

Steel Union Retreat Weakens Fourth-Round CIO Wage Campaign

By SUSAN GREEN

The recommendation of the President's fact-finding board against a wage increase for steel workers means that the board agrees with the steel companies' contention that workers must not expect higher pay when their bosses are raking in profits hand over fist as the steel companies now are.

In spite of this outcome of the long hearings, the wage policy committee of the steel workers' union accepted the recommendations of the board "with a unanimous rising vote" as the basis for settlement with the companies. Both the companies and the union have agreed to the President's request that the truce in the industry be continued to September 25. Though the companies have not yet indicated their willingness to settle on the basis of the board's recommendations, it is expected they will. This probably means no strike.

What makes the board's findings acceptable to the union is the concession on social insurance and pensions to be paid by the companies, without contributions from the workers. However, the recommendation here is a far cry from the union's demands. The demands were for sickness benefits and for hospital insurance amounting to an increase of 6.27 cents an hour; and further for retirement pensions of \$125 a month independent of government payments, equalling another 11.23 cents hourly increase. On the other hand, the board's low figures constitute little more than a token payment. It named around 4 cents for social security benefits. As to pensions, it mentioned a ceiling of \$100 a month, the \$100 to include government old-age pensions. Such a pension plan would add no more than 6 cents an hour to the companies' wage bill.

DEMANDS CUT TWO-THIRDS

In cold figures, therefore, the union's demands have been pared down to less than one third. The 12½ cents wage increase has been turned down completely. The 17½ cents asked for security and pensions has been re-

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Bell Plant Becomes Battlefield As Angry Pickets Chastise Scabs

Sept. 11.—Not since the turbulent days of the 1941 Bethlehem Steel strike in Lackawanna has the Niagara Frontier area witnessed the picket line strife which occurred last week at the strike-bound Bell Aircraft plant.

Responding to a call issued at a special meeting on Tuesday night, Sept. 8 by the newly formed United Labor Defense Committee, over 2500 trade unionists reported on Wednesday morning to shut the plant down tight.

Pickets began to arrive at the strike headquarters tent at 6:30 A.M. Wednesday morning, long before the scheduled 8 A.M. plant opening. At the tent a picket captain pinned a union button on the front and back of each picket to distinguish strike supporters from scabs. The instructions were terse and simple. "No one gets through. Don't let a group of cops or plant thugs single off any pickets. Don't let anyone get arrested."

The pickets were then divided among the seven gates with a sizable amount being held in reserve. Each picket had a sawed off broomstick on the top of which a postcard size "strike" sign was tacked.

DEFY INJUNCTION

Mass picketing prevailed at each gate in complete defiance of the injunction which limited the pickets to 15 at a gate, 10 feet apart. (The injunction had been issued against local 501—this "demonstration" was

Which Is Worse?

Writing about a Los Angeles "mock trial" of military Jim Crow, held a while back, A. Philip Randolph of the AFL Sleeping Car Porters reports:

"The most damning of military Jim Crow came from ex-GI Samuel Patterson who stated that he regretted being 'liberated' by the segregated American army because in the prisoner-of-war camp I was treated like a man."



PHILIP MURRAY

UAW Bell Workers Resist Company Attempt to Break 14-Week Strike

By JOHN BARNES

BUFFALO, Sept. 11.—Latest weekend developments in the Bell Aircraft strike, now going into its 14th week, are: (1) Both state and federal mediation agencies are preparing to submit plans for arbitration to the union and company. (2) Gov. Dewey, after conferring with Bell Aircraft and Niagara County officials, has rejected their request for state troopers and/or militia at this time but has approved a plan whereby Erie County police will "cooperate" to the extent of six squad cars of regular police; also, Niagara County police will continue to augment their forces with special deputies, over one hundred of whom have been already sworn in. (3) All but two of the strikers or strike-sympathizers arrested — and thus far, approximately thirty have been jailed or served with warrants — have been released on bail. An-

other dozen warrants, not yet served, are expected to result in the arrests of more strike leaders early next week.

But behind these developments lie a thirteen-week story that has, with good reason, focused the attention of the entire country on what appeared to many to be at its beginning merely another "fourth round" strike. That this strike is anything but an isolated economic struggle is proven by a review of the company's behavior during the past four months.

When the Bargaining Committee of Local 501, UAW-CIO, sat down in May to negotiate a new contract, it was no longer bargaining with the same company management it had dealt with in the past. The familiar Larry Bell was on the scene, but only faithfully to parrot the demands of Bell Aircraft's new owners: the First York Company of Wall Street, a large and powerful holding combine. Bell and his local henchmen had been swept from control some months before by a "legal" stock-buying coup in the Wall Street market place. The company's "good industrial relations," mainly due to a militant UAW local, were quickly junked by the new bosses. When the union proposed a new contract which would include a provision allowing the reopening of negotiations on questions of wage increases and pensions after the establishment of a national pattern, First York counterposed its demand that the union sign the existing contract with no such safeguard.

ROLL RIGHT OVER 'EM

As the pickets paraded, groups of them would sing out "If the scabs get in the way, we'll roll right over them!"—"If the cops get in the way, we'll roll right over them!"

Everyone was waiting for the arrival of the busloads of scabs and office workers. The temper of the pickets was manifested when suddenly one picket called out, "That red-headed camera man is a company stooge." In a matter of seconds, the camera was on the ground smashed to bits.

Finally the first busload arrived from the direction of Niagara Falls. It stopped in front of gate 1 where the largest number of both pickets and cops were massed. As the first few got off the bus, the pickets charged them. They quickly got back into the bus. The cops, outnumbered, did not challenge the pickets and instead waded the bus away. No one got

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UE-CIO Unity Is Threatened By Stalinist Split Maneuvers

Why Has Phil Murray Not Given All-Out Support to UE Opposition?

By BEN HALL

Combine a desperate Stalinist machine with a powerful opposition and you have all the elements of an explosion. Such is the UE convention. Surely the third largest union in the CIO faces a crisis. The Stalinist madmen who control it will give their critics only the choice of cringing submission or life and death battle. Everyone asks: where does Philip Murray stand? Silence, then uncertainty and hesitation drift down from the lofty heights of the CIO upon the embattled anti-Stalinists.

Why no encouragement, no clear

advice, no sign of full support? It seems almost unbelievable when we realize that the top leaders of the CIO even now push a war of nerves against the CP. Two concepts of combating Stalinism twist together to make up this strange puzzle: the bureaucratic method from above and the democratic method from below. Murray represents the first. The UE opposition, the second.

The top leadership of the CIO has invented a principle of trade unionism very novel in recent American labor history. It abandons the traditional organization form of full in-

ternational autonomy and demands that all international unions abide by the official POLITICAL policy of the CIO or risk expulsion. Conform or get out, says Allan Haywood to the Stalinists at the New York State CIO convention. And if you do not conform, he threatens, we will pick your union to pieces. This handy formula seems easily convenient for dealing with the Communist Party which cannot surrender its right to sell the Kremlin political line under a union label.

In striking a blow at the Stalinists, the CIO leadership sets a precedent which undermines the democratic rights of all internationals and at the same time makes exceedingly difficult the reunification of the labor movement. The UAW, for example, has frequently gone beyond official CIO policy. Under the new rules, it could not take the initiative for the formation of a new Labor Party. The United Mine Workers, which opposes Truman, could find no road back to the CIO.

BREAK FOR STALINISTS

A lucky opportunity now falls to the Stalinists to posture as great fighters for autonomy and democracy and they will play this game at its best at the UE convention. But while opposing the new principles of super-centralization, no one can forget that the Stalinists remain Stalinists. Vicious enemies of democracy in every social institution, especially in the unions, Stalinists maintain their hold by slandering, hounding and expelling critics. But the CIO leadership does not say to the Stalinists: "We will expel you if you continue to persecute opponents and deny them their democratic union rights."

The new principle of centralization is not aimed against Stalinist bureaucracy but against its political line. Practice our politics, they are told, and you may have "autonomy" in running your internal life as you see fit; you may have a free license to hunt down opponents as you will. Does this interpretation seem unfair? We need only recall that during the war, when the CP line and CIO policy happened to coincide, the Stalinists used typically authoritarian and totalitarian methods to freeze its control. Murray and the top CIO leadership saw nothing wrong, and did nothing to restrain the Stalinists.

"Ah, then," protest some who find fault with LABOR ACTION, "if the Stalinists are bureaucrats who support Russian imperialism, Murray is nothing but a bureaucrat who supports American imperialism." From this simple thesis they conclude that the fight between these two camps

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and walked out on further bargaining sessions, flinging a "Show Cause" order for an injunction on the desk as they left. The men went on strike. There, then, was the actual position of the company: to smash Local 501. In rapid succession came conclusive proof of this:

First, the company received an injunction from a puppet magistrate, limiting picketing and paving the way for its back-to-work call.

Second, Larry Bell was reported in the New York Times of August 25, as saying that he had already smashed the union.

Third, after the first exploratory attempt at mediation, Father Boland, a state mediator, was forced to conclude that the company's position made mediation impossible.

Fourth, a second, more determined attempt at mediation by the same Father Boland brought forth six arrogant company "conditions" before any mediation might be attempted.

The "conditions" were: (1) Proof that Local 501 represented the majority of Bell workers, through certification by the NLRB (an attempt actually to decertify the union). (2) Job security for employees not on strike (super-seniority for scabs). (3) Employees shall be free to join or not join any labor organization (loss of the union shop). (4) A contract of not less than one year's duration (no fourth-round of wage increases and pensions). (5) No "subversives" to return to work. (6) Those responsible for alleged violence, threats or intimidation of employees and those responsible for violation of the injunction not be allowed to work for the company.

COMPANY CHALLENGES UAW

On June 12, the company abruptly broke off all pretense of negotiations

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\$20 Million U.S. Loan Primes Tito in Struggle with Kremlin

Yugoslav Spokesman Charges Western Stalinist Parties Serve Only "Selfish National Interests of the Soviet State"

Secretary of State Dean Acheson. Although carefully avoiding any overt action or public pronouncement that might appear to take sides or fan the hostility in the Tito-Cominform quarrel, he is represented as feeling that the continued independence of Yugoslavia among the Soviet satellite governments might encourage a degree of independence among some of the others."

The credit was authorized by the Export-Import Bank for the announced purpose of permitting the Yugoslav government to buy U. S. materials, equipment and services in order to reconstruct deteriorated and war-damaged mining and other vital industries. At the same time, of course, the loan is the most significant help which Tito has yet received from the capitalist West — on which he must increasingly depend for material help if he is to survive the blows directed against him by Stalin.

The loan is the second move by the U. S. government in the past month to help Tito; the first came on August 19 when President Truman announced that he had authorized the issuance to Yugoslavia of an export-license that would permit it to purchase materials in the U. S. for a \$3,000,000 steel mill.

Commenting on the loan, the New York Times finds it "a victory for

democratic policy of Lenin than do the Stalinists, it is significant that they are raising the slogan of Leninism in their opposition to Stalin, showing thereby that they feel a "leftist" slant to be effective in propagandizing against the Russians.

In a dispatch to the New York Times by M. S. Handler, we read that "M. Djilas asserted that the Soviet leaders had so perverted Lenin's teachings that the interests of the world revolution had been subordinated to the selfish national interests of the Soviet state. He stated that this had fatal consequences for the future of the Communist Parties in the West. In the resulting confusion caused by this Soviet policy, he added, it is quite understandable that Western Communists frequently complain that the Russians fail to understand their problems and the conditions in their respective countries."

Perhaps emboldened by U. S. aid, the Yugoslav Titoists have launched a propaganda campaign against the Western Communist (Stalinist) Parties of a kind unprecedented for them. They have denounced the Western Communist Parties as instruments of Soviet national policy.

In a series of articles in Borba, official Titoist paper, Milovan Djilas, secretary of the Yugoslav Communist Political Bureau, has been developing the thesis that the present-day Russian leaders have substituted a policy of international dictatorship operated from Moscow for the old Leninist policy of the right of self-determination. While the Titoists have no more in common with the

At the convention of the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers Union-CIO opening in Cleveland next week, a powerful opposition to the present Stalinist administration will launch a full-scale battle to unseat the Fitzgerald-Matles-Empak leadership. The fight in the UE is of exceptional importance to the CIO and the labor movement as a whole, for this union, the third largest in the CIO, is the last important stronghold the Communist (Stalinist) Party has in the trade union movement. Every indication points to the fact that the Stalinists will fight desperately to retain leadership of the UE, even to the point of risking a split in the union in order to retain control.

There is little doubt that if a democratic verdict of the mem-

bership were possible, the opposition would oust the Stalinists from control and take over the UE. All reports indicate that although the balance appears close, the anti-Stalinists have a majority of the votes, a remarkable achievement in a union where the CP has total control of the apparatus from the International Executive Board down to each and every district organization.

In the United Auto Workers Union, in the Transport Workers Union, in the National Maritime Union the Stalinists were badly beaten and removed from posts of influence by ordinary democratic procedures. When they lost their majority, they were compelled to bow to the sentiments of the membership. But the lessons of these struggles against the CP are not enough to guide anti-Stalinist militants through the UE fight. In the latter unions, the Stalinists maintained their power in alliance with temporary fellow-travelers: Quill, Curran, Thomas and Addes, men who were not Stalinists themselves but who were willing to tolerate CP domination. In the UAW the Stalinist-Addes bloc was directly defeated by Reuther; in the TWU and NMU the pro-Stalinist coalitions disintegrated into two warring blocs ending in the defeat of the CP. Because Stalinist control in these unions was at all times based upon a loose coalition not totally CP controlled there was never the remotest possibility that the internal fight would split the union.

Hardened CP Machine
The situation in the UE is decisively different. No delegate can afford to forget this fact for even one second. This union is controlled by a hardened, unified Stalinist machine. It sees the tide running against it, and it will not hesitate to use the most brutal and dictatorial methods. It would rather split the UE in two or ten parts so long as it felt certain that it could continue to control a large part and thereby be able to put forward the Kremlin line. It is loyal only to the needs of Russian foreign policy which serves as its only law, its only code of action.

It will not hesitate to rig the convention, to manipulate delegates badges, to pack the convention committees, especially the credentials committee, to manufacture a fake

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Curran Abuses Democracy at NMU Convention

By R. GADEN

NEW YORK, Sept. 13.—The Seventh National Convention of the National Maritime Union, CIO opened yesterday at St. Nicholas Arena. Some 550 delegates from ships arriving from all corners of the globe have been coming into New York for the last few weeks.

This convention is of utmost importance, since the NMU has just reached an important turning point in its turbulent history. Will the new right wing bureaucracy consolidate its power? Will it be allowed to continue and extend its conservative policies on the bread and butter issues? These are the main questions facing the convention.

Joseph Curran has been presiding as chairman, as per the constitution. Before all the delegates were seated, the convention witnessed the spectacle of the right wing machine, headed by Curran, ignoring constitutional rules and using the most undemocratic methods. These methods, used by the CP machine for all the years it held power, were constantly attacked by Curran and the Rank and File Caucus at the last convention. It was precisely this self-same struggle for democracy in the NMU which rallied together right and left (anti CP) and that vast section of unattached militants one finds in every trade union. Ironically, Curran must reach right back into that Stalinist cesspool in search for means to consolidate his power against the growing demands for more jobs, better conditions and democratic unionism.

THE THREE GROUPS

While it is difficult to judge just what the outcome of this convention will be, certain things are clear now. The "committed" delegates are divided into three main groups.

1. The Curran Group: extreme right, wing and jobholders with large support from the Gulf ports. They offer no program for more jobs, better conditions. They propose certain

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Soviet Union. . . He knew very well that in the history of our movement anyone who began to fight against its leadership inevitably joined our enemies."

But it has also become clear that there is no immediate likelihood of a Russian armed attack on Tito, as seemed possible a few weeks back when the Russians sent three mechanized divisions to maneuver in Hungary near the Yugoslav border and billeted troops on the frontier itself. The Yugoslavs, perhaps anticipating the U. S. loan and perhaps informed by their intelligence service that the Russian move was mere bluff, managed to keep their nerves.

So long as the Tito regime continues to exist, the Russians cannot feel completely secure in the Balkans. Reports continue to leak out of semi-Titoist sentiment in the satellite countries. In Albania, Dictator Hoxha appears to be suspect in the eyes of the Russians, who are promoting one Mehmet Shehu to succeed him. And that is the main significance of Titoism at the moment. Socially, it is no less reactionary than Stalinism, but as long as it continues to fester in the side of the Russian dictatorship it weakens Russia's power to consolidate Eastern Europe.

Vidali declared that the Tito regime was now considered by Stalinism as "fascist and capitalist" and that "we will employ against Tito the same tactics we have used against Franco and Tsaldaris." Vidali's characterization of Tito is a revealing index of the Stalinist bureaucratic mind.

"I speak of him as a man who once belonged to the Communist movement and knew that there is one basic law—that is our faith in the

Murray Agrees to Contract Without Wage Increase

Steel Union Retreat Weakens Fourth-Round Wage Fight —

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duced to 8 to 10 cents.
Speaking to the press, Philip Murray said he "profoundly regrets that the steel industry board recommended against wage increases at this time and reiterates that the union's proposals for a 12 1/2 cents increase in wages is completely justified."

increase at this time the board said, among other things: "The workers in any such basic industry should not overlook the possible effects of their actions on the whole economy and thus on their own well-being."

LENIENT TO COMPANIES

The steel companies, however, were handled with much more leniency. The board found that the use of "a substantial portion of recent profits

for plant modernization and expansion was of benefit to the economy." It did admit a "question in our minds" as to "whether a larger fraction of the expansion should not have been financed by long-term borrowing, thus enabling the payment of higher dividends to stockholders and the creation of reserves for the payment of retirement benefits to the industry's workers."

Of course, the "steel workers were found to have suffered no inequity from these uses" of the steel companies — of course not, the Nathan report to the contrary notwithstanding. But do not think that the board

makes no "demands" upon the steel companies. It says: "It is to be expected that the modernization and expansion of steel-making capacity will substantially lower costs and thereby increase profits. . . . If and when this development occurs the consumers of the country will receive measurable benefits . . . in the form of lower prices for steel products."

But now, no lower prices now out of the billion-dollar 1949 profits. Banish the thought. With "continued and higher profits"—words of the board—then maybe lower prices for steel. Whereupon the steel companies hurry to point out that if they pay the 8 to 10 cents an hour increase for security and pensions, this "may lead to higher prices."

MURRAY BENDS BACKWARD

What made Philip Murray say to the press that the board's finding is "the most constructive contribution of its kind in our history"? Judging by the comments of other union spokesmen, the union leadership is pleased by the non-contributory basis of welfare and pension funds recommended, namely, that all payments into the funds should come from the companies alone. However, as pointed out above, in the board's opinion \$100 a month should be the pension ceiling for company and government payments combined. This will probably result in the steel companies favoring more social security from the government so that they will have to pay less on their own.

Be that as it may, the findings of the board do definitely state the principle of some responsibility of industry to its workers in sickness and old age. The words of the board defining this principle are interesting and worth quoting: "We think that all industry, in the absence of adequate government programs, owes an obligation to workers to provide for maintenance of the human body in the form of old-age retirement—in the same way as it does now for plant and machinery. This obligation is one which should be fulfilled by enlightened business, not when everything else has been taken care of, but as one of the fixed costs of doing business—one of the first charges on revenues before profits. It should be viewed as somewhat comparable to the necessity of making maintenance and depreciation allowances on non-human machinery."

MEN OR MACHINES

Presumably, for workers to be raised to the level of "non-human machinery" is progress, since heretofore industry has, by and large, regarded its workers as less than non-human machinery—that is, to be expendable without cost to industry. Certainly \$100 a month, or less than \$25 a week, will not allow retired

ized unionism; at the same time, it can ignore the clouds of dust thrown up by the dictator-Stalinists around the question of democracy. Without awaiting a benevolent decree from the reluctant Murray it can organize the ranks of the UE to wipe out Stalinism in the industry.

half-lack-of-interest of the high ranking CIO leadership in the UE faction fight reflects its gingerly distrust of the union rank and file.

The UE anti-Stalinist opposition is a democratic movement to throw out the Stalinists from below; it needs no new principles of super-central-

Skimps Support to UE Opposition —

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in the UE is a matter of indifference to socialists and militant unionists. And further, since the opposition in the UE inclines toward the same general political program as Murray, they will not support it.

But . . . the political and economic policies of Murray and the CIO leadership are the program accepted willingly and sometimes even enthusiastically by virtually the entire CIO membership. We may regret this fact, but a fact it remains. Even the UAW, which is unquestionably the most democratic union in America, votes freely at its convention for the official policies. Is there a single substantial reason to believe that the membership of the CP-controlled unions is peculiarly attracted to Kremlin politics? In these unions the Stalinist machine prevails only because the members cannot express themselves without fear; the Stalinist line is imposed upon them by dictatorial methods.

OPINIONS OF MEMBERS

In this respect, Murray truly represents the opinions of the CIO membership while the Stalinists do not, not even of the members of the very unions which they hold in a tight grip. Even if the UE opposition was nothing more than a pro-Murray tendency, its victory would mean that the will of the majority prevails over a bureaucratic, minority Stalinist machine.

It is true that Murray acts bureaucratically. But the UE opposition is not simply a hand-picked Murray machine; it is an organized faction of the active anti-Stalinist unionists. The top leaders of the CIO, including Murray, have never appealed to the membership of "those unions dominated by the CP to organize into factions to drive out the CP. When the Reuther caucus organized in the UAW to throw out the ally of the Stalinists, R. J. Thomas, it met the expressed opposition of Murray. The leaders of the CIO prefer to work from above, to use the simple power of their office, to decree, to work out new "principles" which can be applied without stirring from their chairs.

A union membership trained in the techniques of removing its own leadership? A very distasteful lack of etiquette which might become habitual. The begrudging half-interest,

"Left, Right, Center" — Vivid Book On Political Groups in U.S. Labor

LEFT, RIGHT AND CENTER: Conflicting Forces in American Labor, by Sidney Lens. Henry Regnery Co., Ill., 1949, \$4.00.

By FRANK HARPER

Sidney Lens has written a highly interesting and highly competent story of labor in the United States by looking "for the economic and political roots of business unionism and radicalism, and for the specific relationship of the two which in our times has given birth to the CIO and will unquestionably develop new union and political forms as time goes on." It deserves a prominent place on your bookshelf.

While the bulk of the book is concerned with events of the last three decades, there is an introductory section covering the earlier periods of labor history in America.

The author does not attempt to whitewash any aspects of unionism. He is opposed to "business unionism" and is strongly anti-Stalinist. The book contains an excellent treatment of union racketeering, pointing out that rackets exist only when they are profitable to employers and are aided by them.

DISSECTS STALINISTS

Lens' attitude is generally sympathetic to anti-Stalinist radicalism and independent socialism, though he indicates differences with all the radical groups. He writes from the standpoint of a socialist in favor of a Labor Party and of "an educational alliance of progressive, socialist and semi-socialist elements within the unions."

Left, Right and Center does a merciless job of exposing the anti-labor record of the Stalinists, without resorting to red-baiting. He traces their zigzags on policy through their five periods, showing that what remained unchanged was their motivation—namely, the fulfillment of the needs of the Stalin bureaucracy in Moscow.

The section dealing with the formation of the CIO is very timely in that it refutes the Stalinists' current claim that the CIO was formed solely as a reaction to the "dictatorial poli-

cies" of the AFL. Lens points out that "No one in the AFL or in the CIO was under any illusions that Lewis, Murray, Hillman and Dubinsky were out to build a radically new kind of movement." He quotes Lewis' offer to Green to make the latter head of the CIO.

He calls attention to the fact that much of the CIO was organized from the top down, by appointed organizing committees. According to Lens, Lewis' only difference with the AFL was that the former perceived that the spontaneously organized unions and "company unions" would fall to the radicals by default unless a conventional labor federation dealt with them in a manner different from "the crude, clumsy frontal attack of William Green." The author makes the reasonable claim that the greater democratic tradition in the CIO is the result of the organizing struggles it engaged in, particularly the "sit-down" strikes in the United Auto Workers.

PROGRAM FOR LABOR

Lens closes with discussion of a six-point program:

- (1) Amalgamation of the craft unions into an industrial structure.
(2) Unity of the AFL, CIO and railroad brotherhoods.
(3) Flexible councils of workers in related areas, plants and industries.
(4) More autonomy for city union councils.
(5) Keeping the unemployed organized in unions.
(6) The "progressive, socialist and semi-socialist" educational alliance mentioned earlier.

A point not listed among the six but heavily underscored is the need for an independent Labor Party.

A minor union official, Lens has drawn on his personal experiences in the labor movement of Chicago for illuminating examples. The book is well documented and carries a lengthy bibliography. Although it is neither a conventional history of unionism nor an encyclopedia of radical labor politics, it provides a sufficient coverage in both fields to warrant careful reading.

workers to live like human beings. Needless to say, the working people will struggle to push themselves above the level of non-human machinery on which the board places them and to gain a more adequate living for their old age.

At any rate, the recommendations of the board, as outlined above, will be taken by both labor and industry as the basis for discussing a settlement in the forthcoming fortnight. It is predicted that a bone of contention will be as to when the pension fund starts. Since the board advised a labor-management committee to investigate the pension situation and make a report by March 1st, 1950, the steel companies will doubtless want this date as the starting point. The union, on the other hand, will hold out for a retroactive provision. It must be noted that between now and March 1, the new Congress will take up the matter of social security and decide either to extend its provisions, to leave them as they are or even to contract them. This will, of course, affect the settlement in steel.

It is expected that the settlement in steel will be the pattern for all industries where workers have made demands for wage increases and for health and pension payments. This applies to auto, rubber, electrical, shipbuilding and other workers, whose wage demands probably will be denied but who may put a toe in the door of health and pension payments.

OHIO LABOR NOTES

Taft Opens Election Drive To Justify Anti-Labor Law

By JOE CLARK

CLEVELAND, Sept. 10.—The Ohio atmosphere is thick with politics these days, with labor playing a part but not a very creditable one. Remembering the attitude of today's labor leaders, this situation is not surprising. Since this is the home state of Senator Robert Taft, who is now the chief target of labor's fight, the outcome of the Ohio struggle will be of wide significance for the whole country.

At a great Labor Day picnic in Geauga Lake Park near Cleveland, Taft was denounced in the strongest terms by Joseph B. Keenan, national director of Labor's League for Political Education. He predicted that Taft would surely be defeated in his bid for re-election next year because "he has consistently led the fight in Congress against the rights of the American people."

A couple of days later Taft himself visited Cleveland and gave several public addresses. His audiences consisted of business men, small and great, but mostly small. This was the beginning of his 100 day tour of Ohio's 88 counties in which he will "explain" the basic principles of the Taft-Hartley Law. Of course, he was warmly received by his audiences. Fittingly enough, he gave his main speech in the ball room of the Statler Hotel and prepared it in the offices of David F. Ingalls in the Union Com-

merce Building.

In one of his speeches Taft said "The whole justification for the T-H Law is to establish equality of power between management and labor and equality of government treatment so that government may not be an advocate for either side in labor issues." He emphasized his opinion that "All opposition to the T-H Law comes from labor leaders who are fearful of losing their vise-like grip on the ranks of labor." He said that his "would be the middle way—the route between those who want full government regulation and those who want no regulation at all." Of course, this line has a strong appeal to those who know the system cannot operate without some government regulation but want as little as possible, especially the kind which helps the workers.

It is apparent to both sides that Ohio will play a very important role in the political struggles of 1950. Ohio labor, both AFL and CIO, will do its utmost to defeat Taft. All the unions are raising money and organizing for this purpose. Taft, of course, will fight back with everything he has.

The sad part of the Ohio story, as elsewhere throughout the nation, is that hardly a word is said about independent political action by the workers. The great majority still look to the old political parties to help, even after the lessons of Truman and the 81st (Democratic) Congress.

Bell Workers Resist Strikebreaking —

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(These last two points were intended, to give the company a free hand in firing or frightening the local's leadership.)

UNION REPLIES

The union offered to agree to an NLRB election since it knew it had the support of the great majority of Bell workers. It imposed three conditions on this agreement: the strike end on Sept. 6 and all strikers return to work on a seniority basis; all contract provisions agreed upon before and after the strike be put in writing; all other issues in dispute be submitted to an arbitrator for decision in sixty days. The company flatly rejected this offer and clearly indicated it was not really interested in settling with the UAW.

The accompanying article on the Bell strike provides specific evidence of company strike-breaking tactics, but what is written here enables the reader to formulate the basic issue of the strike: can the company smash the union through injunction?

Bell Plant Becomes Battlefield As Angry Pickets Chastise Scabs—

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through. As each bus came up, it was turned away from the main gates.

Finally four buses made a dash down a side street where only a few pickets were stationed. The scabs armed with clubs and billies got off the buses and together with the mounted police charged the pickets. Other pickets, on foot and in cars headed quickly in that direction. Martin Gerber, UAW Regional Director, riding on the running board of a rapidly moving car, was hurled to the ground when the car made a sudden sharp turn. He was rushed to the hospital.

The pickets fought the scabs to a standstill and drove them back into the buses. One scab got by, though he was worse for wear. No more buses came. At 11 A.M. the pickets withdrew. No arrests had been made. The only ones to get through were those flown in by plane from the neighboring airport. The demonstration had been successful.

THE SECOND DAY

The second day was Thursday, Sept. 10. At the strike headquarters the pickets were briefed on the new strategy for that day. There was reason to believe that armed scabs had been hidden in the plant before the pickets came. The union believed that these scabs would attack their picket line from the rear while other armed scabs combined with the heavily reinforced police and attacked them in front. If the scabs and police picked one of the less guarded gates, they might be able to overpower the pickets. This new situation had to be met. Once more the leadership showed its imagination. There would be no pickets walking up and down before the gates today. Instead they were to be transformed into mobile flying squads.

All pickets were assigned to specific cars. All the cars loaded with 5 or 6 men, were ready, at a command, to proceed up or down the main highway which was Niagara Falls Boulevard. Union scout cars were sent out in all directions, on all roads.

Suddenly a 501 scout car sped into sight from the direction of Buffalo,

Considering the economic pressure on its members, their subjection to arrest and police terror, Local 501 is answering that question with admirable courage and forcefulness. Although this is the first strike in the local's history it has been well organized. By the use of its "commando operation," previously reported in LABOR ACTION, its picket line and flying squad strategy, its calling of two mass membership rallies, and its determined efforts to win the active support of the Niagara Frontier labor movement, it has shown resourcefulness and imagination. The huge majority of its members have not gone back to work; the bulk of the scabs coming from recently hired men with no seniority and a scab-hardened core of older workers who have never, despite the union's successes, participated in it.

Despite the company's wedge-tactic of applying the term "subversive" to the local leadership the picket line marchers are not deceived. Overall morale is healthy and can be maintained as long as sorely needed financial aid is forthcoming and, what is most important, as long as the local labor movement actively and physically participates in the strike. On this last, the AF of L, despite its formal adherence to the United Labor Defense Committee, has thus far acted in its usual "respectable" manner, saying only it is "acquainting itself with all the facts and is interested in bringing the strike to a peaceful settlement."

But no resumé of the strike picture would be complete without a recounting of the roles played by the press and radio and the custodians of "law and order." At the beginning of the strike the newspapers instituted their usual treatment; headlining the company statements and position, burying and distorting the union's side. A sharp protest by the union for a time resulted in a formal attempt at "objectivity" and "neutrality"; that is, conflicting statements and positions were printed side by side.

This superficial honeymoon didn't survive a dozen editions and as the intensity of the strike increased so did the one-sidedness of the reporting. Much was made of the "terror and lawlessness" of the union; nothing was mentioned of the illegal detention of unionists arrested and held incommunicado, without recourse to legal aid or bail. Much was made of "the right to work"; nothing was said of the right—indeed, the legal right—to bargain honestly and in good faith. Much was made of the "peaceful industrial relationships heretofore enjoyed on the Niagara

Frontier"; there was no reference to the fact that Bell Aircraft was employing a strike-breaking pattern that would in the future provide other companies with "union-busting know-how."

But if there be one indictment of the local press that may be said to supersede all others, it is that for months—literally—there has been no reference made to the actual cause of the strike! That basic question has been obligingly forgotten—and one reads that a settlement should be effected . . . without being told exactly what requires settlement.

THE "IMPARTIAL" LAW

A twin to this deceit and distortion has been the Niagara County "law." What the police at the plant, mounted and on foot, have been unable to do—and afraid to do—has been accomplished to an extent "through the due process of law." The Niagara County sheriff rides bravely about in a helicopter, conveniently "loaned" him by the company. His men rest in the Bell plant, store their weapons in the plant. The Niagara County district attorney enters the plant and addresses the scabs; he encourages them to keep reporting for work; he tells them they will be protected by special deputies; that more and more strikers will be arrested; that they will be held as long as possible; that bail will be so high as to make payment impossible.

Only when the union produces an affidavit testifying to his actions within the plant and the union lawyer announces legal action against it does this "impartial arbiter of justice" say that those currently jailed may have legal counsel and be released on bail. The union lawyer justly says that "Russian tactics are being employed in Niagara County" and it ill becomes those who scream that the strike leaders are "subversive."

What will happen in this coming 14th week cannot be predicted with any measure of certainty. From what has already happened, however, this much can be said: Local 501 is determined that it shall not be broken. While the company appears to be equally adamant, there is increasing pressure being leveled for mediation and arbitration. The basic question remains: can the company smash the union through injunction? Local 501, with the help of all organized labor in the area, must continue its fight until that question can be answered—for all unions, for all time—with a resounding NO.

SPARKS in the NEWS

It's Obvious

"Donald B. Smith, partner of Scudder, Stevens & Clark, analyzes the outlook for business and investment' with an eye to 'emphasis on the obvious' and less elaboration of the obscure." In historical perspective the over-all correction to date can hardly be dignified with even as strong a term as recession, he declared.—San Francisco Chronicle.

So "recession" is too strong a term, eh? Mr. Smith seems to be intent on first obscuring the obvious and then elaborating the emphasis.

End Quote

In its pamphlet "The Voluntary Way Is the American Way," the American Medical Association, reactionary doctors' trust, quotes Lenin as saying: "Socialized medicine is the keynote of the arch of the socialistic state."

Acting on a congressman's request, the research staff of the Library of Congress failed to turn up the quotation. As Lenin would have said: "The American Medical Association's 1949 campaign is a trumped-up tissue of unscrupulous lies."

Eye Opener

The Ophthalmological Review of Bucharest is under attack in Rumania for its "cosmopolitan attitude" on the treatment of eyes and eyesight.

The reason? A good guess is that the satellite fuhrers are mad because the doctors haven't yet developed an effective eyewash.

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UE Unity Endangered by Stalinist Maneuvers

(Continued from page 1)
 constitutional changes such as reducing the size of the National Council (ruling body between conventions). A pledge of loyalty to the U. S. Govt. in the event of war with Russia. Throw the Communists out of the Union. Cut expenses, already cut to the bone. Support the present administration.
 2. The Independent Caucus. Composed of various anti-CP left and left of center, and many unattached rank and file militants. It offers a program which concerns itself with majority for itself. Its control over the official apparatus makes all this and more possible. And if it is permitted to control the union it is certain that the post-convention period will see a continuation and intensification of all its union-wrecking policies: expulsions of critics, forcing locals out of the union, lifting of charters.
 Important questions affecting the welfare of all workers face the members of the UE: Political action, wage negotiations, pensions. But the union is in the grip of a Stalinist paralysis. None of these matters can be freely

discussed, much less solved, until the CP stranglehold is broken. In the UE that problem is posed for the first time in a special, unique fashion. THE STALINISTS WILL CERTAINLY TRY TO RETAIN POWER BY ANTI-DEMOCRATIC MEASURES, EVEN TO THE POINT OF PROVOKING A SPLIT IN THE UNION DURING OR AFTER THE CONVENTION.
 The delegates must be prepared to defeat these attempts. They need not fear to resist and repudiate the terror and intimidation of the CP; for the labor movement, the workers back home, and the majority of the convention are fully behind the struggle against Stalinist control.
Stalinist Record in UE
 The record of Stalinism in the UE proves to the hilt that it will not permit a genuinely democratic solution of the dispute.
 During the long years of Stalinist control over the UE, they have run the union with an iron hand and paid even less attention to the forms of union democracy than in their other bailiwicks.

Wherever there has been a sign of influential opposition, the present administration has utilized every bureaucratic trick to rid itself of critics. We can cite just a few of the more crass examples of their frame-up tactics. In the Chicago District, Local 1121, Al Fineman was brought up on trumped-up charges. The District found him guilty and then, on appeal to the GEB, the District was sustained. The local, however, refused to expel him. Shortly after this, the IBEW-AFL started a raiding operation on 1121 and the National office withheld support from the Local. The Stalinists preferred losing the local to maintaining an opposition in its ranks. Following its usual policy, the Stalinists said: Sometimes its bad to have too many members.
 There is also the case of John Duffy, a leader of local 613, and Nelson of Local 639, both in District 6, Pittsburgh. Both of these men were expelled as soon as their opposition activities became a threat to the Stalinist control of the area. The result in both cases was secession of the locals to the UAW.
 Another example, James and Viola Pascoe, well-known trade unionists in the Fort Wayne, Ind., District, were brought up on phony charges and expelled.
 The Pascoes and Fineman are both supposed to appeal their cases to this convention.

A Phony Amendment
 The Stalinists, in an attempt to legalize their brutal dictatorship, are proposing a constitutional amendment which is one of the most outrageous schemes ever presented in the CIO. The proposal provides that a member of any local or any General Executive Board may bring charges against a member of any UE local who must stand trial before the GEB. A hardly comforting sentence is added providing that these charges shall relate to "participating in or encouraging secession from the UE or raiding against UE, or dual unionism." And also, that the person bringing charges, if he is a GEB member, may not participate in any judicial capacity in such a trial nor shall he have a vote with respect to the charges.
 Since the Stalinists hope to have an entirely "unified" board, the absence of one vote makes little difference. So far as the nature of the charges is concerned, there are few cases on record of Stalinists bringing charges for anything other than "dual unionism" since, to them, any opposition to the line is "dual unionism." Operating as if they were in Stalinland, they hope to put across this monstrous amendment so that they will be able to throttle, once and for all, any present or future threat to their power.
 An interesting and ironic sidelight on this question is the fact that a similar though much milder resolution, passed by the Milwaukee UAW convention, was vehemently opposed by the Stalinists.

Membership Decline
 The opposition has abundant evidence to buttress its charges of destructive Stalinist misrule. From a post-war high of 525,000 dues-paying members in March, 1948, the UE is reduced to 373,000 by June, 1949. How ruinous the administration policy has been is seen simply by calling the roll of locals and plants which have left the UE or were lost to it.
 Two new plants in the Westinghouse chain and two in the Sylvania chain were lost to UE when it failed to qualify for NLRB elections and futilely urged the workers to vote for "no union." In one local, Amalgamated Local 475, the following shops seceded: Schrader, American Machine & Foundry, Intertype, Murray Switch, Mergenthaler and Parker-Kayton.
 The Stalinist UE leadership has always falsely boasted of its "vanguard role" in setting new wage patterns. Actually it played a disruptive part in 1946 (when, during the UAW strike at General Motors, it settled for an 18 1/2-cent wage increase in GM plants under UE contracts while the UAW was still on strike.
 This year the Stalinist UE leadership has recessed negotiations until early May because the union is too weak to strike. And so, even now they are tail-ending the rest of the CIO, waiting to see if the powerful battalions of the steel workers and auto workers will crack through the opposition of the employers and enable the whole labor movement to move forward.
 Still a sore point in most UE plants is the incentive pay system. Commonly known to those who work under it as the "speed-up," this has been giving the Stalinists a great deal of trouble. They want to sound like militants, so in plants where their hegemony is threatened they issue strong statements against incentive pay. However, where they are entrenched, they have done nothing to get rid of it. Moreover, they and only they are responsible for its initiation in the first place. Who can forget the good old Browder days when the CP broke its neck to get a speed-up established in every plant in the country?
 Shall UE workers, still saddled with "incentive pay," rejoice because Browder has been expelled from the CP? If only all sins could be erased by a few "mea culpas" from the Stalinists' Central Committee.

Phil Murray's Role
 The record would not be complete, however, without a word about Philip Murray and the top officialdom of the CIO. Throughout the war years the Stalinists tightened their grip on the union. But Murray and the other CIO leaders were perfectly willing to overlook all the crimes of the Communist Party against the members of the UE. The United States and Russia were war allies. The Stalinists, for their own rotten aims, paraded as super-patriots, gaining the protection, the moral encouragement and the assistance of Murray. Their alliance with Murray made the CP arrogant and cocky.
 But these are different times. Now that Russia and the United States, no longer allies, oppose each other on the international arena, Murray decides to move against the Stalinists in the CIO. But he does so in his own way. The UE opposition is not a hand-picked Murray group. It chose its own candidate for president in the UE, ignoring James Carey, who was UE president before being dumped by the Stalinists during the days of the Stalin Hitler pact. Carey, who was then elevated to the secretary-treasurer of the CIO to become Murray's right-hand man, remained in self-imposed exile from the UE all during the war, allowing the CP unchallenged control.
 Murray's calendar of action against the CP does not quite coincide with the timetable of the UE struggle. Besides, he is undoubtedly offended by the refusal to choose his man Carey.

Anti-Stalinist Group
 For several years the opposition to the Stalinists was confined to the small "UE Members for Democratic Action" but the present opposition which held its first national conference in Dayton, Ohio, a few months ago is far larger and more impressive. While it includes the old MDA, it has enrolled a far wider following.
 Fred Kelly of GE Local 201, its candidate for president, is business agent of a local of 15,000 members, the home local of the incumbent UE president, Fitzgerald. Until 1949 Kelly was a bitter opponent of the MDA. District 7, the Kentucky-Ohio region, was solidly for the administration in 1947, but now supports the opposition in overwhelming numbers. The opposition claims control in four other districts, 1, 2, 7 and 8. In New York-Jersey District 4, which includes Ford Instrument Local 425, one of the earliest anti-Stalinist locals, the opposition has made rapid headway and is guaranteed at least 30 per cent of the delegates.
 The Dayton caucus maintains a staff of full-time organizers in various regions and is led by a national steering committee operating out of Dayton. Local 601 in Pittsburgh, one of the largest locals in the union, is already lined up against the Stalinists. According to a report in the N. Y. Herald Tribune, the preliminary delegate count indicated that the opposition was leading by 300 votes. A large bloc of votes is still unpledged or uncertain but if the delegates are allowed full and free democratic expression of their views, there is little doubt that the bulk of these delegates would quickly swing over to the opposition.
Programmatic Problems
 A number of knotty programmatic problems still confront the opposition, however. At its Dayton conference in May it adopted a statement of principles not entirely adequate but as amended by the most militant wing of the caucus adequately expressing the character of the group as the progressive, democratic wing of the union.
 Apart from the repetition of the

UAW and Reuther

HOWE-WIDICK BOOK APPLAUDED IN NEW YORK, DETROIT, AKRON PRESS

Additional reviews are coming in from the nation's press on the new book, *The UAW and Walter Reuther*, by Irving Howe and B. J. Widick. In the New York Herald Tribune, Joseph Barnes, former editor of the New York Star, says the book "is as readable as a good newspaper, and if enough Americans try it, will sharply raise the level of our public discussion of what is happening to us." Proceeding with a detailed summary of the book, Barnes writes: "Their story of the UAW has the strength of its setting: it is as crude and harsh and powerful as the city where automobiles are made."
 Describing the book as "a militant defense of the UAW," Barnes finds it "full of speculation about the union's chances of remaining more than 'just another union.' The authors also describe Reuther, in a penetrating portrait, as 'an unfinished personality,' a man still torn between the demands of power and the demands of vision. They explain this in terms of Reuther's personal background and also of the generation of American liberals to which he belongs. Many, including Reuther himself, are not likely to agree with their explanation, but it is both suggestive and candidly critical."
 "Their speculation," continues Barnes, "cuts close to the center of most informed thinking about the future of the labor movement in America." Speaking of the book's place for an independent Labor Party, Barnes says, "This book brings new and powerful ammunition to support its side of the argument."
 In the Detroit Free Press a review by Arthur O'Shea describes *The UAW and Walter Reuther* as viewing "Reuther critically from the socialist left. The approach is friendly but the barbs are sharp." The rest of O'Shea's review is taken up with quotes from the book's political characterization of Reuther.
 In the Akron Beacon-Journal, the review of the book is entitled: "All Unionists Should Read Howe-Widick UAW History." The reviewer writes: "This lively history and appraisal of the organized automobile workers ought to be read with interest by many of their CIO cousins, the rubber workers, as well as by all persons who are interested in what makes unions tick." The reviewer finds the book's central chapters on internal UAW affairs "a little tiring" but says that "the later chapters contain much that is thought-provoking on the race problem, union bureaucracy and political action. . . . Whether you agree or not, their book is worth reading."
 A review of the book, mainly a straight summary, has also appeared in the Wichita Eagle. Reports of further reviews will appear in future issues of LABOR ACTION.

YOUTH and Student CORNER

By JULIUS FALK, National Secretary SYL

Enter: The Era of the Feinberg Law
 During the 1930's students on entering colleges were solemnly warned against preparing for teaching careers. The depression era meant that it was impossible to obtain a job as a teacher.
 Today, with the economic climate somewhat different, it is once more possible to enter the teaching profession; but it would be appropriate for college administrations to call assemblies of students to warn them that although teachers are desperately needed, many will be disqualified, and those who manage to enter the field had best be prepared for a career almost as dangerous and suspenseful as espionage. For we have entered the era of the Feinberg Law.
 Introduced in the State Legislature by State Senator Feinberg, the Feinberg Law makes use of the infamous "subversive" list compiled by former Attorney General, now Supreme Court Justice, Tom Clark and provides that no individual who is a member of any "subversive" organization, adapted by the Board of Regents from this list, may teach in the public school system. It further provides that those already teaching who hold such membership are to be dismissed. As though this were not reprehensible enough, the law adds dismissal for "seditious and treasonable utterances," whatever vague things those may be.
 This law, rushed through the State Legislature without so much as a public hearing, goes into effect immediately to threaten the careers of those already part of the school system, and those about to enter.
 Part of the nation-wide pattern of direct onslaughts against civil liberties and academic freedom, the Feinberg Law aims at a system of perpetual investigation and spying in order to stifle the expression of dissenting opinion.
 The government makes an attempt to justify its campaign against civil liberties on the basis that all the "anti-subversive" legislation is aimed against the Stalinists who in a Third World War will serve as Russian agents. But a cursory examination will prove that the campaign encompasses a much wider scope.
 At Olivet College an instructor was dismissed for his pacifist views. At the University of Indiana a professor was dismissed for acting as chairman at a Wallace election rally. At Brooklyn College the E. V. Debs Society and the Independent Socialist Club were suspended from campus activity without a hearing for "supporting" a student stoppage, which they did not in fact support. A long list of such blows against academic freedom might be cited to show that the real aim of the government is its desire to prepare the road for World War III free of any opposition, of any sort.
 The Stalinists, always quick to embrace any opportunity for martyrdom, have seized upon the Feinberg Law. They who are the first to deny civil liberties to others when in a position of power can only make a mockery of any real campaign for the restoration of civil liberties on the campus.
 The Feinberg Law attacks a basic freedom, the freedom of belief. It acts against opinions and utterances. It provides punishment on the totalitarian basis so commonly used under the Stalinist regime in Russia: guilt by association. It makes of the school, the institution presumably based on objective inquiry, a place of fear and suspicion where conformity is the watchword.

Contrast to UAW
 The program of the UE opposition is far less advanced, far less militant, and far less clear than the program of the Reuther group in its fight in the UAW. But that is to be expected. Formed from the top, through NLRB

Revolt in Bolivia
NAZI-MILITARY PUTSCH SEEN DOOMED; MASSES REMAIN QUIESCENT
 By J. REY
 AUGUST 28.—Yesterday a military conspiracy broke out in all the provinces of Bolivia. The power-hungry militarists have been temporarily halted by the local and provincial police in Sucre, Potosi, Cochabamba, and Santa Cruz. Although the government succeeded in dislodging the rebels in Sucre and Potosi, in Cochabamba the military school under the command of General Pena Lillo captured the headquarters of the local and provincial police and the central plaza of that provincial capital. A provisional "junta" was established by the "revolutionaries" under the leadership of German Tapia. Up till now the rebellious military have maintained control of the central plaza; the government forces are concentrated in the vicinity of Parotani, near Cochabamba, awaiting reinforcements. Government aviators have wrecked the airfield and gasoline tanks to prevent their use by the rebels, who have still not surrendered.
 This new military uprising is eminently totalitarian and Nazi in character. It is supported by two forces, the MNR (Revolutionary Nationalist Movement), the Nazi party that was ousted from power by the July, 1946 revolution, and the military lodge, "Radepa" composed of former pupils of the Nazi General Roehm, who was military instructor in Bolivia. The movement was synchronized, and broke out simultaneously in all the provincial capitals of Bolivia. Defeated on the field of social and political struggle, the MNR resorted to its military reserves, and renewed its old alliance with the military lodge, the "Radepa."
 The second characteristic of the rebellion is to be found in the neutrality and complete abstention of the working class. The workers learned during the recent Catavi events that they were struggling for an alien cause, and the unions are abstaining from all intervention, despite the continuous stream of proclamations aimed at the mining centers. Not only the miners, but the factory and railroad workers as well are keeping their distance from the Nazi-military movement. There is no strike, and work continues in a normal fashion.
 The "barracks" revolution lacks all social support from the organized proletariat. The minority section of the Bolivian trade union movement, affiliated with the anti-Stalinist "democratic" continental federation, the CIT, has condemned the "Nazi-Fascist uprising" in a special resolution at its annual convention now being held in La Paz. There is no indication that the Stalinist party, the PIR (Party of the Revolutionary Left), is involved, although its bureau has not issued any statement so far. On the other hand, the POR, Bolivian section of the Fourth International, has issued a manifesto against the government, calling for the formation of an "anti-Imperialist bloc" consisting of itself, the PIR, and the MNR.

How Come? Saw Towns in Ruins— And Factories Untouched by Bombs

George Maranz is the correspondent of the Socialist Leader, weekly newspaper of the British Independent Labor Party, who has been reporting from Austria and is now in Germany.
 By GEORGE MARANZ
 HANOVER, Germany, Aug. 4—I often heard rumors about it during the war. I did not believe them. I read a few stories about it after the

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I thought that it was propaganda. But now I have no choice. Either I am blind or it was true. Either miracles did occur or an atrocious crime against humanity has been committed. I do not believe in miracles—I believe in my own eyes. And now they have registered all the details. After all, it must be true.
 During the last few days I have visited all the important cities of the Ruhr. I have also visited many other important industrial centers of Western Germany and I have crossed the country in all directions by train and car. And wherever I went, I saw the same thing—towns in ruins and factories untouched by bombs. . . .
 There is no doubt that the famous works of Krupp in Essen were battered to pieces. I haven't visited them myself but I am quite satisfied with the reliable reports I have had that they were reduced to rubble.
 The same was the case with several other well-known German factories which were producing guns and bombs and shells. But what about the thousands of factories all over Germany which remained untouched by bombing? Wasn't it due to their existence that Germany could continue the war for six long years? Wasn't it possible to find them? Was it mere coincidence that they were not hit?
 I was not in the RAF and therefore I do not know what orders were given to the bombers. But I have seen dozens of factories with houses all around them smashed to pieces and the factories looking old and shabby but untouched.
 Have they all been reconstructed since the war? This is impossible. The color of the walls would have revealed it. New roofs would tell the story. The window panes could not have collected all their dirt within a few months.

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Can It Be the End of a Beautiful Friendship? Wallace Tells Stalinist ALP Machine He Won't Run for Senate

By JACK BRAD

Henry Wallace refuses to get Vito Marcantonio and his New York Stalinist machine off the spot. That is the meaning of the announcement that Henry "will not be a candidate this year." It also seems to mark the conclusion of a brief and unhappy alliance. Unless some chance factor not now discernible interferes, the Progressive party has been given the death blow by this final decision by Wallace. It also places a serious question mark over the future of the American Labor Party, which is already barely more than a creature of the Communist party.

By a curious twist those who consider themselves Wallaceite-ALPers, that is, those who are only fellow-travelers of the CP, have been urging Wallace not to run for Senator from New York; while the Marcantonio Party liners have been hot on his heel insisting that it was his duty to the party and, of course, to the people that he be a candidate.

In the New York County the American Labor Party is split wide open between these two factions. Though the machine is securely in Marcantonio's hands, an opposition led by Eugene Connolly, member of the City Council and for many years chief party spokesman, entered Connolly in the primaries against the hand-picked choice of the CP apparatus. With Marcantonio himself at the head of the local ticket, running for Mayor of New York, the issue was joined. For only if he could get a substantial vote could Marcantonio assert his and the CP's leadership in the ALP. Since he barely squeezed through to victory in the last election and must run for congress again in 1950 to retain his seat, the gamble also involves the only remaining voice the CP has in Congress.

WHY CP WANTS WALLACE

But to keep the ALP united and aggressive in the campaign for Marcantonio it was deemed necessary to run Henry Wallace for the Senate. This alone would assure a sizable vote, in the calculations of the ALP

leadership. Wallace's willingness to run with Marcantonio would show Connolly and his faction who was boss. For the same reason, the Connolly group did not want Wallace to accept.

Beyond the immediate faction struggle for power there is also involved a difference of political outlook, which has dogged the Wallace movement from its inception. The Wallace faction never really reconciled itself to a permanent break from the Democratic party. Already in the closing week of the 1948 election the Progressive Party withdrew most of its candidates who were running against Democratic party liberals like Chet

of these Wallaceite delegates. Barring that, they saw themselves burdened with the terrible responsibility of a Republican victory. So deep was this current of doubt that even at this first convention it was possible to differentiate the liberals from the CP delegates on this basis. The underlying reasons for this fear were the sense of isolation from the labor movement and the feeling that if the people did not give the new party a definite mandate then it would quickly degenerate into a skeletal apparatus completely doomed to the CP's embrace of death.

Truman won and the Progressive Party liberals offered a silent prayer of thanks. But Truman then cleared his Fair Deal, which was not very far from the views of the Wallace liberals. Furthermore, instead of sinking into an undistinguishable identity with the Republican party as the Stalinists and Wallace had asserted would be inevitable, the Democrats seemed to have a re-birth of liberalism in the rise of their ADA wing. And here it must be understood that between these two liberal factions—the one corralled by the Stalinists and the other playing second fiddle in the Democratic party—there is not and has never been any basic difference in principle or program except on foreign policy. What split them was the CP's manipulation of the fear of war to put over its program of Russian appeasement among the Wallace followers.

THE CONNOLLY GROUP

This is the background for the current political differences over the senatorial race in the ALP: Connolly and his friends do not want to take the responsibility for the victory of John

Foster Dulles, Republican candidate, and the defeat of Herbert Lehman with whose liberal pronouncements they find little to disagree.

The ALP supported Lehman for governor in 1936 and 1938 and later, even when it had come under CP control, it supported him for Senate in 1946. More immediately relevant is the vote that Wallace received in New York when he ran for president. Running well ahead of the rest of the ticket, he got 506,000 votes, more than half of his national total. In New York City he got 422,000 votes. While it is very unlikely that he would receive anywhere near such a number this year, he might get enough to make the difference. This is especially true because of the peculiar pattern of state politics by which the Democrats normally must get an overwhelming vote in the city to offset the usually Republican majorities in the up-state rural areas. In fact it is commonly agreed that Wallace's vote was enough to throw the state into the Dewey column in 1948.

ALP ISOLATION FELT

These are the calculations and fears of the opposition group in the ALP who are in the midst of a decisive struggle for power with Marcantonio. Also many ALPers of the non-Stalinist faction feel personal kinship with Lehman's liberalism. It should be understood that these fears are the product of the growing isolation of the ALP and all others associated with the Stalinists. Without question the Connolly faction contains many who have also been affected by the current anti-CP wave and the political climate of witchhunting.

Wallace's refusal is an announcement that he will not be used by

Marcantonio, and will so be interpreted by the opposition in the ALP. Further developments will tell how far this faction will go now that it has, in effect, been given the green light by the titular head of the Progressive party. It is difficult to see how these differences can be patched up or how the ALP can avoid another and this time definitive split.

There are no doubt those who will interpret this as a blow to independent politics. Such a misunderstanding would be very unfortunate. It is not independence that is involved but Stalinist politics. The reason for the withering away of the Wallace movement is that it was an artificial creation in the first place and not because it struck out on a new road. It was never the product of a great mass movement, the irresistible response of the people to an obvious and pressing need. The labor movement, for reasons both good and bad, opposed it from inception. And there is no room for a third party in America that is Alien to the labor movement. From the Stalinists it came and to them it has returned. That was its pre-natal death-blow.

What is striking in the problem presented by the disintegration of the ALP is that the Stalinist party cannot live for very long side by side with any group which it fails to level to its own stature. It is a phenomenon familiar to all who have acted in common with them, and it seems to be a universal characteristic of the Stalinist movement. It seems unable to abide any distinctiveness or resistance to complete absorption. Certainly no one can charge Connolly and his associates with disloyalty to the party line. But this is evidently not enough.



Hollifield and Paul Douglas. Earlier Robert Kenny had split the California organization over just this issue. Wallace himself never made other than ambiguous and bumbling statements when besieged by reporters for his views.

At the founding convention of the Progressive party the one doubt which all the non-Stalinists shared was that their independence might bring the victory of Dewey and the Republican party. Only an overwhelming vote and the election of a dozen or so Congressmen could justify the step they were taking in the eyes of most

Election Campaign in New York Promises Plenty of Mud, but Little Enlightenment

By WILLIAM BARTON

With its primary elections over, the strange election campaign in the city of New York is now officially underway. There were only a few primary contests. Most closely followed was the fight within the American Labor Party between the Stalinist-Marcantonio leadership and the dissidents led by City Councilman Eugene Connolly, defeated in his quest for the Borough President. He received a little more than 2,000 votes to the 11,000 garnered by the "official" candidate, Ewart Guinier. Defeated by similar margins were other ALP "oppositionists."

The only other significant primary disputes were the attempts of the "Fair Deal" Democrats, a group of dissidents under the influence of the Americans for Democratic Action, to elect some of their candidates for the council and usurp several Tammany district leaderships. They, too, were all decisively defeated, the closest margin being two to one.

The three candidates for Mayor have made their initial campaign statements. Democratic candidate Mayor O'Dwyer got in his first licks at the state CIO convention which, as expected, voted to support him. He indicated that he would base his appeal for votes on his position on national issues, emphasizing his alle-

giance to the Truman administration. This is to be his avenue to the labor vote. The O'Dwyer slate will necessarily have to mention local issues but, unlike former elections, they know their support in this one will not be primarily based on municipal issues.

Republican-Fusion-Liberal candidate Newbold Morris is in an entirely different position. With the amazing differences among the groups behind him, he cannot take a stand on anything but local issues. His original radio addresses have, therefore, been a series of indictments of the present city administration. Even if his personality were different, he could not be vehement in the old LaGuardia style. By using the traditional cry of "good government" he has found some items that make O'Dwyer vulnerable, but there have not been any big scandals to excite the voters. He has found a much better point of attack in pointing out that there has been no serious improvement in transit service since the fare increase of last year. But it is difficult for a Fusion candidate to suggest any means basically to improve the transit situation because he must accept the idea of continuing to pay principal and interest, by now outrageously multiplied over the original sum, to the holders of the bonds used for the purchase of the private subway sys-

tem. Nor does Morris criticize the fare increase itself.

ALP mayoralty candidate Marcantonio has started with a denunciation of the O'Dwyer labor record, something not too difficult to do, especially after last week's strike-breaking of a bus drivers strike. Marcantonio has also promised to present a series of revelations, possibly through actual recordings of conversations, of some of the shenanigans of O'Dwyer and his cohorts. It is doubtful that the ALP nominee, a leading Stalinoid, will relate all the events connected with his deals with the Democratic Party chieftains.

How the Liberal Party will conduct its campaign is a mystery. It will be out getting votes for Lehman, who will be stumping for O'Dwyer. For Manhattan Borough President its candidate is Robert Wagner, Jr., also an O'Dwyer running mate. For some offices there are independent Liberal candidates. For city council, in some districts it has its own nominees, in some it supports Democrats and in others Republican-Fusionists. To make the bizarre line-up complete, a Marcantonio associate, who already had both the ALP and the Republican nomination for Municipal Court Judge from the Harlem district, won the Liberal primary election. And all this in the name of "realpolitik" as practiced by David Dubinsky.

U.S.-British Conference Ends With Dollar Crisis Unsolved

By HENRY JUDD

With a series of minor concessions which barely touch upon the core of the real problem, the Three-Power economic conference has come to a conclusion. At best, stop-gap measures intended to alleviate, but hardly cure, the drainage of dollars and reserves from England have been taken. No one is quite sure what their effect will be nor how the whole thing will turn out. Meanwhile the conference turns to other problems involving Far Eastern policy, the empire, etc.

The United States is to increase its purchase of raw materials (stockpiling materials) from the colonies and dominions of the empire. This will help the empire by making more dollars available. Such a "magnanimous" gesture on the part of America will, of course, assist the American monopolization and control of world raw material supplies.

The United States agreed to "facilitate" the import of British goods into America by revising its customs procedures. This loosely worded proposal does not mean any lowering of tariff barriers, to be sure. At the same time, England is to be permitted to purchase certain items elsewhere (in Europe, for example); or to purchase wheat from Canada, where prices are lower. This eases up slightly certain clauses of the Mar-

shall Plan Act which restricted British purchases largely to the United States. The sole effect of such concessions might be to increase slightly British exports to America and lower British need for dollars by permitting "outside" purchases. No figures were given as to precisely how much this will be.

Finally, various minor fillips are to be given toward encouraging the flow of dollar capital into England and other British areas. This will be in the form of private investments, possible bank loans in accord with the now famous (but still unemployed) Point 4 for development of backward areas, etc.

What all this means in a concrete sense can be determined only by the future. By contrast with the real problem—that of developing some kind of a balance between what England produces, what it exports and what it imports—we can say that little or no progress was made. The immediate, pressing, emergency situation will, at best, be met and the rate at which England is losing the balance of its resources will be slowed down. To see how little was accomplished, it is only necessary to point out that nothing was done about the issues of devaluation, loans, tariff reforms, economic unity and the coming end of Marshall Plan aid in 1952.

Fellow-Traveling Intellectuals Seen Bucking Dictation From French CP

A crisis is brewing in the French Stalinist movement with regard to its treatment of sympathetic intellectuals, according to an article in The Reporter for September 13. The magazine's Paris correspondent writes that the CP has decided to clamp down on intellectual members and sympathizers by regulating their non-political as well as political life.

The first sign of the CP's new attitude toward intellectuals came during a recent reported censure of the famous scientist Joliot-Curie by the CP Politburo for having recently stated that he would never give atomic secrets to a foreign power. "Joliot-Curie was allegedly reminded in quite positive terms that a Communist cannot divide his life in two, and that he must submit to party discipline in his laboratory, as well as in the voting booth."

A more serious situation arose among the French Stalinist intellectuals after the Lysenko affair. Laurent Casanova, the French CP commissar for intellectuals, received so many worried letters from his wards that he published a pamphlet called *The Responsibilities of the Communist Intellectual*. Casanova sharply attacked two Stalinist biologists, Prenant and Cohen, who had doubted, in the one case, that there was as yet sufficient evidence to support Lysenko's theories and, in the other case, that the Russian kind of political intervention into science was necessary.

In his pamphlet Casanova writes: "To speak of disinterested science is to commit the sin of formalism, as dangerous in science as in art." He insists that there is "bourgeois science" and "proletarian science" and that the twin had better not meet. As if to clinch the matter, he writes that the French CP's decision on the Lysenko business is "the personal work of our beloved comrade, Maurice Thorez, secretary-general of the party"—surely a formidable scientific argument.

But, writes The Reporter correspondent, "in the party cells the discussions are still acrimonious. Many intellectuals, muttering of their impending resignations, refuse to accept Thorez as supreme authority on scientific, artistic and philosophical matters. Many fellow travelers already have gone off in other directions—for instance, the famous dramatic team Jean-Louis Barrault and Madeleine Renaud."

NMU Convention—

(Continued from page 1)

Jobs and work conditions. Proposes to end the witch-hunt in the union, and calls for the extension of democracy within the union. Against expulsion of anyone for political views.

3. The "Voice of the Membership" Group—the CP front. Has with it some "unattached" militants. While on the "super-militant" side, its program differs little from the Independents—on paper.

At present the relative strength of the three groups indicates that Curran controls the largest bloc of votes, the Independents less, the CP least. Since the CP is in no position to choose, it will be forced to vote with the Independents. This rules out the possibility of Curran having the 2/3 majority necessary for constitutional changes. The Independent Caucus, if it is able to win to its side a majority of the 100-150 delegates that are not committed to Curran or the CP, will control the convention.

NON-COMMITTED DELEGATES

Anyone acquainted with the situation, however, knows that this is an enormous job. The non-committed delegates must be able to distinguish without difficulty the difference between the programs of the Independents and the CP. While it is a well established fact that the leading lights of the Independents were the most prominent fighters against the corrupt CP administration, they must in this fight once again state unambiguously that they will have no part of or make no political compromise with the Stalinists.

The Independent Caucus has within it many divergent views. While its supporters are in general agreement as to the present situation of the union, there are those independents, mostly former CPers, who unfortunately have only broken organizationally and not politically on basic issues from the CP. They have never

understood clearly that the CP acts fundamentally as an agency of the foreign policy of the Kremlin, and that all its twists and turns in the union movement are consistently aimed at subjugating the interests of the union to the Russian bureaucracy. Now that the CP inside the NMU thumb-tumps for noisy fake "militancy," these ex-CPers find it difficult to distinguish themselves from their former party and to make their differences clear to the delegates. Some even are not averse to presenting, if need be, a common front with the CP. This would, in our opinion, guarantee, a clear Curran victory (though, perhaps, still not a two thirds majority.)

The non-committed delegates will only support the independent caucus if they see clearly at all times that it is fighting bureaucracy, for pork-chops, and does not compromise with the accredited ex-administration hacks of the CP. It was these very same non-committed delegates who voted against the CP at the last convention. They made the difference!

Now, while it may be necessary to vote with the CP on certain issues, programatically the differences must therefore be emphasized all the more, rather than minimized.

LABOR ACTION will print a full account of the convention proceedings next week.

Turnabout

In Lima, Peru, a miners' union insisted on a contract clause that would require the mine owner to work one day a month in the mine.

We don't know whether John L. Lewis will include this idea in his contract negotiations, but it sounds like a good idea not only for the mine owners but also for the officers and bureaucrats of the mine union, just to keep them on their toes.

Skoglund Deportation Halted by Decision Of Immigration Board

NEW YORK, Sept. 10—The U. S. Board of Immigration Appeals has ordered a rehearing in the case of Carl Skoglund, 65-year-old Minnesota union leader, who was found subject to deportation on March 30 of this year by the Assistant Commissioner of Immigration. Skoglund's appeal was argued by Stanley H. Lowell, former Assistant U. S. District Attorney in New York City and member of the Alien Civil Rights Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Skoglund was held for deportation on the charge of admitting membership in the Socialist Workers Party ten years ago. The former president of Teamsters Local 544 in Minneapolis was one of the 18 leaders of that union and members of the Socialist Workers Party convicted in 1941 at the Minneapolis labor trials as the first victims of the thought-control Smith "Gag" Act. In 1944-45 Skoglund served a 16-month sentence in Federal prison in Sandstone, Minnesota, despite protests of labor organizations representing over five million members.

The Immigration Appeals Board based its decision to reopen his case on two main grounds. One was to ascertain whether Skoglund was qualified for discretionary relief which is granted in case of extreme personal hardship. The Board likewise recognized the contention of the defense that the deportation warrant was issued after an inadequate examination and upon incomplete evidence. Skoglund is now out on bond.

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