to collect political action funds.
4. Issuance by the directors of a political action bulletin every two weeks.
5. That the state convention adopt a resolution praising the record of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and calling upon him to accept nomination for a fourth term.

TAXES

THE President's seven-point anti-inflation program called for increased taxation, with the maintenance of personal and corporate profits at a low rate and limitation of private income to \$25,000 per year. As we have repeatedly pointed out, no single point of the program by itself can stop inflation. The program was conceived as a seven-point indivisible program, and effectuation of each one of the points is necessary for its success.

It was up to Congress to meet its responsibility to the country and provide a win-the-war tax program. This Congress has failed to do. Since our last convention Congress passed the so-called Tax Act of 1942. The most striking feature of the tax bill was that low income groups were saddled with oppressive burdens. Before 1940 the individual exemption was \$1,000 for single persons and \$2,500 for married couples, plus \$400 for each dependent. These exemptions have been cut to \$500, \$1,200 and \$350 respectively.

Prior to 1940, the effective tax rate on the lowest taxable income bracket was 4 per cent. Today it stands at 19 per cent. In addition, the 1942 act added the so-called "victory tax" of 5 per cent on all incomes over \$12 a week, thus increasing the rate of levy on the taxable income of the lowest bracket to 24 per cent. This phoney tax was sold to the people under the false label of "victory," with a partial postwar refund as a come-on.

Taxes for the low income groups were multiplied 10 and 20-fold, but the rich retained their pre-war loopholes. Government securities remained tax exempt (except for new federal securities); the Treasury still loses hundreds of millions of dollars a year through separate returns by wealthy couples. Estate and gift taxes are still low.

Profits Undisturbed

The increase in the regular rates of tax on corporate profits has been moderate. The 16 per cent rate applicable to 1939 profits of large corporations has been raised to 40 per cent on 1942 profits, although the Treasury requested at least 55 per cent. The excess profits tax remains ineffective since it permits corporations with low pre-war profits to base their returns on investment capital, while the previously prosperous corporations pay only on the excess over their pre-war average earnings.

It is the position of both the national and state CIO that taxation cannot be the main instrument of the economic stabilization program. Our approach to a tax program during wartime is based on the following premises:

1. The tax program must serve primarily as a support for the overall economic stabilization program. It can be an aid to the control of excess purchasing power, but at the same time it must provide a guarantee of security and productive efficiency to the workers.

No tax program should deprive the workers of the ability to purchase the necessities of life. It must guarantee, by sufficiently high exemptions, the ability of the lower-paid groups to purchase the necessities of life in sufficient quantities to maintain their health and productive efficiency. Tax exemptions should be such as to allow every worker an opportunity to pay off his debts and allow a moderate amount of savings. This is entirely consistent with the seven-point economic stabilization program and is a necessary contribution to morale and efficiency.

2. A tax program should be designed to help pay the cost of the war, but this cost should be placed upon those best able to pay. It is desirable to raise by taxation the greatest amount of money consistent with a win-the-war tax policy. However, it should be borne in mind that revenue is not the sole aim of taxation. The principle that every person must be guaranteed at least the minimum necessities should never be lost sight of.

FDR States Principles

The President himself stated these principles in his budget message to Congress in January, 1943. He said, in essence:

1. "Fiscal measures must be designed not only to provide revenue, but also to support the stabilization program as well, by deterring luxury or non-essential spending."

2. "The cost of the war should be distributed in an equitable and fair manner."

3. "Fiscal measures should 'not impair but actually promote maximum war production'."

4. "Taxation should be simplified and put on a pay-as-you-go basis 'as far as feasible'."

5. "Fairness requires the closing of loopholes and the removal of inequities which still exist in our tax laws."



THESE basic taxation principles were deliberately and flagrantly flouted by Congress in the modified Ruml tax plan passed in May of this year. The "Current Tax Payment Act of 1943" is much more than a mechanical device to put income tax payments on a pay-as-you-go basis. It is one of the biggest tax steals in history. Although the 75 per cent forgiveness feature applies to all tax payers alike, it means little

saving for the low income brackets, and is a windfall for recipients of high incomes. For example:

A \$2,000-a-year man will have \$105 in taxes forgiven. *This is equivalent to three weeks' net income (income after taxes).*

A \$10,000-a-year man (Senators and Congressmen come in this class) will have \$1,600 forgiven. *This is two and a half months' net income.*

A \$20,000-a-year man will have \$4,800 forgiven. *This is over four months' net income.*

A \$200,000-a-year man will have \$112,500 forgiven. *This is two years' and three months' net income.*

In addition to giving a disproportionate handout to the wealthy, the modified Ruml steal failed in the second purpose of taxation. Instead of providing revenue, it actually resulted in a loss of almost eight billion dollars. The bill failed to do what any wartime tax bill should do; it failed to distribute the burden according to ability to pay; it failed to raise money to help pay the cost of the war.

Congress is now faced with the necessity of raising additional billions for the conduct of the war. It was reported that at the time the pay-as-you-go tax plan was agreed upon by the Senate and House Conference Committee it was stipulated there would be no increase in income tax rates for two years. In other words, tax rates on the higher brackets were not to be increased. The tax "experts" instead must think up new ways to get more money from the little fellow.

Sales Tax Threat

Spokesmen for the House Ways and Means Committee are currently proposing a general sales tax of around 10 per cent. Such a tax obviously is not in accord with the principles of a win-the-war program. It takes a serious amount of purchasing power away from those at the lowest level of living and places practically no burden upon the larger income groups who spend a relatively small share of their income on the necessities of life.

The new czar of Administration tax policy is James Byrnes, head of the Office of War Mobilization, and it may be assumed that he is the primary instigator of the current Treasury tax proposal, which departs from the principles laid down by the President. It lowers present exemptions from \$1,200 to \$1,100 for married couples, and the dependency allowance from \$350 to \$300. It eliminates entirely the credit for earned income. The Treasury estimates that 65 per cent of the \$10 billion revenue expected from its tax proposal will be accounted for by these two features. In other words, the workers who earn their money instead of clipping bond coupons, and especially the low income workers, must bear the bulk of the burden.

The CIO tax program is the only concrete tax proposal which is in line with the President's statement of principles. It would raise the necessary revenue and distribute the burden without depriving workers and their families of the basic necessities for health and productivity. These are the principles underlying the CIO tax program, which calls for:

1. Income exemption of \$800 for single persons, \$1,500 for married persons and \$400 for dependents, instead of present exemptions of \$500, \$1,200 and \$350.

2. Repeal of the "victory tax," which imposes a flat 5 per cent burden on all wages down to the worker's first \$12 a week, with no regard to living costs, family obligations and dependents.

3. Firm opposition to sales taxes of any kind, because they cut into the food and clothing budgets of war workers and impair their health and working efficiency.

4. Increase tax rates beginning at the \$3,000-a-year level, go up sharply after \$5,000 and move to hold the net income after taxes to \$25,000 a year.

5. Abolition of special privileges, like tax-free bonds, separate returns for wealthy couples, special allowances to certain industries (oil and mining) to plug big tax loopholes that cost the nation hundreds of millions a year in lost revenue.

6. Increase taxes on corporation profits from 40 per cent to 55 per cent. Tax excess profits to hold them at 5 per cent on the first \$10,000,000 of capital, 4 per cent after that. Stop the present plan for a handout of 10 per cent in tax refunds to big corporations after the war.

7. Increase taxes on inheritance and gifts, ending the present exemption of \$3,000 per gift.

8. Provide funds for a better Social Security program to protect the people at home and in the armed services by an equitable Social Security tax adjustment.

Taxation, like price control, is an issue with the broadest possible popular appeal. The tax program of the CIO is the only real win-the-war tax program, and the only tax program which the people can and will support. Here is another issue on which the CIO can go to the people as a whole and rally them for political action.

THE GOVERNOR

GOVERNOR Earl Warren has been in office nearly a year. As can be seen from the appraisals in this report of the work of state agencies and the role of the state Administration, and from the evaluation of the last session of the state Legislature made in the section immediately following this one, California's state government has failed to meet its war responsibilities.

The best that can be said for Governor Warren is that he has made a number of good appointments and has shown a grasp of the mechanics of state administration.

Connoisseurs of political dexterity can also admire his masterful ability to maneuver tough situations so as to avoid taking a forthright public position on such major issues of the day as the complete destruction of fascism, support of the President as Commander-in-Chief, price rollbacks, repeal of the Smith-Connally law, and similar important issues which affect winning the war and securing a durable peace.

By peacetime standards his administration might perhaps not be regarded as a bad one.

But this is not peacetime, and Governor Warren must be viewed not in the light of his state office and performance, but in the glare of the national spotlight and against the backdrop of a national election in '44 whose outcome will be crucial to the war and to the peace, to America and to the world.

Every hope of the California CIO and the entire American people for clinching the victory over international fascism and steering safely through the hazards of return to peace rests on election in 1944 of a Congress truly representative of the people and a President with the vision and courage to fight their battle.

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt is that President—on that we are resolved.

But the Republicans have chosen California as one of the major battlegrounds on which to try to defeat the people's aspirations in 1944. And the Rommel picked to lead the Republican party's panzer divisions in California in 1944 is Governor Warren.

Our tactical assignment in the national CIO political battle strategy for 1944 is to join forces with the rest of organized labor and the common people of California to defeat the Republican blitz for a stalemated war, a negotiated peace and a Hooverized post-war period of reaction.

We must organize to stop Earl Warren and his allies in the Hoover faction of the Republican party from making apple-selling by unemployed millions the principal industry of the United States, as they did after the last war.

Our objective is to take leadership in a political crusade of labor, the common people and all other win-the-war forces to re-elect President Roosevelt.

In California the only way in which we can express practical support for President Roosevelt on election day is through the Democratic party. We must cooperate with and work within this party.

Attainment of our objective—the re-election of President Roosevelt—means we must choose our allies NOW, and that we must fight and lick the Republican party and Governor Earl Warren.



THE state Administration under Governor Earl Warren has done little to gear the instrumentalities of the great state of California into the war effort.

A situation has been created in which official California is dragging its feet in the war effort. And the inertia of the state apparatus has hampered the work of the federal agencies in California.

The California CIO Council has exerted a constant pressure on those state agencies with which it has had dealings to increase their participation and effectiveness in the general war program of the country. This effort has not met with much success.

Importance of the state agencies in wartime has been obscured partially by the greater prominence and activity of the federal agencies whose operations now play so great a part in our lives. But under the division of responsibilities and authority between the state and federal governments in our American political system, important fields of activity are kept under the exclusive jurisdiction of the state.

Governor Warren, in numerous recent speeches, has championed states rights' doctrines which seek to broaden the areas of state government supremacy and narrow the field of federal control. It thus becomes doubly important that the people hammer at the state Administration to use all its legal powers and administrative apparatus for positive and active support of the war.

STATE LEGISLATURE

THERE are two ways in which to judge the 1943 session of the California State Legislature: as a friendly debating society or as a legislative department of the state government of a nation engaged in total war.

According to the first named test, the session was a huge success. Significantly missing were the friction and bad feeling of several past sessions, engendered by close political differences and partisanship of a Republican legislature fighting a Democratic governor.

Judged by the second test, as a wartime session, the Legislature failed in its responsibility fully and effectively to mobilize the people and resources of our state behind the war effort.

In other times we might overlook its weakness. But in these times when men sacrifice their lives for our security, to make the Legislature a gentlemen's club where good fellows get together is contrary to the purposes for which the people have elected one hundred and twenty men to represent them in the halls of our Legislature.

'Make It Short'

The dominant tone for the session was: "Make it short, consider only urgency matters, reduce taxes, and go home before the hot weather in Sacramento"; certainly not in itself a bad program. So what happened!

As a consequence of this formula the session hurried through, paying little heed to the importance of an issue.

The evaluation of the last session of the California State Legislature on these pages is a section of the manual on legislative and political action now in preparation by the state CIO Political Action department and scheduled for distribution shortly after this convention.

While plenty time was found to consider ill-timed and vicious anti-New Deal resolutions on the floor, the "hurry-up" policy was always applied on matters not sanctioned by the conservative bloc in control.

Ironically, those who actually befriended Governor Warren in the Legislature were the small bloc of pro-labor and New Deal Democrats who prevented passage of most of the anti-labor bills in the Assembly. They, therefore, saved the Chief Executive from having to take sides in most of the controversial matters presented to the 1943 session.

Conversely, the Governor's supporters led the fight for the passage of those bad bills, which, if they had been passed by both the Assembly and Senate, would have handed to him the choice of backing up his own supporters or repudiating them for labor. This was a choice which Governor Warren evaded all through the session, thereby failing to give the wartime leadership demanded of the Chief Executive.

Price Ceilings

One attack after another was made against price ceilings on meat and poultry, milk, rents, etc., in a series of resolutions,¹ many of which were craftily worded to add to the difficulties in administrative enforcement of price ceilings by the Office of Price Administration. The consumer also got it in the neck when the McMillan bill (AB-1997) to prohibit black markets in rationed goods was defeated although it had the backing of Attorney General Kenny.

Production

At a time when the nation was crying for increased pro-

duction on the farms the Assembly turned down a resolution² requesting Congress to make an appropriation for the Farm Security Administration which was extending help to more than 500,000 little farmers of the nation.

Likewise, to make possible the employment of women in industry to answer the call of their country to help in production, it was essential that California bear its share of the cost of a child care program. Experts in this field agreed that a minimum of at least \$2,000,000 was needed to get the program under way. All that the Legislature appropriated was \$500,000, and then only after a hard fight by the pro-labor forces.

Again it was essential that if we were to utilize fully all of our resources, human as well as material, that we had to have on the statute books a law to prohibit racial discrimination in the employment of citizens because of race, color, or religion. Such a bill, AB-50, was presented which provided simply that any person who practiced such discrimination in a war industry was guilty of a misdemeanor. It was defeated by a vote of 39 to 35 in the Assembly (41 votes being necessary for passage).

The same groups which defeated this bill were those who later fought to repeal our child labor laws so as to "provide more manpower!"

Taxes

Declaring itself in favor of "tax reduction"³ the Legislature proceeded to overhaul the tax structure by reducing the personal income tax and bank corporation income tax, and to make it sound good, to reduce the sales tax by one-half of 1 per cent. The sales tax cut, in contrast to the other reductions, is only for a two-year period. Such a tax reduction program favors those in the income class of \$30,000 per year and above. A real tax reduction program such as proposed by CIO, which would have helped the average consumer or little home owner, was forgotten as usual.

Old Age Pensions

Certainly one of the vital issues of the session was that of providing more adequately for our elderly citizens. The usual rosy campaign promises had been made to them by all the candidates. Governor Warren appointed a Citizens' Committee on Old Age Pensions. The committee's majority recommended an increase in amount from \$40 to \$50, and the Legislature so fixed it. This did not, however, cover the increased cost of living even according to the report of the Committee.⁴

In general, while labor's representatives on the committee agreed with the "minority" on \$60 at 60, they found it necessary to support the "majority" in order to get a favorable recommendation for \$50.

*The Assembly's Social Welfare Committee never really considered the many fine pension bills in its committee, only proposals, and these in a very irregular manner. AB-660, for example, sponsored by 33 Assemblymen and calling for \$60 at 60 was never even heard before the Committee.*⁴

³ Retail Sales and Use Taxes, SB-103; Personal Income Tax, AB-876; Bank and Corp. Franchise Tax, AB-883; Corporation Income Tax, AB-884.

⁴ Committee found cost of living increased from 102.3 in 1940 to 123.9 in 1943 (in Los Angeles area) or better than 21%.

¹ A.J.R. No. 35: House resolutions Nos. 115, 127, 134, 167.

² House Resolution No. 152.

Unemployment Insurance

Labor was forced in the midst of daily establishing new production records in industry to defend in Sacramento the basic principles of unemployment insurance.

While many bad bills⁸ were defeated, most of the proposals advocated by such bills may be initiated under administrative rules or practices of the new Employment commission⁹ set up by one bill that did pass and was signed by the Governor.

This new Commission consists of five members appointed by the Governor and subject to confirmation by the Senate.

Thus we have a Commission of extreme importance to labor, the members of which are under the domination, by confirmation, of the Senate which represents the rural interests of our state. (The urban cities—Los Angeles, San Francisco, Oakland, and San Diego—altogether have only four votes out of 40 in the Senate.) The Commission which is abolished had representatives from labor, employers and the public.

'Reorganization'

Just as a serious political hurdle was overcome in the matter of unemployment insurance so the practice of "reorganizing" other existing agencies was adopted with the result that many new political appointments were made, past mistakes covered up and a minimum of adverse criticism obtained. The Youth Correction authority, containing a juicy \$10,000-a-year job, was reorganized into Youth Authority (one word dropped in title). The State Council of Defense became known as a new agency, the War council; while the State Guard was returned to a peace time basis (not subject to continuous duty).

The Legislature did appropriate, however, a War Catastrophe fund of \$25 million, did earmark some money for post-war construction, and did set up a \$500,000 workmen's compensation benefit fund for defense workers (AB-224).

Miscellaneous

The Legislature voted to restrict greatly small political parties,¹ and the circulation of initiative petitions.² It refused to reduce the voting age from 21 to 18³ or to request Congress to repeal the poll tax.⁴

¹ SB-856, 994, 998 (vetoed), 999, 1003; AB-347 (vetoed), 1231, 1544.

² SB-993 provides for a new five-man Commission known as California Employment Stabilization Commission.

The legislature further contributed to disruption in the war effort by appropriating \$20,000 to the Tenney "Little Dies" committee. The one-sided nature of the committee's findings has been disruptive of unity on the home front. It has directed its main attack upon those labor and other progressive forces which have been most outstanding in supporting the war effort while whitewashing the Sinarquistas and other pro-fascist groups. Its report to the 1943 session is a conglomeration of unrelated material and discredited evidence amassed through political bulldozing and strong arm methods which only serve to discredit the whole practice of legislative investigations.

State Senator Jack Tenney, its chairman, has assumed unto himself the discretionary authority to issue statements and make reports, not to the legislature as he was directed, but to the daily press. *All-in-all the committee has served no useful purpose and has contributed in no way to ferretting out the real enemies of the people. Its continued existence is simply a waste of the taxpayers' money.*

And thus the 1943 wartime session of the California Legislature concluded its labors. As weary legislators turned homeward the opinion of all was that the conservative majority which was in control of both houses had done a pretty good job of "politics."

Make no mistake of this: *they represent a formidable foe, one strongly entrenched in our legislative halls, and highly financed to execute "power plays" against the people's team.* The unsuspecting average citizen might very innocently strike up a strong attachment to the "good fellows" represented in such a group. And in ordinary times it might not prove too harmful to correct.

But today we are at war, a total war for democracy. Together, we have pledged our resources and our lives in a people's war; and we therefore must judge our fellow citizens, public officials or otherwise, in terms of whether they support our common effort. Seen in this light the majority bloc in the 1943 Legislature wasn't exactly our team. It wasn't the war for the Four Freedoms nor the battle of production that they were interested in . . . but the war against the New Deal and the battle lines of the 1944 campaigns. And so a people's war demands a people's campaign.

³ AB-582.

⁴ SB-699.

⁵ ACA-11.

⁶ AJR-18.

Bridges Case

THE California CIO Council and affiliated unions have attached great importance to the fight for justice for Regional Director Harry Bridges. In making the Bridges case a major activity in California we have carried out the policy enunciated by President Philip Murray for the national CIO in convention in Boston last November.

Execution of the order of deportation issued against Director Bridges by Attorney General Francis Biddle has been held up by an appeal to the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals, Ninth district. The appeal asks reversal of the ruling by U. S. District Court Judge Martin I. Welsh which denied a writ of habeas corpus which would set aside the Biddle order.

Judge Welsh has admitted that all direct witnesses against Director Bridges have been discredited and that the whole case hangs on the testimony of one man, Harry Lundeberg, president of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, whom Welsh conceded to be "*A biased and prejudiced witness; that he had previously denied knowledge of any Communistic affiliations of Bridges; that his uncorroborated testimony of oral admissions of petitioner (Bridges) is in its nature essentially weak.*"

He Fought Fascism

The war against fascism has illuminated strongly the fact which we of the California CIO have long understood, that the persecution of Harry Bridges was based mainly upon his uncompromising opposition to fascism—in all forms and in all places—in the years before Americans generally were aware of its menace.

That opposition to fascism took the form of opposition to discrimination against members of his union for reasons of race or creed. It took the form of militant struggle against fascist-minded employers whose attempts to prevent waterfront organization and then to smash the unions were the counterpart here of Hitler's destruction of the German labor movement.

In the years when the shadow of this war for survival of democracy was being cast on the world, Bridges earned the undying enmity of the friends of fascism by leadership of a union which struck America's first blows against the Axis by denouncing the Italian rape of Ethiopia; by demonstrating against the first ship to dock here with the Nazi swastika flying from her mast; by coming to the defense of Spain when

the democratic nations stood by and allowed her to be the testing-ground for Nazi and Italian arms, and finally, by striking and repeatedly refusing to load scrap iron and munitions bound for Japan and destined eventually to shower down on us at Pearl Harbor.

The membership of the California CIO—and indeed our nation and the world—benefitted from the courageous leadership by Harry Bridges of struggles against economic and political oppression at a time when such a fight was not popular.

Now National Policy

We rejoice that opposition to discrimination has now become national policy, in the form of President Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802 outlawing racial discrimination, and that we are now at war against the fascist nations.

But these facts point up all the more strongly the paradox of continued persecution of Harry Bridges for following then policies which are now the policies of the American nation.

Not only do the facts of elementary justice argue that this persecution must be stopped; the dropping of the case is made even more necessary by the great service to the United Nations cause being performed by Director Bridges and the international union and state council which he leads.

The CIO workers in the longshore industry and throughout California have done and are doing one of the nation's outstanding jobs of all-out production for victory. Under Director Bridges' leadership, the members of the California CIO are setting production records, buying war bonds, supporting war relief, and holding to the national CIO's no-strike pledge.

The threat of deportation hanging over Harry Bridges is a peril to our morale and that of hundreds of thousands of war workers. It is also a burden on the energies and finances of our union organizations, which, as we buckle down to the job of delivering the knockout blow to Hitlerism, should be devoted directly and solely to the cause of total victory.

We therefore call upon our Commander-in-Chief, President Roosevelt, to take immediate action to advance unity in the United States and reaffirm the principles of American justice throughout the world by cancelling the warrant of arrest and deportation against Harry Bridges.

Strong Financial Support

In charge of the case nationally and in California is George Wilson, president of the San Francisco CIO Council and executive secretary of the Harry Bridges Victory Committee and the California State CIO Harry Bridges Victory Committee. On the latter committee with Brother Wilson are Pres. Philip Connelly, Sec. Mervyn Rathborne, Paul Schnur, secretary of the San Francisco CIO Council, Ruby Heide, secretary of the Alameda CIO Council, Richard Lynden, president of Warehouse Local 6, ILWU, and Louis Goldblatt, national secretary-treasurer, ILWU.

Through the efforts of this Committee the case has received constant recognition in our unions and strong financial support. From our California unions have come \$40,594.67 of the \$68,638 which has financed the case since Attorney-General Biddle ordered deportation. We are confident this splendid record will be maintained until victory is won. (A list of contributions by California CIO unions will be found in Appendix D, at the back of this report.)

We congratulate our California membership for the forthright position we have always taken in this celebrated labor case. We rejoice in the great support our cause is given by the national CIO and President Philip Murray.

Minorities

THE report of the Minorities committee at the last California CIO Council convention drew attention to the fact that the minority groups—Negroes, Mexicans and Chinese—were entering our war industries in great numbers.

The committee noted, however, that discrimination against members of minority groups by many employers was leading to a failure to utilize to the fullest extent California's available manpower. Some industries were refusing completely to employ Negroes and members of the other minorities. In other places they were hired, but were kept in unskilled jobs, without a chance for advancement.

The convention endorsed the recommendation of the committee to "redouble our efforts to solve the problem of employment and upgrading as a vital issue of our win-the-war effort."

Summarizing state Council policy, a declaration on racial discrimination, addressed to President Roosevelt, made these points:

"1. The doors of all California CIO unions stand open to the men and women of all minority groups, regardless of their race, creed or color.

"2. We will work for the complete integration into industry of all workers who are members of minority groups, in accordance with your Executive Order 8802.

"3. We will rally our CIO movement for the establishment of the Four Freedoms for all nations, minority groups and colonial people now as a vital part of total victory."

The convention endorsed the recommendation that on the basis of a study of minority groups in California, a program should be mapped and put into action by the California CIO Council in 1943.

Events Justify Program

In the year which intervened, events have proved the wisdom of taking real steps to unify all the people behind the war, regardless of color or national origin, and of gearing our entire organization to battle discriminations and injustices against members of minority groups.

As the Axis began to feel the full might of United Nations' strength and fascism's chances of victory by force of arms were shown to be hopeless, the fifth column in this country stirred up a series of deadly insurrections against the government. One after another, these Hitler-inspired commando raids broke out in far-flung industrial centers to slow production and disrupt American unity.

California was not left untouched. The so-called "zoot suit" riots in Los Angeles were aimed mainly against the

Mexicans, the area's largest minority group, although some of the violence was directed also against Negroes.

The fifth column elements were given leadership by the Hearst press, which whipped up a hysterical campaign of slander against the Mexican people.

This campaign had its real inception earlier, in the trial and conviction of 17 Mexican youths on murder charges in connection with the slaying of a Mexican boy in that section of Los Angeles called Sleepy Lagoon. The "Sleepy Lagoon Case" is becoming recognized as one of the worst miscarriages of justice in the history of California, built solely around race hatred and incitement.

From the start of this case a campaign of vilification of the Mexican people was built in the press. When the disturbances broke out, the flame was carefully kept alive by those press promoters of disruption who added fuel to the fire by magnifying every petty incident. They found able lieutenants who crystallized this manufactured hatred against the Mexican people into violence.

L. A. CIO Takes Action

These attacks on the Mexican people in Los Angeles dealt a body blow to our relations with our South American allies, weakened the unity of our people at home and wasted thousands of precious hours of manpower needed for our war program.

The Los Angeles CIO Council through its secretary, Philip M. Connelly, played a stellar role in helping to curb the spread of the disturbances by utilizing the full prestige of our organization both locally and nationally to move government agencies into taking proper corrective measures.

In San Francisco a similar campaign of press hysteria built around the so-called "Green Gloves Rapist" case might have been successful in creating disorders had it not been for prompt action by the CIO and other community groups which recognized the danger.

The newspapers played up lurid stories about the rapist, described as a Negro. The CIO appealed to the newspapers to stop handling the news of these incidents in an inflammatory manner. They similarly asked the city government to avoid race emphasis in the investigation. The situation was helped immensely by an excellent statement by Acting Police Chief Riordan, who announced: *"This is not a race question—we are hunting for a certain man, a rapist."*

At the request of Matt Crawford, of the northern section of the Minorities committee, and San Francisco CIO Sec. Paul Schnur, Chief Riordan met with Negro community leaders and explained the attitude of the police department. An official statement was issued by the California CIO council through the minorities committee.

Finally the case dropped out of the headlines with the arrest and indictment of a white man for the perpetration of these crimes. The CIO does not wish to prejudice the accused man. But the incident does point out the danger of handling crime news with an emphasis on race angles.

In particular we denounce anti-semitism and Jew-baiting, evidences of which have increased so shockingly during the past year. The California CIO declares war against this weapon of Hitler, whether it appears in the form of dirty rumors, jokes, rhymes, or slanders in any form against Americans of Jewish faith or origin.

Anti-Semitism is the last and dirtiest device of the Nazis, and their stooges, facing defeat at the hands of the United Nations.

We call on all CIO members to repudiate, for themselves and their families, all traffic in such Nazi poison. We urge CIO locals in shops and plants to take the lead in smoking out anti-semitism as the entering wedge for fascism.

Our slogan must be—no tolerance of Hitler's secret weapon.

The Minorities committee during the coming year will devote itself actively to the ferreting out and halting of this kind of fifth column attack upon our American institutions.

Program Carried Out

During the past year the state Council through the California CIO Minorities committee has in large measure carried out the decisions of the last convention. The Minorities committee has worked consistently to develop within CIO unions an understanding of the necessity for the greatest possible unity of CIO members of all races, creeds, colors and nationalities.

It has been demonstrated that the CIO in California can help smash the disruptionists and build the kind of program that will bring thousands of new workers into the trade unions and unite the people for political action in 1944. However, in order to achieve this, it is necessary that our union movement be a true example of democracy at work and that our membership understand unity of all races to be a vital war necessity, just like all-out production.

Highlight of work of the Minorities committee during the year was the Northern California Conference on Racial and National Unity in Wartime, held in San Francisco on August 8. The conference was called by Regional Director Harry Bridges and the Minorities committee. The two featured speakers were Harry Bridges and Paul Robeson. There was a total of 109 organizations represented and 657 registered delegates. Attendance at the conference was over 1,200 persons. The delegates were from trade unions—both CIO and AFL—civic, fraternal, municipal, county and state bodies.

The response to the conference from our unions and from the community indicated the grave concern and interest of all sections of the population in maintaining unity and combating those forces which seek to pit race against race in order to weaken and slow the war effort.

Assistance to Unions

The Committee has met with and advised numerous unions in their efforts to advance unity within their organizations. Among them were State, County & Municipal Workers; Alcoa Local of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers; Douglas Aircraft Organizing Committee; North American Local 887, UAW; San Pedro Local 13, ILWU, and Los Angeles Warehouse Local 26, ILWU.

It has been the experience of the Committee that if amicable adjustments are to be made in cases of race friction, it is imperative that union leaders take a determined position against all forms of discrimination. They must put forth sincere and patient efforts to give the workers involved the understanding that discrimination results primarily in harm to the war effort.

Progress has been made by many unions in carrying out the minorities program. Minorities committees have been set up in all divisions of Warehouse Local 6, ILWU; in the UAW District council; in the San Francisco branch, Marine Cooks & Stewards. San Francisco ILWU Local 10 is in the process of establishing its committee.

How CIO organizations can do positive work for unity was shown recently by the San Francisco CIO council and United Transport Service Employees Union which with the Minorities committee persuaded one of San Francisco's largest men's clothing stores to discontinue a Jim-Crow policy.

Aid Organizing Drives

The efforts of the Committee have contributed to the building of a deep respect for the CIO among the Negro people and other minority groups. This has been reflected in CIO organizing programs throughout the state.

Some of the outstanding examples of the decisive role Negro and Mexican workers have played in NLRB elections are in the election at the Alcoa plant in Torrance, where the Negro workers were the balance of power and voted overwhelmingly for CIO; in the PWOC election at Wilson Packinghouse which was won because of the solid vote of Negro and Mexican workers; in the Douglas El Segundo election where it is conceded that had the entire plant voted as the Negro workers did the CIO would have been overwhelmingly victorious.

Press and Radio

The Committee has established a close working relationship with the LABOR HERALD and other CIO publications, assisting them in handling of news dealing with the minorities question. It has cooperated with the CIO radio programs in northern and southern California, and has established excellent relations with the Negro press, locally and nationally, through which channel we have been able to reach a wide section of Negro CIO membership with minorities program.

Community Relations

During the past year the Committee has carried out along with the various CIO Councils an active program of community relations designed to weld unity of all racial and national groups. It has worked closely with organizations such as the YMCA and YWCA in the Bay area, Negro Victory Housing Committee in San Francisco, Ministerial Alliance in Oakland, Bay Area Council Against Discrimination, branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People throughout the state, Negro Victory Committee in Los Angeles, Ministerial Alliance in Los Angeles, Los Angeles Urban League, and numerous churches. All of these groups have given 100 per cent cooperation to the program, and our cooperation with them has built a very friendly attitude toward the CIO in the communities.

The Committee sponsored a tremendously successful meeting at the Second Baptist Church in Los Angeles for Rev. Adam Clayton Powell, New York City councilman, which was attended by 3,000 people.

The Committee participated in the campaign of community organizations to open the way for Negro baseball play-ers in the Coast league.

The Committee arranged a hearing for Sen. Sheridan Downey with the outstanding leaders of the Negro community, at which time the Senator outlined his activities to secure an investigation of racial discrimination in the armed forces. Here we presented a series of witnesses who testified as to discriminatory practices of many large firms in Southern California.

The Committee carried out a post card campaign to spur repeal of the poll tax.

Government Participation

The task of maintaining unity of the American people behind the war effort is not alone that of the CIO. Government bodies which have been charged with the welfare of the people and the successful prosecution of the war must accept their responsibility by initiating programs which will educate and rally the people to an understanding of the fundamental issues involved in this question.

And in addition to this education, laws and agencies must be brought into being to prevent discrimination and penalize it as the enemy of society which it is.

Therefore we call for such action as the following by governmental agencies:

1. Use of radio, newspapers, mass meetings, school study programs and community gatherings to show the contribution of minority peoples to our nation in war and peace.
2. Immediate implementation of non-discrimination policy by directives to housing, planning, welfare, educational and other agencies of the state government. Also, the prohibition of restrictive covenants in property deeds based upon racial considerations.
3. No purchasing by the state government or its subdivisions from firms found to practice discrimination against minority peoples.

Following the Los Angeles insurrections—miscalled “zoot suit” riots—an investigating committee was appointed by Governor Warren, and another by Mayor Bowron of Los Angeles. In San Francisco the Board of Supervisors established a committee under Supervisor Green for the purpose of investigating conditions in that area. The CIO’s Minorities committee has cooperated with all of these groups.

However, it is our duty to report that the scope of their powers, as well as their activities, fell far short of what is needed to meet the continuing critical situation in California.

War conditions have created many new problems and sharpened old ones. Our governments—city, county, state and national—must take immediate action to help the people to understand these changes as necessary parts of the war task, and must take positive action through laws and regulations to prevent the discriminatory practices that undermine national unity and weaken our strength as a nation.

The people also must be given the information which will serve as antidote to the poisons of racism, anti-Semitism, Jim Crow attitudes, etc.

4. Immediate appropriation of funds to alleviate the wretched housing conditions under which Negroes, Mexicans and certain other minority groups are forced to live in the biggest cities of California, even though they may be engaged in vital war work.

5. Enactment by the state Legislature of a clear-cut bill outlawing, under penalty of fines and imprisonment, activity tending to incite race hostility among the people of the state, and similarly outlawing the practice of discrimination in employment against members of minority groups.

Aid to Political Action

The tremendous increase in Negro and Mexican population in California places the minorities group in this state at a figure close to 600,000. This group will be an important factor in the 1944 elections. Because of the CIO’s general program, this group feels close to the political leadership of the CIO. For example, in the last state elections, the 62nd Assembly District, which is in the heart of the Negro community of Los Angeles, voted overwhelmingly for every progressive measure. The Committee stands ready to give all possible assistance to the political work of the various unions with minority groups throughout the state.

CIO unions have started to beat down discrimination on the job and to keep it out of their union halls. But discrimination is not just a job problem or a problem of union local life; it is a community problem and must be fought with community forces, under union leadership.

That leadership is now at hand, for our unions during the war have moved from the narrow field of wage and hour struggles, to the broader field in which their interests and those of other elements of the population are one—price control, health, housing, etc.

This means that the political action committee becomes the new and more effective instrument for fighting discrimination where it lives—in neighborhood, stores, schools, and housing projects.

Organizational Report

CALIFORNIA CIO COUNCIL

THE Fifth Annual Convention adopted a program to increase the affiliated membership of the California CIO Council, to further unify the CIO in the state and to strengthen the Council's financial position. During the year the officers and executive board members have worked diligently to carry out this program.

The Board is pleased to report that the Council has made substantial and satisfactory progress. A careful examination of the record for the year shows a gain in affiliated membership which is larger than for any previous year, an improvement in the unity of the CIO in the state, greater activity on the part of the Council, more adequate service by the Council to the CIO membership, and a financial position which is better than at any time in the past.

Gain in Affiliated Membership

The last convention set as its objective an increase of 10,000 in the membership affiliated to the state Council during the six months, Oct. 1, 1942, through March 31, 1943. At its meeting in April of this year the Executive Board set a goal of an additional 20,000 affiliated members by the time of this convention.

These goals—a total increase of 30,000 per capita-paying members for the state Council during the year ending Sept. 30, 1943—have been exceeded.

For the year ending Sept. 30 the actual increase in per capita-paying members affiliated to the California Council has been 33,061.

The largest gains were registered by the following international unions:

Union	No. of members on which union paid per capita to state council for month of September 1942	No. of members on which union paid per capita to state Council as shown by records on September 30, 1943	Net Increase
Industrial Union of Marine & Shipbuilding Workers of Amer.	2,500	10,000	7,500
United Steelworkers of America	7,813	14,230	6,417
International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union	17,248	21,338	4,090
United Automobile, Aircraft & Agricultural Implement Workers of America	9,702	12,830	3,128
Oil Workers International Union	5,322	7,924	2,602
United Rubber Workers of Amer.	1,924	4,067	2,143

Gain in Affiliated Organizations

There has been an increase of 37 in the number of local unions affiliated to the state Council. At the end of September last year 160 locals were affiliated. On Sept. 30, 1943, there were 197. In addition, seven joint boards and district councils and two local industrial union councils affiliated since last convention. The total number of organizations now affiliated is 214. There are 275 CIO local unions, joint boards and councils in California. (*A complete record of affiliated and unaffiliated organizations appears in Appendix B, page 69.*)

New Affiliates

Organizations which have affiliated to the California CIO Council during the year are:

INTERNATIONAL	LOCAL	CITY
Amalgamated Clothing Workers	408	Los Angeles
	268	Los Angeles
American Newspaper Guild	Sacramento Unit	Sacramento
Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers	631	Pacific Grove
	630	Los Angeles
International Woodworkers of America	350	Gracagle
	6-286	Camino
Oil Workers International Union	1007	Richmond
Packinghouse Workers Organizing Comm.	137	Los Angeles
	200	Maywood
State, County & Municipal Workers	360	Torrance
	510	Oakland
United Automobile, Aircraft Workers	17	Santa Monica
	21	Hawthorne
	24	Palms
United Cannery, Agricultural Workers	2	Fullerton
United Steelworkers of America	1835	San Jose
	2172	Los Angeles
	2470	Torrance
Utility Workers Organizing Comm.	160-C	So. San Francisco
	168	Los Angeles
	193	Taft
	236	San Rafael
	241	Petaluma
	243	San Bernardino
	246	Long Beach
	250	Inglewood
	269	Merced
	272	Long Beach
	279	Avenal
	282	Newhall
	283	Los Angeles
	289	Taft

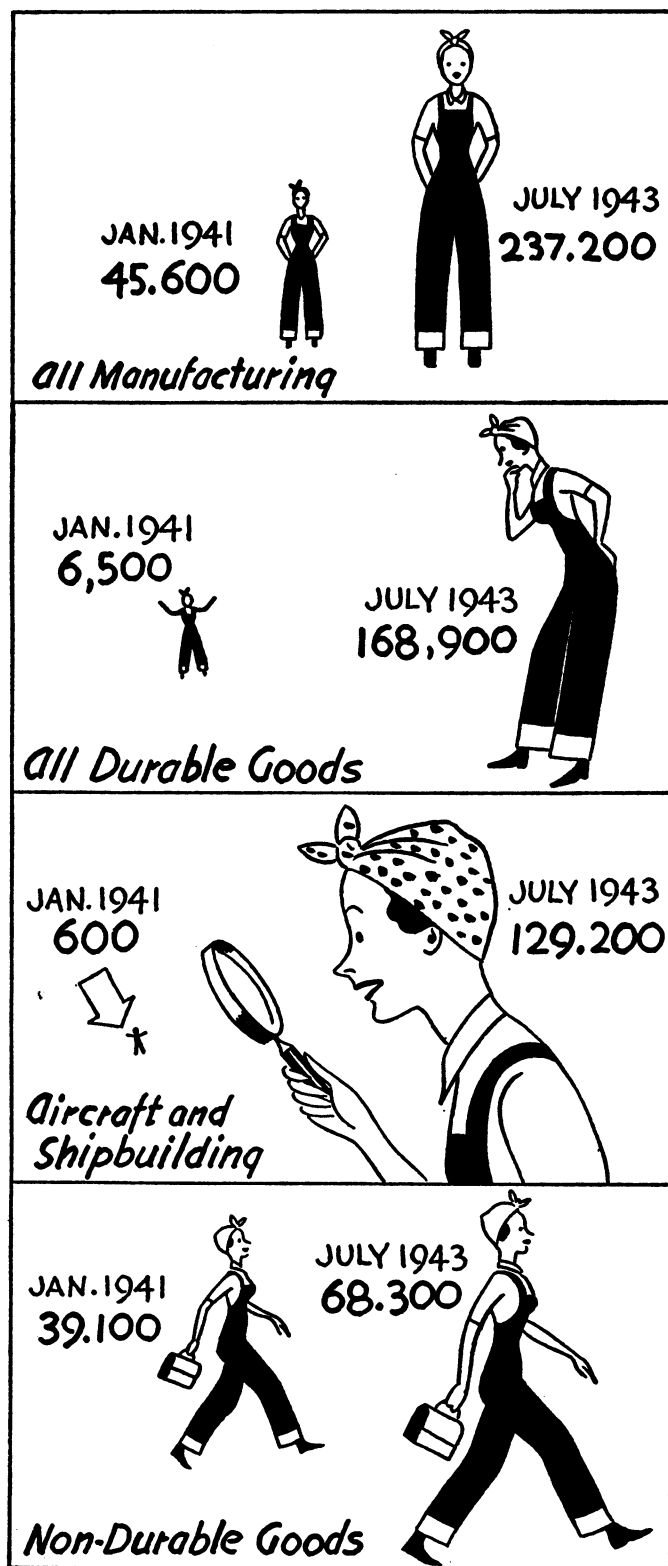
Unaffiliated Locals

Following is the list of CIO local unions in California, by areas, which have not, as yet, become affiliates of the state Council:

<i>Alameda County</i>		
United Rubber Workers	78	Oakland
<i>Contra Costa County</i>		
Utility Workers Org. Comm.	160-B	Danville
United Steelworkers of Amer.	2571	Pittsburg
United Federal Workers	171	Vallejo

INCREASE IN EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN WORKERS IN CALIFORNIA INDUSTRIES JANUARY 1941 to JULY 1943

OFFICE and TECHNICAL
WORKERS NOT INCLUDED



Los Angeles Area

Amalgamated Clothing Workers.....	81	Los Angeles
	255	Long Beach
	297	Los Angeles
	372	Los Angeles
Intl. Fishermen & Allied Workers.....	9	Newport Beach
Intl. Fur & Leather Workers.....	213	Los Angeles
Indus. Union, Marine & Shipbuilding.....	52	Newport Beach
Marine Engrs. Beneficial Assn.....	97	San Pedro
Intl. Union Mine, Mill & Smelter.....	609	Torrance
Oil Workers Intl. Union.....	1008	Long Beach
State, County & Mun. Workers.....	218	Wilmington
	475	El Segundo
United Auto, Aircraft & A. I.....	215	Bell
	683	Los Angeles
United Federal Workers.....	44	West Los Angeles
	153	San Fernando
	188	Los Angeles
	191	Los Angeles
United Rubber Workers of Amer..District Council		Los Angeles
	157	Los Angeles
	225	Los Angeles
	228	Los Angeles
United Shoe Workers of America.....	112	Los Angeles
United Steel Workers of America.....	1927	South Gate
	2029	Maywood
	2869	Maywood
	2872	Maywood
	2273	Compton
	2586	Torrance
Utility Workers Org. Comm.....	152	Compton

San Diego Area

Amalgamated Clothing Workers.....	288	San Diego
Inlandboatmen's Union.....		San Diego
Intl. Longshoremen & Warehousemen.....	38	San Diego

San Francisco Area

Marine Engineers Beneficial Assn.....	97	San Francisco
State, County and Municipal Workers.....	503	San Francisco
United Federal Workers.....	136-1	San Francisco
	188	San Francisco
	231	San Francisco

San Joaquin Area

Stockton Newspaper Guild.....		Stockton
Intl. Union Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers	614	Stockton

Santa Clara County Area

Amalgamated Clothing Workers.....	108	San Jose
United Federal Workers.....	149	Palo Alto
Utility Workers Org. Committee.....	259	San Jose

Miscellaneous

Oil Workers International Union.....	6	Taft
	575	Oilfields
United Rubber Workers.....	96	Albany
Intl. Fishermen & Allied Workers.....	39	Crescent City
Intl. Longshoremen & Warehousemen.....	46	Santa Barbara
Intl. Union Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers	550	Tehachapi
	634	Middletown
United Cannery, Agric., PAWA.....	272	Bakersfield
United Federal Workers.....	146	Fort Miley
United Steelworkers of America.....	2579	Pacific Grove

Increased Participation in Council Leadership

A plan to broaden the leadership of the State Council and involve in its policy-making bodies and standing committees the largest number of California CIO leaders and members was adopted by the Executive Board at its third quarterly meeting of 1942, held in Los Angeles during August. This plan was approved by the 1942 convention. The convention implemented the program by increasing the state Executive Board from 17 to 19 members.

Executive Board meetings during the year have been attended and participated in by the principal officers of all the large local CIO councils and by international representatives and organizing directors from nearly all international unions in the state. The cooperation of these Council officers and international representatives has enabled the Council to carry out programs which would have been impossible if the work had been left to Council officers and staff. In addition, the fact that so many important leaders of the CIO in California have participated in determining policy and in the solution of Council problems has enabled these leaders to become personally acquainted with the Council's activities and problems. One of the benefits is that many new channels have been opened for the communication of information and facts between the state Council and the rank and file members of many CIO unions.

A year ago there were many local union leaders and members who were only vaguely familiar with the activities and services of the state Council. Today there is hardly a local union which does not, at one time or another, utilize the services of the state Council, confer with Council officers and staff members on problems, or participate in one or more of the Council's activities.

The Board wishes to express its thanks and gratitude to the local CIO councils and international representatives who have participated in the work of the Council during the year. Their assistance and cooperation have been invaluable.

Director Bridges

The Executive Board wishes to express its deepest thanks and gratitude to California CIO Director Bridges for the unstinting cooperation and assistance he has given to the state Council in the performance of all phases of its work. No matter whether a problem has been one of major policy or a minor matter of organizational detail, Brother Bridges always has been willing and eager to lend a hand. The leadership which Brother Bridges has given to carrying out the CIO win-the-war program has been particularly outstanding. The growth, progress and unity of the CIO in California exemplify the constructive and wholesome leadership which Brother Bridges has given to our movement.

Standing Committees

The broadened participation in the leadership and work of the state Council is most noticeable in its standing committees. In 1942 there were five state CIO standing committees with a total of 27 members, of whom 13 were also Executive Board members. Today there are seven standing committees, with a total of 100 members, of whom 10 are officers of local CIO councils, 21 are state vice-presidents, 17 are international representatives or organizers, and 48 are representatives of local unions.

The work of the state Council committees has embraced almost every phase of the national CIO and state CIO win-the-war programs. These committees are:

	No. of Members
1. Political Action	20
2. Minorities	24
3. American & Allied War Relief.....	4
4. War Food	10
5. Industrial Manpower	10
6. War Production	15
7. Price Control and Rationing	11
8. Bridges Victory.....	7
	<hr/> 100

The Executive Board is deeply grateful to each member of each state Council committee. The committees have all been active and effective. Most committee members have devoted many hours to serving the state Council. Although nearly all committee members are overburdened with the work of their own unions they have accepted willingly the added responsibilities involved in serving on state Council committees. Their loyal and untiring help made possible many of the gains recorded by the state Council during the year.

STATE EXECUTIVE BOARD

SPACE does not permit a detailed account of the many activities of the Executive Board during the year. Much of the Board's work is recorded in other sections of this report.

The Board takes great pride in the membership gained by the state Council, the results achieved in carrying out CIO win-the-war policies, and the manner in which the Council has discharged its responsibilities to the rank and file members of the CIO.

Highlights of Executive Board activities for the year include the holding of four meetings:

- a—December 12 and 13 in Los Angeles
- b—April 3 and 4 in Los Angeles
- c—July 9, 10 and 11 in San Francisco
- d—October 18, 19 and 20 in Fresno

The December Board meeting was attended by most of the members of all important state CIO standing committees, officers of all the large local CIO councils and a considerable number of local union officers and international representatives. At this meeting the decisions of the last state CIO Convention and the national CIO Convention, held in Boston, November 9th to 13th, were reviewed and plans were made to carry out in California the policies of these conventions. The Board adopted a six-point program of action as follows:

1. Organization of the Unorganized

The Board called attention to the fact that the individual worker can best do his part toward winning the war by joining a CIO union and becoming an active participant, jointly with his fellow workers, in carrying out the CIO victory program. Attention was called to the fact that there are almost 2,000,000 unorganized workers in California. The Board made Organizing the Unorganized the Number 1 order of business for the CIO in California and worked out ways and means of assisting affiliated organizations in the successful prosecution of organizing campaigns.

2. War Production

The Board called attention to the fact that, "if victory is to be assured to the United Nations the output of America's war plants must be vastly increased in the next few months." A program of cooperation between the CIO and the War Production Board and other government war agencies was mapped, recommendations were adopted for the establishment of additional labor-management production committees and for other actions to increase production.

3. Rationing and Price Control

The Board expressed its concern about "the failure of OPA to properly put into effect those sections of President Roosevelt's seven-point program for economic stabilization which

deal with rationing and price control" and noted that "OPA has been very active in trying to bring about the stabilization of the wages of workers, a function which belongs to the War Labor Board, but at the same time has bungled its own major job—rationing of scarce commodities and price control." The Board adopted a program which called for the immediate rationing of all scarce commodities, rollback of prices to the level of Sept. 15, 1942, proper administration of the rationing and price control program and the appropriation by Congress of sufficient funds to enable OPA to function properly. The cost-of-living program adopted by this meeting of the Board was revised by the officers of the Council and subsequently became the California CIO's twelve-point rationing and price control program which was published in the *LABOR HERALD* on February 5, 1943.

4. Full Affiliation by All Local Unions to State and Local CIO Councils

The Board pointed out that the requirements of the war and labor's no-strike pledge make it necessary for labor organizations to carry on much of their business through the war agencies of the federal government such as the War Labor Board, War Manpower Commission, War Production Board, etc. The Board also called attention to the complex procedures, rules and administrative orders of these agencies and noted that expert and special knowledge is required if trade unions are to achieve results in dealing with them. It was the opinion of the Board that the state and local CIO councils were in a position to render valuable and necessary services to all CIO locals in dealing with these agencies, and in properly carrying out labor's other wartime responsibilities. Therefore the Board took immediate action to intensify the campaign, inaugurated by the 1942 state convention, to secure affiliation for full membership to the state and local CIO councils by every CIO local union in California.

5. Bridges Case

The Board called attention to the unequivocal support to Harry Bridges given by the national CIO Convention, that the "ending of the legal persecution of Harry Bridges is the biggest part of the job of protecting our unions and their leadership from harassment and is therefore indissolubly tied up with winning the war." Full support to the Bridges Victory campaign was voted, and each local union was asked to participate financially. The record of the way in which California CIO locals have supported the Bridges Victory campaign is found on page 20 and in Appendices B and D.

6. Labor Herald

The Board declared that "essential to the whole program for expanded CIO activity in California to organize the unorganized, to speed victory, to advance and protect the interests of our membership and to cement all our unions and members into a solid, smooth-functioning organization is an adequate educational and publicity apparatus." Stressed were the facts that expansion of war industries has brought into CIO unions many new members who know little of trade unionism, that vicious attacks were being made against labor in Congress and state legislatures, that to be carried out, the CIO win-the-war program must be brought to the rank and file members, and that the membership needs to be kept constantly advised of the activities and rulings of the various federal war agencies which determine, in large measure, the

wages, hours and working and living conditions of working men and women.

The Board pointed out the necessity of making a larger, better and more effective labor newspaper of the LABOR HERALD, and the urgent need for the HERALD to be sent into the home of every CIO member in California every week.

At its first quarterly meeting, the Board also adopted the detailed programs and recommendations submitted by the state CIO committees on War Production, Rationing and Price Control, and Industrial Manpower.

A resolution in support of the Kilgore-Tolan-Pepper bill for total war mobilization also was approved.



THE second meeting was held in Los Angeles, April 3 and 4. The Board checked on the progress made in carrying out its previous decisions and reviewed the work of the state Council officers, departments and committees.

Concerned over the rising tide of opposition to the President in Congress and the threat of the adoption of the Smith-Connally bill and other anti-war and anti-labor legislation, the Board authorized the executive officers of the Council to appoint a statewide CIO Political Action committee.

A most important action was adoption of a resolution which called for repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Laws and the granting of American citizenship to Chinese nationals on the same basis and under the same conditions as nationals of other countries. *The California CIO Council was the first organization in the United States to take action on this issue, and the state CIO statement received wide publicity.*

A report of the actions of the April meeting of the Executive Board was issued by the state Council in magazine form. This report met with wide and favorable response.

A state Political Action committee of 14 members was appointed by the Council officers in May.

The Secretary-Treasurer's report showed an increase of nearly 23,000 in the membership affiliated to the Council since the 1942 convention.

A comprehensive "Food for Victory" program was approved and the state CIO War Food committee set up.



THE third meeting of the Executive Board, held in San Francisco, July 9, 10 and 11, was devoted almost entirely to the working out of an effective and practical political action program for the CIO in California. A permanent Legislative and Political Action department was set up within the state Council, and a state legislative director and an assistant director were named. Brother Augustus Hawkins was appointed director and Brother Steve Murdock, assistant director. A state CIO Legislative Action Fund was created, and each union was called upon to make a contribution to this fund of a sum equal to \$1 per member.

A policy statement on political action was adopted, together with a program of political action. This statement and program are contained in the pamphlet "Your War Job—SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT." Sixty-five thousand copies of this pamphlet have been distributed to CIO members in the state.

At its fourth meeting, held in Fresno on October 18, 19 and 20, the Board prepared its report and recommendations to this convention.

THIS report would not be complete if the Board did not call to the attention of the delegates the outstanding work which has been done by the state Council department heads and staff members. The Council is extremely fortunate to have on its staff so many able, loyal and hard-working trade unionists.

Special commendation and credit are due to Brother Paul Pinsky and Sisters Virginia Woods and May Jamison of the Research department, to Brother Harold Rossman, director of the Education and Publicity department, to Brothers Gus Hawkins and Steve Murdock of the Legislative Action department, and Brothers Revels Cayton and Matt Crawford, directors of minorities work.

In addition to Brother Rossman, those who have helped to make the LABOR HERALD one of the best labor newspapers in the United States are Brothers Ronald Cooley, Jack Eshleman, Tad Irvine, Ralph Bruenn, Charles Ellis, Herb Klein, Levant Pease, and Sisters Pat Killoran, Helen Levison and Della Cravens.

The Board also wishes to express its appreciation and thanks to Sister Claire Harrison, state Council office manager, and to the loyal and hard-working members of the office staff.

In August Ruby Heide, able and efficient office manager of the state Council, was elected secretary-treasurer of the Alameda CIO Council. The Board wishes to express its appreciation for the valuable contribution which Sister Heide made to the State Council. The Alameda Council is to be congratulated upon its wisdom in electing Sister Heide as its principal executive officer.

During the year four of the vice-presidents elected by the last convention resigned. In November Vice-Pres. Ray Heide of the ILWU joined the Navy. Brother Richard Lynden, president of ILWU Warehouse Local 6, was elected by the Board at its December meeting to replace Brother Heide. Vice-Pres. Leo Turner, international representative of the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers, was transferred out of California in May by his union. The Board on July 10 elected Sister Sandra Martin, business agent of Oakland Local 1412 UERMWA, to replace Brother Turner. The third change in Board membership was created in July when the resignation of Sister Mable Ralph of the United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers Union was submitted. The vacancy created by Sister Ralph's resignation has not been filled. Brother John Mitchell resigned when his term of office as president of Longshore Local 13, ILWU, ended. He was succeeded by the local's new president, Brother Lyle Proctor.

FINANCES

WARTIME activities and the greater service rendered to affiliated locals and members by the state Council produced an unusually large increase in Council expenditures during the year. However, despite the sharply increased expense, the financial condition of the Council is better than at any time in the past.

The maintenance of a sound financial position in a period when activities were continually increasing and staff was being enlarged was possible largely by the far-sighted action of the last convention to raise Council per capita from 2 cents to 3 cents per member, plus the continuing increase in the per capita-paying membership affiliated to the Council.

No effort has been made by the officers or the Executive Board to build a large Council treasury. As income has in-

creased the money has been plowed back into expanding the Council and increasing the services to the membership.

Per capita income for the year ending August 31 was \$10,572.02 more than for the previous 13-month period, an increase of 64.6 per cent.

The revenue of the Council for the four years, 1940, 1941, 1942 and 1943, and the principal sources from which it was derived, are shown in the following table:

	1940	1941	*1942	1943
Per Capita	\$9,160.65	\$11,512.63	\$16,362.93	\$26,934.95
Organizing Contributions		1,755.30	2,148.51	
Legislative and Political Contributions		263.38	12,307.52	12,737.06
Misc.	493.10	1,866.91	2,577.30	10,383.21
Total Revenue	<u>\$9,653.75</u>	<u>\$15,398.22</u>	<u>\$33,396.26</u>	<u>\$50,055.22</u>

*13 months—end of fiscal year changed from July 31 to August 31.

A summary of major expense items for the four fiscal years, 1940 through 1943, is shown below:

Item	1940	1941	1942	1943
Salaries and expenses, including Executive Board members	\$1,288.00	\$1,489.37	\$3,367.95	\$8,482.76
Convention costs	1,652.57	1,747.65	2,665.62	3,346.86
Organizing donations and organizers salaries	3,288.92	8,610.08	5,519.71	1,280.00
Legal expense		453.53	639.01	656.82
Research department			4,607.27	10,095.09
Legislative and political			5,162.54	14,988.94

It will be noted that there has been a very large increase in the salary item during 1943. This is due principally to the fact that early in 1942 the staff of the state Council consisted of two persons, the secretary-treasurer and one office worker. Both were paid by the national CIO. As of Sept. 1, 1942, the national CIO discontinued its subsidy, and the state Council was obliged to pay the salaries of all employees. In addition, the number of employees whose salaries are charged under this heading has increased from two to four.

A complete financial report for the year ending August 31, 1943, is contained in Appendix A.

Council Staff

The staff of the Council has grown from two in early 1942 to 11 at the present time. Those now employed by the Council are: secretary-treasurer, research director and two assistants, two legislative directors, a minorities committee director, and an office staff of four. Inclusion of the staff of the LABOR HERALD, which is not paid from regular Council revenue, increases the total number of persons employed by the state Council to 24.

RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

IN the past year the work of the Research department has been expanded and in addition to the San Francisco office a division of the department has been established in Los Angeles with a full-time assistant in charge.

The work of the Department may be broken down into the following categories:

1. Assistance to the State Officers

The staff of the department spends a considerable amount of time in gathering information for the use of the state offi-

cers and committees. This work involves constant contact with numerous federal and state agencies. On the basis of its working relationships, the Research department is able to furnish the state Council with up-to-date and authentic information on practically all Government activities which concern the unions.

For example, the Research department gave considerable assistance to the state Production committee in its meetings with the War Production Board in Los Angeles and San Francisco. It conducted a survey which formed the basis for the factual background of the Committee's policies and recommendations. Similarly, the Research department maintains constant check on the manpower situation in the state, particularly on its most important phases, such as labor utilization, employment of women, child care, etc. The Research department has made careful studies of developments in the fields of rationing and price control, and has worked closely with the state committees both in the north and south. The department has made special studies of the employment of minorities in war industries and has furnished the Minorities committee of the state Council with several surveys on this question.

In the course of its almost daily contact with the various federal war agencies the CIO Research department continually brings forward CIO program and policies for the furtherance of the war effort.

2. Work with the War Labor Board

The Research department is constantly in touch with the personnel and policies of the regional War Labor Board and is in a position to give day-to-day advice to the unions in their collective bargaining negotiations and War Labor Board cases. In this respect the department functions primarily in an advisory capacity and only in special cases does it furnish written material in the form of briefs or arguments. Such cases usually involve major policy matters, such as equal pay for women. In cooperation with Brother Paul Chown, executive assistant to the CIO members on the Board, the members of the department follow up individual union cases in the Wage Stabilization and Dispute divisions of the Board. Through this phase of the work, substantial reduction in the waiting time on Board decisions has been accomplished.

One of the major jobs in conjunction with the War Labor Board activity has been the preparation and participation by the department in the hearings of the regional Board to determine sub-standards of living. The arguments presented by the department were based on the CIO policy that every worker should receive a wage sufficient to keep him and his family at a level of health and efficiency for maximum war production. The conclusion reached upon the basis of exhaustive research was that a worker in California needs at least \$1 an hour to maintain himself and his family on a health and efficiency standard. The Board has recently set 60 cents an hour as a sub-standard yardstick to be applied by the Wage Stabilization division, although higher awards have been granted on the sub-standard criterion.

Following the issuance of Executive Order 9328 and the May 12 directive of the Economic Stabilization director, which outlined the wage bracket formula of wage stabilization, the Research department conducted numerous surveys of prevailing union rates throughout the state. In cooperation with the various international unions, conferences with the War Labor Board have been held to advise in the determination of wage brackets for many of the vital war industries.

3. Appearance Before Committees

The department prepared material and participated in hearings before the Senate Military Affairs Committee investigating manpower problems, and the State Senate Interim Committee on Child Care, under the chairmanship of State Sen. Biggar, investigating the need for child care centers.

Before the Downey committee hearings in Los Angeles, various phases of manpower problems were covered, and at the San Francisco hearings the official state CIO program and child care problems were presented.

4. Los Angeles Office

The increased demand for services of the department have made it necessary for members of the department to spend considerable time in Los Angeles. Since June, a member of the department has been available in Los Angeles, and a permanent office of the department has been established there. The work of the Los Angeles office consists primarily of supplying unions in southern California with information on War Labor Board procedures, assisting the unions in preparing Form 10 applications and general informational service.

5. Publications

The department continued to issue a regular bulletin, **FACTS AND FIGURES**, which contains a general review of economic conditions, plus articles on specific topics of interest to the affiliated organizations. The bulletin has continued to receive wide comment especially from various government agencies which have been receiving it.

However, it has become apparent in recent months that with the tempo of events and rapid changes in federal policies and procedures in the various war agencies, a monthly bulletin did not serve to keep the unions adequately informed. Therefore it was decided to institute a short newsletter to be issued on items of timely interest. This new procedure will enable the department to keep the unions posted on the more vital current policy matters.

In addition, greater use of the **LABOR HERALD** has been made, and the current topics have been presented either in the form of a weekly column or as news articles.

General Information Service

The bulk of the services furnished to the unions and officers consist of supplying specific information on a wide variety of subjects. This includes such items as information on the functioning of the various war agencies, procedures to be followed in taking up availability certificate appeals, additional gasoline allowances, etc. Information on the financial status of various companies and general economic conditions of the state and the U. S. have been made available as well.

The department is constantly in consultation with the various unions and has been supplying information and material on collective bargaining negotiations to the affiliated organizations.

The department has also been furnishing information to University students and community organizations such as the YWCA and YMCA on various aspects of the CIO activities and labor problems.

LEGISLATIVE AND POLITICAL DEPARTMENT

The report of the Legislative and Political Action department, created by the Executive Board on July 11 of this year, appears in the section of this report headed "Political Action."

WAR RELIEF

THE CIO War Relief program both nationally and in California has entered a period of new maturity. The pattern of giving an hour's pay per month through regular payroll contributions or equivalent plans has become firmly established among the majority of CIO membership. The integration of the CIO as an organization, and through its representatives in war relief campaigns and in community planning, is reaching a high point in terms of added CIO strength and prestige in community wide relations.

The fall campaign of the state and local War Chests, which is now in progress, has already demonstrated an enthusiasm on the part of the War Chest leadership to welcome CIO cooperation in all phases of the campaign activities, and particularly to publicize our accomplishments in terms of contributions.

Relations between our members and the community as a whole are being placed on increasingly firm foundations through the program of the CIO War Relief Committee which raises funds from our members for both the War Chest and the Red Cross. Aside from the demonstrated fact that we are making the largest single national contribution to the needs of the armed forces, our allies and the home front, it is hoped that this will stand our unions in good stead in meeting post-war problems.

Staff Enlarged

As a means of aiding the fall campaign among our membership in California, three CIO members have been made field representatives on the staff of the War Chests, one with the Los Angeles Area War Chest, one with the War Chests of San Francisco, Oakland and Berkeley, and one out of the California War Chest office to cover outlying areas of northern California. Additional representatives may be added for brief periods during the campaign to some smaller chests in southern California. In the meantime, in some communities with large AFL memberships, AFL War Chest representatives are being instructed to cooperate with the CIO War Relief staff to assist in the campaigning in CIO shops.

The duties of these new field representatives are to work with CIO officials and local memberships to insure full participation in the War Chest campaign, to assist in relationships with the War Chests and Red Cross campaigns, to stimulate local publicity on CIO solicitation in the War Chest campaign, and to represent the two area CIO War Relief directors in the field wherever necessary. Their work is carried on under direct supervision of the area directors, Claudia Williams and Howard Lambert.

In the past year, California CIO members have contributed to all war relief causes more than \$425,000. The goal for the coming year is to raise a minimum of \$650,000 throughout the state.

In northern California, local agreements have been concluded in most communities where we have CIO members. These agreements provide for a joint solicitation for both the War Chest and the Red Cross chapters, with a division of funds to be made in the proportion of two-thirds to the War Chest and one-third to the Red Cross.

In southern California, where the Red Cross, under the leadership of the Los Angeles chapter, has agreed to participate in such joint solicitation only in those establishments where the plan is already in operation, or in such other exceptional instances where both the union and management

insist, the general pattern has been one of separate support of the War Chest campaign in the fall and the Red Cross campaign in the spring. There will be, however, a strict adherence to the CIO's standard of giving of 12 hours' pay per year for all causes.

Wherever possible, the funds will be collected through the payroll contribution plan at the rate of one hour's pay per month. However, because of the failure of the Red Cross in most southern California communities to give full community-wide support to our CIO War Relief program for collection, it will be necessary to modify this collection in many instances—through payroll collections over a shorter period of time, or a smaller number of payroll deductions. However, the standard of giving eight hours' pay to the War Chest and four hours' pay to the Red Cross remains constant in all instances.

Covers Most Causes

It is important to emphasize that almost every war relief or welfare agency, with the exception of the American Red Cross, is included in the campaign of the War Chest. Full support of the program to see that each CIO member pledges and contributes through the plan set up in his shop will mean that your union will be fulfilling its responsibility to the CIO's War Relief fund program. If our CIO unions can successfully raise this 12 hours' pay for the year, whether through one campaign or two, it will be unnecessary to conduct any additional campaigns for these War Relief causes.

An intensive program of bringing the needs of the war appeals and the facts of how and where our money is spent is being carried on within our organization. Tabloid newspapers, folders and pamphlets issued by the Chests, speakers in all local unions on the CIO War Relief program, and a continuous program of education and discussion among our leadership have all been employed in creating an increased understanding by our membership. There is every reason to expect participation of very near to 100 per cent of our membership in California in the CIO's war relief program as a result of the campaign now in progress.

The CIO'S War Relief program is helping to promote cooperation between our unions and management. This has been reflected in community-wide expressions of approval of the principle of labor-management cooperation to win the war, especially on the part of industrial and business representatives in the War Chest leadership.

There has also been developed significant cooperation between the CIO and AFL representatives in campaigning, in the joint presentation of labor's war relief program to the community, and in stimulating understanding of labor's contribution to war activities outside of war production. In Los Angeles particularly, during the attempts to convince the Los Angeles Red Cross chapter of the need to accept labor's proposal for joint solicitation by the War Chest and the Red Cross, it was possible to achieve on this issue a real working unity between representatives of the Los Angeles CIO Council and the Central Labor Council.

Plan New Activities

Plans are already under way by local CIO councils and unions for extension of the war relief program and its related activities. In northern California, a committee of representatives of each council has set up a special servicemen's activities fund which will carry on direct welfare and service programs for the armed forces in the name of the CIO. A sub-committee of responsible CIO officials has been elected to admin-

ister this fund which will consist of 10 per cent of the total war relief contributions of the northern California unions.

Activities being considered are the setting up of a CIO canteen, the creation of a CIO entertainment troupe consisting of the best available talent within our membership to entertain in camps and hospitals, and the furnishing of day rooms, recreation and club rooms in Army camps.

It has already been possible to furnish such a recreation room as a direct CIO service for patients at the Oakland Army Hospital through a contribution of \$1,500 from the national CIO War Relief committee, with an additional promise of a larger amount from local contributions from non-War Chest areas. A permanent plaque has been placed in the room stating that the furnishings are a gift of the northern California CIO. Favorable publicity has been received by our organization as a result of this tangible expression of our solidarity with the servicemen.

In Los Angeles, where the members of the Office Workers Local 9 supply canteen workers and hostesses in the name of the union at the Hollywood USO, and where a similar program is being developed by other unions for the new Avalon USO which provides facilities for both white and Negro servicemen, it will also soon be possible to program considerable additional CIO services directly to the armed forces.

Importance of this program, both as a means of educating servicemen in the role of the CIO in the war effort and as a dramatic way of bringing about full cooperation on the part of our membership in making funds available for such activities, cannot be over-emphasized.

Want CIO Participation

In addition, many local agencies, war relief and community welfare and character-building organizations, are learning the value of CIO participation in their programs. The L. A. Council of Social Agencies and many individual agencies such as the YMCA and YWCA have requested greater participation of CIO representatives in their committees and planning bodies.

A special war relief program in which many of our unions have a particular interest is the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee which carries on a job of rescuing and rehabilitating anti-fascists, especially Spanish refugees. A program has been developed, particularly in northern California, for earmarking 5 per cent of War Relief contributions for this committee. *In Los Angeles, interested unions have proposed that the agency be included officially in the Los Angeles Area War Chest and there is every prospect that this will be accepted.*

In general, everywhere in California we are coming closer to the CIO's goal of one campaign for all causes, with every member pledging one hour's pay per month. There has been a growing sense of understanding of and acceptance of the responsibility for the war relief program on the part of the CIO leadership. In southern California where in the past there has been a tendency to shift the responsibility only to the War Relief Committee rather than to recognize it as a fundamental part of every union's program to be administered directly by the leaders in that union, we have seen in the past six months a definite improvement.

It is to be hoped that during the coming War Chest campaign, our southern California unions will demonstrate that they have achieved an equal understanding of, and a responsibility for, the CIO's War Relief program, and that in a spirit of friendly competition between the two areas, they can

together achieve California's goal of nearly three quarters of a million dollars for the year.

The CIO, in urging upon our nation's leaders aggressive military action on the continent of Europe to end the war this year brings to our membership a special responsibility not only to produce and to fight, but also to give, for the aid of the fighters against fascism and the newly liberated millions of Europe. This responsibility is ours not only as an organization but as individuals whose sole interest, repeatedly demonstrated, is the winning of the war and of the peace. The war relief program of the CIO, with its increasing support by the members, provides one of our most effective and dramatic ways of accomplishing this purpose.

EDUCATION AND PUBLICITY

RECOGNITION of the need for a fuller program of public relations and educational activity prompted the Executive Board at its April meeting to set up a Department of Education and Publicity. Harold Rossman, editor of the LABOR HERALD, was designated director of this department, serving in that capacity while continuing his direction of our news paper.

During the year the activities of the California CIO Council received fairly frequent attention in the commercial press. Due to the council's positive war role and energetic work on production, manpower, discrimination and other issues we received, on the whole a "good" press. Publicity put out by the council was, however, less frequent and was less widely distributed than if this were a full-time department, working on a minimum adequate budget.

The department has given technical assistance in producing leaflets, calls and display material, particularly to the council's Minorities and Political Action committees. One of its products was the large, 60 inch by 40 inch, political action poster just completed, graphically showing the records of California's Congressmen on win-the-war issues, with blank spaces and gummed symbols to report on measures now being voted on and "Keep the Score for '44."

Actions and programs of the April meeting of the Executive Board were printed as a special report in elaborate magazine form. Heavily illustrated and using a new technique for presenting such otherwise "dry" material, the report had an extremely favorable reception. It was distributed widely among top personnel of government agencies, legislators, the press, etc. and succeeded in putting across the CIO program on vital issues such as price control, production, food output, support of the President, and the like.

Main reliance for reaching our membership is placed on the LABOR HERALD, and the two CIO radio programs—The CIO Reporter broadcast in the Bay area and "Our Daily Bread" in Los Angeles. The staffs of the paper and the two radio programs frequently are called upon to assist the Council in general publicity duties, and the Executive Board wishes to express its thanks for the valuable work they have done.

LOCAL CIO COUNCILS

DURING the year a very close and harmonious relationship has existed between the California CIO Council and the eight local industrial union councils in the state. Invaluable assistance has been given by every local CIO council to every one of the state Council activities and campaigns.

In addition, a number of special activities, such as the sponsorship of the northern California mass meeting for CIO Pres. Philip Murray, have been carried out jointly by the state and one or more local councils.

A notable example of this joint effort is the plan whereby state and local councils are conducting a joint campaign for the collection of a \$1 political action contribution from each CIO member in the state. The money is collected by the state organization and 50 cents of each dollar collected is returned to the local council in the area in which the collection is made.

Space does not permit even a sketchy report of the many examples of joint work and cooperation between the state and local councils, nor a report of the outstanding work which has been done by each of the local industrial union councils in its own area. The Executive Board does wish to point out, however, that the relationship that exists between the state and local CIO councils in California is a particularly good example of constructive working unity within the CIO. Without this unity and without the active help and support of all local industrial union Councils many of the projects which were successfully carried out by the state Council during the year could not have been undertaken.

The Board recommends that this convention express special thanks and appreciation to all California CIO local councils and particularly to the following council officers: Pres. Kenneth Beight and Sec.-Treas. Philip Connelly of the Los Angeles CIO Council; Pres. George Wilson and Sec.-Treas. Paul Schnur of the San Francisco CIO Council; Pres. Frank Slaby, and both former Sec. Paul Heide and present Sec. Ruby Heide of the Alameda CIO Council; Pres. Frank Thompson and Sec.-Treas. Austin Brumley of the Sacramento CIO Council; Pres. Louis Randazzo and Sec. Steve Murdock of the Santa Clara County CIO Council; Sec. Karl Jensen of the San Joaquin CIO Council; Pres. Ed Hocking of the Contra Costa CIO Council, and Sec. William Decker of the San Diego CIO Council.

These local councils have done more than just give valuable assistance to the state Council and to their affiliated unions and members: they have also provided positive win-the-war leadership to the communities in which they function.

GROWTH OF CIO UNIONS IN STATE

SINCE last convention substantial organizational gains have been registered by almost every CIO union in California. Reports made to the state Council by affiliated unions, results of NLRB elections and increases in per capita payments to state and local CIO councils indicate that the dues-paying membership of all CIO unions in California increased by at least 48,000 during the year. The Executive Board estimates that as of Sept. 30, CIO membership in California was more than 180,000.

The state and local CIO councils have given substantial aid and assistance to the successful prosecution of many CIO organizing campaigns.

Some of the outstanding examples of this cooperation include the assistance given by the Los Angeles CIO Council to the UAW organizing drive among employees of Douglas Aircraft, the assistance given by the San Francisco, Alameda, Los Angeles and state Councils to the organizing efforts of the Utility Workers, the aid to UCAPAWA by the Los Angeles and state Councils in organizing canneries and fresh

fruit and vegetable workers, assistance rendered to ACA by the Los Angeles, San Francisco and State Councils in the drive by that union to organize telephone workers, and aid by the Alameda Council to the Transport Service Employees in organizing the East Bay laundry and shops of the Pullman Company.

Among the smaller councils, valuable contributions to the organization of the unorganized were made by the Sacramento and San Joaquin CIO Councils. A major gain was registered in the Stockton area when ILWU Local 6 won an NLRB election to represent the warehousemen employed at the Army Reconsignment Depot at Lathrop. The San Joaquin Council gave valuable aid in winning this election.

The foregoing only indicates a few of the highlights of the work done by the state and local CIO councils to assist in carrying out the CIO program to organize the unorganized.

The state Council has cooperated with and assisted financially the organizing campaigns of many unions during the year. The Council expended \$1,280 for this purpose.

In the year ended June 30 the NLRB conducted 227 elections in California in which 44,082 workers voted. CIO unions participated in 115 of these elections and won 72. Total votes cast for CIO unions were 12,429. There were 56 elections in which both CIO and AFL unions were on the ballot. Of these, 27 were won by AFL unions and 24 by CIO unions.

In all elections the votes cast for AFL unions totalled 15,938, while the CIO vote was 12,429. The AFL in California has approximately three times the membership of the CIO. In previous years AFL unions have won about twice as many NLRB elections as CIO unions. If the present trend in NLRB elections continues it should be possible for the CIO to surpass the AFL during the coming year in the number of NLRB elections won and in the total number of workers who vote for CIO unions as compared to AFL unions.

A recapitulation of NLRB elections held in California in the year ending June 30th appears in Appendix C.

Following is a brief summary of the major organizational advances registered by the locals of the 28 international unions and two organizing committees which have membership in California:

Amalgamated Clothing Workers

In southern California the Amalgamated secured two new and important agreements. The first was with Rosenblum's, largest manufacturer of men and women's clothing on the Pacific Coast. This agreement covered approximately 375 workers. The second contract was secured from the California Sportswear Co., largest manufacturer of men's leather garments west of St. Louis. This firm employs about 350 workers.

For the first time on the West Coast, the Amalgamated secured paid vacations for garment workers.

In addition to the gains noted above, the Amalgamated maintained its contractual relations with about 75 employers in the southern part of the state.

In northern California the union renewed its five master contracts which cover the alteration departments of retail stores, first-class merchant tailors, popular-priced tailors, gloves and leather jackets, and sportswear. The Amalgamated now has 100 per cent organization in its field in the northern part of the state.

Total Amalgamated membership in California is about 4,100. The membership increase for the year amounted to about 800.

Following is the record of NLRB elections in which this union participated during the year ending June 30:

LOCAL	COMPANY	VOTES CAST	RESULT
Joint Board	Pendleton Woolen Mills	ACWA 20	W
	Plant 2—So. California	No Union 17	
	California Sportswear	ACWA 34	W
	Southern California	No Union 7	
Joint Board	Rosenblums	ACWA 167	W
	Southern California	United Garment Wkrs. 94—AFL 135	
		No Union 11	W
	California Sportswear	ACWA 73	
357	Southern California	No Union 53	W
	United Linen Sup. Co.	ACWA 61	
	Southern California	Laundry Wkrs. AFL 168	L
		No Union 16	

American Communications Association

Substantial gains were registered by ACA in organizing employees of the largest corporation in the world—the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. *Of 30,000 telephone company employees in the state more than 1,000 are now ACA members.*

The most recent gain by ACA was made on Labor Day when a majority of the 500 members of the Central Office Telephone Technicians in Los Angeles voted for ACA affiliation. This group is now chartered as ACA Local 103.

ACA is now carrying on an intensive organizing drive among the 7,500 telephone traffic department employees in southern California. ACA membership in California is now about 1,800. The union has registered a growth of about 500 during the year.

This union did not participate in any NLRB elections in the year ending June 30.

American Newspaper Guild

Major accomplishment of the Guild for the year was winning a collective bargaining agreement with the *Sacramento Bee*. This paper is the parent and dominant publication in the powerful McClatchy chain which dominates the newspaper field in the rural areas of the state.

Another advance made by the Guild came in San Jose in September when the San Jose *Mercury-Herald*, which has a Guild agreement covering all departments under Guild jurisdiction, purchased the then-unorganized *San Jose Evening News*. The *News* employees came into the Guild under the terms of the *Mercury-Herald* agreement, and San Jose became the third city in California to be a 100 per cent Guild town. For several years the Guild has held a city-wide union shop agreement with all San Francisco daily papers. San Diego papers have been fully organized for some years.

All existing Guild agreements were renewed with gains for the membership. The combined membership of the Guild in California now exceeds 2,100. There has been an increase of about 150 members in the past year.

Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists & Technicians

FAECT conducted successful organizing drives among technical and professional workers. A substantial gain was scored at the laboratories of the Permanente Metals Co. at Los Altos. The FAECT was the first CIO union to break through the AFL monopoly in the Henry J. Kaiser enter-

prises. The Permanente NLRB election was won by FAECT only after bitter discrimination and coercion against the CIO members by the Kaiser management, which worked hand-in-glove with the AFL to try to prevent CIO from getting a foothold in a Kaiser company.

Another gain scored by FAECT was the winning of an NLRB election among the technical workers of the North American Aircraft Co. at Inglewood. This was the first break into the totally unorganized technical field in the California aircraft industry.

The membership of FAECT in California is now more than 600. The union gained about 150 members during the year.

Following is the record of NLRB elections in which FAECT participated during the year ending June 30:

LOCAL	COMPANY	VOTES CAST	RESULT
25	Permanente Metals Corp.	FAECT 44	W
	Northern California	No Union 9	
25	Shell Development	FAECT 82	L
	Northern California	No Union 140	
25	Amer. Smelting & Refining	FAECT 16	W
	Northern California	No Union 3	
205	North American Aviation	FAECT 59	W
	Southern California	No Union 7	

Intl. Fishermen & Allied Workers of America

Most of the work of this union has been devoted to the job of achieving increased production from California's rich fisheries. More than 600,000 tons of fish were added to the food supply of the United Nations by CIO fishermen during the year. Despite wartime handicaps of a serious nature, the catch was the largest in the U. S. and exceeded the California catch of last year by 20 per cent.

In 1943 the IFAWA further consolidated its organization. Finances were stabilized by the introduction of the check-off. Five hundred small boat fishermen have been added to the dues-paying membership of the union, and considerable gains have been registered among the crews of the larger boats.

The Fishermen's Union now has a total membership of about 3,000 in California, of which about 700 have been added to the rolls during the past year.

IFAWA participated in and won one NLRB election in the year ending June 30, with results as follows:

Port Costa Packing Company	IFAWA	6
Northern California	Fish Cannery Workers—AFL	0

Industrial Union of Marine & Shipbuilding Workers of America

During the latter part of 1942 and early 1943 one of the largest CIO locals on the Pacific Coast, Local 9 of the IUM & SWA, was engaged in a fight for existence. During this period frequent attacks were made against Local 9 by the AFL Metal Trades Council in an effort to drive the CIO from the shipbuilding industry on the West Coast. In addition, the rapid expansion of Local 9, from 600 members in 1940 to more than 14,000 late in 1942, created many problems in connection with the administration of the local's affairs and the securing and enforcement of collective bargaining agreements.

To meet this situation the General Executive Board of the Shipyard Workers Union stepped into the picture early in 1943, took over the administration of Local 9 and put into

effect a program of consolidation. Since then Local 9 has made very satisfactory progress. Major gains have consisted in securing vastly improved agreements with two major southern California shipyards—Los Angeles Shipbuilding & Drydock Co., and the San Pedro shipyard of Bethlehem Steel Corp. These agreements have brought substantial wage benefits to the membership and incorporate maintenance of membership. In addition, the local has become much more active in its participation and support of the CIO win-the-war program and in the activities of the state and Los Angeles CIO councils.

Although an NLRB election was lost to an independent union in February at the plant of the South Coast Shipbuilding Co. at Newport, the independent union affiliated to the CIO shortly after the election and the company is now under CIO contract. A new CIO shipyard union, Local 52, has been set up at Newport.

Manpower increases in shipyards under agreement with the Shipyard Workers and organizing gains have brought a membership increase of more than 7,000 to this union during the year. The total membership of this organization in California now exceeds 18,000.

NLRB elections in which the IUM&SWA participated during the year ending June 30 were:

LOCAL	COMPANY	VOTES CAST	RESULT
9	South Coast Company	IUM & SW 107	
9	Southern California	Metal Trades Council—AFL 29	
		SC Employees Union—Ind. 150	
		No Union 2	L
	De Luxe Water Tar Co.	IUM & SW 11	
	Southern California	Carpenters—AFL 6	
		No Union 55	L

Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union

A large part of the work of the ILWU has been devoted to the job of speeding up the movement of freight and the turn-around of ships. Despite the fact that several thousand ILWU members have gone into the armed services, many of them as the result of special recruiting drives conducted by the union to assist in the formation of Army longshore battalions and Navy port battalions, the union has been able to supply adequate manpower for the warehouse and longshore industries. Special manpower programs and drives have been carried on by the ILWU in cooperation with government agencies.

As it has been since the state CIO was formed, the ILWU continues as the largest CIO organization in California. In 1943 ILWU membership in the state passed the 30,000 mark. Major organizational gains were registered in the warehouse field. Warehouse Local 6 won the right to represent more than 500 warehousemen in the warehouses of the Army Reconsignment Depot at Lathrop. In addition, Local 6, largest CIO local union west of the Mississippi, satisfactorily renewed, with substantial benefits for the ILWU members involved, collective bargaining agreements covering more than 16,000 workers.

Warehouse Local 26 in Los Angeles consolidated its organization in the drug, stamping devices and scrap fields. A two-year fight to preserve an ILWU agreement in the Thrifty drug stores was won by virtue of a unity agreement signed between ILWU and the AFL Teamsters.

The increase in shipping from Pacific Coast seaports also brought many new members into the California longshore locals of this union.

The increase in ILWU membership in California exceeded 5,000 during the year.

Following is the record of NLRB elections in which ILWU locals participated in the year ending June 30th:

LOCAL	COMPANY	VOTES CAST	RESULT
26	Electro Chemicals, Inc.	ILWU 10	
	Southern California	No Union 0	W
26	Los Angeles Chemicals, Inc.	ILWU 9	
	Southern California	No Union 1	W
26	Agicide Laboratories	ILWU 13	
	Southern California	No Union 11	W
26	Aero Reclamation	ILWU 103	
	Southern California	No Union 68	W
26	Muehlstein Company	ILWU 16	
	Southern California	No Union 1	W
26	Pacific Notoil Co.	ILWU 7	
	Southern California	No Union 18	L
6	Western Frt. Handlers, Inc.	ILWU 17	
	Northern California	Teamsters—AFL 22	
		No Union 1	L
6	Western Frt. Handlers, Inc.	ILWU 97	
	Northern California	Teamsters—AFL 54	
		No Union 1	W
6	Pacific Box Company	ILWU 23	
	Northern California	Un. Brhd Crpntrs & Joiners—AFL 36	L

Intl. Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers

The Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers made the greatest organizational progress of any CIO organization in California during the year. For the year ending June 30 the IUMM&SW has a perfect batting average in NLRB elections. The union participated in nine NLRB elections and won nine.

Among the most significant gains made by IUMM&SW were: (1) Organization of the Phelps Dodge plant in Los Angeles; (2) Defeating the AFL, for the second time, in an election at the Alcoa plant at Torrance; (3) Defeating the AFL in an election among the employees of the American Potash & Chemical Co. at Trona, also for the second time; (4) Delivering a second defeat to the AFL in an election at the Monolith Cement plant at Tehachapi; and (5) Winning an NLRB election, after a seven-year fight, among the 300 employees of the Hercules Powder Co. in Contra Costa County.

The union also has been active in setting up labor-management production committees and promoting incentive wage plans.

Approximate Mine-Mill membership in California is 7,000. About 3,500 members were gained during the year. In the following NLRB elections the union won collective bargaining rights for 1,818 workers during the year ending June 30:

LOCAL	COMPANY	VOTES CAST	RESULT
	California Cap Company	MM&SW 120	
	Northern California	No Union 40	W
414	American Potash & Chem.	MM&SW 346	
	Southern California	Potash, Phosphate & Borax Wkrs. 308	
		No Union 13	W
609	Aluminum Co. of America	MM&SW 100	
	Southern California	Metal Trades Council—AFL 87	
		No Union 1	W
700	Wiley Machine Company	MM&SW 84	
	Southern California	No Union 45	W

LOCAL	COMPANY	VOTES CAST	RESULT
700	Brake Shoe & Casting Div. Amer. Brake Shoe & Fndry. Southern California	MM&SW 43 No Union 11	W
700	Century Metalcraft Corp. Southern California	MM&SW 100 CM Employees Union 64 No Union 32	W
630	Phelps Dodge Copper Prods. Southern California	MM&SW 343 No Union 36	W
	Del Monte Properties Northern California	MM&SW 31 No Union 2	W
	Bradley Mining Company Northern California	MM&SW 7 No Union 5	W

International Woodworkers of America

The IWA has made splendid progress, both in the woods and sawmills. During the year three new local unions were chartered in the state and the membership more than doubled. *Present California IWA membership exceeds 2,600, a gain of more than 1,500 for the year.*

In the year ending June 30 the IWA gained the right of sole representation for 1,085 workers in the following NLRB elections:

LOCAL	COMPANY	VOTES CAST	RESULT
	Graegle Lumber Company Northern California	IWA 105 Lumber & Saw-mill Workers 99	W
328	McCloud River Lumber Co. Northern California	IWA 261 No Union 266	L
372	Pasaro Logging Company Northern California	IWA 1 Lumber & Saw-mill Workers 6	L
370	Fruit Growers Supply Co. Northern California	IWA 38 AFL 3 No Union 32	W
370	Fruit Growers Supply Co. Northern California	IWA 181 AFL 100 No Union 48	W
328	McCloud River Lumber Co. Northern California	IWA 302 No Union 177	W

National Maritime Union

The transfer of many ships from the Atlantic to the Pacific coasts increased the NMU membership sailing from West Coast ports by more than 4,000 during the year.

A large part of the work of the NMU has been devoted to an outstandingly successful campaign to promote the CIO win-the-war program and to keep ships properly manned so as to avoid delays in sailings because of crew shortages.

In its organizing activities on the Pacific Coast the NMU has not met with much success. All NLRB elections conducted on West Coast oil tankers during the year were won by the AFL. The NMU was able, however, to secure an agreement with one oil firm, the Union Oil Co.

Following is the record of NLRB elections in which the NMU participated during the year ending June 30:

COMPANY	VOTES CAST	RESULT
Richfield Oil Corporation Deck Dept.—Southern Calif.	NMU 5 SUP 43 No Union 20	L
Richfield Oil Corporation Stewards Dept.—So. Calif.	NMU 13 Seafarers Union—AFL 18 No Union 12	L
Richfield Oil Corporation Engine Dept.—So. Calif.	NMU 21 Seafarers Union—AFL 30 No Union 5	L

COMPANY	VOTES CAST	RESULT
General Petroleum Corporation Deck Dept.—Southern Calif.	NMU 8 SUP 23 No Union 4	L
General Petroleum Corporation Stewards Dept.—So. Calif.	NMU 6 Seafarers Union—AFL 12 No Union 3	L
General Petroleum Corporation Engine Dept.—So. Calif.	NMU 6 Seafarers Union—AFL 22 No Union 2	L
Hillcone Steamship Company Unlicensed Deck Dept.—No. Calif.	NMU 6 SUP 15 No Union 3	L
Hillcone Steamship Company Stewards Dept.—No. Calif.	NMU 7 Seafarers Union—AFL 12	L
Hillcone Steamship Company Unlicensed Eng. Dept.—No. Calif.	NMU 9 Seafarers Union—AFL 14	L

Oil Workers International Union

The joint campaign of the Oil Workers International Union and the Oil Workers Organizing Campaign to organize one of the few remaining giant open-shop corporations—the Standard Oil Co.—has made progress during the year. At the Standard Oil refineries at El Segundo and Richmond, Oil Workers locals have been chartered and are now involved in the organizing drive. Following charges filed by the Organizing Campaign, the NLRB has issued, and is now holding hearings on, a complaint charging that Standard Oil is maintaining a company union among the employees at its two refineries.

Like the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, the Oil Workers had a batting average of 1.000 in NLRB elections conducted during the year ended June 30. The OWIU won all of the eight NLRB elections in which it participated.

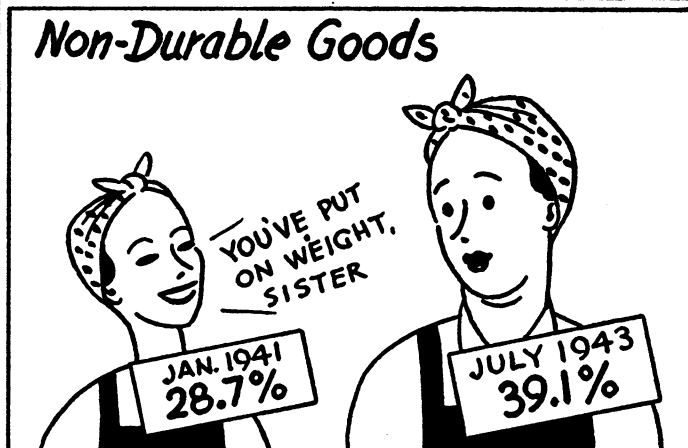
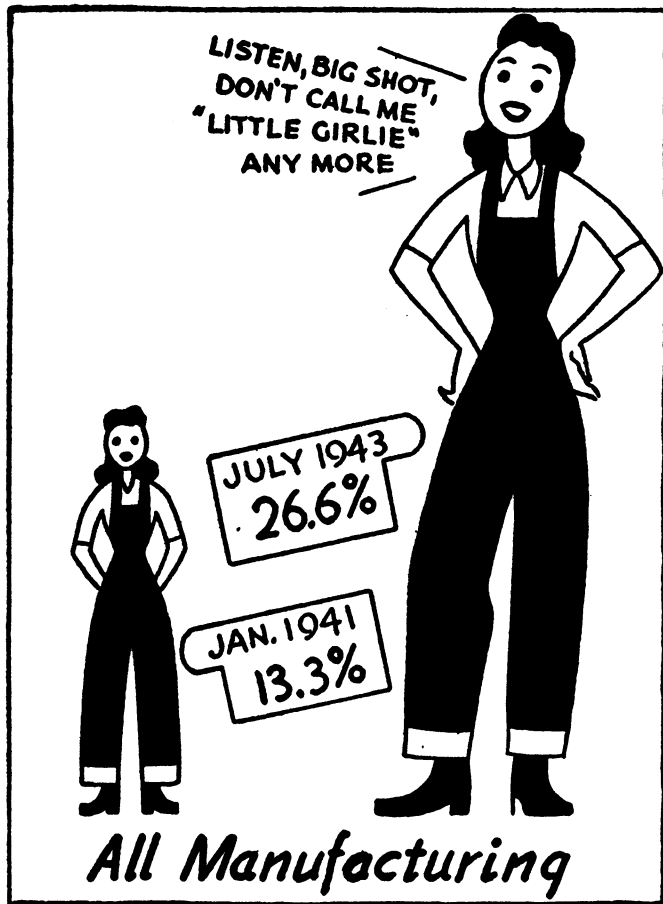
In addition to the progress registered in the Standard Oil organizing drive the Oil Workers Union made very substantial gains in other companies. Local 128, largest unit of the OWIU, successfully organized the employees of the new Shell Chemical plant and the Dow Chemical plant, both at Torrance. These plants, which are part of four related plants for the production of synthetic rubber, produces butadiene. Local 128 also signed new agreements with the Wilmington Gasoline Co. and the Exeter Oil Co. The position of the local was consolidated in the National Supply Co. at Torrance. This local gained more than 1,000 members during the year. Its present membership exceeds 4,700.

Other gains registered by the Oil Workers included the securing of a union shop agreement with the Union Oil Co. covering nearly 2,000 workers. *This is the only union shop agreement ever signed by a major oil company in California.* The union also consolidated its position among the employees of the Shell Oil Co. as the result of a favorable WLB decision.

Of the four major oil refineries in northern California—Standard, Shell, Union and Associated—the OWIU now has three completely organized. Satisfactory union agreements have been concluded with two companies, Shell and Union, and a case is now pending before the WLB for an agreement with Associated.

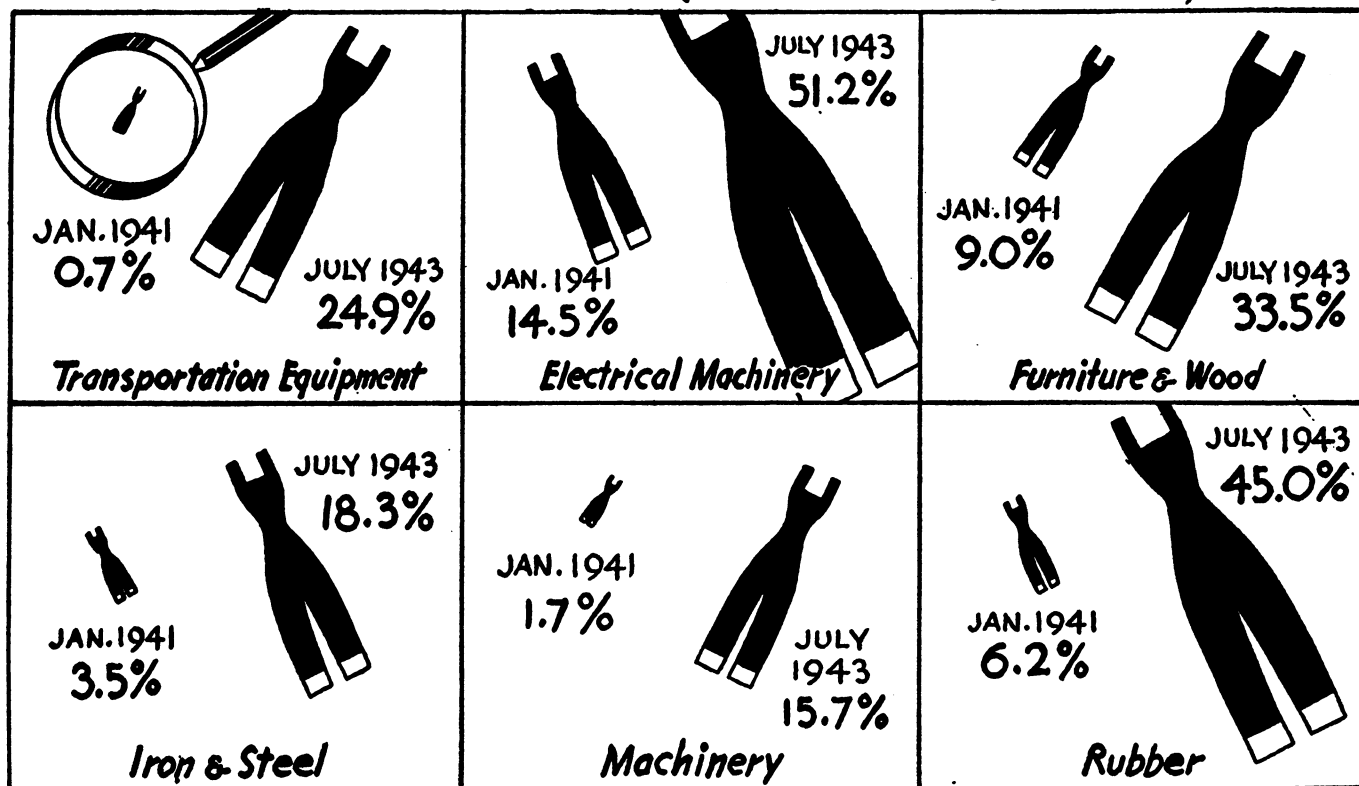
The approximate membership in California of the Oil Workers is 8,250. The membership increase of the union for the year exceeded 3,000.

The OWIU won the right of sole representation for 1,060 workers in the following NLRB elections held during the year ending June 30:



**RATIO OF WOMEN TO TOTAL WAGE EARNERS IN
SELECTED CALIFORNIA WAR INDUSTRIES....**

JAN. 1941 and JULY 1943 (OFFICE AND TECHNICAL WORK-
ERS NOT INCLUDED.)



LOCAL	COMPANY	VOTES CAST	RESULT
128	Shell Oil Company Southern California	OWIU 36 No Union 12	W
19	Honolulu Oil Corporation Southern California	OWIU 14 No Union 0	W
19	Pacific Western Oil Corp. Southern California	No Union 0 OWIU 10	W
120	Pacific Western Oil Corp. Southern California	OWIU 19 No Union 2	W
445	Tidewater Associated Oil Northern California	OWIU 511 Tidewater Emp. Assn. 221 No Union 19	W
128	E. B. Hall & Company Southern California	OWIU 117 Co. Union 39 No Union 1	W
128	Westates Petroleum Corp. Southern California	OWIU 17 No Union 0	W
128	Douglas Oil & Refining Co. Southern California	OWIU 30 No Union 12	W

United Packinghouse Workers of America

For years the UPWA has been fighting an uphill battle in California against anti-union employers to establish CIO organization in the plants of the "Big Four" meat packers—Armour, Cudahy, Swift and Wilson. During late 1942 and in 1943 the union registered substantial gains.

In the third NLRB election held in 18 months, the UPWA was finally certified as the collective bargaining agent for the employees of the Wilson & Co. packinghouse in Los Angeles. A WLB decision providing for maintenance of membership has firmly established the organization at Cudahy.

During its fight for existence the UPWA has been opposed not alone by the packing companies but also by the AFL Butchers Union. The UPWA now has more than 1,800 members in California, a gain of better than 600 for the year.

The union participated in the following NLRB elections during the year ending June 30:

LOCAL	COMPANY	VOTES CAST	RESULT
200	Wilson & Company, Inc. Los Angeles—So. Calif.	PWOC 192 Co. Union 179	W
200	Wilson & Company, Inc. Southern California	PWOC 16 Meat Drivers AFL 19 No Union 0	L

State, County & Municipal Workers of America

SCMWA organization was extended to the City of San Francisco in May of this year when a group of city clerical workers voted to affiliate with CIO. More than 200 became charter members of the San Francisco City and County Employees Union 503. This was the first entry of CIO into the field of local government in San Francisco.

A new local was also established in the East Bay, embracing 350 employees of the East Bay Municipal Utilities District. Union machinery and collective bargaining rights have been established.

The SCMWA also registered gains among the employees of several departments of the City of Los Angeles.

Membership of this union in California is now about 1,200, of whom nearly 500 joined during the year.

Textile Workers Union of America

Despite the fact that the textile industry has been hard hit by the war, the TWUA in California registered some gains during the year. Many textile plants have closed because of the curtailment of production of civilian goods. Manpower shortages constitute the main reasons for curtailed production and reduced union membership.

The gains registered by this union were in Los Angeles, where TWUA won an NLRB election in the plant of the Standard Felt Co.

Present membership of the TWUA in California is about 1,500, a loss of about 500 during the year.

This union participated in one NLRB election during the year ending June 30, as follows:

COMPANY	VOTES CAST	RESULT
Standard Felt Co.	TWUA 80	
Southern California	No Union 52	W

United Automobile, Aircraft & Agricultural Implement Workers of America

The most important CIO organizing drive in California is the campaign of UAW to bring into CIO the more than 150,000 unorganized aircraft workers. The key to this drive is Douglas Aircraft, which operates four large plants in southern California in which more than 100,000 workers are employed.

During the year NLRB elections were held at two of these Douglas plants. The UAW won the election at Vernon, and, after a runoff election, lost to the Intl. Association of Machinists at the El Segundo Plant. In July the UAW petitioned for NLRB elections at the two remaining and largest plants, located at Santa Monica and Long Beach. These elections probably will be held before the end of 1943.

In the past year UAW membership in California has increased by more than 5,000. The union has organized two plants of the Timm Aircraft Co. in southern California, two plants of Avion, Inc., in Los Angeles, and has a successful drive under way among the employees of Bendix Aviation, Inc., and Aircraft Components.

A factor which has given stimulus to UAW organizing drives in aircraft is the participation of UAW representatives on the West Coast Aircraft Committee, a War Labor Board body set up to enforce the aircraft stabilization order. UAW members of this committee, who include Brothers William Brodie and John Allard, have obtained more than \$3,000,000 in raises for aircraft workers. *One decision alone brought more than \$120,000 in back pay to employees of North American Aircraft at Inglewood, which is under agreement with UAW.*

New agreements have been signed during the year with the Hollister Coil Spring Manufacturing Co., Willard Storage Battery Co. and the Utilities Trailer Sales & Service. Agreements were renewed with the Solar Corp. and the Hobbs Battery Co.

Notable progress has been made in the consolidation of the union at North American. An organizing drive conducted early in 1943 netted several thousand new members.

In northern California the UAW has satisfactorily renewed its agreements with the Ford Motor Co., National Motor Bearing and other concerns. Despite curtailments in production and the closing of several plants with which UAW has agreements, the union has held its own and registered slight gains in the northern part of the state.

The UAW membership in California exceeds 18,000 at this time.

UAW won collective bargaining rights for 1,559 workers during the year ending June 30 in the following NLRB elections:

LOCAL	COMPANY	VOTES CAST	RESULT
683	The Aerial Corporation Southern California	UAWA 33 IAM 11 No Union 5	W
509	Laher Spring & Tire Co. Southern California	UAWA 7 No Union 0	W
24	Bendix Aviation, Ltd. Southern California	UAWA 305 Bendix Emp. Inc. 437	L
216	General Motors Corporation Southern California	UAWA 27 No Union 8	W
811	Utility Trailer Sales Co. Southern California	UAWA 11 No Union 5	W
683	Manlove, Spalding Mfg. Co. Aviation Div.—So. Calif.	UAWA 27 No Union 10	W
509	Holester Coil Spring Mfg. Southern California	UAWA 40 Metal Trades Council—AFL 3 No union 32	W
509	United Motors Service, Inc. Southern California	UAWA 3 No Union 7	L
509	Willard Storage Battery Southern California	UAWA 105 Co. Union 7 No Union 4	W
509	White Heat Treating Co. Southern California	UAWA 8 No Union 8	L
509	Cherry Rivet Company Southern California	UAWA 46 No Union 50	L
	Douglas Aircraft El Segundo—So. Calif.	UAWA 2023 IAM 4975 No Union 5657	L
	Douglas Aircraft Vernon—So. Calif.	IAM 77 UAWA 338 No Union 140	W
506	Solar Aircraft Company Southern California	UAWA 62 Solar Emp. Assn. 366 IAM 820 No Union 74	L
24	Timm Aircraft Company Southern California	UAWA 1 Un. Aircraft Welders 40 IAM 0 No Union 3	L
146	Timm Aircraft Company Southern California	UAWA 7 No Union 6	W
24	Timm Aircraft Company Southern California	UAWA 394 IAM 64 No Union 40	W
24	Timm Aircraft Company Southern California	UAWA 0 Un. Aircraft Welders 14 IAM 0 No Union 0	L
24	Timm Aircraft Company Southern California	UAWA 249 IAM 24 Carpenters AFL 76 No Union 79	W
146	Timm Aircraft Company Southern California	UAWA 31 IAM 168 Carpenters AFL 346 No Union 50	L

United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing & Allied Workers of America

During the year UCAPAWA made splendid progress in organizing and consolidating its position among workers who pack fresh fruit and vegetable crops. Local 78, which covers the states of California and Arizona, secured signed agree-

ments with more than 200 fresh fruit and vegetable growers and shippers. These agreements cover more than 6,000 workers. A major problem of the local has been the long-standing hostility on the part of agricultural interests to the organization of their employees.

The large agricultural interests in California make no bones about their anti-labor attitude, and the associations established by these interests have done everything within their power to prevent UCAPAWA from building organization and to drive it from the industry. In addition, the union has been hampered by long delays on the part of the War Labor Board. In many instances the union has filed cases with the WLB weeks before a particular crop was to be harvested, only to have the WLB delay the cases until after the crop was packed and the workers involved had moved to another area.

Despite these handicaps Local 78 has gained at least 3,000 members during the year.

A major victory for UCAPAWA was the winning of an NLRB election at the Hunt Brothers Packing Co., formerly the Val Vita plant, at Fullerton. An agreement with this concern was secured early in July, and an agreement was signed also with the companion plant at Fullerton operated by Continental Can Co.

Local 3, which enjoyed good relations with employers in Los Angeles, has improved existing agreements with California Walnut Growers Assn., California Sanitary Canning Co., Royal Packing Co., and the Consolidated Nut Shelling Co.

Present UCAPAWA membership in California exceeds 8,000. The union gained approximately 5,000 members during the year.

In the year ending June 30, UCAPAWA won the following NLRB elections:

LOCAL	COMPANY	VOTES CAST	RESULT
2	Val Vita Food Products, Inc. Cannery—So. Calif.	UCAPAWA 29 AFL 0 VV Emp. Assn. 1 No Union 5	W
	Val Vita Food Products, Inc. Canning—So. Calif.	UCAPAWA 233 AFL 3 VV Emp. Assn. 30 No Union 29	W
2	Hunt Bros. Cannery So. California	UCAPAWA 31 Teamsters AFL 0 No Union 1	W

United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America

The UE has concentrated mainly on organizing a large number of small electrical and machine shops and in cleaning up small units of such large corporations as General Electric and Westinghouse.

In southern California the UE has run into consistent opposition from an anti-labor employers group, inspired by the Merchants & Manufacturers Assn. In many instances when the UE has filed for an NLRB election in a plant a company union has been set up overnight and a "smear the CIO" campaign has been started among the workers. When elections have been lost by the UE, the company unions have been dissolved shortly after the elections. However, the UE has worked out an organizing technique to counteract these employer-inspired company union moves.

In northern California UE successfully organized the employees of the General Electric service shop in San Francisco and obtained an agreement. A campaign to bring into the CIO the 1,547 employees of the Eitel McCullough Co. in San Bruno is also under way. Existing agreements with General

Electric, Westinghouse, General Cable and other concerns were renewed with gains for the membership.

In southern California collective bargaining rights were won in additional General Electric and Westinghouse plants and in a number of other concerns.

The present UE membership in California exceeds 4,000. Membership gain for the year was about 1,500.

In the year ended June 30 the UE won the right to act as the sole collective bargaining agency for 673 workers in the following NLRB elections:

LOCAL	COMPANY	VOTES CAST	RESULT
1421	Westinghouse Elec. & Mfg. Southern California	UER&MWA 46 IBEW 16 No Union 6	W
1012	General Electric Company Southern California	UER&MWA 316 No Union 79	W
1421	Na Mac Products Corp. Southern California	UER&MWA 38 Metal Trades Council—AFL 48	L
1421	U. S. Electrical Motors Southern California	UER&MWA 222 No Union 231	L
1400	General Electric Company Northern California	UER&MWA 36 No Union 16	W
1013	Cannon Manufacturing Southern California	UER&MWA 491 Cannon Emp. Asn. 705	L
1421	Mullenach Electrical Mfg. Southern California	UER&MWA 21 IBEW 1 No Union 9	W
1421	Tru Bor Mfg. Company Southern California	UER&MWA 26 No Union 13	W
1421	Zinsmeyer Company Southern California	UER&MWA 75 IBEW 10 No Union 3	W

United Federal Workers

During the year the Federal Workers began an organizing campaign in the San Francisco Bay area. Two new locals have been set up and a Bay Area Federal Workers Council organized. Effective organization has been established among employees of the War Manpower Commission, OPA, WPB and the guards at the federal penitentiary at Alcatraz.

Federal Workers membership in California exceeds 1,200. The gain for the year has exceeded 600.

United Furniture Workers of America

Major membership gain by this union has been at the Simmons Bed Co. plant in San Francisco. This firm has large war contracts and has increased the number of its employees by more than 500 during the year.

In southern California the Furniture Workers have consolidated their position in the plants with which it has agreements.

The furniture industry has been hard hit by the war: many plants have been unable to obtain war contracts and have closed. The UFWA has met stiff opposition from the AFL furniture union in those unorganized plants which remain in operation.

The total membership of the Furniture Workers in California is about 2,100. The membership increase for the year is in excess of 750.

Following is the record of NLRB elections in which the UFWA was on the ballot during the year ending June 30:

LOCAL	COMPANY	VOTES CAST	RESULT
576	Los Angeles Period Furn. Co.	UFW 76	
	Southern California	Furn. Wkrs. 1561 AFL 114 No Union 2	L
576	Plyweve Corporation Southern California	UFW 69 Carpenters AFL 44 No Union 31	L

United Office & Professional Workers of America

Most important organizational gain registered by UOPWA in the past year was the organization of some 750 insurance agents employed by the Prudential Life Insurance Co. in San Francisco, Oakland and Los Angeles. These workers are now covered by a national UOPWA agreement which provides for dues checkoff, pay increases, grievance machinery and paid vacations.

UOPWA also has established itself in the offices of a number of plants in which other CIO unions have agreements for production workers.

The union increased its membership in the state by more than 700 during the year and now has a total California membership which exceeds 1,000.

The national office of UOPWA recently set up a regional office in San Francisco and assigned a director and a crew of organizers to the Pacific Coast states. Prospects for further rapid gains by this union in both northern and southern California are excellent.

United Rubber Workers of America

An intensive organizing campaign among new workers, mostly women, who came into the rubber industry with conversion to war production, increased the strength and prestige of the United Rubber Workers in California during the past year. Favorable War Labor Board decisions helped the Rubber Workers to consolidate their gains in a number of important locals.

Membership of the Firestone and United States Rubber locals in Los Angeles more than doubled, while appreciable gains were recorded at Goodyear and Goodrich. Insistence by the locals upon equal pay and upon other important gains for new women workers brought many hundreds of these women into the Rubber Workers.

The result: Rubber now has a California membership of 8,000, an estimated increase for the year of about 3,500 members.

United Shoe Workers of America

Although wartime inroads upon the industry reduced considerably the total number of workers in the field and therefore the number of members in the union, United Shoe Workers greatly improved their position in California during the last year.

Since inception of the CIO this union has encountered the bitterest kind of opposition from anti-union employers in the Los Angeles area, and enforcement of contracts has been a continual struggle. During 1942-43 the severest challenges of the employers were met and, through the renegotiation of contracts and the winning of one highly important War Labor Board case, the Shoeworkers were victorious in firmly establishing their union.

Strongly consolidated, with a present membership of 750, the United Shoe Workers are prepared for big membership growth when war-time conditions permit expansion once more of the shoe industry in this state.

United Steelworkers of America

Very substantial gains were made by USA in California. There has been excellent consolidation of local unions and a sustained organizing drive. Increases in production in war plants under USA agreements brought large numbers of new members to the union.

The conclusion of national agreements between USA and the Bethlehem and Columbia Steel companies greatly strengthened the California USA locals in Bethlehem and Columbia plants, located in Alameda, South San Francisco, Pittsburg, Torrance, Vernon and Los Angeles.

The California locals of USA in American Can are giving leadership to other American Can locals throughout the nation in securing a nationwide USA agreement with this concern.

Outstanding gains have been made by the following USA locals:

Local 1304, East Bay Union of Machinists. In August this local finally won victory in a fight of more than three years to retain its agreements. The victory came in the form of a WLB decision which declared the collective bargaining agreements of Local 1304 to be valid and binding upon the employers. The agreements had been challenged by the Metal Trades Council of the AFL, several employers and government agencies. In this case Local 1304 waged an outstandingly successful battle, with the help of the national CIO and the international office of USA, against the entire AFL and a number of agencies of the federal government. This local gained nearly 3,000 members during the year and is now the largest USA local in California, with nearly 7,000 members.

USA Local 2018 in Maywood also registered important gains by organizing the plants of the Griffen Wheel Co., Alloy Steel Foundry, Ramapo Ajax division of the American Brake Shoe Co., Madsen Iron Works, Pacific Pump Co. and Los Angeles Magnesium Foundry. Despite the fact that nearly 500 members of this local have entered the armed forces, the union gained more than 600 members during the year.

USA Local 1440 at Pittsburg also made substantial progress. An organizing drive started in April of this year increased the membership from 1,200 to 2,400 in the Columbia Steel plant.

In a special campaign the union was responsible for the sale of approximately \$120,000 in War Bonds. Total bond sales in the plant amounted to \$150,000. Local 1440 has also been active in promoting production increases, and in some departments the union program has resulted in raising production as much as 25 percent.

The other USA locals in the state, and notably *Local 1069* at South San Francisco, *Locals 1981 and 2018* at Maywood, and Los Angeles locals *1058, 2058 and 2172*, have registered important gains.

Local 1414 increased its membership by taking in plant guards at the Columbia plant at Torrance.

The overall USA membership in the state exceeds 25,000, a gain of more than 6,000 during the year.

USA won the right of sole collective bargaining for 535 workers in the following NLRB elections held during the year ending June 30:

LOCAL	COMPANY	VOTES CAST	RESULT
1798	Wilson-Bennett Company Northern California	USA 9	W
		IAM 4	
		No union 1	
1981	Angelus Sanitary Can Southern California	USA 26	L
		IAM 23	
		No union 135	
2018	Joslyn Company of Calif. Southern California	USA 37	L
		No union 44	
2018	Kinney Iron Works Pattern Makers—So. Calif.	USA 0	L
		Ptn. Mkrs. Assn. 5	
		AFL 1	
		No union 1	

LOCAL	COMPANY	VOTES CAST	RESULT
2018	Kinney Iron Works Production & Maintenance	No union 9	W
		USA 137	
2018	Johnston Pump Company Southern California	USA 39	W
		No union 0	
2018	Madsen Iron Works Southern California	USA 80	W
		No union 52	
2018	Ramapo Apax Division of Amer. Brake Shoe & Found.	USA 23	W
		No union 14	
1981	Angelus Sanitary Can Southern California	USA 84	W
		No union 47	
1845	Bethlehem Steel Southern California	USA 10	L
		No union 15	
1414	Columbia Steel Southern California	USA 26	W
		No union 0	
1798	Little Giant Wash. Ma. Co. Northern California	USA 1	L
		IAM 1	

United Transport Service Employees

Newest international in the CIO, the United Transport Service Workers, won organizational gains in California during the past year, both in Los Angeles, where the red caps of the Santa Fe bus lines and the Pacific Electric lines were signed up and put under contract, and at Oakland, where the Pullman laundries were brought into the organization. The union is now engaged in the ambitious task of organizing the extensive Pullman shops in Contra Costa county. Already under contract when the Transport Service Workers joined the family of the CIO were the red cap porters at Union Passenger Terminal, Los Angeles, and the porters at Oakland, San Francisco and Sacramento Southern Pacific stations. The union now has a total membership in California of about 300.

Utility Workers Organizing Committee

The UWOC has registered an increase in membership of 40 per cent during the year. UWOC has established organization in all major utility companies in the state, including such giant corporations as Pacific Gas & Electric, Southern California Edison, Southern California Gas, and Pacific Electric Railway.

In every important organizing campaign, UWOC has encountered tough and bitter opposition from the AFL Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. In addition, with a limited organizing staff, the UWOC has had to cover a larger territory than any other CIO organization.

Most recent UWOC victory was the WLB decision in Pacific Gas & Electric providing for wage increases, elimination of split shifts, premium pay for standby, maintenance of membership and checkoff.

The present UWOC membership in California is nearly 6,000. The gain in members during the year has exceeded 2,400.

NLRB elections in which UWOC participated during the year ending June 30 are listed below. In these elections the union won exclusive bargaining rights for 1,906 workers.

LOCAL	COMPANY	VOTES CAST	RESULT
152	Southern California Gas Co.	UWOC 30	W
		No Union 8	
No Local in Area	Pacific Gas & Electric Stockton, California	UWOC 118	L
		IBEW 305	
		No Union 26	
No Local in Area	Pacific Gas & Electric De Sable, California	UWOC 35	L
		IBEW 123	
		No Union 14	

LOCAL	COMPANY	VOTES CAST	RESULT	LOCAL	COMPANY	VOTES CAST	RESULT
No Local in Area	Pacific Gas & Electric Colgate, California	UWOC 10 IBEW 120 No union 8	L	133	Pacific Gas & Electric Janitors—General Office Northern California	UWOC 27 IBEW 7 No union 2	W
No Local in Area	Pacific Gas & Electric Coast Valley Division	UWOC 4 IBEW 82 No union 7	L	133	Pacific Gas & Electric Natural Gas Div., No. Calif.	UWOC 9 IBEW 44 No union 9	L
133	Pacific Gas & Electric San Francisco Division	UWOC 577 IBEW 238 No union 53	W	233	Pacific Gas & Electric Northern California San Joaquin Division	UWOC 282 IBEW 381 No union 85	L
135, 241 & 236	Pacific Gas & Electric North Bay Division	UWOC 185 IBEW 116 No union 21	W		So. Calif. Gas Company Avenal Division	UWOC 13 No union 1	W
136	Pacific Gas & Electric San Jose, California	UWOC 292 IBEW 27 No union 21	W	152	So. California Gas Company Southern California	UWOC 113 Pac. Gas. Wkrs. Inc. 6 No union 16	W
	Pacific Gas & Electric Sacramento, California	UWOC 198 IBEW 232 No union 55	L	243	So. California Gas Company	UWOC 119 No union 34	W

Labor Herald

PARALLELING the growth in affiliation and expansion of services of the California CIO Council has been the growth of our official newspaper, the LABOR HERALD, and the broadening of its services.

At our last convention, exactly one year after the LABOR HERALD was adopted as the state Council's official publicity medium and expanded into a statewide paper, it was able to report an average weekly circulation of 40,000 copies. This represented a truly remarkable gain over the 16,469 readers the paper had a year earlier.

To this convention, the LABOR HERALD is able to report that the steady rise in its readership and support have continued and that its paid circulation in September this year exceeded 62,000 copies a week.

The high point in circulation was reached with the 1943 Labor Day edition, of which 77,530 paid copies were distributed.

The record of the LABOR HERALD's growth is shown by the increases in advertising and circulation revenue. The following table shows advertising and circulation sales for the four fiscal years of 1940, 1941, 1942 and 1943:

	1940	1941	1942	1943*
Advertising Sales	\$ 8,317.62	\$12,232.01	\$18,788.61	\$27,982.36
Circulation Sales	12,130.55	17,394.01	32,006.31	47,428.10
Total Sales	<u>\$20,448.17</u>	<u>\$29,626.02</u>	<u>\$50,794.92</u>	<u>\$75,410.46</u>

*13 months—Fiscal year changed from July 31 to August 31.

Why It's Important

These figures might make good financial page reading, yet mean nothing to members of California CIO Council, were it not for two things—that fact of the LABOR HERALD's important services to the state council and the affiliated unions, and the fact that because of the business-like operation of the paper, it makes these services available to the council and unions while paying its own way.

The war has created many problems for labor. It has made our meetings less frequent and less well-attended. It has brought into our unions large numbers of men and women who know nothing about the labor movement and who must be educated—and rapidly! It has substituted for the relative simplicities of "pork chops" union action, the complicated procedures and policies of federal war agencies. And it has made necessary an effective program of political action to protect labor, win the war and lay the basis for the right kind of peace.

Mailed each week into the home of one out of every three members affiliated to the California CIO Council, the LABOR HERALD provides the main channel for contact with a large portion of our rank and file, for education of new workers,

for information on price control, wage policies and the like, for news of national CIO policy statements and programs, for rallying the membership to political action. It serves to knit our unionists, from the woodworker up in the Sierras to the aircraft worker in San Diego, and all the others in between, into one cohesive California CIO organization, aware of what each section of our movement is doing, able to move in the same directions at the same time, for the same objectives.

That's a big order, but the paper has delivered the goods. Its successful performance has won the LABOR HERALD national recognition as the best state CIO official publication in the country and one of the nation's outstanding labor papers.

Many Special Services

Besides its week-to-week job for the CIO, the LABOR HERALD during the past year gave its readers at no additional cost to them nine special editions. It opened a series of intensive news-and-photo reports on outstanding California CIO unions with editions devoted to California's shipbuilding locals and longshoremen's locals. It added extra pages to report exhaustively the last convention and the important April state Executive Board meeting. A special edition honoring the CIO Pres. Philip Murray served as the program at Los Angeles' great rally for the CIO chief. It presented a special comic-strip supplement on political action, and during the week of this convention will include a supplement on the CIO's participation in the War Chest drives. The 16-page Anniversary edition supplement contained a list of all food ceiling prices and useful price control information. The 40-page Labor Day edition was a virtual handbook for political action information, including voting records of congressmen, etc.

In addition to the State edition, the LABOR HERALD also published during the first part of this year a monthly "East Bay Machinists Edition" for Steelworkers Local 1304, Oakland, and now publishes a "Steel Banner Edition" for Local 2058, Los Angeles.

An incidental but important job which the paper performs is acting as a public relations medium for the California CIO and carrying its views and programs to the public. Individual subscribers and recipients of complimentary copies include all California state legislators and congressmen, other state and national political figures, writers, clergymen, educators, etc.

A Big Enterprise

The LABOR HERALD has become pretty big enterprise, as the income and circulation figures given here and the record of its services indicate. Its combined business, editorial

and circulation staff, in the northern and southern California offices, now includes 13 persons, four more than last year. The additional people include a business manager, editorial worker, advertising solicitor and a circulation worker.

Besides these regular employees the paper also hires union mailers and distributors for a number of shifts each week to handle distribution. Wages to all of these workers have been raised. Two increases in printing costs and one boost in engraving charges, as well as other higher costs have had to be met. The promotional expenses and initial outlays in getting new readers and launching campaigns for more advertising have been considerable, from the financial viewpoint of a labor newspaper with no outside subsidy and no capital reserve.

Thus, despite its increased revenues, the LABOR HERALD is currently running at a deficit.

A rise in its advertising rates and a planner campaign to expand advertising, especially in certain categories, is counted on to improve the financial picture. In the past few months, an intensive circulation drive, with special emphasis on the southern portion of the state, has brought in more than 10,000 new readers and will yield needed revenue.

Since the last convention, 45 unions have subscribed to the LABOR HERALD, or greatly increased the number of papers they received, or changed from a basis of occasional to regular weekly mailing. These unions include:

American Communications Association:

Local 32..... Los Angeles
Local 101..... Statewide mailing

Brewers' & Maltsters':

Local 7..... San Jose

Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union:

Local 10..... San Francisco
Local 54..... Stockton

Intl. Union Mine Mill & Smelter Workers:

Local 51..... Selby
Local 266..... El Cerrito
Local 356..... Concord
Local 391..... Stockton
Local 608..... Guerneville
Local 631..... Pacific Grove
Local 700..... Los Angeles

Oil Workers International Union:

Organizing Campaign..... El Segundo
Local 5..... Martinez
Local 326..... Rodeo
Local 445..... Martinez

American Newspaper Guild:

Local..... San Jose

State County & Municipal Workers:

Local 246..... Los Angeles
Local 360..... Torrance
Local 475..... El Segundo

United Transport Service Workers:

Local 902..... Los Angeles

United Auto-Aircraft Workers Union:

Local 17..... Los Angeles
Local 230..... Alhambra
Local 809..... Los Angeles

United Office and Professional Workers:

Local 9..... Los Angeles

United Rubber Workers:

Local 100..... Los Angeles
Local 131..... Los Angeles

United Shoe Workers

Local 122..... Los Angeles

United Steelworkers of America:

Local 1069..... South San Francisco
Local 1414..... Torrance
Local 1549..... Bell
Local 1981..... Maywood
Local 1986..... Los Angeles
Local 2018..... Maywood
Local 2058..... Los Angeles
Local 2579..... Pacific Grove

Utility Workers Org. Com.:

Local 133..... San Francisco
Local 134..... Oakland
Local 135..... Napa
Local 136..... San Jose
Local 137..... Redwood City
Local 169..... Concord
Local 236..... Larkspur
Local 241..... Petaluma
Local 269..... Merced
Org. Com..... Oakland

Growth Must Continue

But additional advertising and circulation must be had within the next month or two if the LABOR HERALD is to continue doing a job for the California CIO and paying its own way. This is particularly true of the southern part of the state, whose proportionate contribution to the paper's income is less than its relative share of the paper's expenses.

Full support of all CIO organizations in California is urgently necessary, both in subscribing for those CIO members not yet receiving the paper and lending the weight of unions and members in cooperating with the LABOR HERALD's advertising campaigns.

Continued advances in circulation are important not just financially, but more so because the LABOR HERALD—already one of the state CIO's most important tools—will not be used to the greatest advantage until every CIO union in California subscribes in a block for all of its membership. In the opinion of the Executive Board, building of the LABOR HERALD will continue to be one of the state Council's main jobs during the coming year.

War On the Home Front

ECONOMICS OF TOTAL WAR

FEW persons have any idea of the vastness of the economics of total war on a global scale.

World War I, which once was thought to be a pretty big show, becomes a bush-league affair, so far as the U. S. is concerned, when its cost is compared to the cost of the present conflict.

This country's total war expenditures in the last war were \$31 billion. But from the start of the defense program in May, 1940, to July of this year Congress authorized expenditures nine times that great—\$275.8 billion. By September 1 of this year we had already spent \$128.1 billion, four times the cost of the last war.

Current war costs run about \$8.3 billion each month or more than \$11,275,000 AN HOUR, about one-fourth the total cost to the U. S. of World War I.

Transition from a peacetime to a wartime basis has proceeded rapidly. It has been marked by a huge increase in productivity and the diversion of an increasing share of the greater total output for war purposes.

In July, 1943, the nation's output of goods, services, capital equipment and construction was at the rate of \$184.9 billion annually, more than twice the 1939 gross product of \$88.6 billion. But while only 2 per cent of the 1939 total output—\$1.4 billion—went for war purposes, 47 per cent of the vastly greater national product—an amount equal to \$87.1 billion annually—was being earmarked for the war in July, 1943.

Still Short of Goal

Tremendous as the war production indicated by these figures may be, it is still short of the amount which President Roosevelt said would be necessary this year to carry out America's planned share in the total war effort of the United Nations. In January of this year he estimated the nation's 1943 war needs at \$100 billion.

Munitions production rose in the first few months of 1943, but levelled off in April, May and June and showed only slight increases in July and August (3.5 and 4 per cent, respectively). In August, 1943, the WPB index showed the rate of munitions production to be more than six times that of November, 1941, the base month for its index. But for production this year to reach the President's goal, the output will have had to show a pyramided increase of 5.5 per cent each month from September to the end of the year.

That's why labor and the Administration are concerned about any over-optimism which would lead to slackening of effort at this time.

One factor affecting the possibility of attaining this higher output rate is the manpower situation. Essential industries

were scheduled to absorb 2,900,000 more workers during this calendar year. In addition, the armed forces had scheduled an intake of some 3,800,000 persons during the same period. Of this total of 6,700,000 additional persons to be swept into the war effort, it was believed that 3,400,000 would come from among workers in less-essential industries. Another 2,900,000 were to be provided from among non-workers and the final 400,000 were to come from the remaining reservoir of unemployed.

But during the first half of this year the planned manpower mobilization has lagged seriously. By July, only 900,000 of the new workers required by essential industry had turned up, leaving 2,000,000 still to be rounded up in the last half of the year.

Manpower Crisis Looms

Withdrawals from less-essential industry are behind schedule. Two-thirds of the withdrawals planned for the whole year must take place in the second half of this year if goals are to be met. Approximately 4,800,000 non-workers were brought into the labor force between January and July, but most of them went into agriculture. Non-agriculture employment actually dropped by 100,000. Moreover, many of the former non-workers thus recruited were youths on summer vacation, who returned to school in the autumn.

Unless manpower mobilization is speeded up greatly in the closing months of this year the nation will face a serious crisis at the start of 1944.

Stepped-up war production has meant a sharp increase in the national income. The pattern of distribution of that income is interesting and significant.

Estimates place the national income for 1943 at \$146 billion. This is 21 per cent higher than national income for 1942, which totalled \$119.8 billion, and almost twice the \$78 billion national income in 1939.

The largest increase in 1943 income was enjoyed by the farm operators. Their gross income for the year is expected to be three times what it was in 1939—\$13.6 billion compared to \$4.3 billion.

The total net income of farm operators is 138.4 per cent larger than it was in 1939. On the whole, farm operators improved their financial position considerably. In 1943 they retained 52 cents as profit out of every dollar collected, compared with 40 cents in 1939.

The so-called "parity" ratio—the relationship between prices received by farmers and prices they pay for commodities—was 114 in July, 1943, the most favorable they have enjoyed in our entire national history.

Total farm production this year will probably surpass the record 1942 output by 4 per cent and will be 31 per cent

higher than the average for 1935-39. Food crops, however, will be 10 per cent smaller than in 1942.

Despite the higher wages, the share of farm laborers in total farm income has declined 17 per cent since 1939.

Looks Better Than It Is

Wage and salary earners, as a group, will draw in 1943 about twice their income in 1939. Even taken as a whole, this rate of increase is below that of the farmer. Actually the rise in total income of wage and salary earners is due largely to the much greater number of people employed and the lengthening of the average work week. The actual money earnings of the individual in this group, which includes our membership, have increased relatively little, and the rates of pay have increased still less.

The extent to which the stabilization program has halted any general increase in wages is shown by a report issued by the National War Labor Board in the first week of October. The wage raises which it granted averaged less than 1 cent an hour in the entire previous year, the WLB reported.

Net profits of corporations in 1943, however, are estimated to be twice the net profits of 1939. Figures published by the Department of Commerce indicate that despite Wall Street's howls about taxation, price controls, allegedly high wages and the like, business' net profits this year will top those of last year by 20 per cent.

Unlike the wage income, this corporate profit is being divided among fewer, rather than more, recipients, for many small and less-essential businesses have closed their doors. In fact, the overwhelming bulk of all war-spent dollars funnel into the hands of a select list of about 10 per cent of the nation's industrial firms.

This lop-sided distribution of the national income bulwarks the CIO contention that the best place to dig up the extra revenue sought in the Treasury's new tax proposals is the war-swollen exchequers of the big corporations, not the pay envelope of the average worker.

Figures on consumer expenditures and savings for 1943 provide the best answer to those who argue that wage raises must not be granted and that taxes on low-income citizens must be increased lest inflation result.

The sum of 90.2 billion dollars will be spent by consumers for goods and services in 1943, compared with 61.7 billion dollars in 1939. But in terms of 1939 dollars, they will be getting only 70 billion dollars worth of goods and services, an actual rise in consumption of only 13 per cent. The other 20 billion dollars represents price increases.

But while consumption rose only 13 per cent, U. S. consumers will put into War Bonds, savings and insurance during 1943, more than six times what they saved in 1939—\$36.6 billion as against \$6 billion.

These figures prove that wage earners are not using every penny of their higher dollar-income to bid madly for available goods and services, as the "inflationary gap" theoreticians contend, and that needed wage adjustments will not cause runaway inflation if rationing and price control programs are effectively applied.

Living Costs Up

Labor's demand for roll-back of living costs and truly effective stabilization is bolstered by statistics on the cost of living. The Bureau of Labor Statistics cost-of-living index indicates that since August, 1939, the cost of living in the country as a whole went up 25.6 per cent.

Since Sept. 15, 1942, the point at which Congress legislated the stabilization of wages and cost of living, the index has increased by some 5 per cent, causing a cut in the real wages of the working groups.

Compared with the last war, the overall cost of living has not increased as sharply, but food prices have gone up faster than in the comparable period of World War I. Retail food prices were up 48.7 per cent between August, 1939, and July, 1943. Farm prices, according to the Department of Agriculture, have more than doubled.

Slight reductions in the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) index in the past few months were due mostly to a seasonal drop in food prices and to a smaller extent to the partial subsidy program. But in September the index was up again.

Actually, the cost of living has increased more than the BLS index shows, since the index does not reflect higher family expenses resulting from the widespread violations of price ceilings, profiteering in the black market and the deterioration of quality in goods and foods since the beginning of the war.

DOMESTIC STABILIZATION

TWO essentials of fighting the war on the home front are:

1. A sound domestic economy;
2. A coordinated production program.

No nation can prosecute a war of the magnitude of the present conflict on peacetime standards, privileges and luxuries. A war economy is dominated by scarcities. There is a need for haste and an accelerated demand for all types of goods.

During wartime production must be regulated according to need, the principal needs being military requirements and most essential civilian goods. It is unsound policy to regulate production by the usual supply and demand formula. For this reason production schedules must be planned, and prices must be regulated so that they will not hamper the scheduled flow of goods. Without regulation of production, demand for civilian goods might completely disrupt the necessary war production schedules. Without economic stabilization there might be a runaway inflation of prices.



THE fight against inflation is a most serious one for the workers in any period of rising prices. Even when wages are not controlled, prices tend to rise much more rapidly than wages. The result is that when prices are rising the workers' real wages are constantly being depressed. In order to protect the basic standard of living which is necessary to maintain the workers' health and productive efficiency in wartime it is urgent that prices be controlled. To do so it is necessary to stabilize wages and the entire national economy.

It was for this reason that the CIO gave whole-hearted support to the President's seven-point program for the stabilization of the national economy which was announced in April, 1942. This program provided for the stabilization of prices and rents, control of farm prices, stabilization of wages, the rationing of all commodities which were scarce, curtailment of installment buying, regular purchase of war bonds and a heavy tax program based on the principle of ability to pay. This was a program which, if put into effect in its entirety, would have provided the necessary controls over consumer purchasing power, the proper distribution of essential consumer goods and the necessary revenue for the conduct of the war.

Price Control Act

The Price Control act was enacted in January, 1942. The law was kicked around by Congress and did not provide an adequate basis for a strong price control program. In October, 1942, the original act was amended to correct some of its most glaring deficiencies. Even after the amendment the law required that any price set for agricultural products must be high enough to guarantee the farmers a profit at least as great as the average rate that they received in the period 1919 to 1929. The law also provided that before a ceiling price could be set on any farm production it must first have been approved by the Department of Agriculture.

Simultaneously, with the announcement of the seven-point program, the OPA issued general maximum price regulations designed to hold prices at the level of March, 1942. By September, 1942, prices had gone up enough despite the maximum price regulations to make necessary amendment of the Price Control act, as outlined above.

To implement that law, the President issued Executive Order 9250 which established the Office of Economic Stabilization, the function of which was to stabilize prices and wages at the Sept. 15, 1942 level. However, even though the Act of Oct. 2, 1942 provided for a stabilization of prices at the September 15 level, price increases continued, especially food prices.

In April, 1943, it became necessary for the President to issue the more drastic Executive Order 9328. This so-called "hold-the-line" order practically froze wages and directed the OPA to roll prices back to the Sept. 15, 1942 level.

In order to affect a rollback of prices, the Administration asked Congress for subsidy appropriations. These funds were to be used to subsidize producers who could not operate under September 15 price ceilings and thus halt any further increase in prices. Congress overwhelmingly defeated the Administration's subsidy program. Instead of strengthening price control Congress specifically prohibited grade labeling in the OPA appropriation bill; the result of this prohibition was to nullify the provisions of the original Price Control Act for regulation of quality standards. Congress further disarmed OPA by slashing its budget drastically.

A partial subsidy program was initiated despite Congressional opposition by the Administration, using funds of Commodity Credit Corp.

At the present time OPA is concentrating on control of vital cost-of-living commodities and in the past month or so was to a certain extent able to check further price increases.

The rent control provisions of the Price Control act were put into effect quite adequately and despite pressure by real estate interests, rents have been held down. There is still the danger that Congress might relax the rent control regulations.

Farm Prices

The original Price Control act provided no real control over farm prices. Neither did the amendment to the act on October 2 provide adequate control. At the present time farm prices may advance high enough to guarantee the farmers a profit at least as great as the average profit for the 10-year period 1919 to 1929. The law also provides that under no circumstances may ceilings be put on farm prices until there is specific authorization from the Department of Agriculture.

Congress tried further to loosen the control over farm prices by enacting the so-called Bankhead bill. The Bankhead bill would have prohibited the deduction of government benefit payments from farm price ceilings. A second measure, the

Pace bill, would have permitted inclusion of labor costs in parity prices. Together the two bills would have meant a 17 to 18 per cent increase in the retail cost of foods. The President, however, vetoed both bills.

At the present time farm prices continue to increase. Between September, 1942, and July, 1943, they increased 15 per cent.

What Happened to Wages

At the time the President's seven-point program was announced the War Labor Board was already beginning to crystallize its policies on wage stabilization. In June, 1942, shortly after the issuance of the general maximum price regulations, the Board handed down its now famous "Little Steel" decision, which limited general wage increases to 15 per cent over the level of January, 1941. This permissible amount of increase supposedly was to compensate for the rise in the cost of living from January, 1941 to May, 1942.

By September, 1942 it became apparent that the general maximum price regulations could not control the cost of living and it was necessary to enact further legislation and reinforce the authority of the Administration over price and wage control. The Act of October 2 and Executive Order 9250 which followed it directed the War Labor Board to stabilize wages, as well as prices, at the level of September 15, 1942.

Even more rigid controls were placed on wages by the President's "hold-the-line" order of March, 1943.

Throughout its administration of the wage stabilization program the War Labor Board has done an effective job and has performed the tasks assigned to it under the seven-point program. The comparative effectiveness of wage and price stabilization can be seen from the fact that, from the period Sept. 15, 1942 through August, 1943, the average general increase in wage rates authorized by the Board was only 1 cent per hour, while the cost-of-living index during the same period went up 5.5 per cent.

The hardship to the workers resulting from this uneven application of the economic stabilization program cannot be blamed on the War Labor Board which, of all the agencies responsible for the program, has done the most effective job. It is due rather to the failure on the part of Congress to give the Administration sufficient authority to wield overall control and the failure of other agencies to utilize the powers they do possess.

Rationing of Essential Items

The President in his seven-point program called for the rationing of essential commodities which were scarce. However, rationing programs were put into effect only after the development of acute shortages which drove up prices and paved the way for black markets.

Purchase of War Bonds

On the President's appeal for an increased purchase of war bonds, the people and the union members responded with an almost universal 10 per cent payroll deduction for war savings bonds. However, the purchase of bonds will have to be increased in the coming period.

Installment Buying

Limitation of installment buying was put into effect shortly after the President's declaration by administrative action of the Federal Reserve System and to a certain extent by the

OPA. Rules regarding payment of debts and mortgages have been complied with and private debts in the U. S. have been cut to one-half those of the peak year, 1941.

Tax Program










The Administration's plans for a wartime tax program were dumped by the reactionary Congress. Congress presented a bill for heavier taxes last October which put a disproportionate burden on the low income groups. The so-called "victory tax" bill was a part of this legislation and was directly counter to the Administration's ability-to-pay principle.

The modified Ruml plan passed May, 1943. Although it did not alter tax rates, it forgave enormous sums to the high-

income groups and lost the government 8 billion dollars in revenue which will have to be made up by further taxation. The present hope of the Congressional representatives of Big Business is the enactment of some form of sales tax which will further penalize the workers.

Eighteen months have passed since the indivisible seven-point program for economic stabilization was announced by the President, and the only major point of the program which has been put into effect is wage stabilization. Efforts to put the program into effect on a piece-meal basis are not going to stabilize the national economy. Thus the economic stabilization program of the Administration is in jeopardy and the blame must rest on Congress and the appeasement-minded men like Brown and Byrnes.

THE PURCHASING POWER OF YOUR 1943 DOLLAR !

	ALL FOODS 	MEATS 	DAIRY PRODUCTS 	FRESH FRUITS AND VEGETABLES 	EGGS 	 HI COST OF LIVING
SAN FRANCISCO	66.9 CENTS	75.8 CENTS	68.2 CENTS	43.6 CENTS	57.2 CENTS	77.9 CENTS 
LOS ANGELES	66.4 CENTS	77.8 CENTS	71.2 CENTS	49.5 CENTS	58.3 CENTS	80.4 CENTS 
UNITED STATES	67.2 CENTS	73.2 CENTS	69.5 CENTS	47.9 CENTS	59.1 CENTS	79.6 CENTS 

OLD "HI COST OF LIVING" has shrunk the 1943 wartime dollar. It looks the same, but in San Francisco, for instance, it will only go as far toward covering the workers' cost of living as 77.9 cents would have gone in 1939. In Los Angeles, to give another example, \$1 now will buy only as much meat as 77.8 cents would buy in 1939. All comparisons are with the year 1939. The first five columns show what has happened to food costs. The right-hand column shows what has happened to the total cost of living.

CALIFORNIA AND THE WAR

THE impact of the war in California has been more profound than anywhere else in the United States. The war production program has brought half a million new workers into the labor force and has revolutionized the industrial economy of the state. From a predominantly agricultural and food processing state, California has been transformed into one of the most important industrial centers of the nation. Three years of defense and war production have trebled the number of wage earners in our manufacturing industries.

Prior to the initiation of the war program, the major industries in California were agriculture, food processing, petroleum refining, lumber and motion pictures. Until war activities changed the industrial pattern, food processing employed three times more wage earners than any other manufacturing industry of the state.

Aircraft and shipbuilding are now the principal war industries of the state, relegating food processing to second—followed by iron and steel products, machinery, lumber, petroleum, etc.

In 1940, one out of every six workers was employed in manufacturing. In 1943, about one out of every three was employed in manufacturing, and one in every five was either an aircraft worker or shipyard worker.

The total number of wage earners in manufacturing, not counting office and technical workers, increased from 276,000 in 1939 to 961,400 in August 1943.

The chart on page 14 shows what has happened to major classes of workers in three years of the war production program. (The classification "government employees" includes civilian employees in Navy yards, arsenals, and government-owned utilities. "Other non-agricultural workers" includes transportation, construction, distribution, wholesale and retail trade, mining, service and miscellaneous. "Agricultural workers" includes both working farmers and hired agricultural workers.)

Changes in Working Force

Even more striking than the increase in numbers is the changed composition of the working force. Three years ago, about one out of every eight wage earners in manufacturing industries was a woman. (See charts on pages 26 and 37.) Now this ratio has increased to more than one in every four.

Most of this increase is due to the entrance of women into war jobs. Three years ago, less than one in 30 durable goods workers was a woman; now it is almost one out of four.

Three years ago not even one in 100 workers in aircraft and shipbuilding combined was a woman. Now it is one in four. In aircraft alone, almost half of the workers are women.

The chart on page 54 shows the progress made over an eight-months' period in employment of racial minorities. The proportion of members of the minority groups in every major war industry has increased, and in every one of those shown, except aircraft, it is at least equal to or greater than the ratio of minorities to the whole population. No figures on employment of Mexican workers, who have been subject to severe discrimination, are available.

The war brought over half a million new people into the state in addition to the members of the armed forces who are stationed or being trained in the extensive military establishments of California. In the table below are shown the increases in population that have taken place since April, 1940 (the date of the last census) in some of the important centers in the state. The population in some communities like

Vallejo, Richmond and San Diego has almost doubled since the last census.

ESTIMATED POPULATION (In Thousands)

	April 1940	April 1943	Increase No.	%
CALIFORNIA	6,907	7,558	650	9.4
BAY AREA	1,734	2,031	297	11.7
San Francisco	635	677	43	6.8
Alameda	513	606	93	18.1
Contra Costa	100	178	78	77.7
Solano	49	91	42	85.7
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA	3,672	4,072	399	11.1
Los Angeles	2,786	3,041	255	9.2
San Diego	289	398	109	37.6
Orange	131	147	17	12.7

The total increases in the metropolitan areas of northern and southern California were 696,089, while the increase for the whole state was 650,300. This indicates a flow of population from the rural to urban areas. Thirty-four of the 58 counties of the state lost population, totalling 89,103.

Income Rises

Income payments in California increased from \$5 billion in 1939 to \$8.7 billion in 1942, and to an estimated \$11.2 billion in 1943. The total amount of income payments in the state is second only to New York, and since 1940 California has surpassed the states of Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois. While there has been almost a 60 per cent increase in the number of wage and salary earners in the state, the relative share of wages and salaries in total income payments has increased 15.5 per cent. Thus the workers' proportional share in the State's income has dropped.

Out of every dollar collected by farm operators in 1942, almost 40 cents was clear profit, compared with 28 cents in 1939. Despite higher wages, the share of farm workers remained the same (about 19 cents out of each dollar).

While the gross earnings of California's industrial workers were considerably larger than in 1939, their net real income declined or remained stationary.

For example, the average earnings of a worker in the durable goods industry in Los Angeles were \$29.19 per week in December, 1939, with an average work week of 39.7 hours. His average earnings amounted to \$50.33 in July, 1943 for an average 45-hour week. In other words, he had a 72.4 per cent increase in his gross weekly earnings. These apparent earnings were reduced, however, by the rise in the cost of living, new income tax deductions, war bond deductions, and wartime quality deterioration of the goods he consumes.

The result is that the worker's net real income now amounts to only \$30.52, after a workweek of 45 hours. He works 13 per cent longer, but he really earns only 7 per cent more. (Taxes are computed on the basis of a worker with wife and two dependents.)

Similarly the average aircraft worker was earning \$30.08 a week in December, 1939 and \$47.99 in July, 1943, a 55.8 per cent increase in his gross earnings. His net, however, amounted to only \$28.50 a week in July, an actual decline of 3 per cent, while his working hours went up by the same amount. (See chart on page 60.)

Real Wages Are Low

The greatest war profiteer, according to the NAM, is the shipyard worker. The average weekly dollar earnings of a

California shipyard worker were \$34.53 in December, 1939 and \$62.52 in June, 1943. Real weekly earnings, however, were only \$36.51, an increase of approximately 8 per cent for a workweek which was 25 per cent longer.

Workers in non-manufacturing industries fared worse than their brothers in the "war babies." For example, average weekly earnings in wholesale trade were \$31.84 a week in December, 1939 and in July, 1943 they were \$42.85. Net income in July was only \$26.96 per week, a decline of 13.5 per cent.

The chart on page 48 shows what has happened to the purchasing power of the dollar in the period from August,

1939 to July, 1943. In San Francisco, for example, it took a whole dollar in July, 1943 to buy the same amount of fruits and vegetables that could be bought for 43.6 cents in August, 1939.

The last column on the chart represents the average figure for all cost-of-living items. In other words, a Los Angeles wage earner had to spend a dollar in July, 1943 for every 80 cents he spent in August, 1939 to live as well, taking war-time restrictions—such as rationing—into account. Of course, the dollar does not buy him the same quality of merchandise. Nor do these figures take into account such problems as more difficult transportation or illegal prices.

Production

PRODUCTION of vital war materials and essential civilian goods still is the number one problem. Despite the unprecedented output of war materials since Pearl Harbor, production has not met the goal set by the President.

During the first six months of 1943 only two-fifths of the production called for in the President's January message to Congress had been delivered. Production commenced to lag during March, 1943 and even dropped during the months of June and July. Army requirements for airplanes call for a minimum of 10,000 planes per month before December; present levels are stuck around 7,500 and in California some aircraft factories are lagging behind their schedules.

The current offensive is making heavier demands on the production front. If the war is to be shortened, the unprecedented production records already chalked up must be surpassed.

Raw Material Bottlenecks

In some fields of raw materials production (lumber, steel and non-ferrous metals) California's record is far from satisfactory. Lumber production is being held up by manpower problems. The recruitment of workers for the lumber industry is exceedingly difficult because of the housing and food conditions in the lumber camps. Operators are using war prices and overtime subsidies to realize profits on their marginal timber which means less production per worker for a poor grade of finished lumber which does not even meet military specifications. It is extremely doubtful that the goal of an additional five million board feet for the Coast will be reached this year.

The steel industry, even though it surpassed previous production records, has still not done all that could be done. The failure to tie the incentive wages of the scrap-yard workers to the output of the open hearth furnaces and the failure to utilize all production capacity, to mention but two items, has prevented maximum production.

In the non-ferrous metals field, some mine operators are mining low grade ore and blocking off high grade ore for postwar mining. This, together with their failure to develop and install labor-saving devices, has prevented the industry from reaching maximum production of such vital metals as copper, zinc, tungsten and molybdenum.

The Shipping Problem

The common excuses for production lags, such as lack of manpower, changes in models, complacency, etc., are really screens to hide much more fundamental defects.

A case in point is the shipping industry. An exhaustive study of this industry was recently made by four of the CIO maritime unions—ILWU, NMU, ACA and the Marine &

Shipbuilding Workers. The outstanding conclusion reached in this report was that there was such a multitudinous number of agencies concerned with shipping problems that it was almost impossible to find any single body with final and complete jurisdiction over any one question. There was no single agency that could make quick and sharp decisions as war emergencies demanded.

There is no centralized handling of manpower for the shipping industry. *Because of the lack of manpower control, 50 per cent of the key longshoremen of the East and Gulf coasts have drifted away from the industry, and no one knows where they have gone.*

The Unions' report went into the question of ship repair and maintenance, and found that past employer practices were more important than getting ships repaired on time. Six or seven ships might line up at one repair yard, while another, right across the stream, was lying idle, with men standing around waiting for work.

The Unions found further that delay in the handling of ships in the South Pacific and foreign ports ran anywhere from 30 days to 12 months, and that ship after ship took over a year to complete its round trip.

According to the report, there is no lack of shipping to meet military requirements. The lack lies in the hesitancy of Government agencies to dig in and do a job. It lies in capitulation to employer and racketeer privileges rather than an aggressive administration which would get a job done regardless of whose feelings or privileges are hurt.

The report concluded:

1. Shipping is not being utilized to its fullest effect in the war effort.
2. The shipowners themselves have taken over authority and policy-making posts in the War Shipping Administration and in the shipping branches of the Army and Navy.
3. The shipowners are more concerned with the maintenance of management prerogatives and postwar position than with doing a job now to win the war.
4. The shipowners and the government agencies have failed to draw upon the pool of labor initiative and ability to work out the problems of the industry.
5. Labor must maintain an independent course of action and expose the wretched condition of the entire fleet and its operation.

This report was presented to the various government agencies concerned, and although it has received no formal recognition and the unions have received no credit for the plans proposed, some of the changes which they recommended have been put into effect.

The Sub-committee on War Mobilization of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, headed by Senator Kilgore, has recently issued a report on the shipping industry. This report substantiates all the major criticisms made by the maritime unions. The Committee recommended sweeping reforms in the federal agencies concerned with shipping, including labor representation in all policy-making bodies of the War Shipping Administration.

It is not unreasonable to conclude that the mismanagement of the shipping industry is only typical of other industries which have fallen behind in their production schedules. It is a part of our job to ferret out the problems in each industry and demand quick and effective changes.

Overall Planning

The lack of planning which we see in the shipping industry is, of course, the major defect in the whole production set-up. The California CIO pointed out a year ago that the most essential step in the correction of the failures of production and the economic setup was the coalition of an overall plan. Such a plan has since been outlined in the Tolan-Pepper-Kilgore bill which is now pigeon-holed in the Senate Military Affairs Committee.

Recognition was given to the need for overall planning through a single agency with authority to act when the President created the Office of War Mobilization in May of this year. This agency, directed by James F. Byrnes, is supposed to have authority to unify the work of all the war agencies and mobilize them for quick, effective action. This Mr. Byrnes has not done.

To date Byrnes has failed to submit an over-all plan of action. When the manpower situation on the West Coast became so critical that it could no longer be ignored, the Office of War Mobilization handed down the so-called West Coast Manpower plan, which provides only a partial solution for the crucial manpower problem. Outside of that, Mr. Byrnes has devoted himself almost exclusively to settlement of inter-agency jurisdictional beefs, acting as a sort of arbiter rather than the overall planner he is supposed to be.

Mr. Byrnes did not make any effort to correct one of the most glaring shortcomings of the entire war production and war mobilization program of the United States—labor participation. On the top war mobilization committee there is not even a token labor representation.

While the CIO hailed the establishment of the Office of War Mobilization as a step in the right direction, at the present time we are forced to conclude that this step is insufficient and must be implemented immediately by the decisive overall program advocated by both the California and national CIO.

WAR PRODUCTION BOARD

THE War Production Board was set up by the President to exercise general direction over war production. The Board has been designed to provide the most effective utilization possible of the nation's resources for the prosecution of the war. It has authority to exercise the general direction over war procurement and war production and to determine the policies, plans, procedures, and methods for other federal agencies with respect to war procurement and war production.

In practice, however, the work of the Board primarily consists of regulating and limiting the use of critical materials and control of distribution of raw materials, with such other

miscellaneous functions as advising OPA when to institute a rationing program on given commodities and directing and stimulating war production through establishment of labor-management committees. The Board has little control over the allocation of contracts and the actual supervision of war production, these functions are performed by procurement agencies and the Army, Navy and Maritime Commission.

The Board has failed to provide a comprehensive production plan and was not too successful in dealing with the production of raw materials, which are still a major bottleneck in war production. Since its inception the WPB has been undergoing constant reorganizations.

Fight for Representation

Labor's fight for participation in the work of the WPB has been only partially successful. At the present time two out of seven vice-chairmen of the Board are from labor: Clinton Golden from the CIO, vice-chairman in charge of manpower requirements, and Joseph D. Keenan, AFL, vice-chairman in charge of labor production. In addition, labor is supposed to have policy-making representatives on the industry divisions of the Board.

This token labor representation has not been extended to the regional offices of the WPB. And of course there is no labor participation in the production administration machinery of the Army and Navy. It is too early to judge the effectiveness of what little representation labor has on the WPB.

On the regional level the WPB is relegated primarily to administration of priority controls over critical material and raw material. The regional offices of the WPB have little control over production and in the past have not indicated any desire or interest to become involved in specific production problems which were raised by various CIO unions.

The California CIO Council, through its War Production committee, concentrated its activities during the year on that phase of WPB's work which involved labor most directly—the "war production drive." Following announcement of the war production drive in March, 1942 and up to the time of our last convention over 300 labor-management committees had been set up in CIO plants throughout the state. These committees constituted a tremendous potential force to stimulate and increase production in our vital war industries, and it was the aim of the War Production committee to extend and intensify their activities.

Point Out Shortcomings

The first job undertaken by the committee was an analysis of the work of the plant production committees and their relationships with the WPB. On the basis of this analysis, the committee found numerous shortcomings, the most significant of which were:

1. Management consistently refused to discuss fundamental production problems in the labor-management committees.
2. In many instances, where management agreed to joint discussion of production problems and workers' ideas, nothing was done, particularly when a production suggestion involved any financial outlay.
3. The only suggestions for production improvements were brought in by union representatives on the committee. In no instance did management consult the joint committee on their own plans.

4. Many major war production plants flatly refused to establish labor management committees. Leading officials in the WPB refused to take any initiative in enlisting their cooperation.

5. The assistance rendered by WPB consisted almost entirely of the distribution of posters, booklets and other pep-talk material. Specific requests for concrete help from war production drive headquarters brought no replies.

On the basis of this analysis, State CIO Pres. Philip M. Connelly and Sec. Mervyn Rathborne personally presented the following recommendations to WPB Director Donald Nelson in Washington:

1. Establishment of labor-management committees should be made mandatory upon every company which has a contract for war production.

2. The labor-management committees should be assigned definite functions and their authority and duties outlined by the war production drive.

3. WPB should make available trained industrial engineers to act as consultants to labor-management committees.

4. Industry-wide labor-management committees should be initiated on an area or regional basis to provide an effective avenue of exchange of information and pooling of resources.

5. Labor should be drawn into both advisory and administrative branches of the WPB.

6. The local and regional representatives of the Labor Production division of WPB should be people from industry (both labor and management) who have a knowledge of production problems.



THE main result of these representations to the WPB was a visit by Wendell Lund and other officials of the WPB to California in March, 1943. At this time meetings were held with representatives of both AFL and CIO, purportedly to discuss production problems. The committee prepared another detailed report along the lines of the first, together with analyses of specific problems in the production of magnesium and synthetic rubber and the gathering of scrap steel. On this occasion the representatives of the WPB would make no specific commitments on measures to correct any problems or grievances.

The reluctance of the WPB to grapple with the real problems of the war production drive has been a major cause for its poor showing to date.

Recently the WPB instituted a new drive under the chairmanship of T. K. Quinn, to revise the listless labor-management committees. This program is designed to have 5,000 committees in full operation throughout the U.S. by the end of 1943. Your officers welcome this attempt to drive ahead on war production through labor-management cooperation and pledge the same full support in the future as in the past. However, we wish to point out that unless the fundamental difficulties reported above are corrected the new program is destined similarly to fail.

More Vital Than Ever

Now, more than ever, it is incumbent upon labor to see that maximum production is reached. This is brought sharply into focus by the lag in production and the growing manpower shortage in the face of enlarging military operations.

It is vital for our locals to examine the work of their production committees, to find out where and what their weaknesses are and overcome them. It is not enough for labor to say that the employer will not cooperate. In the realm of production, just as in the realm of collective bargaining, we must find ways and means of making him cooperate. The job of the production committee, like the job of the grievance committee, is technical. Most of our unions have learned how to handle grievance problems. Few have learned how to handle production problems. A major point of our production program, then, is to learn what the job of the production committee is and then to apply ourselves to it so that production will be increased.

The Production committee of the State Council in the past year has endeavored to be of assistance to various Locals and their committees. The officers of the Council express their appreciation of the excellent work performed by the committee and its diligent, untiring efforts to overcome the resistance and ineffectiveness of the War Production Board.

Your officers recommend that the state Council continue its efforts to obtain effective cooperation from the WPB, both on a national and regional basis, and we also recommend that each local union give more active attention to the work of its plant labor-management committees. In spite of difficulties in the past, the importance of these committees in stepping up lagging war production cannot be ignored.

REGIONAL OFFICE—WPB

IN addition to taking up the specific proposals of the production committee with the national representatives of the WPB, the state Council has taken up the specific problems of magnesium production, synthetic rubber production and bottlenecks in the scrap steel industry with the regional office of WPB. The production committee met with the former regional director, Harry Fair. Mr. Fair, upon receiving the committee's complaints, made a promise to investigate, but with no result.

During the March visit of Mr. Wendell Lund, a Regional Labor Advisory committee was appointed to work with the regional director. To date no meeting of the Regional Labor Advisory committee has been held. The regional office has been extremely uncooperative—even hostile—to the efforts of the CIO and has taken no action on CIO suggestions to increase production.

Nominal Labor Voice

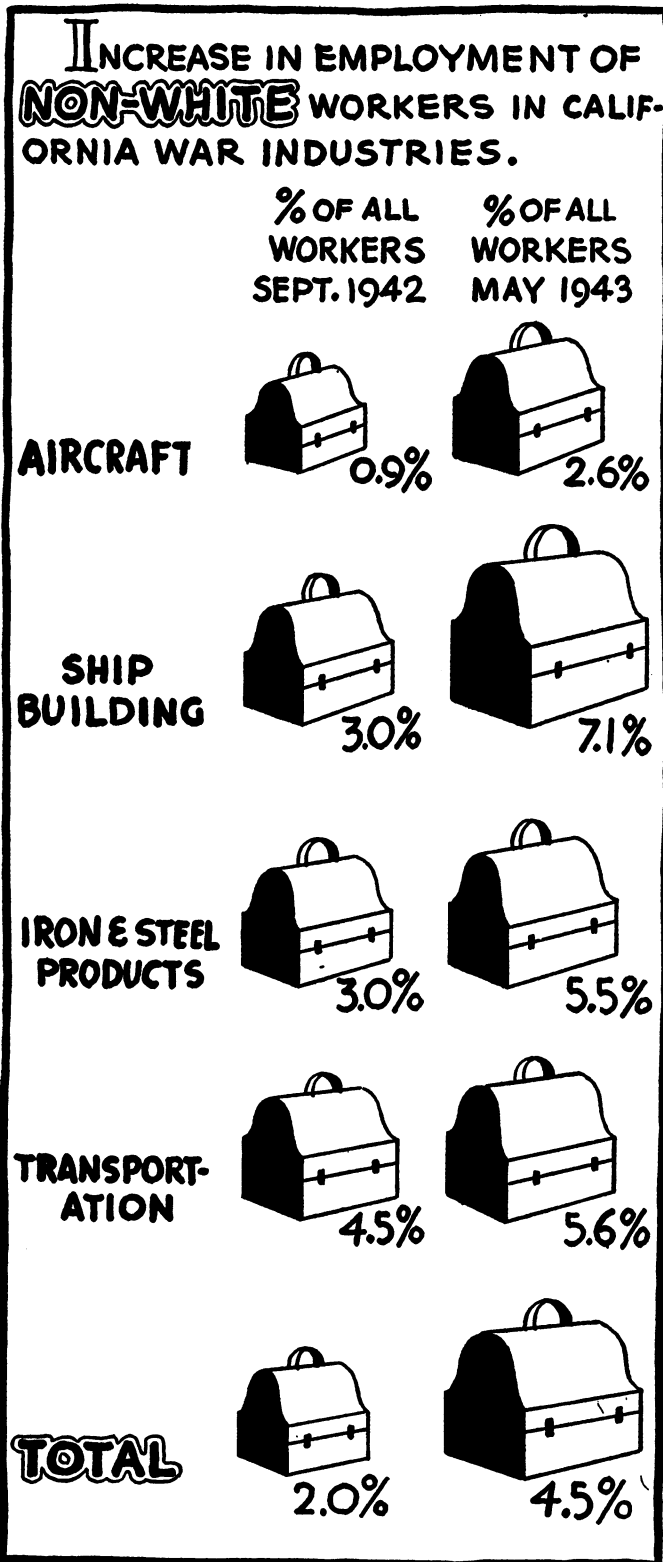
A typical example of the attitude of the regional office is the position the top-regional officials have taken on the question of incentive wages. For months Mr. Fair refused to endorse the incentive wage program favored by the national WPB. Recently, as a result of continued pressure, the regional office endorsed the principle of war incentives.

The provision for labor representation on the regional level is nominal—Louis Fowlks of the FAECT is acting as associate regional labor representative and George B. Roberts of URWA as district labor representative in Los Angeles. Neither of the two CIO representatives have anything to do with policy-making. Their primary assignment has been the establishment and servicing of joint labor-management production committees; and assisting unions in various production problems.

Recently the production drive committee was transferred to a new setup, outside the Labor Production division.

Brothers Fowlks and Roberts are to be commended for their able work, despite the limitation of their functions by the business elements in WPB.

Recently Mr. Harry Fair resigned as regional WPB director and was replaced by James A. Folger. It is yet too early to determine whether or not the attitude towards labor will be different under new management.



INCENTIVE WAGES

A War Production Wage Plan

AT the April 1943 meeting of the state Executive Board, the Production committee and the Board went on record favoring the introduction of incentive wage plans. The Board pointed out that the advantages of wartime incentive wage plans are three-fold:

1. They stimulate the workers to increased production when every ounce of output is needed to win the war.
2. They reduce the need for more workers, by encouraging every worker to put forth his best effort.
3. They offer the best way to get the workers extra pay for the extra work they are doing to produce for victory.

Shortly before the Board meeting, CIO President Philip Murray had stated:

"This general category (incentive wages) is one that promises to be of extreme importance to labor and should be examined very closely, because on the one hand it would result, if successfully utilized, in increased earnings for the workers, and on the other hand, will increase war production."

The Executive Board recognized that many of our CIO members have had bitter experiences with the speed-up and piece-work systems of the open-shop days, which were used to cut rates and divide the workers. In those days, when the workers did not have a union to protect them, they worked harder and faster but got little, if any, more pay. The natural result of these experiences is a widespread and often bitter opposition to anything that smacks of piecework or a bonus system.

However, when it is possible to work out a wage plan which will provide a real incentive to production, we should not overlook the chance to get out the extra goods needed for the war. We should not lose the chance to save whatever manpower we can, to assure quicker victory. Neither should we overlook the chance to win substantial wage increases for our members, when they can be won in no other way.

Safeguards Necessary

A strong union can derive the above advantages from proper incentive plans, provided certain principles and safeguards are incorporated in them. What are some of these principles and safeguards?

1. The union must participate in the formulation of the incentive plan, and it must be administered jointly by the union and management. All production records used to set the norms and calculate the incentive payments must be made available to the union. In the past, company incentive plans were usually conjured up behind closed doors and remained a complete mystery to the workers and union officials. Unless an incentive plan is clearly explained in writing and understood by everybody, it will not do the job it is intended to do. Furthermore, incentives, like the basic wage structure, have to be the subject of collective bargaining.

A well-functioning steward system is an absolute necessity to guarantee benefits from an incentive system. The shop stewards must understand the plan thoroughly in order to police it properly.

2. All savings in labor costs resulting from increased production should go to the workers. The incentive plan is basically a war production wage plan, and not a scheme to make more profits for the boss. The incentive to produce will be at a maximum when the workers know their extra effort will be rewarded in full proportion. Even when the

workers realize a 100 per cent return on the savings in labor costs, the employer has his incentive in the form of savings on overhead and greater profits from greater volume of production without expansion of plant facilities.

The principle of 100 per cent return to the workers is in accord with War Labor Board policy, because it does not increase unit labor costs.

Several unions have negotiated incentive plans which provide for less than 100 per cent return for the workers. Any such compromise is dangerous to the success of the whole incentive program. In the first place, it will not provide the maximum incentive for the particular plant in question. Secondly, it amounts to the breaking down of union rate structures. Every compromise on this principle harms the chances of another union to get the full return. In the interests of the success of the war production wage program, we strongly urge that no local union agree to anything less than the return of 100 per cent of all savings in labor costs to the workers.

3. There should be a minimum guaranteed hourly rate, and no incentive plan should modify or interfere in any way with the basic wage structure in existing agreements. Incentives should not be a barrier to adjustment of basic wage rates, where adjustments are warranted under the wage stabilization program.

4. The establishment of normal production is the key to success of the incentive plan. No one rule-of-thumb can be set for determining the norm, but the standard of judgment is whether the workers can make their guarantee with average effort.

5. There must be guarantees for waiting and break-down, so that workers will not be penalized for management inefficiency or other factors beyond their control.

6. Contracts should provide that where technological improvements speed up an operation, the workers will be guaranteed their previous average earned incentive rate. Savings in labor costs resulting from changes initiated by the workers, with no substantial outlay by the company, should go to the workers.

7. The minimum wartime workweek (48 hours) should be guaranteed.

8. The union should reserve the right to revoke the plan if it has not worked out satisfactorily within a definite period of time.



THE above principles and safeguards are absolutely essential if the incentive is to be effective as a war production wage plan.

There are several variations in incentive pay plans. These can be set up on an individual, group (or department), or plant-wide basis. The type of plan most suitable may depend on the kind of plant or the industry involved.

Practical experience in California thus far has demonstrated that a group plan, based on the overall production of a whole department or a whole plant, is more successful than an individual incentive. There are several important reasons for this. In the first place, when all workers share the effort and the benefit, it promotes cooperation and tends to unify the workers, instead of placing them in competition with one another. This means better morale on the job. Secondly, the overall distribution of the extra earnings helps to improve the standard of living for all the workers, which is more desirable for the war effort. Most important, planned cooperative effort by all the workers results in greater production increases than individual speedup.

The Executive Board recommends that incentive pay proposals be checked with the Council's Research Department, which has a fund of information on the subject and is in position to give valuable guidance.

A good example of successful CIO experience with an incentive plan is that of the Inland Steel Container Co. and the United Steelworkers, Local 1798. This is an overall incentive plan which includes all the production workers in the plant. Since the plan has been put into effect, the following results have been achieved:

1. Production has gone up 50 to 75 units per hour above the norm. Most of the increased productivity has been due to the work of the labor-management committee in reorganizing and streamlining the job.

2. Labor turnover has decreased from approximately 36 per cent to 6 per cent.

3. Wages have increased between 18 and 20 per cent, or roughly 20 cents an hour.

The experience of California CIO unions with incentive wage plans during the past year definitely indicates that, under proper conditions and with the incorporation of the above safeguards, a war production wage plan can contribute to winning the war. It can help increase production, reduce manpower requirements, cut down turnover and absenteeism, strengthen the trade unions and provide increased earnings for the workers.

Therefore, the Executive Board recommends that every CIO local union, in cooperation with and in accordance with the policies of its international organization, give careful and favorable consideration to the establishment of war production wage plans in plants where CIO members are employed.

The Manpower Muddle

THE 1942 "Win the War" convention of the California CIO Council adopted a comprehensive manpower program for California. We stated in the introduction to that program:

"In any consideration of manpower problems, manpower must be related to the wider aspects of the total war program. The successful mobilization of manpower is contingent upon its integration into the whole war program. No single phase of total war—the acquisition of war materials, their distribution, the availability and utilization of the means of production, and the supply and disposition of manpower—can be considered as a separate entity.

"We agree with the Tolan Committee, which said in its Third Interim Report: *'There is no phase of our economic life which can be unessential in total war. Every phase must be planned, must be guided, must be brought under central administrative control. Total war requires that our vast economic system be operated along the organizational lines of a single industrial plant.'*"

The essentials of the plan proposed by the California CIO were:

1. The establishment of a labor pool including both employed and unemployed, from which workers could be drawn into essential industry.
2. The classification of industrial plants by degree of importance to the war program.
3. Controlled referral of workers to war plants in order of their importance to the war effort.
4. A planned campaign of recruitment of new workers with particular emphasis on women and minorities.
5. Improved utilization and conservation of manpower through development of housing and transportation facilities, industrial health programs, child care centers, and other needed community services.

In presenting the program the CIO stressed that under a democratic government and a system of free labor any manpower setup, if it is to function successfully, must have the understanding, support and participation of workers and employers. The reasons why manpower mobilization is necessary must be fully explained to all the people in clear, logical and simple terms, and all of the forces of the community must be mobilized in its support.

To effectuate the CIO program, the state Executive Board appointed the Industrial Manpower committee, under the chairmanship of Vice-Pres. Maurice Travis.

Off to Slow Start

At the time the CIO manpower report was submitted, the War Manpower Commission in this State was in the initial state of organization. It had no staff and no administrative

machinery to carry out the tasks assigned to it by the President. The Manpower Commission, on both the regional and area levels, tackled the manpower problem from one direction only, the stabilization or controlled movement of workers from plant to plant.

Thus through area labor-management committees the first stabilization plans, for Los Angeles and later the San Francisco Bay area, were formulated. The major premise of the Manpower Commission in following this procedure was that once excessive movement from plant to plant was cut down, it would be possible to institute other features of the manpower program.

The job of stabilization was conceived primarily as the mere mechanical granting of availability certificates for good cause. No attempt was made to solve the underlying causes of labor turnover, such as labor hoarding, poor utilization of labor on the job, and the lack of housing, transportation, feeding facilities, child care centers, and other community services necessary in over-crowded production areas.

There was a general failure to realize that workers are human beings and must live like human beings if they are to stick to their jobs and perform them efficiently.

The labor-management committee in northern California did recognize that among the major causes of labor turnover were labor hoarding and poor utilization. Accordingly, the stabilization program developed for northern California contained not only a provision for control of quits, but also a mechanism through which labor utilization in each plant might be improved.

Plan for Utilization

The outstanding feature of the northern California plan was the establishment in each plant of a labor-management committee whose job was not only to control turnover through the issuance of availability certificates, but also to improve labor utilization in the plant through joint labor-management effort. In this respect the northern California plan is unique in the country.

The utilization phase of the program has not been put into effect. A long-standing excuse given by the Area and Regional offices, was the absence of an administrative blueprint and adequate personnel. However, the area and regional administrators have not shown any disposition to push this program. The administrative blueprint and personnel have now been supplied, and it remains to be seen whether the WMC will produce results.

However, both the northern and southern offices of WMC have displayed lack of administrative ability and forcefulness in instituting the 48-hour wartime workweek. In northern California some 7,000 establishments still are not operating on a 48-hour week. No concerted drive has been made by the area office to process applications for exemption.

The area stabilization plans have been hailed as significant steps toward a much-needed control of labor migration through voluntary participation of management and the unions. They have been wholeheartedly supported by the CIO. At the same time, it must be pointed out that they are only partial solutions to the turnover problem and in reality they have failed to do much more than hold labor turnover at a stationary level.

It is true that in certain individual plants turnover has been cut to a peacetime rate. However, wide variations from plant to plant point to the fact that stabilization plans alone are not the decisive factors in manpower control. Individual monthly separation rates in various shipyards in the state, for example, still vary from 4 or 5 per cent to as high as 20 to 25 per cent. Similarly, separation rates in the aircraft industry vary from around 5 per cent to 15 per cent.

The Aircraft Production council recently reported that out of some 150,000 workers hired since January 1, only 20,000 stuck to their jobs. *The council stated that for the more than 100,000 who left the industry, the primary reasons for quitting were lack of child care facilities and unsatisfactory working and living conditions.*

Vital Points Overlooked

Throughout the year the Industrial Manpower committee of the State Council sought to make effective the positive program adopted by the last convention. The portions of the original program which have been translated into action have somewhat relieved the manpower situation. But those parts which are still paper projects are the pivotal points on which a real solution of the manpower problem hinges.

The problem of labor turnover is still aggravated by labor hoarding and improper utilization. Yet no coordinated attempts have been made to solve its underlying causes.

The War Manpower Commission now faces the urgent necessity of recruiting 150,000 to 200,000 new workers in this state. In the San Francisco Bay area alone it will be necessary to recruit 60,000 women. Still the regional and state offices of the War Manpower Commission have taken no decisive steps to effectuate the above program, which is as necessary to recruitment as to labor stabilization.

The recruitment of large numbers of women, especially, cannot be accomplished without the establishment of child care centers and shopping, restaurant and laundry facilities. Unless these problems are solved, no job stabilization program and no recruitment campaign can succeed. Unless they are solved we shall undoubtedly be faced with a serious drop in production similar to the recent crisis at the Boeing plant in Seattle.

The War Manpower Commission on national, regional and area levels did not display the initiative or fortitude necessary to tackle the above problems; instead it staged one of the worst displays of administrative buck-passing, red tape and bungling ever witnessed. The national WMC has been extremely busy fighting off jurisdictional raids by the procurement agencies, the War Production Board and the Maritime Commission and contending with the Kaiser shipyards. It has paid little or no attention to such problems as child care and health, although Manpower Commission Chairman Paul V. McNutt is also administrator of the Federal Security Agency, which has partial jurisdiction over those matters.

McNutt Had the Power

The Presidential directive which created the War Manpower Commission charged that agency with the task of co-

ordinating the mobilization of the nation's manpower. Under the terms of the order, Manpower Director McNutt had sufficient authority to plan and carry out an overall national program. This he has failed to do.

This basic shortcoming of the national War Manpower Commission is reflected in the West Coast Regional office and its two California areas. In fairness to the regional and area offices it should be acknowledged that for months they had not sufficient staff and field organization with which to operate, and recruitment of competent personnel was made difficult by the low wage rates in USES. In this connection, Congress must be held responsible because of its failure to appropriate adequate funds for administrative needs. In addition, the appointment of key personnel was delayed by the vicious rider requiring Senate approval of top administrators. At the present time, however, the Manpower Commission in the Regional and Area offices has a full complement of personnel, and is building a field organization.

The administrative shortcomings which are responsible for the present critical manpower situation could not be corrected by the labor-management committees, whose function is purely advisory and deals with policy matters exclusively.

Byrnes Plan Not New

The critical manpower situation on the West Coast and the failure of the War Manpower Commission to cope with it, resulted in the issuance of the so-called "West Coast Manpower Plan" by War Mobilization Director Byrnes. Although the West Coast Manpower plan seems to exceed in scope any ideas or plans heretofore projected from Washington, in reality there is nothing new about its basic principles, nor does it give to the War Manpower Commission any authority which it did not heretofore possess. The Commission itself, if it had seen fit, could have formulated this same plan a year ago under the authority decreed for it by Presidential order. Not only did it have the authority, but the basic points of the plan had been proposed by the California CIO in the program adopted at the last convention.

The West Coast Manpower plan embodies two essential features: (1) the classification of industrial plants by degree of urgency in the war effort; and (2) the controlled referral of workers to plants in the order of their importance. These two points were specifically outlined by the California CIO a year ago.

Three important purposes have been served by issuance of the West Coast Manpower plan. First, it has definitely settled the long-standing jurisdictional disputes between the various agencies concerned with the manpower problem by clearly outlining the authority and duties of the War Manpower Commission. Second, it has outlined the mechanism for allocation of manpower where it can best serve the war effort. Third, for the first time manpower planning and production planning are correlated.

However, as the CIO has consistently pointed out, the success of the priority and controlled referral system depends primarily upon careful overall planning for the use of our entire material and social resources. Planning for the development of housing, child care, transportation, labor utilization and the like is still necessary.

Retains Old Weaknesses

While the West Coast plan makes mention of these points, it is not explicit on the manner of their realization. Its emphasis is mainly on the establishment of priority ratings and controlled referrals. In this respect it contains the same weak-

ness which has prevailed in the Manpower Commission so far: it is still only a partial approach.

Further than this, as the CIO convention pointed out last year, the success of any manpower program is predicated on the voluntary cooperation of the unions. *No provision is made in the plan outlined by Byrnes for labor representation on the major committees charged with administration of the program. These committees are the "Production Urgency committee" and the "Manpower Priorities committee."*

The Production Urgency committee will determine what is going to be produced in each area and who will produce it. This committee has authority to recommend both allocation and withdrawal of contracts by the Army, Navy and Maritime Commission. Labor often has recommendations to make on the placement of war contracts. If labor's voice had been heeded in the past, much waste of material and manpower could have been avoided.

A case in point is the closing of the General Motors plant in Oakland. This was a plant equipped to assemble trucks and tanks, with a full complement of skilled auto workers. No war contract, however, was ever given to this plant. It is now being used as a warehouse, and the work was sent to a plant in Stockton, which had to be converted and for which it was necessary to recruit and train a completely new crew of men. This situation might have been averted if labor had had an opportunity to bring the problem directly to a committee with authority to act, such as the Production Urgency committee.

The Production Urgency committee also reviews proposals for facilities and supply contracts. Labor is in a better position than any other group to judge where production facilities and labor supply can be brought together. An example is the case of the American Can plant in San Francisco, where the plant's vital machinery lay idle, its workers without employment, and the management did not even make an effort to get a war contract. In this case, pressure by the union secured a contract for the plant, and trained union men were put to work at the job.

Broad Powers Noted

The Committee's authority to recommend withdrawal of contracts, also, is of serious concern to labor. We do not oppose withdrawal of contracts where absolutely necessary to relieve a manpower shortage. However, the selection of contracts to be withdrawn, if any, must be made with an eye to the effect on the whole economy of the state as well as the manpower situation. California industry is already heavily overbalanced with special-purpose war plants, notably shipyards and plane factories, and this heavy concentration has taken place at the expense of long-established industries which have formed the base of our economic life in the past.

If any contracts are to be transferred, they should be the major "war babies." There is still plenty of room in the Middle-west and South for aircraft plants and shipyards. Contracts maintained should be those most readily reconvertible to normal peacetime production in the postwar period.

The Production Urgency committee also has authority to recommend to the War Production Board adjustments in civilian production. Labor knows which plants are performing non-essential work. Furthermore, we are in a strategic position to transfer non-essential workers to essential industry. Even more important, labor has demonstrated it is not interested in maintaining civilian production at the expense of the war effort, nor have we anything to gain by keeping workers in non-essential industry when they can be working on war jobs. It was labor which first asked for curtailment of civilian

production, and we are still pressing for it in the face of efforts by certain elements in management, the War Production Board and Congress to increase the production of non-essential goods.

Can Help on Priorities

The Manpower Priorities committee has the function of determining which plants are entitled to additional manpower, and how much they will get. It also determines which plants must reduce their labor force. These decisions, presumably, will be made according to standards of labor utilization, working conditions, compliance with regulations, etc., which are to be set by the area labor-management committees, and which must be met before a plant will be placed or retained on the priorities list.

Labor has full knowledge of whether or not there is full utilization of workers in a plant; whether or not the plant is employing all the women it can use; whether or not it discriminates in hiring and training against racial minorities; and whether or not wage rates are in compliance with standards.

The mere fact that the area labor-management committees are given the power of review means little, since in practice they cannot go fully into the specific factors which determine the eligibility of a plant for manpower priorities. Even if they could, it would be a complete duplication of work.

The present division of functions, which gives to the labor-management committees the determination of policy and standards, and the administration of them to the Manpower Priorities committees, is completely unsatisfactory. A parallel situation, for example, would be a proposal that labor participate in the formulation of wage stabilization policy but not have the right to participate in decisions on specific cases, as we now do on the War Labor Board. The viewpoint of labor cannot be brought into the Manpower Priorities committee by anyone else than a representative of labor. On standards which involve question of wages, seniority and union protection of the workers—all of which are intimately tied up with the controlled referral system—labor representatives are the experts and the only experts. To relinquish the right to present our position on these matters to any other than a labor spokesman would be essentially the same as signing a contract with the boss and then expecting him to enforce it.

It may not be the intent of the authors of the West Coast Manpower plan to take from the unions their primary functions in this regard, but certainly the plan as it is now written would do just this. The authors of the plan can learn a lesson from the War Labor Board and take labor into its councils, where we can really make a contribution to the war effort, as we have done on the War Labor Board.

One-Sided Action

Further than this, the manner in which the plan was introduced certainly must be severely criticised. It was developed in Washington and handed down as a mandate without prior consultation with labor and without discussion with the West Coast representatives of the WMC. At the same time it carries extremely drastic provisions which can be effectuated only with the whole-hearted cooperation of labor, management and the Pacific Coast communities. This failure to meet the basic condition for success of the plan arouses suspicion as to the motives of its perpetrators. The continued failure of the Office of War Mobilization to spell out the most obviously-needed points of a manpower program raises serious doubt as to whether the men responsible for the plan really desire its success.

High officials in Washington have stated that if the West Coast plan is not successful, they will be forced to ask Congress for civilian draft legislation. Many of these gentlemen seem to prefer draft legislation to a successful voluntary program.

It is the position of both the state and national CIO that unless there is full understanding and participation on the part of labor and management in the solution of the manpower problem, unless the support of all the people is won for the program, no amount of federal legislation can do the trick.

Congress cannot legislate the will to do a job. It cannot bequeath by law to the administrators charged with war mobilization the will and the force to carry through an effective manpower plan. The best it can do is to reaffirm the powers these administrators now possess.

Can't Just Pass a Law

The very fact that the Office of War Mobilization has not to date put its house in order is the strongest argument against legislation. It is not possible to create order out of chaos by passing a law. National service legislation in the present situation would mean only the freezing of chaos or even worse—the complete disruption of the working force in war industry. A compulsory labor draft can no more be enforced than prohibition. It would result in the same type of bootlegging and illegal operations.

Further than this, even if it were possible to design legislation which would cover the situation adequately it would be folly to expect such legislation from the present Congress.

Our recent experience with Congress on issues as vital to labor as price control, the Smith-Connally bill, the modified Rumrill plan tax steal, and the NLRB appropriation rider, which in effect legalizes company unions, are but a few examples of the type of legislation we might expect. All of these laws give a free hand to employer and business interests and place heavy burdens on the people and organized labor. There should be no doubt in our minds that compulsory draft legislation would be compulsory for the workers only. No sanctions would be brought to bear upon industrialists who are guilty of labor wastage and the aggrandizement of their own industrial empires at the expense of the communities in which they operate.

The inevitable result would be a tremendous drop in production and a slowing down of the whole war effort. This is what the advocates of draft legislation are asking for, and we cannot afford to let them get away with it.

Objectives Desirable

The Pacific Coast is without doubt the most critical manpower region in the country. As such, it is the proving ground for a voluntary manpower program. This is a challenge and a responsibility which labor and management in California must accept.

It is our belief that the objectives of the Pacific Coast Manpower plan are feasible and desirable. However, we believe that the plan as it is at present will not work. To succeed, it must be implemented to secure the cooperation of labor and management. It must be strengthened by forceful and determined administration. It must be supplemented by the development of the necessary community facilities.

We believe that California CIO labor should strive with all its might to see that the changes necessary to the success of the plan are made. Not only our own interests, but the interests of the labor movement throughout the country and the whole war effort are at stake.

The following specific amendments to the West Coast War Manpower plan are necessary to its success:

1. Labor should be represented on both the Production Urgency and Manpower Priorities committees.
2. The authority of labor-management committees must be extended to all policy determinations in the application of the plan.
3. The applications for exemption from the 48-hour week should be processed immediately. Decisions and doubtful cases should be referred to the area labor-management committees for approval or final determination.
4. The plant labor-management manpower committees now provided for under the northern California plan should be extended to southern California.
5. A labor utilization program should be instituted immediately with full involvement of plant manpower committees wherever they exist.
6. To assure the successful recruitment of workers from non-essential industries, seniority protection and return to former jobs should be provided.
7. No worker should be referred to a job which will entail loss of pay.
8. Regular meetings of the Regional Labor-Management Committee should be held at frequent intervals. Members of the Regional committee should be currently advised on all important policy problems.

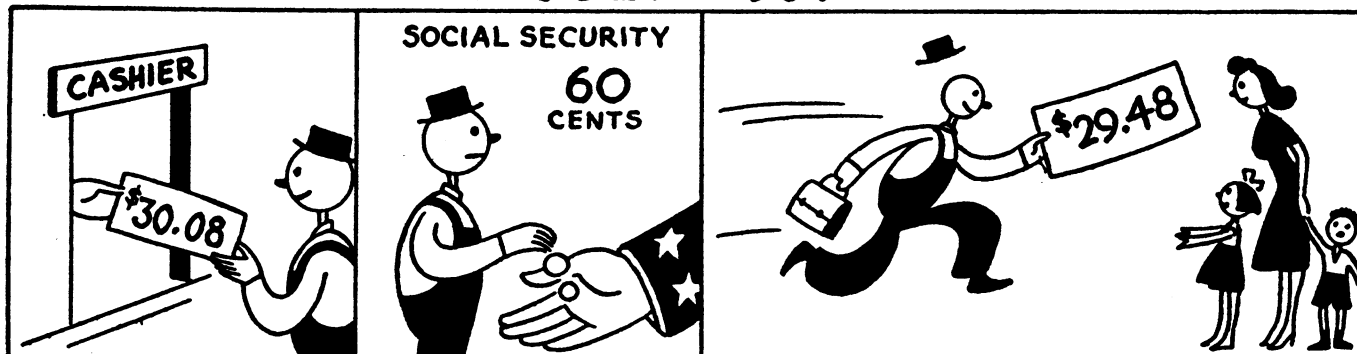
Additional Points

In addition, the War Manpower Commission must see to it that the following program, which has been repeatedly emphasized by the CIO, is put into effect:

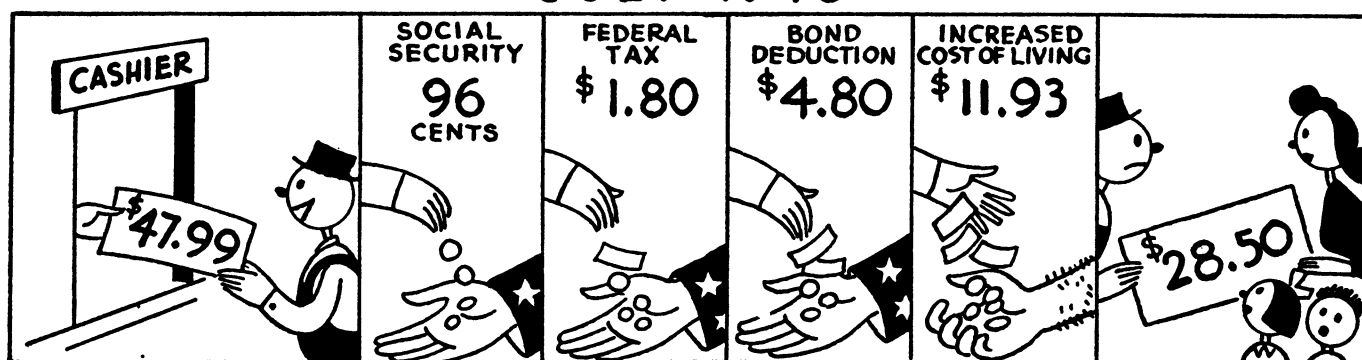
1. An adequate child care program must be instituted in every industrial area. (See page 73.)
2. A comprehensive health and safety program must be developed, in cooperation with federal, state and local medical and public health authorities to improve nutritional standards, reduce accidents and the hazards of occupational diseases, and assure low-cost medical and dental care for war workers.
3. There must be coordination and teamwork between federal, state and local agencies, as well as community organizations, in the solution of important manpower problems, such as housing, transportation, recreation, feeding facilities, health, child care, shopping, etc. At the present time programs in these fields are tackled, if at all, on a completely haphazard basis, without any direct relation to the manpower problem.
4. An intensive campaign for recruitment of women, made possible by the vigorous endeavor of the community, management and labor, to establish child care centers, shift schedules geared to home requirements, shopping, restaurant and laundry facilities, and part-day shifts where necessary.
5. Training and upgrading of all workers to maximum skills, especially racial minorities.
6. The installation of incentive wage system as a war-time measure of stimulating war production and saving manpower. (See page 54.)

THE AIRCRAFT WORKERS TAKE HOME-

JULY-1939



JULY-1943



Within our organization we should strengthen the coordination of activities of the CIO representatives on the regional, area and plant manpower committees. The best assurance that CIO policy and principles will be incorporated into the West Coast Manpower plan is careful organization of our own work from top to bottom. Without this, policy decisions made by the top leadership will not be carried out at the plant level.

WAR LABOR BOARD

THE National War Labor Board has two major functions: (1) to provide machinery for the adjustment of disputes between labor and management so that war production may continue uninterrupted; and (2) to administer the wage stabilization phase of the economic program.

The War Labor Board is unique among the war agencies. It is the only one in which labor participates directly, both in the formulation and administration of policy. It is unique also in that it has without question performed the most effective job of any agency in the war program.

These two facts are very definitely related. It is precisely because the interested parties—labor, management and the public—have had direct representation on the War Labor Board that the Board's policies and decisions have been accepted and carried through almost without exception. *The War Labor Board is the best expression of democracy in the administration of the emergency program, and the strength of such democratic organization is proved by the Board's record.*

Although in frequent instances labor has had to accept decisions which were far from satisfactory, they have been accepted. By and large, management also has bowed to the judgment of the majority. In the few instances where it has been defied by stubborn employers, such as Montgomery Ward and U. S. Gypsum, the Board has taken prompt and decisive action to bring them into line. The readiness of the War Labor Board to use the authority granted to it, rather than wait for action by other agencies or departments of the government, is also unique and accounts in large measure for its effectiveness. Whereas almost every other agency hesitates and delays rather than meet opposition with determined action, the War Labor Board does the job it is supposed to do.

In the first few months of its operation the War Labor Board had complete authority to develop policies on wages and other collective bargaining issues. It is to the credit of the Board that it did hammer out a fairly consistent program, and shortly after the President announced his seven-point economic stabilization program, the War Labor Board was ready with the formula which has been its guiding policy in wage stabilization ever since. Similarly, the union security formula was finally hammered out and agreed upon.

The autonomy of the Board was curtailed by the passage of the Act of October 2 and Executive Order 9250, which set definite limitations on the Board's wage stabilization policy. These limitations, however, were in accord with the outline of WLB policy developed up to that time. Although

the Act of October 2 placed similar restrictions on other agencies involved in the economic stabilization program, these restrictions have not been observed to the same extent. The War Labor Board, however, should not be blamed for the failure of OPA and the Office of Economic Stabilization to carry through their share of the responsibility. It is the latter agencies which are out of step, and not the War Labor Board.

The WLB's authority over wage questions was further curtailed by Executive Order 9328, which placed even greater restrictions on its wage policy and gave final authority over all wage determinations to the Director of Economic Stabilization. However, the Board has operated strictly within the limitations of the "hold-the-line" order, and has not been overruled in any of its wage decisions, except in cases which involved price relief.

Two important features of the WLB's wage policy are worthy of special note. A little over a year ago it spelled out standards to put into effect the principle of equal pay for equal work by women doing men's jobs. The Board's criteria have been a useful weapon in the hands of unions who strive to put this important principle into practice. Another important wage policy of the War Labor Board was enunciated in the Southport Petroleum Co. decision, which gave equal pay to Negro workers who had been discriminated against.

Public Member Graham wrote a history-making decision in this case, in which he said: "Economic and political discrimination on account of race or creed is in line with the Nazi program. America, in the days of its infant weakness the haven of heretics and the oppressed of all races, must not in the days of its power become the stronghold of bigots. . . . Whether as vigorous fighting men or for production of food and munitions, America needs the Negro; the Negro needs the equal opportunity to work and fight; the Negro is necessary for winning the war and at the same time is a test of our sincerity in the cause for which we are fighting."

Decentralization Made Necessary

The extension of the Board's jurisdiction over voluntary wage agreements under the Economic Stabilization Act of October 2, which multiplied the case load, made it necessary for the Board to decentralize its activities. Even prior to the issuance of Executive Order 9250, it was apparent that the mounting backlog of cases on the dockets of the national Board would seriously endanger its effectiveness. At the time of our last convention the major policies were fairly well established by the Board, and the need for administrative decentralization was apparent.

Under the decentralization policy, regional offices were set up by the Board. Initially, the regional offices were given limited authority over voluntary wage agreements only; later, however, the authority of the regional boards was also extended to dispute cases. The original West Coast regional Board covered the five Western states. Later, the area was divided into two regions, and the present regional Board, with headquarters in San Francisco, has jurisdiction over California, Arizona and Nevada.

The original CIO representatives on the War Labor Board were Eugene Paton, international secretary-treasurer of the ILWU, and Lew Michener, regional director of the UAW, with Arnold Campo, field representative of the United Steelworkers, and Herbert Wilson of the Rubber Workers as alternates. In June of this year, Brother Paton resigned to enter the Army. While serving on the Board, Brother Paton

made an outstanding contribution in representing labor's interests, and earned the wide respect of public and industry members of the Board for his activity. Brother Paton has been replaced by Louis Goldblatt, present international secretary-treasurer of the ILWU.

To facilitate the work of both labor and industry members of the Board, executive assistants to labor and industry members have been appointed. Paul Chown of United Steelworkers Local 1798 was appointed executive assistant to the CIO Members, and has performed an outstanding job in handling and expediting CIO cases before the regional Board.

Since its establishment, the state Council has on many occasions taken up with the regional Board problems in connection with its operation.

Speed L. A. Cases

One of the most important of these was the delay in acting on voluntary wage applications. The state Council proposed that since over 50 per cent of all regional Board cases arose in the Los Angeles area, a division of the Board, with an adequate wage stabilization staff, be made available for Los Angeles. This recommendation, made jointly by the state and Los Angeles Councils, was not accepted. *However, as a result of several discussions with the public members of the Regional Board, and Public Member Wayne Morse of the national Board, the handling of Los Angeles cases has been considerably improved.*

Another problem which the State Council took up with the regional Board was its initial refusal to make public the wage brackets set under its current wage policy. As a result of the Council's pressure, the brackets are now available to any and all of our unions.

A major criticism raised by a number of unions, which the Council has taken up with the regional Board, was the unsatisfactory functioning of the Disputes division, which has been extremely slow. The incompetency and indecisiveness of the Disputes division staff has been a primary cause of this delay. Despite repeated criticisms by the CIO, the operation of the Disputes Division is still haphazard and sloppy.

The Wage Stabilization division of the Board, which is responsible for the processing of all voluntary wage applications, accumulated a vast back-log of cases after the issuance of Executive Order 9328. It took many weeks to clarify the application of the "hold-the-line" order, and the Wage Stabilization division was unable to process cases until policies and procedures were crystallized. The back-log is now fairly well cleaned out, and cases are moving through in orderly procession.

The wage bracket policy established under Executive Order 9328 placed primary responsibility for collecting material for the determination of wage brackets on the Stabilization division. Originally, the Stabilization division proceeded to gather information without consulting the unions. As a result of the California Council's activity, it is now utilizing union and management sources in the determination of wage brackets. One of our suggestions to the War Labor Board was that special industry conferences of both labor and management be called to present information and discuss the wage brackets before they are set up, and in some cases to revise those already established. This policy is now being followed by the Board. As a result, wage brackets are now being set on a more realistic basis.

Consistent Policies Needed

One of the fundamental weaknesses in this region, from labor's point of view, is lack of consistent understanding and cooperation between the AFL and CIO members of the regional Board. The weight of labor opinion in the determination of Board policy has been correspondingly weakened. Steps have been taken, however, to bring about closer working relationships between the AFL and CIO members.

Another weakness which has made it difficult for CIO members of the regional Board to press for a consistent policy on various collective bargaining issues has been the fact that our own unions have not presented consistent demands. *Not only have there been variations between the international unions on such matters as shift differentials, vacations with pay, seniority, arbitration, etc., but there have been variations even within the same locals.* This inconsistency has made it difficult for the labor members on the Board to fight for a consistent policy which would benefit labor as a whole.

A number of unions, after reaching agreement with the employers on wage adjustments, have left the task of filling out the application forms in the hands of the employers. In many instances the employers, either deliberately or through ignorance, prepared the applications incorrectly, which resulted in needless denials of warranted wage adjustments. Also, a number of our unions have signed Form 10 applications where the employers requested price relief as a result of the wage adjustment. Such applications cannot be acted

upon by the regional Board unless there is also an approval by the Director of Economic Stabilization. Thus in many cases needless delays have resulted because of the union's agreement to go along with an employer on price adjustment. Moreover, indiscriminate concurrence in requests for price relief is inconsistent with the CIO's position on price stabilization. A more expeditious procedure, and one more in line with CIO policy, would be to take all such wage adjustment cases to dispute.

The state Council's Research department and the executive assistant to the CIO members have done a great deal to assist the unions in handling their cases before the War Labor Board, and are continuously advising the unions on proper procedure.

We believe that a great deal more can be done if our unions work out definite and consistent policies on such matters as vacations, night shift differentials, uniform wage rates, etc. Such a uniform policy will not only strengthen the position of the CIO members on the Board, but will simplify the handling of cases by the Wage Stabilization division.

In this connection, the affiliated unions will find it to their advantage to press for the establishment of industry-wide master agreements, which has been a fundamental policy of the CIO since its inception. It is becoming increasingly clear that the stabilization of our own union rate structures and working conditions is the major gain we can make in the future through the machinery of the War Labor Board.

Price Control

THE Office of Price Administration is one of the key agencies in the actual operation of the economic stabilization program. It is responsible for three major tasks:

- (1) *To hold prices to September, 1942 levels.*
- (2) *To perform the mechanics of rationing.*
- (3) *To control rent levels.*

What is the record of OPA performance in these duties? Conditions are certainly not as bad as they would have been without OPA. Prices are not as high as they were in World War I, and there has not been the same mad scramble for scarce goods.

But, prices have not been held. Rationing has been badly muddled. Rents have been held better than any other cost of living item. However, they have risen considerably more than the cost of living index indicates, and there are clear signs that they may follow prices up into the blue. *Many explanations can be made and many apologies offered for this state of affairs, but in unvarnished fact the best we can say is that OPA has not done a satisfactory job.*

The mechanics of rationing have been bungled. Rationing programs have consistently been too late. They have been initiated only after the development of acute shortages—shortages made even more acute by prior announcement of the rationing plan. The advance announcement of the rationing of processed foods, for example, unleashed a campaign of hoarding which practically denuded the shelves of grocery stores.

The landlords have been “robbed”. They haven’t been allowed to get their share of inflation profits and now they are using every pressure tactic to push up rents. *OPA must sit on the lid and absolutely refuse to sell out the people to the high-rent lobby.*

OPA OPERATIONS

EVEN though OPA has been hamstrung by Congress and by other forces beyond its control, still it should have done a much better job. The internal weaknesses of OPA as an operating agency are a major cause of its failures.

Price control, rent control and rationing are matters of immense importance to all Americans. They present problems which can be solved only by securing the full support of the people. OPA made a serious error in basic strategy when it failed to realize this simple fact. Here was an opportunity for real democratic action by masses of people dealing with their own problems in their own localities. More than that, successful operation demanded that the people be brought in on price control.

Instead OPA conceived of price control as a business program, not a people’s program. It sought advice from busi-

ness groups and not from labor and consumers. Business men were employed in key spots, while labor was excluded. Price fixing methods and regulations were patterned on established business practices and designed for trade convenience; consumer interests and protection were given second consideration or none at all. Enforcement policy excluded consumer interest and participation. Education was aimed at business and trade groups with little public relations or education.

A Costly Error

Not only did this policy fail to make use of the energies of millions of people all over the country, but it actually turned many against the program of the “Washington bureaucrats”. When OPA needed help from the people to make price control effective and to defend the agency from the reactionaries, popular support was not forthcoming. People did not consider the OPA program as their own local program and they did not have the clear understanding of the issues which they could have gained only from direct personal participation.

The importance of this failure to establish a broad mass base for price control can hardly be overemphasized. In our union activities we have learned that success comes not from the efforts of a handful at the top, but only from the participation of rank and file workers. So, too, will the success of price control depend directly on the degree to which OPA enlists the democratic support and participation of the people.



OPA hasn’t any guts. The individual men in key jobs just haven’t had the personal courage to refuse to be pushed into raising prices. They have been afraid to say no and keep on saying no to business and congressional pressure for higher prices. For fear of making mistakes they have done nothing in crucial situations when doing almost anything would have been better than dilly-dallying.

Typical of this weak-kneed policy was the way OPA acted last spring on the issue of grade labeling of canned foods. Administrator Prentiss Brown delayed action on this question for at least three months simply because he was afraid to turn either way. He announced that grade labeling was in, then that it was out. Then he promised a delegation of UAW from Detroit that it was in again. Finally he caved in before congressional, business, and advertising agency pressure and threw out grade labeling entirely.

This cowardice, this failure to stand up and fight, has been characteristic of too many OPA men. In large part it stems from the failure to enlist mass democratic support. When a sharp issue was drawn, OPA was hammered by business and isolated from the people; so the individual men who make the decisions took the easy course and gave way.

Lack of Ability

OPA has been cursed throughout its existence by a lack of administrative ability. It just has not had men in key spots who were able to run a big operation. Henderson was a one-man show, a front. He never had a right-hand man who could make OPA work smoothly. Brown has demonstrated himself to be an administrative bungler almost without equal. He has finally appointed Chester Bowles as general manager, with broad powers to direct the executive operations of OPA.

Bowles comes into the job with a reputation for having done a good job as state director of OPA in Connecticut. Before that he was a self-made millionaire in the advertising business in New York. He is reported to have worked well with labor in Connecticut.

OPA needs a good, tough general manager. The CIO is ready and anxious to go down the line with a good man, and we will give Bowles all possible support to whatever extent he may fulfill those specifications.

It is too early to make a final judgment on Bowles, but some of his actions thus far have been discouraging. Bowles is loved by Fulton Lewis, Jr., radio's most violent anti-stabilization commentator, because he has made several statements about "volunteer enforcement," "good businessmen" and "simplified price control," all of which are another way of saying higher prices.

But his most serious mistake so far is appointment of Frank Marsh, regional OPA administrator in the San Francisco office, as his chief assistant. The California CIO knows Marsh well—too well. His failure to effect price control, his hostility to labor and his hatchet work on sincere OPA staff members who tried to do a real stabilization job have compelled the CIO to call for Marsh's removal from his regional OPA post. Certainly his selection by Bowles gives little encouragement to the hope that Bowles will do a two-fisted job.

OPA needs to clean up its staff. It needs to replace the men who are not suited for the jobs they hold—and there are too many such men. Even more urgent is the need for throwing out men who do not believe in keeping prices down. By constantly pushing for higher prices, these men are saboteurs within OPA. These are the business men who are still serving their personal and business interests more faithfully than they are serving the people of the United States and the cause of victory.



UNTIL very recently OPA's methods of controlling prices have all been based on the belief that business was the group primarily concerned with price control and hence the group at which most of the work ought to be directed. Price regulations were written in terms of established business customs and the main educational effort was to inform business men of what price control meant and how it operated. Prices were computed by formulas, and from records and information, available only to the business man. OPA proceeded on the idea that it could show business how to calculate a price, that the merchant would post the price in his store and charge no more than the legal ceiling—then the job would be done.

This approach has been shown to be completely impractical. The important underlying mistake is the old failure to realize that the price control program had to be primarily a consumer program.

In the last six months OPA has begun to catch on to this idea and has begun to issue specific dollars-and-cents prices which can be known by consumers. The community price program on general groceries was an excellent and progressive application of dollars-and-cents pricing as well as a step toward more democratic price control in local communities.

This new approach has been adopted at least a year late. The cost of living would be lower today but for the delay.

ENFORCEMENT

THE most glaring blunder in OPA administrative operations is the enforcement program. Failure to enforce price control regulations has added millions of dollars to the cost of living in hidden inflation of prices and has permitted the black market to gouge the people.

Here again the basic mistake was the failure to enlist the help of the millions of consumers in seeing to it that they were not cheated by prices above the ceiling. Instead OPA tried to secure "compliance" by voluntary cooperation from business, backed up by a small force of inspectors to take care of the incorrigible violators. And until recently, volunteer consumer participation in enforcement was actually discouraged. OPA finally came to realize that the good businessmen who would voluntarily comply with price ceilings were few, and that most merchants preferred to rake in illicit profits as incorrigible violators. This discovery presented an enforcement problem a thousand times more difficult than the prohibition law. It also brought the beginning of application of the price panel program.

Price Panel Program

Price panels are committees of local citizens attached to the local War Price and Rationing Boards. Members are appointed by the district office managers who are directed, whenever it is appropriate, to include a housewife and members of various labor, minority and racial groups. The panels perform educational and preliminary enforcement duties. They have been used with success in checking prices for meat and groceries, establishing and checking restaurant prices and charges for services, and in other retail fields. The price checking is done by volunteer assistants working under the direction of the panels.

This program has been a long time coming and it is only now beginning to gain momentum. In areas where it is being vigorously pushed, the program is getting real results in terms of education and compliance. For example, volunteer price panel assistants all over the country checked compliance in 72,000 retail stores in the month of July.

This is a good program. Here is the sort of mass participation that will make price control work.

Lacking in California

The Washington Office of OPA has not seen fit to compel institution of the price panel program in the various regions. Community participation has been left up to the initiative of the local administrators, and so far the 8th Regional Office has done nothing to enlist the cooperation of labor and the people in the enforcement program in California. Even the delegation of some 500 CIO members which visited the regional office of OPA some time ago demanding the effectuation of the price panel program failed to get any action.

SUBSIDIES

SUBSIDIES are an essential device in rolling back prices and in preventing price increases. Such a cry has been raised against their use and there has been so much deliberate lying about them that it is necessary to make a rather detailed analysis of the whole subsidy question. We will try to reduce this issue to such simple terms that even the obstructionists will find it difficult to confuse.

In the normal course of business a manufacturer figures his selling price by adding a profit to the cost of producing the article. To this manufacturer's selling price the first wholesaler adds a "mark-up", usually a fixed percentage of the manufacturer's price, to arrive at his selling price. This process is repeated successively by each distributor who handles the article.

If the cost of manufacturing the article goes up until it is equal to or greater than the selling price, the manufacturer will increase his price. When this first price rise takes place each wholesaler and the retailer also raise their price. But the wholesalers and retailers continue to figure their new price by applying the same percentage mark-up to the new price of the producer. As a result of this method of computing prices, by the time the article reaches the consumer the actual dollars-and-cents increase to him is greater than the amount added by the manufacturer at the beginning of the chain of price increases.

This process can be demonstrated by a simple example.

Pyramiding Increases

Suppose a manufacturer has been selling an article to the first wholesaler for \$1.00 and the wholesaler adds a 10 per cent mark-up to figure his selling price. The wholesaler's price would be \$1.00, plus 10 per cent of \$1.00, or \$1.10. If the manufacturer increases his price to \$2.00, the wholesaler's price would be \$2.00 plus 10 per cent of \$2.00, or \$2.20. Thus the wholesaler's selling price would go up \$1.10 even though the manufacturer's price had gone up only \$1.00. This process is called pyramiding increases, and it would be repeated by each wholesaler and the retailer handling the article.

This is what happens when we have business as usual. But if we are to hold down prices to the consumer as an essential part of wartime economic stabilization, then this normal process of meeting cost increases by progressive price increases cannot be permitted.

The problem then is how to continue full production and distribution of goods without increasing prices when legitimate cost increases raise the cost of production up to or beyond the existing selling price. The only answer to this question is for the government to give the manufacturer or distributor a subsidy of enough money to make up for the cost increases. If the government does not do this, certainly prices must go up or the firm must go out of business.

A subsidy paid to a manufacturer or to a wholesaler near the beginning of the chain of distributors prevents the pyramiding of price increases. Therefore for every dollar spent for subsidies there is a saving of considerably more than a dollar in prevented price increases which otherwise would have occurred.

How Subsidies Work

To illustrate how this works, take for example a man's shirt formerly sold by the manufacturer at \$1.00 and passing through the hands of two wholesalers and a retailer before

reaching the consumer. Assume that the manufacturer's cost on each shirt increased by \$1.00. The following table shows what would happen to the retail price paid by the consumer if the manufacturer raised his price to \$2.00 to cover the cost increase, and what would happen if there was a subsidy of \$1.00 paid to the manufacturer to make up for the cost increase.

	Without Subsidy	With Subsidy of \$1.00 to Manufacturer
Manufacturer's Selling price.....	\$2.00	\$1.00
1st wholesale selling price, assuming a 5% mark-up.....	2.10	1.05
2nd wholesale selling price, assuming a 10% mark-up.....	2.31	1.15
Retail selling price, assuming a 25% mark-up	2.89	1.45

Thus by spending \$1.00 for a subsidy, the government would save the consumer \$1.44.

A specific illustration of how this theory works in practice is afforded by the subsidy program already operating for meat and butter. It is conservatively estimated that this program will save consumers a total of 1740 million dollars. Therefore, for every dollar spent on the subsidy, consumers will save from 4 to 6 dollars.

A subsidy program for copper, lead and zinc has been in operation for about a year and a half. In 1942 the government spent 10 million dollars to subsidize high-cost copper production and secured a direct saving of 280 million dollars. Thus taxpayers were saved \$28 for every \$1.00 spent.

This is not trick economics but plain, every day horse sense.



SUBSIDIES have another advantage for the lower income groups. Subsidies come out of the U. S. Treasury and are paid for by taxes. This means that the cost of preventing price increases is spread among all taxpayers, both the wealthy and those of more moderate income. Most people in America spend a very great portion of their total income on essentials needed to sustain life—on rent, food, and clothing. If price increases occur in these cost-of-living items the burden falls largely on these people. On the other hand, the rich spend a microscopic portion of their income on the necessities of life. An increase of 1 cent in the price of a quart of milk or a loaf of bread or of 50 cents for a pair of shoes means very little to a man making \$1,000 or \$100,000 a month. But it means a great deal to a family whose income is \$100 to \$300 a month.

By preventing these increases, subsidies are a life-saver to most Americans, and by spreading their cost among all taxpayers, the rich are made to bear a fair share of the cost of preventing inflation.

Subsidies have long been recognized and used as a standard method of encouraging production or of supporting useful and necessary services which would otherwise be prohibitively expensive. The railroads were subsidized by free grants of land in their early days. The western farmers were similarly subsidized by free land to encourage settlement. Airlines and steamship companies have been heavily subsidized in the form of high payments for transporting mail. The farm program has been based for years on subsidizing farmers whenever farm prices fall below cost of production. *Subsidies are as American as ham and eggs.*

Furthermore, in England and Canada, subsidies have been used successfully as an essential part of the wartime price control systems.

So Why the Excitement?

We know that it is necessary to roll back and hold prices of necessities in order to prevent inflation; that in order to hold prices it is necessary to use subsidies; that subsidies are sound from an economic and a common sense point of view; and that subsidies have been used traditionally and successfully in the United States and abroad. Why, then, has there been such a storm of opposition in and out of Congress?

The answer to this question lies in the source of the opposition. It comes from the NAM, from farm bloc Tories, from men like Senator Connally and Representative Smith, authors of the infamous Smith-Connally bill. It comes from such Associated Farmer elements as the California Farm Bureau Federation. In short, it comes from every single anti-war, anti-labor element in the country. Those gentlemen have good reasons for opposing subsidies, which are designed to keep down the cost of living and prevent inflation.

First of all they would like to see a certain amount of inflation because inflation means cheap money. We would have lots of dollars in our pockets but each dollar would be worth very little in terms of the goods it would buy. Yet these cheap dollars would be quite useful to people who owed large sums of money on debts made before inflation had reduced the value of the dollar. A debt of 100 million dollars contracted for an airplane factory in 1941 would be repaid with 100 million dollars in 1945.

Repay Cheap Dollars

But suppose by 1945 inflation had so increased prices—or to say the same thing in another way, had so reduced the purchasing power of the dollar—that it took \$10 to buy goods that \$1 would have bought in 1941? Then the legal requirements of the debt would be met by the repayment of 100 million 1945 dollars, but actually the creditor would be receiving in payment only one-tenth as much purchasing power as he had loaned in 1941.

These good gentlemen of big business owe the government and private investors billions of dollars for new war plants, machinery and operating capital, and they would be very happy to be able to pay for these plants at fire sale prices after the war. Thus they favor a certain amount of inflation even though it might starve the worker, ruin the little business man, and wipe out the savings of small investors in war bonds, insurance policies and savings accounts.



SECONDLY, big business is opposed to subsidies because they fear what they call “government interference in business”. They want the very minimum of government participation in wartime business so they may be free to make as much from the war as can be made. Above all else, after the war they want no government “interference” with extortionate profits, trusts, international cartels and other such usual business practices. They oppose subsidies designed to aid consumers as “government interference”, and in the same way and for the same reason they oppose the whole OPA program, high corporate taxes, limitation on incomes, standards and grade labeling, allocation of raw materials, and other such essential war measures.

At the same time business has been glad to receive subsidies from the government when those subsidies were of direct benefit to business interests rather than to consumers. In fact business has itself subsidized high cost production where it

needed the materials or services so produced and has subsidized such activities as scientific research. They have not spent this subsidy money in a spirit of charity but because they knew it was “good business”.

In their hysterical opposition and in their deliberate attempts to confuse this simple issue, Congress, the press and the radio have merely been serving as spokesmen for the selfish interests of big business.

A Kick in the Shins

It was no accident that the whole fight on the subsidy issue and the appropriations for OPA, etc., was waged simultaneously with the passage of the Smith-Connally bill. The anti-war, anti-labor forces in Congress used the whole situation to serve notice on labor that even though their wages might be frozen and the cost of living uncontrolled, labor had better not try to do anything about it. They provided incitements and at the same time tried to wrest our most effective weapons from our hands.

Subsidies present possible dangers which should not be ignored. The investment of hundreds of millions of dollars in subsidies involves certain risks. Indiscriminate use of subsidies would mean that taxpayers' money was thrown down the sewer without reducing living costs. Subsidy payments which were too high would contribute to extortionate profits and thereby defeat their own purpose. A poorly run subsidy program might disrupt distribution and cause artificial and unnecessary shortages of goods. Worse yet, slipshod administration would invite graft and corruption.

On the other hand, the alternative to subsidies is decreased production, increased wages, higher prices and disastrous inflation. In these circumstances, it is clear that we must face the possible dangers of subsidies to avoid the certain consequences of inflation. Accordingly, as a matter of policy we demand the intelligent and honest use of subsidies where they are essential to prevent inflation.

PROGRAM FOR OPA

IN THE preceding discussion we have pointed out what we believe are important faults of OPA. This criticism is not anti-OPA, but on the contrary is directed at increasing the effectiveness of price control.

To carry forward this purpose we have proposals to make. These proposals are simple. There is nothing startling about the program. It can be put into effect immediately, using established administrative machinery, methods, and personnel.

But if every one of these proposals is promptly and vigorously put into effect, we will stop inflating. We will have effective price control. It is just as easy as that. On the other hand, adoption of part of the program will not gain the objective—all five points must be pushed concurrently. Nor will timid or half-way performance do the job. We need a clearly defined overall program executed with courage and skill.

RECOMMENDATION 1— Democratic Program

Isolation of the price control program from the people has been the root of most of OPA's shortcomings. Before real progress can be made OPA must go to the people and secure their confidence and support. This can be done:

1. By conceiving of price control of cost of living commodities as primarily a consumer program and designing it to meet the needs and protect the interests of consumers;
2. By an effective program of consumer education carried out in local communities by local people;
3. By increased power and responsibility for local OPA offices so that action can be taken on the spot;
4. By extension of the price panel program to include more people and more responsibility for local enforcement, education and administration of local programs;
5. By encouraging labor and consumer representatives to take an active and responsible role in national, regional, district, and community planning and operations which affect their interests.

RECOMMENDATION 2—

Roll Back Cost of Living

Labor has agreed that wages must be stabilized if we are to avoid inflation and higher living costs. But wages cannot be pegged unless prices are held at the same relative level.

Furthermore, once the cost of living is reduced it must be kept down. In the past OPA has always been able to find good reasons why prices must be allowed to creep up a penny here and a nickel there, all along the line. Now OPA must roll back prices and find even better reasons why they must not be permitted to creep up again.

The first way to get prices back is by a simple and straightforward reduction of prices already inflated. *No subsidy is needed to accomplish this sort of a reduction, just the courage to tell the profiteers where to get off.* This is the best kind of price reduction because it takes excess profit directly out of the pockets of the gougers without any outlay for subsidies. OPA use of this method in reducing fresh vegetable prices has been encouraging, but it should be extended to other commodities.

Where legitimate cost increases have caused price boosts, subsidies must be used to secure the rollback. Care must be taken not to allow subsidy money to breed war millionaires and racketeers. Subsidies must not be so large as to give unreasonable and hidden profits. But subsidies must be used without further delay where they are the only method of getting prices back.

It is possible that with many commodities the rollback can be secured by the combined use of these two methods, part of the total reduction being secured by a straight reduction of inflated prices, with prices pushed the rest of the way back by subsidies. *In any event, subsidies should not be applied to a given commodity until all possible reductions for that commodity have been obtained by squeezing out unreasonable and excess profits.*



SPECIFICALLY we recommend to the OPA the following course of action as a simple but effective way of accomplishing the rollback now:

1. Select a group of the most important commodities which make up the majority of the consumers' cost-of-living outlay.
2. Examine the price of each such commodity as of May, 1942, and today to determine the actual dollars-and-cents increase.
3. Examine the reasons for such price increases to determine as far as possible whether the increases result from swollen profits or from legitimate cost rises.

4. Develop and put into action without delay, a program to reduce the price of each commodity (or of the group as a whole) to the May level by outright reductions or by subsidies.

This plan should be applied in regional or district areas and not on the basis of national averages.

What About the Index?

OPA recently announced a new rollback program which is supposed to reduce the cost of living to the level of Sept. 15, 1942. This reduction is to be secured by three measures:

1. A subsidy program rolling back the prices of apples, oranges, potatoes, onions, lard, shortening and peanut butter enough to reduce the cost of living *index* 2.3 per cent.
2. Reduction of fresh vegetable prices by a straight squeeze of inflated profits, enough to reduce the cost of living *index* another 1.3 per cent.
3. By a revitalized enforcement program expected to eliminate enough hidden price increases resulting from violations to pick up the few per cent necessary to complete the rollback.

Is this a rollback of the cost of living or the cost of living index? Are these juggled statistics or will the program really make frozen wages buy the food they would buy in September, 1942?

The New York newspaper "PM" in its September 15 issue raises serious question about the authenticity of the program as a real rollback of cost of living. According to PM's calculations on the basis of public government data, the 2.3 per cent rollback will in fact save the average consumer only 26½ cents a month. This is only about one-third of the saving that would be secured by an actual 2.3 per cent rollback of the cost of living.

When questioned by PM, General Manager Bowles' comment was that he was no statistician, that the figures had been worked out for him by his economic adviser, Richard V. Gilbert, and that Gilbert's figures agreed with those furnished by the Office of Economic Stabilization.

To all practical purposes, Gilbert had no explanation for the apparent discrepancy. His reply introduced other data which further confused the situation rather than clarified it.

Based on Sample Items

The cost of living index compiled monthly by the Bureau of Labor Statistics is a statistical representation of living costs based on the actual cost of selected sample commodities, in typical cities, averaged out for the country as a whole. In this statistical sampling process, the Bureau selects certain key commodities to represent a whole group of related articles. For example, soda crackers might be taken to represent all crackers, cakes, cracker meal and related items. The current market price of soda crackers would then be found by Bureau shoppers, and by a process of statistical calculation or weighting, the importance in the cost of living of the whole group of commodities would be computed. After these calculations, the price of soda crackers might then serve in the index as the key to 2 per cent of the cost of all food. Obviously, soda crackers by themselves would not make up this percentage, but the group of related commodities would.

Now, if one were to lose sight of the fact that the cost-of-living index is a statistical representation, and try to apply it as a literal accounting of living costs, such a person would come out with some very odd results. For example, one could reduce the price of soda crackers by 50 per cent or, say, 5 cents a box, and conclude that by so doing he had reduced the cost

of all food by 1 per cent. Or he might subsidize the cost of soda crackers 100 per cent, or 10 cents a box, and conclude that he had reduced the cost of all food by 2 per cent.

If one drew any such conclusions he would be either pitifully uninformed, a plain fool, or maliciously dishonest.

It would certainly be a strange chapter in the history of American government if the explanation of the apparent inconsistency in Mr. Bowles' rollback lay in this statistical maze.

But independent of these high-power statistics and the cost-of-living index, we know that our own family food budget has gone up more than a few cents a month. It has, in fact, gone up in terms of dollars a month. Labor cannot accept as a real rollback a program which balances out in the cost-of-living index but not in the family kitty.

RECOMMENDATION 3— Enforcement

A report issued by OPA last spring showed that food prices were being raised 5 per cent by violations of legal ceilings. In some areas of the country and for some commodities, these hidden increases are probably even higher. Clearly, real reductions in the cost of living can be secured not just by reducing legal ceiling prices, but only by making certain that actual selling prices are not above the ceilings. This means air-tight enforcement. A 5 per cent or 10 per cent increase resulting from violations completely nullifies the rollback and means that hundreds of millions of dollars for subsidies to reduce the cost of living are washed out by black market profits.

Recent press releases from Washington are again singing the sweet song of "good businessmen", "voluntary cooperation", and "small minority violators". This line is completely unrealistic and OPA must come to realize we need a practical, tough enforcement program.

Real enforcement means consumer enforcement. Consumers who know what the ceiling prices are and who refuse to be gypped will force compliance. And they will do it before violations occur and without complicated legal procedures. In cases where even vigilant buying fails to prevent overcharges, then militant consumer action supported by OPA can crack down on the chiselers.

In this connection the recent decision of the State Supreme Court which permits the small claims courts to act on treble damage suits should be taken advantage of by the CIO members and the general consumer public to help tighten the price control program. (Consumers can collect damages for price violations in the amount of \$50 or three times the overcharge, whichever is the higher.)

To make consumer enforcement possible we must have dollars-and-cents prices that remain fixed so buyers can come to know them. Further, consumers must be told what these prices are and how to use them by effective education designed for and pointed at consumers.

Consumers Are the Key

The argument is sometimes advanced that this sort of program will not work because consumers are not interested enough in preventing violations to bother with learning and checking prices. This argument fails to realize that all or even a majority of buyers are not needed behind the program to make it work. In fact, if only 5 per cent of all buyers cooperated, that would mean close to 5 million price checkers operating every day in stores all over the country. Five million alert buyers will keep prices in line, and nothing else will.

If OPA does not have 5 per cent of the buyers behind its program it had better get them quickly or throw in the towel.

Supplementing buyer enforcement, expanded and invigorated price panels are needed to provide the link between OPA and local merchants and consumers. These citizen groups have done wonders where they have had good leadership and they can do lots more. OPA has been thinking in terms of a maximum of 100,000 volunteers in the national price panel program. Raise that quota to 1,000,000 or 2,000,000 and think of the push that would be put behind price control. Price panels and their volunteer assistants can serve as the local kernel for buyer and seller education; for the collection of price, cost, and supply data; for local price fixing; for price checking and for enforcement.

This program has possibilities which OPA has been terribly slow to appreciate at all and just as slow to put into action. The Washington staff of OPA numbers between four and five thousand people, yet there are not 14 people working full time on the whole field of price panels and buyer enforcement and education. No wonder these ideas have advanced so slowly in the year and a half that OPA has been toying with them!

Put a hundred to a thousand people to work on this program and enlist the advice of labor and other people familiar with the rank and file of the population and with organizing experience. Then we will get price enforcement that all the inspectors OPA can find would not get.

Backing up price panels and alert buyers, it is essential that we have good, formal legal enforcement. This requires hard-hitting lawyers directed by good top leadership. It also requires simplified, enforceable regulations, cooperation from buyers and patriotic merchants, assistance from state and local governments, and above all, it requires honest and fearless action by the courts.

State and municipal governments can perform an important war function in the prevention of inflation by adopting legislation or ordinances making violations of OPA regulations misdemeanors under local law, and by using local enforcement machinery to make it stick.

OPA has designed model legislation for this purpose and many states and cities are adopting it. Cleveland, Ohio, has had such an ordinance for some months and there the city government and the Mayor are doing an outstanding service for the citizens by helping to keep prices down.

RECOMMENDATION 4— Quality Standards and Grade Labeling

Fixed prices have meaning only in terms of what the consumer is getting for his money. It is no good to hold the price of a pair of shoes at \$5 if today the shoes have only half the quality or will wear only half as long as the same priced shoe of two years ago. If a man has to spend \$10 now to get a year's supply of shoes where before one pair of \$5 shoes would last him a year, the inflation is just as real as if the price had gone from \$5 to \$10.

It seems outstandingly clear that real price control is simply not possible without tying price to quality standards and without grade labeling to let the consumer know that these standards are being observed.

OPA failed miserably to carry out an effective standards program and as a result real prices of many articles are actually highly inflated even though the dollar price has been pegged. This is particularly true of shoes, clothing and durable goods.

But at least, OPA recognized the principle of quality specifications and labeling, and applied it to some consumer lines.

As pointed out earlier, Congress virtually outlawed standards in legislation passed last June, and since then OPA has cancelled even the few standards provisions it had in effect. Congress must withdraw this ban at once. Just as soon as it is withdrawn, OPA must install a comprehensive standards and labeling program. This is essential to real price control.

RECOMMENDATION 5—

Improve OPA Operations

OPA needs to regroup its forces and to sharpen its operating efficiency. This can be done:

1. By cleaning out the deadwood on its staff in Washington and field offices.
2. By striving for increased effectiveness in the use of its available manpower.
3. By streamlining the organizational structure from top to bottom.
4. By decentralizing and giving field offices more authority to act promptly in local problems.

This job is completely Bowles' responsibility and there are rumblings from Washington that indicate he is getting under way. He must push hard and fast in order that other elements of the program will not be bungled by incompetent handling.

To put this program into full force, certain legislative action must be taken which is beyond OPA's immediate control. Congress must immediately repeal the anti-standards and grade labeling provision and the anti-economist provision. When the time comes, it must adopt whatever legislation is required to implement the subsidy program.

LABOR HAS RESPONSIBILITY

When we call upon the national government and the Office of Price Administration to provide the program and leadership to control prices and insure a democratic distribution of essential goods through rationing, we also recognize that labor itself has a responsibility to help put the program across. We also have a direct interest in seeing that our pay envelopes are not robbed week by week by increasing prices and inflation.

The Price Control and Rationing Committee of the State Council last April recommended the following program of action to the affiliated unions:

1. Establish a consumer committee in each local.
2. Carry on the fight for improved allocation of meat.
3. Call on OPA to:
 - a. Expand the program of grade labelling and maintain quality standards.
 - b. Appoint labor representatives to policy-making and administrative branches.
 - c. Give price panels authority to act.
 - d. Allow supplemental rations for war workers in heavy industry.
4. Write Congressmen and Senators for sufficient funds for proper administration.

Less than 10 per cent of the locals in the state responded to the call of the Council for establishment of consumer committees and active participation in consumer work. The

State Price Control and Rationing Committee, acting in both north and south, did carry out the remaining portion of the program. Representatives of each section of the committee sat on the special advisory committees appointed by the Office of Price Administration to study the problem of meat distribution, and improvements have been realized in this situation. Both sections of the committee have been diligent in their efforts to mobilize pressure for the other points of the program.

As a result of this pressure, OPA set up district Labor Advisory Committees composed of representatives from CIO, AFL and the Railroad Brotherhoods. *These committees, however, are completely ineffectual and it is apparent that OPA never intended to accept any advice from them.* They should be supplanted by genuine labor representation in policy-making or administrative bodies of the agency. OPA alone of the four major war agencies (War Labor Board, War Production Board, War Manpower Commission, Office of Price Administration) has admitted no such direct representation. As a result of this capitulation to big business interests, OPA had to swallow Congressional legislation which barred all but businessmen from its top price control jobs.

Importance Not Realized

Your officers have emphasized that OPA's major mistake was its failure to establish the broadest possible mass base for its program. Labor has made the same mistake. We have failed to bring home to the rank and file of our locals the importance of the price control and rationing program. We have failed to make them realize that it is fully as important in our day-to-day living as the matter of wage increases. Furthermore, we have failed to bring our program clearly before the public.

It is not surprising, therefore, that big business was able to use its Congressional stooges to stage a blitzkrieg on the price control program last summer, before an ill-prepared, poorly organized public opinion had a chance to rally its forces. The enemies of economic stabilization, the saboteurs of the war on the home front, are still at work. Unless we learn from our past experience and organize to stop them, we shall be faced with the total collapse of the price control program.

Congress is now conducting an investigation of the Commodity Credit Corporation, which is financing the skeleton subsidy program we now have. We must be on guard to preserve this program and extend it. The rent control program is now threatened with emasculation, at the instigation of the landlords and real estate interests, unless labor and the public organize to save it.

Price control is an issue with the broadest possible popular appeal. It shows with striking clarity the unity of interests between the community as a whole and organized labor. Using this issue and this natural unity as a lever, we should provide leadership for action on a community-wide basis. We should not limit participation, education and political action for economic stabilization to our own membership, but on the contrary should strive to incorporate every popular element in this common fight.

Our Natural Allies

Indeed, we should remember that there are groups in this country who have suffered more than our own members from the bungling of the stabilization program. There are the five million people on city, state and federal payrolls,

whose incomes have remained fixed for the last three years; there are the still unorganized millions of industrial workers, many of them still working at substandard wages; there are the four million white collar workers, whose wages have not risen commensurately with those of industrial workers; there are the millions more who live on pensions and service allotments. These groups are our natural allies in the fight for price control. More than this, they are the groups which must be won for our political program.

If we carry our fight on price control to the people as a whole, we will not only multiply our strength on this immediate issue, but we will also mobilize support for organized labor on other issues and provide a starting point for wider political activity with a large group of voters.

In the main, the basic elements of the program set forth in the April report of the Price Control and Rationing Committee are still valid. To restate these points in terms of CIO leadership of broad community action, we now propose the following:

1. INTEGRATION OF CONSUMER ACTION WITH POLITICAL ACTION.

We should mobilize our affiliated unions and other organizations behind the President's hold-the-line policy to act speedily on specific legislative issues as they arise in the current session of Congress.

We should bring pressure on state and local legislative bodies to implement the OPA program. For example, there should be a state law making it a crime to violate OPA regulations. The OPA has already drawn up model legislation for these purposes.

One of the major conditions for CIO endorsement of a political candidate should be a firm stand on price regulation and enforcement.

We should mobilize popular pressure for effectuation of

economic stabilization for administrative agencies. We should seek removal of OPA officials who oppose or block the hold-the-line policy.

2. EDUCATION.

We should develop an educational program to show Union members and all other consumers the dangers of inflation and the course of action which must be taken to stop it. We should use our local unions, neighborhood organizations, our press and radio to bring to all consumers information on broad policy matters. We should reach the greatest possible audience with explanations of important retail regulations and rent regulations, emphasizing provisions for consumers' self-protection and the consumers' treble damage remedy.

3. DIRECT PARTICIPATION AND COOPERATION WITH OPA

We should recruit volunteers to serve on rationing boards and price panels and as assistants to the panels. We should prepare special educational material for labor members of price panels. Work of panel members and assistants should be organized and coordinated to see that they are kept informed and CIO policy is effectuated.

We should renew pressure on the Regional Office of OPA to put the price panel and consumer participation programs into effect immediately, and mobilize our own members and other consumers to make the program work.

4. INDEPENDENT ENFORCEMENT

We should encourage and assist our own members in local enforcement activities beyond the scope of OPA, including independent price checking, the filing of treble damage suits and direct popular pressure against violators, such as union and consumer delegations, picketing and boycotts.

Other War Problems

HOUSING

IT was apparent from the early days of the war program that the large influx of workers into industrial areas of the state would necessitate extensive housing construction.

The vast housing requirements had to be met through a federal housing program. To meet the housing needs of war-swollen communities in California, the federal government completed some 80,000 dwelling units between April, 1940 and August, 1943. In addition, about 33,000 units are still under construction. Private construction was limited, due to building material restrictions. However, some 63,000 privately constructed units were either completed or are now building.

Despite the substantial war housing program, the shortage in the state is still acute. For instance, the latest reports of the U. S. Census Bureau show the vacancy rate to be one-half of 1 per cent for Los Angeles. In San Francisco the vacancy rate is the same. If only housing fit to live in is considered, then the vacancy rate in San Francisco is one-tenth of 1 per cent while for Los Angeles it is three-tenths of 1 per cent. *According to the housing authorities, a vacancy rate of less than 5 per cent indicates an acute shortage. Before the war started, the vacancy rates in San Francisco and Los Angeles were between 6 and 8 per cent.*

More Units Needed

On the basis of War Manpower Commission estimates of manpower needs in this state, besides the housing approved or under construction in California, at least an additional 4,500 units are required for San Diego, 20,000 more units for the San Francisco Bay area, and a like number for Los Angeles. Both in San Francisco and Los Angeles the housing problem is especially acute for Negro and other minority groups. To relieve overcrowding in Negro communities, at least 3,000 units are required immediately in Los Angeles alone, and about 2,000 in San Francisco.

These estimates are conservative and will have to be revised upward if military activity on the Pacific Coast is materially increased.

The major bottleneck in gearing housing construction to manpower needs is the National Housing Agency. This agency has control of allocation of war housing. Actual construction in most instances is performed under the supervision of local housing authorities or regional offices of the Federal Public Housing Authority. Under the existing inter-agency agreement, the NHA is supposed to program the housing for war areas on the basis of War Manpower Commission certification of need. The NHA then clears the War Manpower Commission requirements with the War Production Board for allocation of building material.

In practice, however, the NHA, at least in this region, pays very little attention to War Manpower Commission certifications. It makes its own determinations, which are invariably below actual requirements.

NHA in this region is under complete domination of real estate interests and has been consistently favoring private construction over public construction. In those war boom areas of the state like Vallejo and Richmond, where private construction may not be a profitable long-term investment, most of the programmed construction is public. In Los Angeles, where private construction promises to be extremely profitable, they go overboard on private housing. *For instance, out of 13,000 units recently programmed for Los Angeles, 12,000 were private.*

The state Council at its last convention advocated abolition of private construction for the duration of the war. We have taken this position because:

- (a) Private construction is not as economical in the use of critical building materials.
- (b) Rentals charged on private housing are usually higher than on public projects.
- (c) Private units are usually constructed in localities far removed from war plants.
- (d) Very little private construction, if any, can be used by racial minority groups, because it is usually located in restricted districts.

The NHA in this region has apparently been functioning on the following assumptions:

1. *About one-half of the war workers who come into this area somehow disappear.*
2. *Selective Service withdrawals create housing vacancies.*
3. *People should "move to the mountains and country."*

NHA the Bottleneck

For instance, in August of this year the NHA, on the basis of an extensive survey, reported 4,200 vacancies in the Mother Lode country. It very seriously proposed that 11,000 old age pensioners could live in those vacancies and make room for war workers in congested war areas. This proposal created a one-day sensation.

The entire program and activity of the NHA can be best summed up in the following example:

The Negro housing problem in San Francisco has been recognized as an extremely acute one. Health Director Geiger of San Francisco stated there was an immediate need for at least 1,300 homes for Negro families. Mayor Rossi recommended to the NHA 500 units. The NHA programmed 250 units.

The attitude and actions of the National Housing Agency must be corrected immediately to assure sufficient housing for war workers in the state. We therefore insist that NHA

schedule new housing on the basis of War Manpower Commission certifications without delay and discontinue all private construction for the duration.

War housing construction is under the general supervision of the Federal Public Housing Authority. However, in most California communities direct supervision over construction and management is in the hands of local authorities.

At our last convention we pointed out that the FPHA should provide decent, livable quarters, within the limitations of building material restrictions. In most projects, while the actual quarters can be termed livable, very little provision has been made for the necessary community facilities.

Forget Human Needs

The local authorities and the FPHA seem to have lost sight of the fact that the workers are human beings. When a housing project of 3,000 to 4,000 units is constructed, it becomes a small community and requires community facilities to become a livable place.

The rent schedules of war housing projects are, to say the least, cockeyed. In a given project identical accommodations rent at different rentals. For example, in Vallejo a certain type of unit is being rented at rates ranging between \$37 and \$42. A larger discrepancy exists between rentals for identical units in different projects.

The following recommendations should be adopted by the FPHA in order to improve living conditions on the war housing projects:

1. Adequate community facilities, such as provision for stores, space for victory gardens, child care centers, and recreational facilities, should be developed.
2. Uniform rents should be instituted immediately on all war housing projects in California. Rents should not be set from the point of view of repaying the cost of the entire project in two or three years.
3. FPHA should insist that a medical program be developed on all war housing projects. If necessary, FPHA should subsidize such a program.
4. The FPHA should insist that all local authorities provide free space and promote farmers' markets near each project.
5. The federal policy of no segregation or Jim Crow on war housing projects should be enforced. Local authorities who violate this policy should be removed from project operation.
6. The FPHA should insist that the local housing authorities aid the development of independent tenants' organizations and enlist the tenants' participation in the management of the projects. Tenants' organizations are now in the process of formation, and can become an important factor in promoting community life and stabilizing manpower.

With housing a critical bottleneck in the solution of the manpower problem, the above recommendations are the minimum steps necessary to assure sufficient and adequate housing for war workers.

FOOD AND THE WAR

LAST April the newly organized War Food committee warned that "labor must face the food problem and contribute actively to its solution." This warning was provoked, primarily, by the unbridled program of profiteering on the part of corporate interests dominating the food industry. In recent months this drive for additional profits has reached

the point where it is disrupting the food industry, threatening the entire war effort and the winning of the peace.

Labor cannot afford to have the subsidy program scrapped, aid to small farmers blocked, food price ceilings punctured, grade labelling tossed overboard, conversion to less-profitable war crops hampered. Labor will not stop such moves on the part of the farm bloc by mere grumbling about the food problem. Nor is action on single issues sufficient. *Labor must move into the food picture with the same all-out energy that has gone into the tackling of the production problems of planes, guns, tanks and ships.*

Food problems will become more acute as the Allied nations smash ahead on the offensive. Supplies for American armed forces and lend-lease are expected to total 25 per cent of the food produced this year, compared to 4 per cent in 1941 and 13 per cent last year. Requirements for relief of peoples in liberated areas are steadily increasing. Civilian demands are also mounting as millions of workers, undernourished in peacetime, insist upon adequate diets to maintain high production levels.

Serious Shortages Loom

Victory eventually will bring even heavier demands upon the American food industry. Relief experts estimate that the relief task will be far greater than it was at the close of the last war. From 60 to 75 per cent of subjugated Europe's 400 million people will need some kind of relief. The Soviet Union will also need considerable assistance.

Current food production, while approximately 4 per cent above last year, is not sufficient to meet the expanding requirements of global warfare. The first sizable gap between available supplies and civilian consumption requirements will develop this year. *Although the Department of Agriculture estimates that the gap will be comparatively small, it is a dangerous portent. It is a decisive warning that food production must be increased.*

The answer of the farm bloc, representing corporate interests, to the problem of more food production is a demand for higher prices. They insist that farmers will produce more milk, more meat, more vegetables and grain if only prices are permitted to rise.

The great mass of farmers do need additional earnings. Despite the doubling of farm prices since 1939, at least half the families of farm operators still receive a total net income from all sources of less than \$1,800. *The great bulk of increased earnings is going to the upper 10 per cent, who received 37 per cent of the aggregate net cash income derived from farming in 1942.*

Subsidies and loans are the answer to the problem of underpaid farmers. This will get the help to those who need it without the necessity of price increases to the consumer. The Farm Security Administration has amply demonstrated the correctness of this approach. In 1942 the farmers receiving loans from the FSA, comprising but 7½ per cent of the total of all farmers, accounted for 38 per cent of the increase in milk, 17 per cent of the increase in dry beans, and 9 per cent of the increase in eggs and chickens.

Stir Up Dissension

The demand for higher prices has accomplished far more damage than merely exposing the farm bloc as profiteers. Farmers and cattle producers have been led to gamble on price increases. For several months this kept needed food from flowing to market. Virtual strikes or threats of strikes appeared as unrest was spread in the ranks of food producers.

A notable example was the recent attempt of California's milk producers to boost the price of milk.

The price battle has also retarded efforts to solve such pressing problems as manpower and machinery shortages. During the past year over a million actual or potential farm workers migrated to industrial centers or were taken into the armed forces. Meanwhile, the amount of new farm machinery available to farmers this year is only 40 per cent of the quantity purchased in 1940.

Solution of manpower and machinery problems requires effective planning and joint teamwork of farmers, industry, labor and local communities. California's labor problem was largely solved this year by recruitment of voluntary crop workers. Machinery pools have compensated for lack of new machines. Once the attention of the industry is turned away from higher profits into the direction of increased production, tremendous results will be obtained from more efficient utilization of available labor and machines.

Conversion to war crops is still largely in the talking stage. The importance of conversion is appreciated when it is understood that a single acre will produce enough food to feed a man 100 days or 1,000 days, depending on the nature of the crop. Yet only 5 per cent of our 460 million acres were converted to the "basic seven" war diet foods during the past year. The farm bloc fights conversion in favor of more profitable luxury foods.

Hoover Makes Hay

While guilty of inspiring most of the food muddle, the farm bloc blames every deficiency in program, and each daily food problem on government. Herbert Hoover, leading spokesman of the corporate interests, orates that "administrative chaos" in Washington is wrecking the food industry. This not only makes the job of government food agencies more difficult, but it is creating a smokescreen behind which the food monopoly can move with greater ease to promote its program of profits.

Disruption of food production and domestic war economy leads directly to disruption of the global war effort. This is the most dangerous consequence of the farm bloc program for profits.

Shortages of food will create serious issues in connection with allocations of available supplies to the civilian population, the military and the Allied nations.

Such issues are made-to-order for the appeasement elements. They have been quick to seize upon this golden opportunity presented them by the farm bloc. The appeasers are already suggesting that food shortages would be alleviated if supplies were not sent abroad, particularly to the Soviet Union. They distort labor's demand for price rollbacks as a campaign against the farmers. They plan to use the many issues growing out of the developing shortages of food as the main political weapon to turn the people against the Administration and its win-the-war policies.

Labor must awaken to the fact that food problems now challenge the successful prosecution of the war. We can no longer permit ourselves the luxury of paper programs or resolution-passing. We must do everything within our power to press for an overall food program geared to the pattern of global war—and a world free of want.

Ripe for Action

Recent developments within the food industry and in Congress indicate that the time is ripe for an offensive. The Free

Farmers' Market, developed in San Francisco this summer, demonstrated that farmers are anxious to get their produce to the people at low cost. The California Butchers' Federation has come forward with an excellent program for meat control. This program, fully supporting price stabilization through OPA, is at sharp variance with the position of the Meat Institute, or packers' trust.

In Washington the Congressional Committee to Protect the Consumer, originally known as the "Fighting Forty," has swelled its numbers to 60 and has announced that it will conduct a finish fight for subsidies, crop incentive payments and other measures designed to secure maximum production while at the same time holding the line on food prices.

Fishermen and cannery workers of California's huge fish industry, both CIO and AFL, have demonstrated that labor can do the job. Under the pressure of labor leadership this industry has been organized for maximum production in partnership with government. *And, as a striking exception to other food industries, the fishing industry has cooperated in bringing about price stabilization.*

The April executive board meeting adopted a 10-point program recommended by the War Food committee. That program has to a large degree never been implemented. The main reason for this has been lack of funds and personnel to do the kind of a job which the program contemplated.

Set Simple Program

In recognition of the difficulties attendant upon activating an elaborate program, the Executive Board is herewith submitting a simple, basic, workable four-point program which easily can be implemented within the present structure of the California CIO Council.

This program recognizes the fact that the CIO's major contribution to the solution of the problems outlined above can be in the field of political action—where we are at the moment mobilizing our heaviest artillery.

It also recognizes the fact that the food program is our main avenue toward a very important goal—a working relationship with working farmers.

Briefly, the Executive Board recommends:

1. *That the state CIO legislative directors be requested to give particular emphasis to the food aspects of political action.*
2. *That political action alliances be formed with farm groups on a basis of common program.*
3. *Support of Farmers' Free Markets.*
4. *Labor-Management committees in CIO food plants.*

CHILD CARE

AT its last convention the California CIO pointed to the problems which would arise in connection with large-scale entrance of women into industry. Care for the children of working mothers is the most pressing of these problems. The convention recommended to the War Manpower Commission that it coordinate the activities of all groups and agencies concerned—such as local child care committees, labor unions, employers, and federal, state and local agencies—to develop a program geared to manpower needs.

Although considerable progress has been made in some communities, the child care program still lags far behind the needs of working mothers, and there is still no evidence of intention on the part of any agency to throw this phase of the war effort into high gear. Although the regional War Manpower Commission has given it token recognition, it has

not taken effective steps to correct a situation which has become acute and which jeopardizes the recruitment of the additional tens of thousands of women necessary for war industries.

What has been done in California has been done in spite of the welter of confusion pervading the whole picture. Some communities have developed fairly adequate programs, and others have made a healthy beginning. Great credit is due to the public officials who have assumed this wartime responsibility, and to the groups of citizens, including labor and management, who have had to work strenuously against unreasoning opposition and miles of federal and state red tape.

CIO Plays Active Role

The CIO has played a major role in pushing the child care program. The state council helped formulate and push legislation through the emergency session of the state Legislature which made it possible for the public schools to operate child care centers. This had previously been impossible, because of an opinion handed down by Earl Warren when he was attorney-general, that it would be illegal. This bill, however, carried no appropriation, and did not make the establishment of child care centers mandatory.

During the March session of the Legislature, a nominal appropriation of one-half million dollars to the state War council was finally forced through the Legislature. This money, however, has not been used to push the program. Although Governor Warren supported the two bills, the leadership promised by him during his election campaign last year has not been forthcoming. The state Administration has done nothing to bring into line those stubborn communities which refuse to take action.

The most successful programs have been developed where labor, and particularly the CIO, has taken an active role. Los Angeles is the outstanding example. The Los Angeles CIO Council and the Auto Workers have been the prime movers in bringing about cooperation between labor, management, the area War Manpower Commission and various local agencies to develop and publicize the program.

The result is that Los Angeles has a program which, although it still does not meet the need, exceeds in scope any other in the state. Numerous smaller communities, likewise, at the instigation of the unions, have made a very good beginning.

On the other hand, some important war production communities, notably San Francisco, have accomplished practically nothing. The War Manpower Commission is planning a recruitment campaign to enlist 40,000 women for war industries from the Bay area. Yet the program has been continually hampered and blocked by the local authorities, and WMC has taken no decisive steps to correct the situation. The recruitment program is doomed to dismal failure unless this situation is corrected.

Need Grows Greater

The number of women with extremely young children applying for employment is constantly increasing. Theirs is a very serious problem, for there is as yet no federal program to provide care for children under 2 years of age. The situation will be further aggravated by the draft of pre-Pearl Harbor fathers into military service. It is up to the federal government to make provision for the extreme hardships which will be created.

The proposal of the national CIO to increase military allot-

ments to mothers will, if enacted into law, go a long way toward alleviating these hardships. It would provide \$60 to the mother and \$30 for each child, instead of the present allotment of \$50 to the mother, \$12 for the first child, and \$10 for each additional child. This proposal should receive our vigorous support.

Adequate military allotments, however, are not a substitute for an adequate child care program. Manpower needs require that mothers must work, and in some cases even mothers with children under 2 years may have to be called upon, when these women possess critical skills.

The apparent inability of the present governmental machinery to cope with the child care problem points to the need for a new orientation and more competent methods to deal with it.

Here, as in other phases of the war program, we suffer from lack of centralized planning and authority. The urgency of the situation and the welfare of our youngsters calls for the immediate establishment of a planned, coordinated program by the federal government which will draw upon state and local resources to put into operation a program which can catch up to present need and anticipate future requirements.

The definite responsibility, along with the funds and personnel necessary for administration, should be given to some single agency, to develop the essential state and community cooperation and, where necessary, actually to establish and operate child care centers. Unless these steps are taken, California's women will not be able to make their maximum contribution to the war effort.

YOUTH IN INDUSTRY

THE problem of wartime child labor presents an example of how the Warren administration has undermined the war policies of the federal government.

Under the guise of meeting war production needs, Governor Warren and the reactionary majority of the state Legislature maneuvered adoption of a bill allowing the governor to relax all child labor and school attendance laws in California during the war.

This act was in direct violation of the announced policy of the War Manpower Commission and other government agencies dealing with wartime youth employment. It violates the very first provision of the War Manpower Commission statement of policy which says no federal or state legislation on child labor or school attendance should be relaxed during the war.

The act represents the most sweeping relaxation of child labor laws yet passed in any state.

Extremely Broad Powers

The act gives the Governor power to relax regulations barring minors under 18 from night work or from work in excess of eight hours a day or 48 hours a week. He can relax regulations which now prevent minors under 16 from working in certain specified hazardous occupations, such as work with moving machinery.

He can also abrogate provisions guaranteeing continued education of youth to the age of 16 or 18.

The act ignores the long-range viewpoint with which the federal agencies are regarding the problem of wartime child labor.

The federal government recognizes the fact that the youth of America constitute her reservoir of manpower for all future needs—both civilian and military.

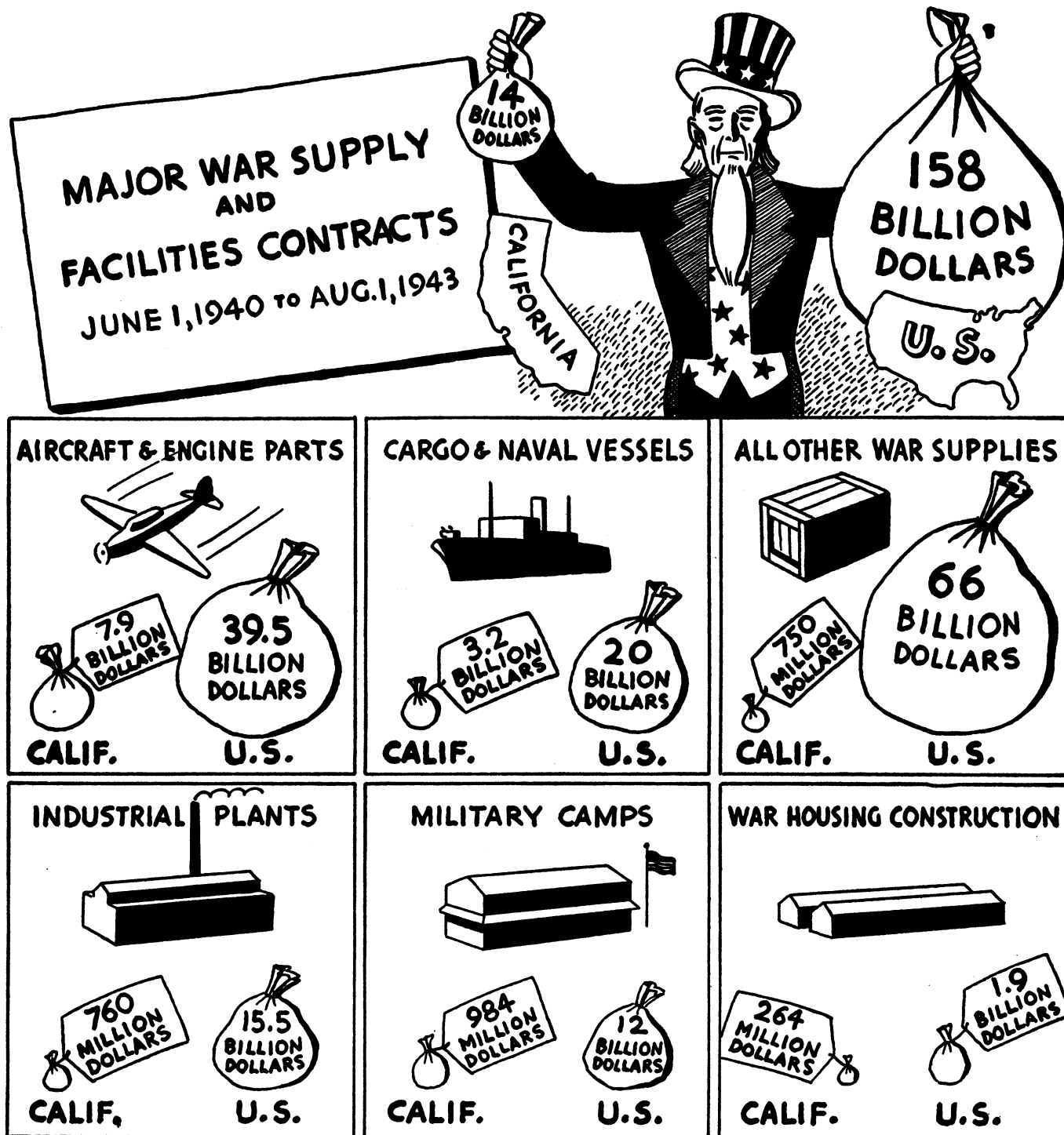
The federal policy recognizes the fact that if young people are employed without proper safeguards for their health, safety and welfare or at too early an age, war production itself is hampered.

Increased accidents, ill health, absenteeism are the inevitable results of a shortsighted policy which provides for wholesale

relaxation of child labor laws which at best are only fair when compared to those of other states.

The relaxation act which California's powerful employer interests jammed through the state Legislature threatens to cut production and jeopardize what the Children's bureau of the Department of Labor has termed our "irreplaceable source of future manpower."

Tendency of the new law is to aggravate already existing problems which must be solved if youth employment is to be utilized properly in the war effort.



Cautious To Date

To date Warren has been extremely cautious in his use of the broad powers granted him by the act. He has laid down no policy. He hasn't declared what emergencies make relaxations justifiable. He's simply said that each case will be handled individually.

He has even denied one request for relaxation by an extremely powerful employer—the canners. The canners sought in midsummer to obtain permission to work minor girls longer than eight hours a day and after 10 p.m. at night. They were refused permission.

The problem created by this act places a definite responsibility on the shoulders of the labor movement, which has stood historically for the protection of youth.

In recognition of this responsibility, the Executive Board therefore recommends:

1. Endorsement of the policies of the War Manpower Commission and the Children's bureau of the Department of Labor concerning the employment of minors in wartime.
2. Repeal of the Minors Emergency War Employment act of California.
3. That so long as the act is in force Governor Warren be requested to (a) relax child labor laws only with the consent of the union involved and (b) appoint an advisory committee including union and parent-teacher representatives to determine policy and pass on applications for relaxation.
4. That all shop stewards become familiar with child labor laws and insist upon their enforcement.
5. Endorsement of the "four-four" plan which provides for employment of 16- to 18-year-old youth in war industries four hours a day with the other four hours spent in school.
6. Endorsement also of the "forty-and-eight" plan of the California State Apprenticeship council which provides for the apprenticing of youth of 16 to 18 on a basis of 40 hours work in the trade a week and eight hours' related training in school, with a high school diploma at the end of two years.

STATE AGENCIES

DESPITE the state's war lethargy, some effective work has been done with state agencies by the California CIO Council.

Of the state agencies directly concerning labor, contact has been maintained with the state Department of Industrial Relations. The officers of the Council met with the new director of industrial relations on one occasion to discuss the standards to be followed by the department in granting relaxation of the protective legislation for women and minors.

The Council was involved in the concluding hearings before the Industrial Welfare Commission on minimum wages for women and minors, and an outstanding victory which was scored by the state Council was the abolition of a differential in the minimum wages for telegraph company messengers, in cooperation with the American Communications Assn.

At the present time the Industrial Welfare Commission has concluded the revision of all the minimum wage orders and is contemplating the revision of the sanitary order, which has not been overhauled for 20 years.

The state Council actively supported the work of the Industrial Hygiene division of the state Department of Public

Health and prepared an extensive memorandum for Governor Warren on the subject of industrial hygiene. Some of the recommendations of the state council have been adopted, and a limited appropriation for the important work of the Division of Industrial Hygiene has been earmarked by the Legislature.

The former state Defense council, now reorganized as the state War council, could make a vital contribution to victory. But the War council has excluded labor from any kind of participation. It has failed to coordinate its activities with the work of the federal agencies and has busied itself exclusively with matters of California's internal security.

The War council did nothing substantial toward the establishment of child care centers. Its activities have been shrouded with considerable secrecy, and there is no awareness by the workers that the state War council is trying to do anything about the state's numerous war problems.

The California CIO Council received considerable cooperation from the Division of Labor Statistics & Law Enforcement, particularly from its principal statistician and his assistant. This division has geared its activities to the war activities more than any other state agency.

Unemployment Fund Raid

Probably the most serious development in the state government from labor's viewpoint was the sneak play which threatens to rob the workers of unemployment benefit protection.

That fund is administered by the state Employment commission. Before this last legislative session the commission was a five-man body with balanced representation of workers, employers and the public. Labor had two representatives on the commission and was satisfied with its performance.

With a war on and a tremendous shortage of manpower, the workers haven't been worried much about jobless benefits. Selfish employer interests tried to take advantage of that fact to put across legislation which would have deprived large groups of workers of unemployed benefits.

Spearheaded by the CIO, the labor movement blocked attempts to juggle definitions of agricultural labor so as to exclude 100,000 workers; hedge definitions of "suitable employment" and "voluntary quitting" so as to block benefits to workers with good reasons for quitting or refusing jobs, and eliminate entirely seasonal workers or those employed through union hiring halls.

But the selfish interests did succeed in putting over an amendment which changed the representative character of the state Employment commission and knocked out the labor representation. And in so doing they have made it possible to use the commission, which has broad powers, to sabotage unemployment benefits even more drastically than would the proposer legislation which was blocked.

Already the new appointees to the commission have acted to deprive seamen of unemployment insurance, reversing one of the last acts of the old commission.

It's Our Program

With practically universal employment and higher dollar earnings, payments are flooding into the unemployment benefit fund, and checks to unemployed workers have been reduced to a mere trickle. In August of this year the number of weeks of compensated unemployment was 86 per cent less than a year ago.

The result is that the balance in the fund has grown in

two years from \$185,000,000 to \$407,000,000. If the war lasts two years more the fund will probably top \$800,000,000.

It was labor which fought for this program, not the employers. It is *our* program. And there may soon be close to half a million dollars of *our* money in that fund. We want *our* people in there to protect that program and that money.

The amendment which cut out the heart of the program by cutting out labor representation was a phoney amendment. And the Governor's action in signing that amendment and thereby making it law was a phoney action.

The California CIO Council demands that this action of the State Legislature be set aside and that labor representation on the state Employment Commission be restored.

Recommendations

Based upon the facts and conclusions contained in this report, the Executive Board recommends that the convention take action as follows:

General

1. Adopt a policy statement which calls upon the governments of the United States and Great Britain to open immediately a second land front in Western Europe.
2. Adopt a policy statement which calls upon the government of Great Britain to grant immediate freedom to the people of India, and to assist India in setting up a democratic system of self-government.
3. Adopt a policy statement which calls upon the labor movements of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the other countries of the United Nations in which free trade unions exist, to call, before the end of the war, an international conference of labor for the purpose of organizing a world congress of labor to insure that the objectives for which the common people are fighting this war are realized and to guarantee that free trade unions, collective bargaining and democracy will exist in all countries of the world after the war is won.
4. Adopt a statement calling upon President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Hull to include CIO President Philip Murray among American representatives at the peace table.
5. Adoption of a statement which calls for the appointment of labor representatives in the President's cabinet and to principal policy-making and administrative posts in all agencies of the federal government, and which makes a specific reference to the following points:
 - a. Appointment of a bona fide labor leader as Secretary of Labor;
 - b. Appointment of labor representatives to top policy-making posts in the State Department, and as United States ambassadors and consular representatives.
 - c. Appointment of a man or woman from labor as chairman of the Social Security Board, and placing of labor representatives in the top policy-making and administrative posts in that agency.
 - d. Appointment of a CIO representative as a member of the War Mobilization Committee and the placing of labor men and women in principal policy-making and administrative posts in the Office of War Mobilization.
6. Adopt a policy statement which:
 - a. calls upon Congress to approve labor's post-war objectives as set forth on pages 9 to 11 of this report, and which also requests Congress and the President to set up a postwar planning agency of the federal government which is instructed to work out practical policies, plans and programs which will insure that these objectives are realized.
 - b. calls upon all CIO unions to assist in the placement and rehabilitation of all those demobilized from the armed services.
7. Adoption of a policy statement which calls upon the national CIO, AFL and Railroad unions to continue and bring to a successful conclusion the negotiations for the achievement of organic unity of the American labor movement, and which pledges the CIO in California, pending the conclusion of such negotiations, to continue and accelerate its efforts to work together with all legitimate groups of labor in this state on all issues of common interest, and particularly in the field of political action.
8. Approval of the establishment by the Executive Board of a new standing committee, to be known as the California CIO Postwar Planning committee. The functions of this committee to include the development of postwar plans and programs in accordance with the objectives set forth on pages 9 to 11 of this report.
9. Adoption of a statement lauding the outstanding and brilliant leadership of Philip Murray as President of the CIO, pledging the full support of the California CIO to President Murray, and expressing our desire that he continue as the leader of our national organization.
10. Adopt a policy statement reaffirming the unconditional CIO NO STRIKE pledge.

Legislative and Political Action

11. Call upon every CIO local union and council in California immediately to set up a Political Action committee, and to send the names and addresses of each member of every political action committee to the office of the California CIO Council.
12. Call upon all local unions and councils to complete the distribution to every CIO member in California of the pamphlet "Your War Job—SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT," which contains California CIO's political action program and objectives.
13. In recognition of the fact that the CIO, to build the most effective structure for political action, must adapt its political activity and organization to already existing subdivisions, such as assembly and congressional

districts, it is recommended that the greatest emphasis in organizing for political action be placed on working within neighborhoods, precincts and other political subdivisions.

14. The period between January 1 and March 23, 1944, be devoted to an intensive registration campaign. This campaign to have two phases: (a) registration of every eligible CIO member as a voter, and, (b) selective registration of groups where CIO has influence, such as in Negro and Mexican communities and among newly-arrived war workers. In this campaign CIO members and committees, after completing the registration of CIO members and their families, should make every effort to insure that every eligible voter in their neighborhood or precinct is also registered.
15. An immediate intensification of the drive to collect political action funds. Political action committees of local CIO unions and councils should assume major responsibility for contacting members and unions to insure maximum participation in the fund-raising campaign.
16. Adopt a policy statement which praises the policies, record and actions of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and which calls upon him, as a duty to his country, to accept nomination for a fourth term.
17. Adopt a statement which calls upon Congress to repeal, in its entirety, the vicious, anti-war, anti-labor Smith-Connally War Labor Disputes law.
18. Adopt a statement which calls upon Congress to pass legislation which will absolutely guarantee the rollback of prices to the level of Sept. 15, 1942. Such legislation should provide for the payment of any subsidies which may be necessary to achieve price rollbacks and the increases in production of essential foods, as well as for the appropriation of funds sufficient to enable the enforcement agencies, particularly OPA, to function properly and effectively.
19. Adopt a statement which will notify Congress, War Mobilization Director Byrnes, Economic Stabilization Director Fred Vinson, OPA Administrator Prentiss Brown, the War Labor Board and President Roosevelt that if Congress does not adopt legislation which brings about the rollback of prices to the Sept. 15, 1942, level and provide the necessary subsidies and other means for doing this job, or if Congress adopts a federal sales tax, the CIO will call upon all labor and its friends to demand the revision of the "Little Steel" formula so that wage adjustments can be made which will bring wages up to the present level of prices.
20. Adopt a statement which calls upon the U. S. Senate to vote the repeal of the poll tax laws, and which calls upon Senators Hiram Johnson and Sheridan Downey vigorously to support poll tax repeal, by voting for cloture if necessary.
21. Adoption of a statement which calls upon Congress to pass the Wagner-Murray bill for greater social security benefits which is now before Congress.
22. Adopt a statement which calls upon the House of Representatives to disband the un-American, pro-Axis Dies Committee.
23. Adopt a statement which calls upon the House of Representatives to disband the special committee headed by Congressman Howard Smith of Virginia which is now engaged in disrupting and hampering the office of Price Administration and other government agencies
24. Adopt a policy statement which expresses unalterable opposition to any type of federal sales tax and which calls upon Congress to enact a tax bill which conforms to the tax program of the national CIO, as set forth on pages 15 to 17 of this report.
25. Adopt a statement which calls upon the Administration of Governor Earl Warren and upon the California Legislature to take immediate steps to gear the government and agencies of the State of California fully into the nation's war effort, and to pledge and give full and unqualified support to the policies of our wartime Commander-in-Chief, President Franklin D. Roosevelt.
26. Adopt a statement which calls for the amendment of the law creating the State Employment Commission so as to provide that labor representation on this commission will be guaranteed.
27. Adopt a policy statement which calls upon Governor Earl Warren and the California Legislature to take steps necessary to guarantee the placing of qualified labor representatives in top policy-making and administrative posts in all important agencies and departments of the state government.
28. Adopt a policy statement which calls upon the California Legislature to repeal the Minors War Employment Act, adopted by the 1943 session of the Legislature, on the grounds that it conflicts with the policies of the federal government. See section headed "Youth in Industry," page 74.
29. Adopt a statement which calls upon the California state legislature to disband the disruptive Tenney "Little Dies" committee.
30. Formally recognize and continue the Political Action Committee as a standing committee.
31. Reaffirm our support of an adequate old age pension in an amount not less than \$60 at 60; and without restrictive provisions which serve only to discourage thrift and promote needless red tape.

Harry Bridges Victory Campaign

32. Adopt a policy statement which stresses the win-the-war activities of California CIO Director Harry Bridges and the union of which he is international president, the ILWU, which pledges unqualified support to Brother Bridges and to the Bridges Victory Committee, and which calls upon President Roosevelt, in the interests of the war, to end the persecution of Brother Bridges, dismiss all charges against him, and grant to him the right to become a citizen of the United States.
33. Adopt a statement which calls upon all unions which are now making regular weekly or monthly contributions to the Bridges Victory Campaign to continue these contributions, and which urges all unions which are not making regular contributions to do so.

Minorities

34. That international and local unions prepare educational material designed to achieve full understanding of the harmful effects of race discrimination and the necessity of complete unity within the ranks of the CIO.
35. That international and local unions establish Minorities committees for the purpose of aggressively forwarding a program to include:
 - (a) Increased training and job opportunities for the minorities.
 - (b) Upgrading and fair treatment of minorities on the job.
 - (c) Support of the national CIO's position that the doors of all our unions must stand open to all workers, regardless of race or national origin, on the basis of complete equality.
 - (d) Furtherance of community relations in order to weld the unity of all racial and national groups and the union movement.
36. That the Unions provide such implementation in the way of finances, staff and other such resources as may be necessary to put the above program into effect.
37. That the international and local unions' minorities committees work in cooperation with the California CIO Minorities committee to integrate the program on minorities on a statewide basis.
38. That wherever possible, conferences be held in which representatives of CIO unions, management, government agencies, city and county governments and minority groups will meet for the purpose of working out a concrete program for unity of the citizens of California and eliminate discriminatory practices in order to further the war effort.
39. That the convention call for the publication of a tabloid supplement of the LABOR HERALD for the purpose of placing the program of the California CIO Minorities committee before our CIO membership and the people of the state.
40. That the officers of the California CIO Council work out a financial budget in conjunction with the various international unions for the purposes of providing salaries and operating expenses of a northern and southern director for the California CIO Minorities committee.

Organization

41. Adopt a resolution thanking State Director Harry R. Bridges for the splendid cooperation and leadership given to the state CIO Council.
42. Call on all California CIO unions to affiliate to the state Council on the basis of their full membership.
43. Thank the standing committees of the state Council for their untiring and constructive work in the course of the year.
44. Urge every CIO member to increase the purchase of War Bonds.
45. Call upon all CIO unions for 100 per cent participation in the program of the California CIO War Relief committee which calls for the contribution by each

member of one hour's pay per month to the Red Cross and War Relief agencies.

Labor Herald

46. Call to the attention of all affiliated unions the value of the labor press and recommend that every CIO union in California subscribe to the LABOR HERALD for every member.

War Production

47. Adopt a policy statement calling for overall control of the national economy as outlined in the Tolan-Pepper-Kilgore bill, with full labor representation in its administration. (Page 52.)
48. Call on our affiliated organizations to give more active attention to the work of their plant labor-management production committees. (Page 53.)
49. Call on every CIO local union, in cooperation with and in accordance with the policies of its international organization, to give careful and favorable consideration to the establishment of war production wage (incentive pay) plans in plants in which CIO members are employed. (Page 54.)

Manpower

50. Adopt a policy statement on manpower mobilization, explaining shortcomings of the West Coast manpower plan and incorporating the specific amendments necessary to make it work as set forth on page 59.
51. Call on the Manpower Commission to mobilize the resources of the state and local communities to provide adequate child care centers, a comprehensive health and safety program; to institute an intensive campaign for recruitment and training of workers; and to translate its paper program on labor utilization into action. (Page 59.)

War Labor Board

52. Call on the Tenth Regional War Labor Board to improve the administration of its Disputes division. (Page 61.)
53. Urge all local and international unions to develop uniform policies in the presentation of cases to the War Labor Board. (Page 62.)

Price Control

54. Call on the OPA to:
 - (a) Provide for greater labor and other consumer participation in its program. (Page 66.)
 - (b) Appoint labor representatives to policy-making positions. (Page 67.)
 - (c) Streamline its organization, remove all deadwood and put on its staff people who believe in price control. (Page 69.)
 - (d) Roll back the cost of living to the level of Sept. 15, 1942. (Page 67.)
 - (e) Institute an effective enforcement program with consumer participation. To simplify enforcement, dollars-and-cents ceilings should be extended to all cost of living commodities. (Page 68.)

55. Call on municipal and state governments to enact legislation to strengthen OPA enforcement. (Page 68.)
56. Call on Congress to enact legislation providing grade labelling and quality control. (Page 69.)
57. Call on our affiliated organizations to:
 - (a) Press for the State CIO program on price control and rationing which was adopted last April by the state Executive Board. (Page 69.)
 - (b) Strive for broad community support to the CIO price control program through Political Action committees. (Page 70.)

Housing

58. Call on the National Housing Agency to:
 - (a) Cut out needless details in certifying need for war housing. The National Housing Agency should make certifications on the basis of War Manpower Commission recommendations. (Page 71.)
 - (b) Schedule immediately an additional 4,500 war housing units for San Diego and 20,000 units each for Los Angeles and San Francisco. (Page 71.)
59. Call on the Federal Public Housing Authority to improve the living conditions and community facilities on housing projects as set forth on page 72.
60. Call upon FPHA to remove from management of war housing projects local housing authorities who violate the policy of no segregation or who permit racial discrimination in housing projects.
61. Call for adoption of a policy permitting local authorities to get bids and purchase furnishings for projects locally so as to avoid delays of the sort which have kept some projects idle for long periods of time.
62. Call for immediate equipping of child care facilities now available in some projects but not in use because no equipment has been obtained for them.

Food for Victory

63. Request the state CIO Legislative and Political Action committee and directors to:
 - (a) Mobilize the full weight of the CIO's political strength behind such issues as subsidies to food producers against the profiteering machinations of the so-called farm bloc, as set forth on page 72.
 - (b) Form political alliances wherever possible with farm groups which are in accord with the CIO basic win-the-war principles.
64. Call on all CIO locals and councils to lend their full support to Farmers' Free Markets, such as the one established in San Francisco this summer.
65. Call on all CIO unions in the food production, processing and distribution fields to make immediate efforts—if they have not already done so—to establish labor-management committees to work for increased food production.

66. In view of the fact that many thousands of tons of food are likely to spoil or be lost due to manpower shortages, we call for a wide mobilization of voluntary labor for gathering the 1944 harvest.

Child Care

67. Endorse the national CIO proposal to increase military allotments to \$55 for the wife; \$35 for the first child and \$30 for each additional child, as provided by the Sadowski Bill (HR 3343).
68. Call upon the federal government to establish immediately a planned, coordinated program which will draw upon state and local resources to put into operation child care facilities sufficient to meet manpower needs. (Page 74.)
69. Go on record opposing the Thomas bill (S. 1130—the War Area Child Care Act of 1943) which provides a complete change of administrative machinery which would seriously disrupt, if not cancel, the present child care program.

Youth in Industry

70. Endorse the policies of the War Manpower Commission and the Children's bureau of the Department of Labor concerning employment of minors in wartime as a basis for union action.
71. Pending repeal of the Minors War Employment act, call upon Governor Warren to:
 - (a) Relax child labor laws only with the consent of the union involved.
 - (b) Appoint an advisory committee including union and parent-teacher representatives to determine policy and pass upon applications for relaxation.
72. Endorse the "four-four" plan which provides for the employment of 16 to 18 year old youth in aircraft and other war industries for four hours a day with the other four hours spent in school.
73. Endorse the "forty-and-eight" plan of the California State Apprenticeship council which provides for the apprenticing of youth 16 to 18 on a basis of 40 hours' work a week in the trade and eight hours' related training in school with a high school diploma awarded at the end of two years.

Constitutional Amendments

74. That ARTICLE XI, Section 1 (a) of the Constitution of the California CIO Council be amended by amending the words "provided that no Union shall be entitled to more than ten (10) delegates" so that the section will read: "(a) Local Unions shall be entitled to two (2) delegates for the first one hundred members or less and one (1) delegate for each succeeding one hundred (100) members or major fraction thereof, provided that no Union shall be entitled to more than thirty (30) delegates."

Appendix A

Financial Report of the California CIO Council for the Fiscal Year Ending August 31, 1943

TO THE OFFICERS AND AFFILIATES OF
CALIFORNIA CIO COUNCIL
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

The cash accounts and records of the Council have been audited for the fiscal year ended August 31, 1943. Report of the financial transactions is presented herewith:

CASH SUMMARY	
Balance September 1, 1942.....	\$ 8,852.98
Receipts during the year.....	50,055.22
Total	<u>\$58,908.20</u>
Disbursements during the year.....	52,681.08
Balance August 31, 1943.....	<u>\$ 6,227.12</u>

From the records of the Council the following statements have been prepared and are attached hereto:

Exhibit A—Cash Receipts and Disbursements for the year and the balances as at August 31, 1943.

Schedule I—Disbursements in detail for the year.

The audit embraced a verification of recorded income through a comparison of the official receipts issued with the cash book entries, examination of disbursements and supporting vouchers, and reconciliation of funds on hand with the bank's letters of certification.

Exhibit A with Supporting Schedule I correctly reflects, in my opinion, the cash income and expenditures during the fiscal year, and the Council's cash position as at August 31, 1943.

Respectfully submitted,

M. H. BENNETT
Certified Public Accountant
For: NATIONAL LABOR BUREAU

EXHIBIT A

CALIFORNIA CIO COUNCIL STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED AUGUST 31, 1943

Balance On Hand and On Deposit Sept. 1, 1942.... \$8,852.98

Receipts:

Affiliation Fees	\$ 84.00
Per Capita of Affiliates.....	26,934.95
Annual Fees	180.00
Research Department	2,277.65
Convention Registration Fees, 1942..	822.00
Convention Banquet Tickets, 1942..	521.40
American and Allied War Relief	
Repayment	208.32
Minorities Fund	597.10
Legislative Assessments and Dona-	
tions	12,737.06
Donations Philip Murray Meeting..	80.00
Utility Workers Joint Council Loan	
Repaid	300.00
Interest on Savings Account.....	8.54
Sale of Proceedings 1941 Convention	1.50
Sundry Advances Repaid.....	211.17

Refunds, Travel Expenses.....	72.03
Proceeds of Note—Anglo-California	
National Bank	5,000.00
Sundry Miscellaneous Receipts	19.50

Total Receipts

\$50,055.22

Total of Receipts and Balance.....

\$58,908.20

Disbursements—Per Schedule I.....

52,681.08

Balance On Hand and On Deposit Aug. 31, 1943

\$ 6,227.12

Details of Balance:

Anglo-California National Bank — Checking	
Account	\$ 3,216.38
Anglo-California National Bank — Savings	
Account	2,995.74
Office Cash Fund.....	15.00

Total as above.....

\$ 6,227.12

APPENDIX A (Cont.)

SCHEDULE I

STATEMENT OF DISBURSEMENTS

Administrative and General:

Salary of Secretary.....	\$ 3,750.00	
Salary of Office Assistants and Others	2,263.47	
Office Supplies, Expense and Printing	1,839.64	
Rent	288.25	
Office Expense	3,071.26	
Expense—Others	99.76	
Executive Board Meetings and Expense	2,469.29	
Legal Retainer	656.82	
Auditor's Fee	160.00	
Congress of Industrial Organizations	50.00	
Social Security Payments	919.22	
Victory Tax	357.41	
Withholding Tax	174.73	
Furniture and Equipment	295.27	
Votes for Victory Legislative Conference	174.07	
Secretary's Surety Bond	65.62	
Insurance	113.04	
Loan to Utility Workers Joint Council	300.00	
Labor Herald Subscriptions and Editions	355.10	
Loan to CIO Auxiliary	25.00	
Philip Murray Meeting	397.93	
Butchers Meat Program	120.37	
Los Angeles Office Expense	42.65	
Advances and Loans for Repayment	169.17	
Sundry Miscellaneous Items	250.92	
Total Administrative and General		\$18,408.99

Research Department:

Salaries	\$ 7,109.46	
Expense	2,822.53	
Purchase of Equipment	163.10	
Total Research Department		10,095.09

Conventions:

Printing and Publicity—1942	\$ 1,241.88	
Expense—1942	1,703.28	
Salaries—1942	279.42	
Printing and Publicity—1943	44.65	
Expense—1943	77.63	
Total Conventions		3,346.86

Legislative Department:

Printing and Publicity	\$ 1,128.78	
Expense	1,556.39	
Salaries	3,027.92	
Furniture and Equipment	44.84	
Rebate to Los Angeles Council	650.00	
Total Legislative Department		6,407.93

Political Donations—1942 Campaign:

Los Angeles CIO Council	\$ 1,125.00	
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San Francisco CIO Council	2,737.05	
Contra Costa CIO Council	84.76	
Alameda County CIO Council	300.00	
Labor United Campaign Committee	1,000.00	
Democratic City Central Committee	1,000.00	
24th District Assembly Club	250.00	
Lester McMillan	50.00	
Garrett Press—Tabloid	484.10	
Democratic Central Committee Northern California	1,000.00	
Century Distributing Co.	300.00	
San Mateo Democratic Central Committee	250.00	

Total Political Donations..... \$ 8,580.91

Labor Herald:

Cash Advances	\$ 3,450.00	
Salary and Expense of Don Healy	322.15	
Audit Fee	25.00	
City and County Tax	2.39	
Addressograph Sales Co.	749.53	

Total Labor Herald..... 4,549.07

Minorities Committee:

Salaries	\$ 360.00	
Expense	140.18	
Printing	111.72	
Furniture	22.04	

Total Minorities Committee..... 633.94

Donations:

Unity for Victory Committee	\$ 100.00	
Tom Mooney Assistance	50.00	
CIO Auxiliary Council	100.00	
Pacific Gas & Electric Drive	880.00	
Christmas Gifts	20.00	
Contributions to Joint Committee L. A. Council	225.00	
United Electrical and Radio Workers	25.00	
Harry Bridges Defense Committee	100.00	
CIO Victory Ball	25.00	
Basic Magnesium Employees No. 629	50.00	
Chinese Press—Advertisement	12.50	
Currier Du Pacifique — Advertisement	12.50	
Labor Herald Price Control Edition	127.72	

Total Donations..... 1,727.72

Total \$53,750.51

Less Withholdings from Salaries:

Social Security and Unemployment	\$ 306.11	
Victory Tax	358.90	
Federal Income Tax	404.42	

Total Withholdings..... 1,069.43

Total Disbursements as Per Exhibit A.....

\$52,681.08

Appendix B

Record of Participation by CIO Unions in Principal CIO Activities in California (as of August 31, 1944)

	Affiliated to State Council	Affiliated to Local Council	Subscription to Labor Herald	Donation Bridges Victory Committee	Donation American and Allied War Relief
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WRKRS.					
Los Angeles Jt. Brd.	★	---	★	★	★
No. 42—SF	★	★	---	---	★
No. 81 Journeymen—LA	---	★	---	---	---
No. 107—Sacramento	---	---	---	---	---
No. 108—San Jose	---	★	---	★	★
No. 268 Clean. & Dyers—LA	★	★	---	★	★
No. 255—Long Beach	---	---	---	---	---
No. 278—LA	★	★	---	---	★
No. 297 Bushelmen—LA	---	---	---	---	---
No. 357—Laundry Wrkrs.—La	★	★	---	---	---
No. 288—San Diego	---	---	---	---	---
No. 372 Leather Garmt.—LA	---	---	---	---	---
No. 408 Sportswear—LA	★	★	---	---	★
TOTAL	6	7	1	3	6
AMERICAN COMMUNICATIONS ASSN.					
No. 3 Marine—SF	★	★	---	---	---
No. 9 Radio & Cables—SF	★	★	---	★	★
No. 30 Telegraph—SF	★	★	★	★	★
No. 32 Telegraph—LA	★	★	---	★	---
No. 101 Telephone—Sacram.	★	★	★	---	★
No. 103—Los Angeles	---	---	---	---	---
TOTAL	5	5	2	3	3
AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD					
No. 69—Los Angeles	★	★	---	★	★
Sacramento Valley	★	★	---	---	---
SF-Oak. No. 52	★	★	---	★	★
San Jose No. 98	★	★	★	---	★
San Diego No. 95	★	★	---	---	---
Stockton	---	★	---	---	★
TOTAL	5	6	1	2	4
FEDERATION ARCHITECTS, ENGINEERS, CHEMISTS & TECHNICIANS					
No. 25 Oakland	★	★	★	---	---
No. 36 Contra Costa	★	★	---	★	★
No. 205 Los Angeles	★	★	---	---	★
TOTAL	3	3	1	1	2
INDUSTRIAL UNION MARINE & SHIP- BUILDING WRKRS. OF AMER.					
No. 9 San Pedro	★	★	---	★	★
No. 52 Newport Beach	---	★	---	---	★
TOTAL	1	2	---	1	2
INLANDBOATMEN'S UNION OF THE PACIFIC					
Bay Region Division	★	★	★	★	---
San Pedro Local	★	★	---	---	---
San Diego Local	---	★	---	---	---
TOTAL	2	3	1	1	---

APPENDIX B (Cont.)

	Affiliated to State Council	Affiliated to Local Council	Subscription to Labor Herald	Donation Bridges Victory Committee	Donation American and Allied War Relief
INTL. FISHERMEN & ALLIED WORKERS OF AMERICA					
Alaska Fish.—SF	★	★	★	★	—
No. 9 Newport Beach	—	—	—	—	—
No. 33 San Pedro	★	★	★	★	★
No. 34 San Francisco	★	★	—	★	★
No. 35 Pittsburg	★	★	—	—	★
No. 36 Newport Beach	—	—	—	—	—
No. 38 Eureka	★	—	—	—	—
No. 39 Crescent City	—	—	—	—	—
No. 40 Fort Bragg	★	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	6	4	2	3	3
INTL. FUR & LEATHER WRKRS.					
No. 79 San Francisco	★	★	★	★	★
No. 87 Los Angeles	★	★	—	★	★
No. 213 Leather Div.—LA	—	★	—	★	—
TOTAL	2	3	1	3	2
INTL. LONGSHOREMEN'S & WAREHOUSEMEN'S UNION					
No. 2 Ship Scalers—SF	★	★	—	★	★
No. 6 Warehousemen—SF	★	★	★	★	★
No. 10 Longshoremen—SF	★	★	★	★	★
No. 13 Longshore—San Pedro	★	★	★	★	★
No. 14 Longshore—Eureka	★	—	—	—	—
No. 17 Warehouse—Sacramento	★	★	★	★	★
No. 26 Warehouse—LA	★	★	★	★	★
No. 29 Longshore—San Diego	★	★	—	—	★
No. 30 Ship Clerks—Stockton	★	★	—	★	—
No. 34 Dock Checkers—SF	★	★	★	★	★
No. 38 Warehouse—San Diego	—	★	—	★	—
No. 46 Longshore—Santa Barbara	—	—	—	—	—
No. 54 Longshore—Stockton	★	★	★	★	—
No. 56 Ship Scalers—San Pedro	★	★	—	—	—
No. 63 Marine Clerks—Wilmington	★	★	—	★	—
No. 77 Longshore—Ft. Bragg	★	—	—	★	★
TOTAL	14	13	7	13	9
INTL. UNION MINE, MILL & SMELTER WORKERS OF AMERICA					
No. 50 Golden Gate—SF	★	★	★	★	★
No. 51 Carquinez—Selby	★	★	★	★	★
No. 263 Hercules	★	★	★	—	—
No. 266 Chem. Wrks.—El Cerrito	★	★	★	—	—
No. 319 Clay Wrks.—Niles	★	★	★	★	★
No. 356 Cowell—Concord	★	★	—	—	—
No. 391 Firebrick—Stockton	★	★	★	★	—
No. 414 Alkaline—Trona	★	—	—	★	★
No. 508 Bald Eagle—Gustine	★	★	—	—	★
No. 511 Red Mountain—Livermore	★	★	—	★	★
No. 519 Chem. Exp.—Hayward	★	★	—	—	★
No. 542 Sonora	—	—	—	—	—
No. 550 Monolith—Tehachapi	—	—	★	—	—
No. 608 Sonoma—Guerneville	★	—	★	★	★
No. 609 Alcoa—Torrance	—	—	—	—	—
No. 630 Phelps Dodge—LA	★	—	—	—	—
No. 631 Mont. Line—Pac. Grove	★	—	★	—	★
No. 634 West. Min.—Middletown	—	—	—	—	—
No. 700 West. Mechanics—LA	★	★	★	★	★
TOTAL	15	11	10	8	10

APPENDIX B (Cont.)

	Affiliated to State Council	Affiliated to Local Council	Subscription to Labor Herald	Donation Bridges Victory Committee	Donation American and Allied War Relief
INTERNATIONAL WOODWORKERS OF AMERICA					
No. 6-28 Portola	★	★	---	---	---
No. 64 White Horse	★	---	---	---	★
No. 6-215 Quincy-Plumas	★	★	---	---	---
No. 6-269 Burney, Shasta	★	★	---	★	---
No. 6-286 Pino Grande	★	★	---	---	---
No. 338 No. Sacramento	---	★	---	---	---
No. 350 Graeagle	★	---	---	★	★
No. 370 Susanville	---	---	---	---	---
No. 372 Greenville	---	---	---	---	---
No. 365 Clipper Mills	---	---	---	---	---
No. 6-328 McCloud	---	---	---	---	---
TOTAL	7	5	---	2	2
LOCAL INDUSTRIAL UNION— NEWS VENDORS					
No. 75 Newsboys—LA	★	★	---	★	★
No. 768 Newsboys—Oakland	★	★	---	★	★
TOTAL	2	2	---	2	2
MARINE COOKS & STEWARDS					
San Fran.—San Pedro	★	★	---	★	---
TOTAL	1	1	---	1	---
MARINE ENGINEERS BENEFICIAL ASSN.					
San Francisco	---	★	---	★	---
San Pedro	---	---	---	---	---
TOTAL	---	1	---	1	---
NATIONAL MARITIME UNION					
San Fran.—San Pedro	★	★	★	★	---
TOTAL	1	1	1	1	---
OIL WORKERS INT. UNION					
OWIU Dist. Council No. 1	★	---	---	---	---
No. 2 Coalinga-Avenal	★	---	---	---	---
No. 5 Shell Oil—Martinez	★	★	★	★	---
No. 6 Taft	---	---	---	---	---
No. 19 Kern River—Bakersfield	★	---	---	★	---
No. 128 Long Beach	★	★	★	★	★
No. 120 Ventura Local	★	---	★	★	---
No. 326 Union Oil—Oleum	★	★	---	★	★
No. 356 Fresno	★	---	★	---	---
No. 445 Avon	★	---	★	---	★
No. 374 Oilfields	---	---	---	---	---
No. 1001 Std. Oil—El Segundo	★	★	★	---	---
No. 1007 Std. Oil—Richmond	★	---	★	---	---
No. 1008 Union Oil—Long Beach	---	---	---	---	★
TOTAL	11	4	7	5	4

APPENDIX B (Cont.)

	Affiliated to State Council	Affiliated to Local Council	Subscription to Labor Herald	Donation Bridges Victory Committee	Donation American and Allied War Relief
STATE, COUNTY, MUNICIPAL WRKRS.					
No. 87 San Diego	★	★	---	---	---
No. 218 Harbor—Wilmington	---	★	---	---	---
No. 228 San Francisco	★	★	---	---	★
No. 246 Los Angeles	★	★	---	★	★
No. 309 Alameda County	★	★	---	★	★
No. 324 Berkeley	★	★	---	★	★
No. 360 Torrance	★	★	---	★	★
No. 475 El Segundo	---	---	---	★	---
No. 503 SF City Emp.	---	---	---	---	---
No. 510 Oakland	★	★	---	---	---
TOTAL	7	8	---	5	5
TEXTILE WORKERS UNION AMER.					
Bay Area Jt. Brd.—SF	★	---	---	---	---
No. 43 Amer. Fed. Hosiery	★	---	---	---	---
No. 71 San Francisco	★	★	★	---	★
No. 99 Los Angeles	★	★	---	---	★
No. 146 Oakland	★	★	★	★	★
No. 158 San Francisco	★	★	★	★	★
No. 223 Eureka	★	---	---	---	---
TOTAL	7	4	3	2	4
TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION AMER.					
No. 156 Los Angeles	★	★	---	---	---
TOTAL	1	1	---	---	---
INTL. UNION UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AIRCRAFT & AGRIC. IMP. WRKRS.					
District Council No. 5—LA	★	---	---	★	---
No. 17 Los Angeles	★	★	---	---	---
No. 21 Northrup—Hawthorne	★	---	---	---	---
No. 24 Bendix Cirus—Palms	★	---	---	★	★
No. 71 Thompson Prod.—LA	---	---	---	---	---
No. 76 Oakland	★	★	★	★	★
No. 146	---	★	---	---	★
No. 148 Douglas—Long Beach	★	★	---	---	---
No. 215 Willys Local—Bell	---	★	---	---	---
No. 216 Genl. Motors—Southg.	★	★	---	---	---
No. 230 Chrysler—Maywood	★	★	★	---	★
No. 255 Studebaker—LA	★	---	---	---	---
No. 271 San Francisco	★	★	★	★	★
No. 406 Ford—Long Beach	★	★	★	---	---
No. 506 San Diego	★	★	---	---	---
No. 509 Amal.—LA	★	★	★	★	★
No. 560 Ford—Richmond	★	★	★	★	★
No. 683 West. Aero.—LA	---	---	---	---	---
No. 808 Aluminum—Vernon	★	---	---	---	---
No. 809 LA Young—LA	★	---	★	---	★
No. 811 Truck & Trl.—LA	★	★	★	---	★
No. 887 No. Amer. Inglewood	★	★	---	★	★
No. 904 Vultee—Downey	★	★	---	★	★
TOTAL	19	15	8	8	11
UNITED PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS OF AMERICA					
PWOC Council of LA	★	★	---	★	---
No. 12 Armour Local—LA	★	★	---	★	---
No. 67 Swift—LA	★	★	---	---	---
No. 68 Stockhandlers—Mayw.	★	★	---	---	---
No. 107 Cudahy—Los Angeles	★	★	---	★	---
No. 137 Egg & Pltry.—LA	★	---	---	---	---
No. 200 Wilson—LA	★	---	---	---	---
TOTAL	7	5	---	3	---

APPENDIX B (Cont.)

	Affiliated to State Council	Affiliated to Local Council	Subscription to Labor Herald	Donation Bridges Victory Committee	Donation American and Allied War Relief
UNITED CANNERY, AGRICULTURAL PACKING & ALLIED WORKERS					
No. 2 Fullerton	★	---	---	---	---
No. 3 United Food—LA	★	★	---	★	★
No. 5 Alaska Cannery—SF	★	★	---	★	---
No. 5-1 Food Proc.—SF	---	★	---	---	---
No. 33 Sacramento	★	---	---	---	---
No. 64 Fish Cannery—San D.	★	★	---	---	---
No. 78 Shed Workers—Salinas	★	---	---	★	★
No. 254 Fresno	★	---	---	---	---
No. 272 Bakersfield	---	---	---	---	---
TOTAL	7	4	---	3	2
UNITED FEDERAL WORKERS					
Bay Area Council	★	---	---	---	---
No. 44 LA	---	★	---	---	---
No. 136-1 San Francisco	---	---	---	---	---
No. 136-2 San Francisco	★	★	---	---	---
No. 151 San Francisco	★	★	---	★	★
No. 153 San Fernando	---	---	---	---	---
No. 155 Livermore	★	★	---	---	★
No. 188 Los Angeles	---	★	---	★	---
No. 191 Los Angeles	---	★	---	---	---
No. 223 San Francisco	★	★	---	★	---
No. 231 Alcatraz	---	---	---	---	---
No. 158	---	---	---	---	★
TOTAL	5	7	---	3	3
UNITED ELECTRICAL RADIO MACHINE WORKERS					
No. 1012 GE—Ontario	★	---	---	---	---
No. 1400 SF	★	★	★	★	★
No. 1412 Oakland	★	★	★	★	★
No. 1421 LA	★	★	★	★	★
TOTAL	4	3	3	3	3
UNITED FURNITURE WORKERS					
No. 262 SF	★	★	---	★	★
No. 576 LA	★	★	---	★	★
No. 577 San Diego	★	★	★	★	★
TOTAL	3	3	1	3	3
UNITED OFFICE & PROFESSIONAL WRKRS.					
No. 9 LA	★	★	★	★	★
No. 34 SF	★	★	---	★	★
TOTAL	2	2	1	2	2

APPENDIX B (Cont.)

	Affiliated to State Council	Affiliated to Local Council	Subscription to Labor Herald	Donation Bridges Victory Committee	Donation American and Allied War Relief
UNITED RUBBER WORKERS					
No. 43 Goodrich—LA	★	★	—	★	★
No. 44 U. S. Rubber—LA	★	★	—	—	★
No. 60 Pioneer—Pitts.	★	★	—	—	—
No. 64 Pac. Rubber—Oakland	★	★	—	—	—
No. 78 Amer. Rub.—Oakland	—	★	—	—	—
No. 96 SF	—	★	★	—	—
No. 100 Firestone—LA	★	★	—	★	★
No. 117 LA	★	★	—	—	—
No. 131 Goodyear—LA	★	★	—	—	★
No. 141 Pac. Rubber—LA	★	★	—	—	—
No. 146 Torrance	★	★	—	—	★
No. 157 LA	—	★	—	★	—
No. 158 Long Beach	★	★	—	—	★
No. 225 Voit LA	—	—	—	—	★
No. 228 Toyad—LA	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	10	13	1	3	7
UNITED TRANSPORT SERVICE EMPLOYEES OF AMER.					
No. 303 Redcaps—LA	★	★	—	—	—
No. 902—LA	★	★	—	—	—
No. 904—Oakland	★	★	—	—	—
905 SF	★	★	—	★	—
907 Sacramento	★	★	—	—	—
TOTAL	5	5	—	1	—
UNITED SHOE WORKERS					
112 Repairers—LA	—	★	—	—	—
112 Manufacturing—LA	★	★	—	—	—
TOTAL	1	2	1	1	1
UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA					
No. 1069 So. SF	★	★	★	★	★
No. 1304 Oakland	★	★	★	★	★
No. 1304 Of. Wrkrs. Unit	★	★	★	★	—
No. 1414 Torrance	★	★	★	★	★
No. 1440 Pittsburg	★	★	—	★	★
No. 1441 Judson Steel	★	★	★	★	—
No. 1502 LA	★	★	—	★	★
No. 1547 LA	★	★	—	★	★
No. 1549 LA	★	★	★	—	★
No. 1586 Sacramento	★	★	★	★	—
No. 1684 SF	★	★	★	★	★
No. 1798 Oakland	★	★	★	★	★
No. 1835 San Jose	★	★	—	—	★
No. 1845 LA	★	★	★	—	★
No. 1927 Southgate	—	★	—	★	★
No. 1981 Maywood	★	★	—	—	★
No. 1986 LA	★	★	—	—	★
No. 2018 Maywood	★	★	—	—	★
No. 2029 Maywood	—	—	—	—	—
No. 2058 LA	★	★	★	★	★
No. 2172 Bell Gardens	★	—	—	—	★
No. 2273 Compton	—	★	—	—	—
No. 2470 Torrance	★	★	—	★	★
No. 2571 Pittsburg	—	—	—	—	—
No. 2579 Pac. Grove	—	—	—	—	—
No. 2586 Torrance	—	—	—	—	★
No. 2869 Fontana	—	—	—	—	—
No. 2872 Maywood	—	★	—	—	★
TOTAL	20	22	9	13	20

APPENDIX B (Cont.)

	Affiliated to State Council	Affiliated to Local Council	Subscription to Labor Herald	Donation Bridges Victory Committee	Donation American and Allied War Relief
UTILITY WORKERS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE					
Utilities Union Council, So. Cal.—LA.....	★	★	---	---	---
Gas & Elec. Jt. Council—SF-Oak.....	★	★	---	★	---
No. 1420 Pac. Electric, LA.....	★	★	---	---	---
No. 114 So. Cal. Gas—Van Nuys.....	★	★	---	---	---
No. 132 So. Cal. Gas—LA.....	★	★	★	★	---
No. 133 PG&E—SF.....	★	★	★	★	★
No. 134 PG&E—Oakland.....	★	★	★	★	★
No. 135 PG&E—Napa.....	★	---	★	---	★
No. 136 PG&E—San Jose.....	★	★	★	---	★
No. 137 PG&E—Red. City.....	★	★	★	---	---
No. 151 So. Cal. Gas—LA.....	★	★	★	---	---
No. 152 So. Cal. Gas—Compton.....	---	★	---	---	---
No. 160 Calif. Water Service.....	★	★	---	---	---
No. 160-B So. Cal. Gas—Calif. Water Service, Concord.....	---	★	---	---	★
No. 160-C So. Cal. Gas—Calif. Water Service, San Mateo.....	★	---	★	---	---
No. 168 So. Cal. Gas—Glendale.....	★	★	---	---	---
No. 169 PG&E—Concord.....	★	★	★	★	★
No. 170 So. Cal. Gas—Bakersfield.....	★	---	---	★	---
No. 193 So. Cal. Gas—Taft.....	★	---	---	★	---
No. 205 Calif. Water Service, Bakersfield.....	★	---	★	---	---
No. 233 PG&E—Bakersfield.....	★	---	---	---	---
No. 236 PG&E.....	★	---	★	---	---
No. 241 PG&E.....	★	---	★	---	---
No. 243 So. Cal. Gas—San Bernardino.....	★	---	---	---	---
No. 246 Edison—Long Beach.....	★	★	---	★	---
No. 250 Edison—Santa Monica.....	★	---	---	---	---
No. 259 San Jose Water Works.....	---	★	---	---	---
No. 269 PG&E—Merced.....	★	---	★	---	---
No. 272 Dominquez Water Co.—Long Beach.....	★	★	---	---	---
No. 279 Avenal.....	★	---	---	---	---
No. 282 So. Cal. Gas—Newhall.....	★	---	---	---	---
No. 283 Los Angeles.....	★	★	---	---	---
No. 289 Western Water Co.—Taft.....	★	---	---	---	---
TOTAL.....	29	13	12	7	---

Total Affiliated Industrial Councils..... 8

District Councils & Joint Boards..... 9

Locals..... 197

214

Appendix C

RECAPITULATION OF NLRB ELECTIONS IN CALIFORNIA

JULY 1, 1942 THROUGH JUNE 30, 1943

	7/1/42 through 12/31/42	1/1/43 through 6/30/43	TOTAL
Total number of NLRB elections held.....	106	121	227
Elections participated in by AFL.....	75	82	157
Won by AFL.....	46	48	94
Elections participated in by CIO.....	58	57	115
Won by CIO.....	37	35	72
Elections participated in by unaffiliated, independent and company unions.....	19	24	43
Elections won	11	15	26
Elections participated in by both AFL and CIO.....	31	25	56
Won by AFL.....	18	9	27
Won by CIO.....	12	13	25
Total number of votes cast in above elections.....	15,455	28,627	44,082
Total votes cast for AFL.....	5,711	10,227	15,938
Total votes cast for CIO.....	4,820	7,609	12,429
Total votes cast for unaffiliated, independent and company unions.....	1,597	2,136	3,733
TOTAL VOTES CAST FOR ALL UNIONS.....	12,128	19,972	32,100
TOTAL VOTES CAST AGAINST ALL UNIONS.....	3,327	8,655	11,982

RECAPITULATION OF NLRB ELECTIONS IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

JULY 1, 1942 THROUGH JUNE 30, 1943

	7/1/42 through 12/31/42	1/1/43 through 6/30/43	TOTAL
Total number of NLRB elections held.....	81	78	159
Elections participated in by AFL.....	52	51	103
Won by AFL.....	30	27	57
Elections participated in by CIO.....	42	38	80
Won by CIO.....	30	24	54
Elections participated in by unaffiliated, independent and company unions.....	18	18	36
Elections won	10	11	21
Elections participated in by both AFL and CIO.....	16	15	31
Won by AFL.....	8	4	12
Won by CIO.....	7	8	15
Total number of votes cast in above elections.....	10,884	23,514	34,398
Total votes cast for AFL.....	3,520	8,482	12,002
Total votes cast for CIO.....	2,920	5,681	8,601
Total votes cast for unaffiliated, independent and company unions.....	1,583	1,839	3,422
TOTAL VOTES CAST FOR ALL UNIONS.....	8,023	16,002	24,025
TOTAL VOTES CAST AGAINST ALL UNIONS.....	2,861	7,512	10,373

APPENDIX C (Cont.)**RECAPITULATION OF NLRB ELECTIONS IN NORTHERN CALIFORNIA
JULY 1, 1942 THROUGH JUNE 30, 1943**

	7/1/42 through 12/31/42	1/1/43 through 6/30/43	TOTAL
Total number of NLRB elections held.....	25	43	68
Elections participated in by AFL.....	23	31	54
Won by AFL.....	16	21	37
Elections participated in by CIO.....	16	19	35
Won by CIO.....	7	11	18
Elections participated in by unaffiliated, independent and company unions.....	1	6	7
Elections won.....	1	4	5
Elections participated in by both AFL and CIO.....	15	10	25
Won by AFL.....	10	5	15
Won by CIO.....	5	5	10
Total number of votes cast in above elections.....	4,571	5,113	9,684
Total votes cast for AFL.....	2,191	1,745	3,936
Total votes cast for CIO.....	1,900	1,928	3,828
Total votes cast for unaffiliated, independent and company unions.....	14	297	311
TOTAL VOTES CAST FOR ALL UNIONS.....	4,105	3,970	8,075
TOTAL VOTES CAST AGAINST ALL UNIONS.....	466	1,143	1,609

Appendix D

Contributions of California CIO Organizations to the Bridges Victory Committee May 28, 1942 to October 1, 1943

CALIFORNIA CIO COUNCIL \$ 100.00

ALAMEDA COUNTY

Alameda CIO Council	\$ 31.00
FAECT 25	5.00
IUMM&SW 511	25.00
Newsboys LIU 768	5.50
SCMWA 309	13.00
SCMWA 324	60.00
TWUA 146	25.00
UAWA 76	210.00
UER&MWA 1412	300.00
UOPWA 58	10.00
USA 1304	1,700.00
USA 1798	160.00
UWOC 134	130.00
UWOC Joint Council	10.00

\$ 2,684.50

SAN FRANCISCO COUNTY

ILWU Auxiliary 16	46.90
IUMM&SW 50	282.00
IUMM&SW 3 Bridges Auxiliary	10.00
Marine Cooks & Stewards	338.00
MEBA 97	400.00
TWUA 158	10.00
UAWA 271	20.00
UCAPAWA 5	33.50
UER&MWA 1400	80.00
UFWA 151	10.00
UFWA 223	17.23
United Furniture Workers 262	125.00
UOPWA 34	8.00
USA 1069	22.00
USA 1684	5.00
UTSEA 905	8.50
UWOC 133	10.00

\$28,801.13

CONTRA COSTA COUNTY

Contra Costa CIO Council	\$ 25.00
FAECT 36	8.00
IFAWA 35	100.00
IUMM&SW 51	275.00
IUMM&SW Auxiliary 18	20.00
OWIU 5	70.00
OWIU 326	50.00
Oil Workers Organizing Campaign	37.00
UAWA 560	260.00
USA 1440	160.00
USA 1441	10.00
UWOC 169	20.00

\$ 1,035.00

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

ACA 32	\$ 10.00
ACWA No. 268	5.00
ACWA—LA Joint Board	85.00
ANG—LA	116.75
IFAWA 33	1,130.00
IFWU 87	10.00
IFLWU 213	3.00
ILWU 13	3,775.00
ILWU 26	560.00
ILWU 38	25.00
ILWU 63	300.00
IUM&SW 9	130.00
IUMM&SW 414	80.00
IUMM&SW 700	50.00
Marine Cooks & Stewards	25.00
Newsboys, LIU 75	17.50
OWIU 19	53.13
OWIU 120	65.00
OWIU 128	100.00
UPWA 12	10.00
UPWA 107	10.00
UPWA Council	25.00
SCMWA 246	65.63
SCMWA 360	5.00
SCMWA 246	65.63
TWUA 99	10.00
TWUA 156	5.00
UAWA 24	10.00
UAWA 509	15.00

SAN FRANCISCO COUNTY

San Francisco CIO Council	\$ 140.00
ACA 9	10.00
ACA 30	90.00
ACA Auxiliary 2	9.00
Alaska Fishermen's Union	800.00
ANG—SF	50.00
Inland Boatmen's Union	423.00
IFAWA 34	325.00
IFLWU 79	10.00
ILWU 2	1,261.00
ILWU 6	13,495.00
ILWU 10	10,157.00
ILWU 34	605.00

APPENDIX D (Cont.)

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

UAWA 887	25.00
UAWA 904	15.00
UCAPAWA 3	10.00
UAWA District Council 5	10.00
UER&MWA 1421	184.15
UFWA 188	5.00
United Furniture Workers 576	50.00
United Furniture Workers 577	15.00
UOPWA 9	17.00
URWA 43	15.00
URWA 100	6.00
URWA 158	10.00
United Shoe Workers 122	65.00
USA 1414	60.00
USA 1502	18.23
USA 1547	5.00
USA 1927	10.00
USA 2058	70.00
USA 2470	9.00
UWOC 132	62.50
UWOC 246	10.00

\$ 7,372.89

OTHER CALIFORNIA

Sacramento CIO Council	\$ 10.00
Santa Clara and San Benito CIO Council	10.00
ACWA 108, San Jose	5.00
ILWU 17, Sacramento	190.00
ILWU 30, Stockton	5.00
ILWU 42, Monterey	75.00
ILWU 54, Stockton	25.00
ILWU 77, Fort Bragg	25.00
ILWU 77 Auxiliary	1.00
IUMM&SW 319, Niles	40.00
IUMM&SW 391, Stockton	20.00
IUMM&SW 608, Guerneville	65.00
IWA 269, Burney	25.00
IWA 350, Graeagle	10.00
UCAPAWA 78, Salinas	86.00
UFWA 149, Palo Alto	4.00
UWOC 170, Oildale	2.00
UWOC 193, Taft	3.15

\$ 601.15

\$40,594.67