Europe Reports Nos. 5, 6

Life in Czechoslovakia

Waraz, August 13, 1948.

Mr. Harry Bridges, President ILWU, San Francisco:

Dear Harry:

From report No. 4 sent from Belgrade on the 8th you learned that our first assault upon fortresses "Iron Curtain" staged from the Allied base of Trieste was a complete success. Something many alarmists back home had predicted could not be done. The defenses protecting the next line—Czechoslovakia—are now without any battle and today we succeeded in obtaining a complete unconditional surrender of the most impregnable stronghold, namely the USSR. The victory was so complete that the Consul General of the USSR in Warsaw agreed to arrange for the trip by air to Moscow and personally escort us to the

Putting all jokes aside it will no doubt be a pleasure to all of you to hear that we were granted our visas to the USSR as soon as we arrived at the Consulate. Evidently good work was done from San Francisco and Paris. Everything was in readiness for the O.K. The Consul, a gentleman in every sense of the world, quiet-spoken, very intelligent, fixed us up in no time. Them Terrible Boozans. We guessed it all happened because we presented much of the American working class to whom the Russians are evidently very partial. The consul arranged for our air transportation himself and promised to come to the airport to see us off. Naturally we are looking forward to this visit with tremendous anxiety and interest.

PEOPLE HARD AT WORK

From Monday until Thursday we were in Czechoslovakia. We were met at the airport and received the same courtious friendly reception and treatment as in the previous countries. Prague is a very beautiful city and was spared from the fury of the war. The people work hard at work growing, producing and manufacturing so that they can improve the living standards of the people. As in Yugoslavia much has been done and is being done to make the life of the people more secure. The new Social Security measures are very advanced.

Life in Czechoslovakia is quite strenuous, rationing and price control is very strict. Last year the harvest was very bad and they are still suffering from that situation. This year the crops will be good. Czechoslovakia is exporting the harvest was very bad and they are still suffering from that situation. This year the crops will be good. Czechoslovakia is exporting

Workers Must Make Momentous Decision

By HENRY WALLACE

On this Labor Day, the working people of America face a political choice of the deepest significance. It is a choice between the two old parties of Wall Street and building a new party of labor and the common people.

The Democratic and Republican parties are captives of Wall Street and the big corporations. They have shackled labor with the Taft-Hartley Law, voted by a majority of both parties. They have destroyed price control and enabled an inflation which has cut the value of the worker's dollar in half and which threatens a disastrous depression.

They have failed to provide homes for the homeless, an adequate minimum wage for the underpaid, decent pensions for the aged, and American standards of social security for all. They have failed to protect the civil rights of minorities, and instead have launched witch-hunts which threaten the democratic liberties of all Americans. Their tax and other special favors to profiteers have been as noteworthy as their assaults on labor's rights and living standards.

DEBARY BRAGS

The only distinction between the two old parties is that Dewey and his Republicans brag of this record, while Truman and his Democrats make professions of liberalism that are belied by their acts. Truman has issued more strike-breaking injunctions than any president in history, and the majority of Democrats in Congress have voted with the Republicans against labor on nearly every issue.

The Democratic and Republican parties have reversed the "Old

No Suckers

Not a single sucker showed up at the Taft-Hartley polls to cast a vote on the waterfront employers' "final offer." The poster above, displayed prominently in every port up and down the coast, reminded longshoremen just how insulting was the employers' "final offer." The government's NLRB spent thousands of dollars setting up the polls for the vote August 30 and 31, Deserted polls and unmarked ballots bore evidence that no self-respecting union man stooped to consider an "offer" that amounted to the open shop and worsening of wages and conditions.

The Taft-Hartley "final offer" to the ILWU and the Waterfront Employers Association of the Pacific Coast broke off at 10 p.m. September 1 when the employers handed the union a complete contract on a take-or-leave-it basis.

The union's Coast Longshore and Shipclerks Negotiating committee pleaded for further discussions of the issues in dispute.

The shipowners countered with the following WITHDRAW OFFER.

They then also withdrew their offer. In making the offer they reneged on agreement in principle which had been reached on continuance of the hiring hall.

The take-or-leave-it offer was virtually the same, although dressed in new language as their now infamous and discreditted final offer presented August 10 to the President's Board of Inquiry, excepting that the wage offer was sweetened from 5 cents to 10 cents with no retroactivity and a wage review in December. The contract would have expired next June.

The final offer given to the President's Board of Inquiry was

(Continued on Back Page)
S

the cost of living have far outstripped wage increases. Truman, who made a brave state-
Return to Violence Marks First Taft-Hartley Year

SAN FRANCISCO — The Taft- Hartley Law’s first year has ful- filled its promise of labor. The record is one of police violence, labor spies, raiding, strikes. Yet the real test is how the Government lined up alongside employers in the name of peaceful relations.

In fact, “if the first year of the Taft-Hartley trail is to be judged by a single picture, it would be the picture of a policeman clubbing a leader of the Communist party on the grounds that the Government has a new booklet just issued here.

The Taft-Hartley Plot Unfolds
countries, and in fact that unions can fight back and a number of them have learned how. The CIO’s Research Department, through the experiences of unions, compiling and non-complying, points the way to progress in spite of the law LAPS TO FASCISM

And it warns that “at the end of the Taft-Hartley trail lies the labor movement.” The Taft-Hartley plotter, says the council, began their power “by filing affidavits, by threats of the NLRB and the law it administers to make union members that the Taft-Hartley plotters’ threats, NLRB and the law it administers, doesn’t mean you have to kill with the bosses.”

The real struggle is political. They have moved into high places in government, and so there is added responsibility for you to carry on the fight for the next few weeks, in the next few months. You have a real job to do. I want to repeat that I have had the privilege of fighting for the rights of the American people, of being a public leader who has come out at once to say that the hiring hall must remain as the Weichel bill they wanted. And I want to thank the Union for what it is doing there. I hope people in the West Indies, I hope to drop by Cuba to see some of our friends there.

Paul Robeson at CAUCUS

“Fought so hard for the rights of the American people, that I feel that this can only be done by seeing that we put deep interests of the people at heart, and that these men must be back. And I want to thank you from the depths of my heart!”

Robertson to ILWU—"I’m Proud of You"

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The announcement by President Truman on August 7 of a new shipbuilding program pointedly referred to the “federal budget and the American banker as well as they did under the Wagner Act. Only they have to send the lowest flunkey in the business with no authority whatsoever to tell an employer what his union’s strength, not the law, can forestall.

The main line has been that non-filing unions do not have the right to charge union workers for the real-cost of real organizing. The Taft-Hartley Law, as a weapon, has been exercised all over the country under the law.

The Council researchers found that under the Taft-Hartley Law the organizing of the unorganized has been replaced by raiding, mainly on filing unions on non-filing, often of filing on other filing unions.

The only significant record of real organizing is that of the CIO United Electrical Workers, a non-filing union.

FREED UNIONS OUTLAWED

The pamphlet, says the Council, “doesn’t mean you have to kill with the bosses.”

The pamphlet is aimed at those who are using the wage and price controls as an “oppressed minority” and that these men must be back. And I want to repeat that I have had the privilege of fighting for the rights of the American people, of being a public leader who has come out at once to say that the hiring hall must remain as the Weichel bill they wanted. And I want to thank the Union for what it is doing there. I hope people in the West Indies, I hope to drop by Cuba to see some of our friends there.

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WASHINGTON, D.C. — Labor Day is the only official holiday dedicated to the American worker. And although Congress legalized this holiday in 1894, it did so only after the workers themselves had been celebrating Labor Day for twelve years. The story goes back to 1882 and a meeting of the New York Central Labor Council.

It was Peter J. McGuire, pioneer trade unionist, and a founder of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, who first suggested the idea of setting one day of the year aside as a day for the workingman. In the spring of 1882 McGuire, a delegate to the New York Central Labor Union, proposed that the central body organize a festival and parade on the first Monday of September that year. This suggestion was agreed to and plans were laid for a workers' celebration.

It was McGuire's idea that the celebration be marked first by a street parade which, in his words, "would publicly show to the world and the whole universe of the great size of the workingmen's movement." This was to be followed by a picnic or festival in some grove.

Tuesday, September 5, 1882, was a day "with a fair sky, a gentle breeze and not too warm a sun." More than ten thousand working men marched proudly through the streets of New York City to celebrate the first Labor Day. Every major union was represented and also included among the marchers were the delegations to the convention of the Knights of Labor, then meeting in New York.

The New York Herald described the parade entering Union Square in these words: "The air was resonant with cheers and the music of many bands. A small square was mounted police, commanded by Roundman Garmon, rode at the head of the column. "Then, followed Grand Marshall Burke on foot and a small detachment from Bricklayers Union. They were wearing white aprons and carrying no clubs, although they had been chosen by the Central Labor Union to act as special police. They may have had bricks in their pockets. Anyhow, he would have been a bold man who undertook to disturb their peace.

Banners carrying inscriptions giving the demands of the workers featured in the parade.

The first banner read: "Who Stole the Ten-hour Day?" Other banners said: "All men are born equal," "It Creates All," and "Agitate, Educate, Organize."

THE organized workers of New York City were as consistent as could be seen in action in 1882 as they are today. The Cloth Cutters Association was founded in 1882 and the year before, they "Voted the Labor Ticket." While the New York Friendly Society of Masons carried a streamer reading "Indications That November 7th Will Be Cold Day for the Politicians."

Peter McGuire, later to become president of the American Federation of Labor, was a member of the Advance Labor Club. When this organization marched by the reviewing stand they carried two banners: "Abolish the Money Monopoly" and "Pay No Rent."

According to the New York World: "To allay the apprehensions of many spectators, some of whom might be landlords, Mr. McGuire remarked that the rent motto was not, however, for immediate application."

The Journeymen Printers' Union came next, with the motto that no man could make land and therefore no man should produce it.

Everyone who marched had taken the day off and lost a day's pay. It was reported that the strongest contingent came from the Bricklayers Union. Few bricks were laid in New York that day. Perhaps the solid turnout by the bricklayers was accounted for by the fact that they all had received: "All members not out by Tuesday at eight n. m. will be fined $25."

The first Labor Day was a complete success. In 1883 and 1884 the New York Central Labor Council repeated this demonstration and celebration while inviting other central labor bodies to do likewise. The idea spread rapidly. The Knights of Labor endorsed Labor Day soon after. And in 1884 the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, immediate predecessor of the AFL, passed a resolution setting the first Monday in September aside as "Laborer's National Holiday." By 1885 Labor Day was celebrated in many industrial centers of the states. The AFL, from its founding, had pushed for the recognition of Labor Day as a legal holiday. Municipal ordinances passed in 1885 and 1886 were the first legal recognitions of this holiday. In 1887 the first state to pass a law legalizing Labor Day was Oregon. In the same year Colorado, Massachusetts, New Jersey and New York created the Labor Day holiday by legislative enactment.

At the convention of the AFL in 1890 President Gompers had recommended that every effort be made to obtain more state laws and proclamations such as that just issued by the Governor of Kansas. The Governor had requested that all businesses and manufacturing concerns be closed down on Labor Day. By 1893 some 33 states had laws on their books establishing the Labor Day holiday. Finally on May 28, 1894, Congress passed, without discussion, an act making the fist Monday in September of each year a legal holiday. By 1900 most of the states had recognized Labor Day officially.

The form that the observance and celebration of Labor Day should take was first outlined by old Peter McGuire and followed thereafter; a street parade to exhibit the strength of the workers' organizations, followed by a festival for the recreation and amusement of the workers and their families.

In the early years of the twentieth century Labor Day became increasingly accepted as a general holiday. It wasn't very much later before politicians saw these workers' gatherings as a good place for political speech making. What had originally been a defiant workers' holiday, and in ever
preservation of workers' pride in their organizations in some places soon changed to a good time with free beer supplied by the local political boss.

It was this change in the nature of the holiday and the careful attitude of the AFL leaders which led the New Industrial Workers of the World at their first convention in 1935 to denounce Labor Day as a "booses holiday." The I.W.W. decided that May 1st should be celebrated as the workers' holiday, and it should be celebrated by every worker putting down his tools and quitting his job.

As one far-seeing delegate, in lone minority, pointed out at the I.W.W. convention, this decision was like so many others made there. While a few militants decided on May 1st as the workers' holiday, the workers themselves were marching in the streets on the "labor holiday.

"Labor Day is not a time for mere merrymaking and personal enjoyment, but a time for pleading our cause and to each other... We cannot, as an organization, afford not to use labor's influence, to the best advantage our needs, demands, etc."

But the formerly high level of Labor Day celebrations continued to give way. In 1914 the executive council of the AFL was forced to ask, "Shall Labor Day lose its distinctive character and become a mere holiday for general meaningless festive purposes and for the exploitation of private profit?"

The old ways, parades, and meetings were reistered because "those outside the labor movement test its strength and virility by the way in which Labor Day is observed."

**Celebrating Labor Day**

**WASHINGTON (FP) -** NLRB general counsel H. N. Demen had been away and had his sick bed August 23 to greet the press with a "Happy Birthday" on the anniversary of the birth and operation of the Taft-Hartley act.

Demen has been away from his desk for two months. He still looked ill but cheerful as he told reporters that "all I can say is Happy New Year." The Taft-Hartley act has been fought more bitterly by labor than any other law enacted by the 80th Congress. Each month of its operation has given more ammunition to those who called it a slave law and a first step toward fascism. Demen was chosen for the key administration post of the National Association of Manufacturers spokesmen who drafted the bill.

**Europe Reports Nos. 5-6**

Life in Poland

(Continued from Page 5)

and for that reason it will not be possible to complete the tour in the allotted sixty days and do a good, worthwhile job.

Herman Stuyvelaar

Joe Zuber

Dag Brown

Moscow, August 25, 1948.

Dear Harry:

Our last report was from Warsaw. Before we left for here we visited the ports of Gdynia and Danzig. There again we had the opportunity to work with the press and the U.S. public relations inspectors and to see in person the devastated areas of the pro-Nazi countries of France and Italy. In both the Polish ports we heard the Germans boasting about their thorough work of destruction, but today they are better than 90 percent rebuilt, solely with and by the efforts of the workers and the Polish government.

They have in these places a wonderful set of heavy lift cranes and mechanical equipment for handling cargo which is one of the main articles of export. We told you in previous reports that in the French and Italian ports the workers had not been allowed to do their job but were chiefly done by hand. In Naples the stevedores handled the discharging of the cargo instead of the usual method of doing it done in Port Said thirty years ago, namely each man carrying the stuff in baskets.

Our reception in the Baltic ports was just marvelous. We were treated in royal fashion. Our last night in Warsaw was a touching farewell from trade union officials and ordinary workers. Most of the people we met in Poland had gone through the terrible ordeal of the Warsaw insurrection in 1944 when 200,000 were slaughtered by the German beast. Others had been in the concentration camps at Belsen and other horror spots. Some had had their entire families wiped out and we actually saw women with the numbers tattooed on their arms.

Here was the final message from the Polish workers: "For heavens sake tell the American people we want no more war; we want to rebuild our country and live in peace with every country."

We suggest you have this appeal printed in as big headlines as possible so that at least our American readers will read and hear this call.

**UNIONS OPPOSE**

"They had to change their methods and outlook.

Businessmen have also noted and approved the change referred to above. "I think we need to change," one businessman has told me that the change is not only in the union officials but also in the members."

"They have been formed to aid the employer in his job."

Unions men could probably tell you how, though they most likely would have used different language.

**Sergeants-at-Arms**

Frank M. Andrews of Olympia, Wash. (Local 42), and Dave Keele of San Francisco (Local 10) were sergeants-at-arms at the 20-1-2 Longshore and Shipbuilders' caucus in San Francisco.

**Big Business Fetes T-H on 1st Birthday**

Big Business fetes T-H on 1st Birthday

"This has been a most satisfying year in the administration of the law as many people called it a disaster," added "I make no bones about it, this act has been a most successful year.""

Demen counsel made perhaps his frankest statement when he said that he gave greatest credit to the efforts of the workers and the Polish government. They have in these places a wonderful set of heavy lift cranes and mechanical equipment for handling cargo which is one of the main articles of export. We told you in previous reports that in the French and Italian ports the workers had not been allowed to do their job but were chiefly done by hand. In Naples the stevedores handled the discharging of the cargo instead of the usual method of doing it done in Port Said thirty years ago, namely each man carrying the stuff in baskets.

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(Continued from Page 1)
Scalers’ Settlement

Scalers Local 2 signed up with the Shipping Contractors Association last week in San Francisco for another two-year contract. Effective August 23, jobs from $1.41 to $1.57 per hour straight time and $3.18 per hour under which scalers use the hire hall, were written into the contract continue into the second year. However, those opposed to the hiring clause are at work, with the board where the dockers plug in at the left. The aim in planning of the new contract was maximum freedom for the workers.

New Hiring Hall

Local 10 dockers, finally out of their black hole of a hiring hall in a brand new, clean and modern building at Pier 18. Years of pressure paid off in the $75,000 hall after the negotiations. The San Francisco dockers had fought for an improved hall continuously for years, but received no cooperation from the shipowners until Rolando Beef

AFL and CIO lumber workers closed down the Lyons Lumber mill in Coos Bay, Ore., August 30 in support of maritime workers picketing when the owner tried to load and run his motorship Rolando, with landlubbers, in Coos Bay.

Back in April, Lyons, the Rolando’s owner, agreed that it should be manned by the Marine Firemen in the engine department and Lumbermen with sailors in the deck department.

He then proceeded to run the ship with landlubbers in all departments, and tried to load and unload with sailors instead of longshoremen. The Rolando loaded at Coos Bay, unloaded at San Francisco and reloaded at Coos Bay with the help of AFL crane operators.

Scab engineers took over in San Francisco after the three CIO engineers who sailed down from Coos Bay left the ship in support of cooks and firemen.

The ILWU, Marine Cooks, Marine Firemen and Marine Engineers threw a picket line around the Rolando as soon as it hit Coos Bay last week.

San Francisco saw mill workers have pledged not to work behind picket lines in case the Rolando comes back there.

Local 209 Sends Members To Progressive Conflag

CLEVELAND, O. — ILWU Warehouse Local 209 sent four members to the Ohio Progressive Party one-day convention in August. They were Lloyd Yamamoto, Dan Grant, Josephine Hansen and John Hurley.

Oakland Warehousemen Elect Ed Newman

OAKLAND, Calif. — Ed Newman, steward at Paraffine Companies, has been elected ILWU Warehouse Local 6 East Bay business agent to replace Ray Heide who died in June.

Only 5 per cent of the American people own corporation stock.

Negotiation

The longshoremen’s executive board, under the leadership of Vice President Harry Hanaoka of the ILWU, will go to the city Board of Health in San Francisco to demand the right to inspect the health and safety provisions in operation August 23 after a grand opening celebration. The San Francisco dockers had fought for an improved hall continuously for years, but received no cooperation from the shipowners until Rolando Beef

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Back in April, Lyons, the Rolando’s owner, agreed that it should be manned by the Marine Firemen in the engine department and Lumbermen with sailors in the deck department.

He then proceeded to run the ship with landlubbers in all departments, and tried to load and unload with sailors instead of longshoremen. The Rolando loaded at Coos Bay, unloaded at San Francisco and reloaded at Coos Bay with the help of AFL crane operators.

Scab engineers took over in San Francisco after the three CIO engineers who sailed down from Coos Bay left the ship in support of cooks and firemen.

The ILWU, Marine Cooks, Marine Firemen and Marine Engineers threw a picket line around the Rolando as soon as it hit Coos Bay last week.

San Francisco saw mill workers have pledged not to work behind picket lines in case the Rolando comes back there.

Local 209 Sends Members To Progressive Conflag

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 Strike Vote

for the Progressive Party.

Bethlehem Steel are members of

for low-cost homes, $1 minimum

ated a contract with California

received a 10 cent increase. Wages

was voted to labor's en-

in a good many CIO unions, they

unions are not free. Well, if in

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Seniority on a company-wide

Pickets are marching around

pressures to provoke another

prevaling here, the Greens, the

that it is futile to strike, that the

ILWU is not asking for

any Taft-Hartley union shop, but

members have 25 years

at that time its workers organized,

refused to recognize Local 26.

New Contract

With 100 percent backing from the

At the Harper Reynolds Hard-

Solid Strike

Pickets are marching around

Redwood City Raise

(Moved by the Inter-branch

Propaganda Smoked Out

World" peace policies of Roose-

RENTS IN CONTRACT

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The AFL and its stooges are

Wages remain the same except at

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Good for Two Years

The review procedure on classi-

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Lawrence Resigns Democrat Post for Wallace Work

LOS ANGELES — William S. Lawrence, ILWU national director in Southern California, on August 27 resigned from the Los Angeles County Central Democratic Committee to work for Henry Wallace's election to the presidency because he cannot support President Truman "without betraying all that I fought for under Roosevelt and betraying every worker in the country."

In his letter of resignation to the chairman of the committee, Glenn Anderson, Lawrence said he is "going to fight like hell for Henry Wallace" — the only man running for the United States presidency who "stands firmly fighting for the common man."

"Every vote for Henry Wallace is going to be a vote against Government strike-breaking, it's going to be a vote against high prices and super profits, it's going to be a vote for the United States Government to stop trying to boss the peoples of the rest of the world."

TRUMAN'S WORDS PHONEY

"The Democratic Party will either learn its lesson and become again a pro-business, semi-monopoly party, or it will die. I doubt if the Forrestals will permit it even to start learning the first chapter."

Lawrence also pointed out that he cannot "stomach the group of Wall Street investment bankers and power-hungry military brass hats who are today running the affairs of the nation, who are the Truman Administration."

"Truman has made himself the No. 1 strike-breaker in the nation, the Republican has ever served the employers more faithfully... Truman's words of friendship for labor are as phoney and empty as his proclamation for civil liberties."

CIO Unions' Labor Day Plans Told

SAN FRANCISCO — Plans for Labor Day ceremonies September 6 in the San Francisco bay area now call for the traditional line of March of all CIO unions from the waterfront up Market street to the Civic Center.

A short rally will culminate the day's celebration. Prominent labor leaders in the Bay Area will address the rally before the City Hall.

In addition to the CIO units, three outside organizations have been authorized by the San Francisco CIO Parade Committee to join the line of march. They are Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Histadrut and the Citzens Call to Peace.

All ILWU locals will march in the parade, with Locals 6 and 10 voting compulsory attendance in the ceremonies.

In San Pedro, the CIO Labor Day services open with a march to the waterfront at 10:30 a.m. This will be followed by a barbeque at Point Ferrin Park in San Pedro at which Leo Kryszczy, prominent member of the Wal- most of the San Francisco's Joint Action Committee, will speak.

Miners' Friend

At Permanentes Hospital in Oakland ILWU Local 6 member Loretta Doba interviewed United Mine Workers member Elwood "Tiny" Cork- endall who is receiving treatment under his union's welfare plan. More than 60 miners are in Permanentes and about 40 in Vallejo. They are victims of mine accidents in various parts of the country, the most serious cases being sent for treatment, therapy and surgery first. Local 6 warehousemen have bought 19 radios for the miners while they are in the hospital, one for every room occupied by a UMW member. Groups of warehousemen are organizing to visit the miners. Standing at the right is UMW member Raymond Barker.

SHIPS DOWN AS FRONT EMPLOYERS RENEGE ON HIRING HALL PROMISES

(Continued from Page 1)

put up to the membership in a Disputal Labor Joint Board poll on August 30 in the small ports and on August 30 and 31 in the major ports.

Not one member showed up to vote.

SOLIDARITY PROVED

Boycott of the ballot was well-crafted at international headquarters the greatest demonstration of solidarity in the history of trade unionism.

Newspapers brushed off the significance of the action by pretending that since negotiations had resumed the vote would be academic.

On the bigger hull issue the employers reached agreement obviously to better their public position. They resented it on it by demanding that the union agree to a clause by which a court could set that part of the agreement aside. The very fact that they were at the same time prosecuting the union before the NLRB on the hiring hall issue, seeking to have their own offer declared illegal, proved their bad faith.

In attempt to reach agreement without strike the union narrowed its demands down to 15 cents an hour without retroactivity or a wage review next December with contract to run until June, 1951, with wage reviews in June and December next year.

STAND PAT ON DEMANDS

The clerks' issue was finally settled with striking AFL molders.

Throughout the negotiations the shipowners played to the press gallery and tried to stampede the union's rank and file by making matter directly to the members over the heads of the elected committees.

To Intimidate Members

The former negotiations which would have been held an overflow meeting at Coliseum Thursday morning stopwork meeting which would have been held regardless of the strike.

Local 10 in San Francisco, in an overflow meeting at Coliseum Bowl, voted unanimously to accept the report of the negotiating committee and to support the national leadership.

ILWU President Harry Bridges told the meeting that in the last days of the negotiations the employers based their actions upon the feeling that the union could not stand a strike, and that the membership would stampede to accept their phony offers.

The former FDR agents in the shipowners' publicity setup have been at work to undermine the union's position.