

More UE Locals Join CIO; Carey Hits ACTU Power Bid

The sweep of the nation's electrical workers into the new International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE-CIO) continues. It is larger and faster than anyone expected. New locals are joining the IUE so fast that the officials in charge of the drive find it difficult to keep up with them. By last week, majorities in locals containing over 200,000 workers had already voted for the IUE-CIO as against the Stalinist-controlled UE.

Unionists close to the struggle report that the surge into the IUE-CIO is having an effect on workers in unorganized shops. The drive is creating a groundswell of CIO sentiment. Requests for CIO organizers are coming in from unorganized shops more frequently than has been the case in years.

Of course, the picture is not the same everywhere, and the fight is far from won. Many good members of the Stalinist-controlled United Electrical Workers resent the expulsion of their union from the CIO, and are afraid that even though this expulsion was directed against the Stalinist leadership, it sets a bad precedent for future democracy in the CIO. It is reported that even some of the CIO officials working on the IUE drive feel that they may have gone too far at the CIO convention in bringing all the Stalinist-controlled officers up on charges.

ACTU SLAPPED DOWN

Strangely enough, they feel that particularly in the case of Ben Gold and other leaders of the Fur Workers who have been operating openly as Communist Party members, expulsion would be dangerous. After all, they reason, since Gold has proclaimed his Communist Party membership for years, the rank and file of his union have never been fooled into voting for him; they have done

so with full knowledge of what they were getting.

To expel this union is to avow openly that the CIO is not only concerned to rid itself of leaders who fool and betray their own memberships, but of all dissident opinion. And even more important, under the circumstances they doubt whether they would be able to take over the membership in fur, longshore and other industries as easily as they are getting them from the UE.

The struggle for control of the new CIO union of electrical workers is already in full swing behind the scenes. The most open break in this fight to date has been between the avowed members of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists (ACTU) and James Carey in District 6 (Pittsburgh).

In this district, the well-known so-called "labor priest," Father Rice, and his henchmen of the ACTU have set up a more or less independent district committee. This open organizational interference of the ACTU in the affairs of the union called forth a public rebuke from James Carey, who told the press that neither the ACTU nor any other "outside organization" would be permitted to dictate policy to the membership of the new union.

The national conference of the IUE-CIO to be held in Philadelphia this week will lay down policy for

the rest of the drive, and will give the new union its organizational set-up till the first constitutional convention is held next spring. Information available at this time indicates that the Philadelphia conference will adopt an interim constitution which will be used till the first convention.

DEMOCRATIC SETUP VITAL

There will be no election of officers at this time. The men who are now directing the drive were elected by the opposition caucus at the last convention of the UE, and they will continue in charge.

That is about as democratic a setup as is possible at this fluid stage of the membership drive. But the delegates at Philadelphia can take certain steps to assure themselves of the greatest possible democracy and freedom for the rank and file in the future. They can see to it that the interim constitution is fully democratic and gives minority opinion in the new union ample safeguards.

The most important single measure they can take to ensure rank-and-file democracy is to see to it that district committees are set up immediately, composed of delegates elected from each local as it votes to join the IUE. Such democracy on the district level can insure the new union against any machine that might try to get control before the first constitutional convention.

Curran Tries to Clamp Dictatorship over NMU; United Ranks Hold Hall

By N. R. GADEN

NEW YORK, Nov. 21.—At the present time the Port of New York membership of the National Maritime Union is in possession of the NMU hiring hall and New York Port offices. Arrayed against them and attempting to wrest control of the memberships' property from the rank and file, are Curran and his supporters among the officialdom of the union, assisted by the New York police force. The methods being used by Curran against the solid phalanx of the New York membership are almost unheard-of in recent times in the labor movement. They will go down in the history of the American labor movement as being identical with the methods used by strike-breaking agencies in their attempt to smash the trade unions in the past.

What has brought about this situation? How explain the positively passionate hatred the thousands of NMU members have toward their once popular leader? What has brought forth such wrath from a rank and file that is primarily anti-CP and which supported overwhelmingly the anti-CP slate in the last union election, voting every last Communist Party official out of office?

The majority of the officials elected in the 1948 union election went back on their program to the membership after the election. The program of the Rank and File Caucus pledged more democracy within the union and an increased struggle for better conditions aboard ship. The constitution was changed by the membership so that every policy, expenditure, removal from office, charges against members, all had to come before the membership for approval before it was effectuated. This meant either submitting these questions to a membership referendum or a vote by the New York Port membership. (New York is called "headquarters port" as it is larger than the membership of all other ports combined.)

Soon after these officials were elected they replaced the program of the Rank and File Caucus with a purge of all CPers. All that the officials ever talked about in *The Pilot* (the union's newspaper) and to the men aboard ships was: "Get the hawks." At first the membership was silent but when conditions aboard ship began to deteriorate and grievances were ignored, etc., they began to grumble. Those who grumbled were immediately labeled "Communist." In the Southern ports union

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'Don't You Believe in Democracy?' Asks Curran—Behind Cops' Clubs

From behind the lines of police who have just thwarted the vote of the NMU membership meeting and installed him as chairman against the shouted protests of thousands of rank-and-file members, Joe Curran, cop-installed dictator, calls out: "Don't you fellows believe in democracy?"

Only a man with a Stalinist-molded mind could perform like a totalitarian in the name of "democracy." His conception of democracy is akin to the "people's democracy" of the Stalinist satellites and the "democracy" of the Russian autocrats whose police regimes take over in the name of the "will of the people."

Curran, who worked with the CP for years to control the NMU, belatedly took up the fight in the CIO against the Communist Party. But his methods still run along Stalinist channels. He may hate the CP for his own reasons but he still applauds and respects the Stalinist methods of dealing with the rank and file. One need only read excerpts from his speech at the CIO convention—a speech directed against the Communist Party:

"I am very happy to hear that the great Furriers Union is a democratic union. I have known that for a long time. I am also happy to hear that the Longshoremen's Union, a union which I have a great deal of respect for, has good wages, hours and conditions, and is a democratic union. I knew that too."

And a few moments later, he makes his tribute to "soviet" democratic practices: "I have been around this old world a few times. I have been in the Soviet Union, I have been in other places, and I am sure that the trade-union movement in the Soviet Union, once the top leadership has taken a position, does not go out if they object and commence a great slander campaign around the Soviet Union against the leaders of the trade-union movement in the Soviet Union."

The Furriers Union and Longshoremen's Union, dominated by the Communist Party, enjoy the type of democracy permitted by Stalinists, namely, dictatorship. That's good enough for Curran.

The "trade-union movement" in Russia is a puppet police-controlled instrument of totalitarianism. But Curran admires at least one of its features: once the leadership speaks, no one is allowed to "slander" its decisions.

And that is what Curran wants in the NMU: a police-terrorized membership which is afraid to "slander" its officialdom—that is, a membership which cannot and will not criticize Curran.

By BEN HALL

NEW YORK, Nov. 19.—In the port of New York, home branch of half the membership of the National Maritime Union (CIO) and seat of its national headquarters, President Joseph Curran enters and leaves his office protected by a squad of 20 policemen in the face of the violent, jeering, mocking hatred of his rank and file. When he goes home in the evening surrounded by his bodyguard, a hundred members of the NMU tag along, taunting him with "fkn" and "rat." "What's the matter, Joe?" yell the milling group. "Do you need cops to protect you against your own members?"

And he does! Curran has no majority in New York. In truth, he does not have the support even of a minority worth speaking about.

Only a tiny clique of office holders and would-be office holders rally to his side. Without membership support, he is desperately calling on the police to take the New York hiring hall away from the rank and file and its elected leaders.

He supported Mayor O'Dwyer in the recent election and now he gets his payment: the New York police force is at his disposal to use against the members of the NMU. High point in Curran's new type of unionism—police-unionism—came at the port of New York membership meeting on Thursday, November 17.

On the previous Monday the Curran-dominated national office announced the "removal" of New York Port Agent David Drummond and all patronmen who supported him. Drummond is the top elected official of the New York branch; patrolmen, also elected, work under his jurisdiction. He is a leader of the Independent Caucus of the NMU, which opposes the bureaucratization of the union by Curran.

Drummond was "removed" in violation of the union constitution, which provides for a fair and square trial before the New York membership. Curran knew that he could never convict Drummond but he had to get rid of this thorn in his side. He moved illegally.

But it didn't work. On Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday thousands of rank-and-file members massed into their union hall, spilling over into the streets and saw to it that Drummond continued as port agent. Everyone awaited the regular New York membership meeting, scheduled for Thursday night, beginning at 7:30 at St. Nicholas Arena.

COPS AND CLUBS FOR CURRAN

At six o'clock, NMU members began to arrive. They found the entrance to the Arena blocked by police. Twenty cavalrymen were posted on each side of West 66th Street. Scores of ordinary police and plain-

BULLETIN

As we go to press, two outposts have voted at NMU membership meetings to support the action of the New York Port membership against Curran. These are San Francisco and Boston.

Word has also been received from the SS America, largest ship in the U. S. merchant fleet, that its crew is in full support of the New York membership.

Curran bids fair to have a nationwide revolt on his hands.

French Rightist Unions Call General Strike; Anti-CP Union Unity Forms

By SAUL BERG

PARIS, Nov. 17.—The definite refusal of the Bidault government to meet the demands of the French trade unions has resulted in the first steps toward decisive action by the latter. During the 21 days that France was without a government, the unions held off, since wages are fixed by the government and there was no cabinet with which to negotiate. But now the new cabinet has formally replied to the unions, standing by its policy of offering a wage increase only to the lowest paid workers, together with a promise of restoring free collective bargaining within a few weeks. The latter promise is, however, completely vitiated by government projects that call for compulsory arbitration.

And more fuel was added to the fire when it was announced that the cost of living rose another 3 per cent in October, making a total rise of 7 per cent since the summer ended.

The most conservative proposal of any union had been that of the reformist Force Ouvrière federation, calling for an increase of 3,000 francs per month (\$8.00) for all workers. Since even this proposal was reject-

ed, FO has called a 24-hour general strike for November 25.

This marks the first time that FO has taken the lead in calling a large-scale demonstrative action. It did so only after considerable rank-and-file pressure and in the face of the fact that its previous policy of inaction has resulted in total failure in its efforts to wrest the masses away from the Stalinist CGT (General Confederation of Labor).

SP VOTES DOWN RAISE

In the next few days we will see what attitude the leadership of the other trade-union federations take toward the strike call, and we will also see whether the FO leadership actually sticks to its decision. For although the decision is absolutely necessary if FO is to defend the workers' interests in any measure, it is at the same time an extraordinary bold one for a conservative leadership that only CLAIMS to have 900,000 union members among the seven or eight million workers of France.

The contradiction that the FO leadership finds itself in is indicated by a vote that took place in the Chamber.

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SP Says No More Campaigns, to Let Members Support Dems in Elections

The Socialist Party of the United States, under the leadership of Norman Thomas, has taken another step toward becoming simply an index entry in a history book. By a majority vote of its national committee, at a meeting over the November 12-13 weekend, the leadership of the SP proposes to its next convention that it virtually cease the practice of running candidates in elections, in other than exceptional cases.

Even this step may never come to a meaningful vote, since the Norman Thomas group is holding a referendum in December on merger with the Social Democratic Federation. Main obstacle to such merger (and dissolution of the Socialist Party as such) is not opposition sentiment in the SP but in the more consistently reformist SDF. Opponents of merger in the latter organization were not even satisfied with the SP's referendum vote to take no position on the A-Pact, insisting that the SP should go the whole hog in swallowing American imperialism.

The SP has also recently decided to give up its only official organ, the Socialist Call. The paper is to be taken over by a non-party group of socialists and liberals under the name of the Call Association, now being formed over the signature of Norman Thomas, and is to be transformed into a nondescript organ of "progressive thought." Such at least is the prospectus.

The new step was taken by the na-

tional committee by a 7-5 vote, the minority advocating continuance as far as possible of the present attitude on electoral activity by the group. Majority votes came from Thomas, Tucker P. Smith, Maynard Krueger, Martin Diamond, Hy Fish, Harry Fleischman and William Becker. The minority consisted of Darlington Hoopes, A. E. Tong, Rob-in Myers, Harvey Taylor and John Mcartney. The personnel of the minority indicates that the division was not on a left wing versus right wing basis even insofar as these terms have any meaning in the Socialist Party today.

FACES TOWARD DEMS

The resolution which was passed not only virtually knocked out SP electoral activity but also laid the ground for channeling electoral activity by SPers into the Democratic Party. The wording of the document is delicate on this point but says:

"Necessarily such a program [of education for socialism] will deal with the manner and extent to which the party, as an organization, or individual Socialists should work in organizations like the AFL's Labor League for Political Education, the CIO's Political Action Committee, or Americans for Democratic Action and through them participate in electoral action in one of the major parties. . . .

"Democratic socialism requires a mass electoral party consciously de-

voted to it. Conceivably such a party might be achieved by the basic conversion of one of the major parties."

But, the resolution goes on to say, "We believe it far more likely—and definitely preferable—that it be achieved through a labor party. The minority resolution argues against the premise, shared by ADA and some Socialists, that progressive elements can win control of the [Democratic] party and use it as their vehicle of social change."

While permitting electoral campaigns "where the resources and morale of the party permit an impressive and truly educational campaign," and where it may be necessary to retain the SP line on the ballot, the majority resolution specifically rules out running candidates "where a campaign would contribute, or seem to our potential supporters to contribute, to the triumph of reactionary candidates and policies opposed by labor and liberal forces. This does not imply, however, that the Socialist Party, as such, should endorse candidates of either of the two major parties."

Norman Thomas thus swallows several carloads of golden-voiced speeches in which he has condemned the notion of "the lesser evil" in a tweedledum-dee choice between Democrats and Republicans. The disintegration of the SP organization is, of course, especially rapid as a result of such disintegration of its political ideology.

Cotton Pickers in Calif. Beat Associated Farmers

NOVEMBER 10 (Released by National Sharecroppers Fund)—A development of great importance took place recently in California which can help set a new pattern for the future of poor farm laborers, migrants and sharecroppers. Little has appeared about it in the press outside of California.

California agriculture is a planned economy—but it is planned as the private preserve of the Associated Farmers, Inc. This notorious organization of large growers and finance farmers wields dominant power not only over the economic life of the state, but also over local law-enforcement agencies, and even over local representatives of federal agencies. It is a kind of feudalism operating by modern high-pressure methods.

Below these big growers are the small farmers who employ two or three hands during the picking season and whose livelihood is completely at the mercy of the Associated Farmers. Pressure is brought to bear on recalcitrant small farmers through big-grower control of cotton gins, loans, hauling facilities, etc.

STRIKE IN THE VALLEY

At the bottom of the pile is the largest group, the migrants and day laborers, whose conditions of life are a standing reproach to every American. These men, women and children are Negro, white ("Okies" and "Arkies") and Mexican-American in about equal numbers.

The strategy of the Associated Farmers has always been to create the utmost division—to keep the small growers and field hands from combining forces, and to keep the Negroes, whites and Mexican-Americans isolated from each other and if possible openly hostile to each other. For they well know that a combination of all these groups could undermine their power.

This fall a crucial stage was reached when the big growers in California decided to lower the cotton picking wage from \$3.00 to \$2.50 per hundred pounds of cotton. Significantly enough, the cotton-picking rate was lowered simultaneously throughout the cotton country, indicating some kind of collusion between the big growers of the West

and the cotton planters of the South. As word of the cut spread through the cotton fields, alarm and desperation grew among the field hands, who always hope to scrape together enough during the picking season to carry them through the lean winter months. Instinctively, the migrants and day laborers knew that if they bowed to the Associated Farmers, they would be cooperating in the perpetuation of their own misery. So with nothing in their hands, no bank accounts, no protection under the law and no organization, the cotton pickers of the rich Central Valley began streaming out of the cotton fields by the thousands.

UNITED THEY STAND

It was at this point that the National Farm Labor Union stepped in, provided leadership, and created out of a spontaneous and unorganized gesture of despair an orderly and responsible opposition to the threatened wage cut. NFLU organizers, long experienced in working with men and women of different races and national backgrounds and deeply committed to equality for all, organized meetings of farm workers and caravans of old jalopies.

Negro, white and Mexican-American cooperated in smooth solidarity. Every jalopy caravan on the roads of the Central Valley had members of all three groups.

As soon as the cotton pickers began moving out of the fields, county authorities began to pass ordinances forbidding the caravans and prohibiting the use of loudspeakers. Under these and other existing ordinances,

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New Issue of C.I. Due This Month

"Confrontation Internationale," the international Marxist socialist discussion magazine, announces that its fourth issue will appear by the end of November.

Published bi-monthly in the French language, the magazine is the only organ of its type, appearing not as the publication of any single national group or pseudo-international body, but published jointly by representatives of a number of independent Marxist groups in various countries for the purpose of analyzing the present-day problems before the Marxist movement. These groups include the Spanish POUM, the Independent Socialist League of the U. S. and the Action Socialiste Révolutionnaire of France.

The fourth number of CI will feature:

- Alfred Rosmer on "Problems of Yesterday and Today."
- Max Shachtman on "Stalinism and the Labor Movement."
- Simone Harmel on "The Conditions of the Workers and the Economic Struggle."
- Ferraud on "Reflections on Revolutionary Degeneration."
- André-Gelo on "The Nation."
- Solski on "Sergei Eisenstein."
- Collette Audry in a review of Simone de Beauvoir's "The Second Sex."

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IN PHILADELPHIA—

Westinghouse UE Elects CIO Men

By FRANK HARPER

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 21—The results of the November 18 general elections in Westinghouse Local 107 of the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America (UE) show a substantial if not smashing victory for the pro-CIO forces in that local. A "Labor Unity" slate won eight of the twelve contested posts from the incumbent pro-Stalinist local leadership.

All three top posts fell to the opposition group as Carl Gray and John Haight rolled up several hundred-vote margins over the present president, John Schaefer, and recording secretary, George Yaunches, while Clarence Felker nosed out Francis Bradley in the contest for business representative.

Others elected on the pro-CIO slate were: Treasurer, Lewis Ziegler, Herb Yannone for sergeant-at-arms, Carl Soderberg as trustee and two on the three-man general bargaining committee.

The administration "Keep 107 Strong Slate" got only the vice-presidency, financial secretary, one sergeant-at-arms and one general committee post. Eighty per cent of the 6,000 dues-paying members voted, indicating extreme interest in the contests. The pro-CIO group should be able to follow up on its victory in the coming chief stewards' and stewards' elections. The "Labor Unity" caucus leaders have clearly evidenced their CIO orientation but for tactical reasons their election platform called only for an immediate referendum "on any issue threatening to destroy the local."

CIO HAS THE EDGE

Although the newly elected officers at Local 107 do not take office until the first of the year, the recent elections will serve to remind the incumbents that the membership has resented the blind following of national UE policy, particularly with reference to the CIO split issue. Since both the Westinghouse Corporation and the new International Union of Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers (CIO) have petitioned the National Labor Relations Board for an election to determine the bargaining agent, this local election contest does not settle the affiliation dispute but indicates that the pro-CIO forces have finally gotten the edge in the struggle in spite of the efforts of the leadership to bottle up opposition to UE policy by administrative maneuvers.

A recent previous motion to support the Stalinist UE, voted 20-to-6 by the executive board and passed by a controlled membership meeting of 300 people last week, was effectively negated by the general election results.

Elsewhere in the area the main interest was in the locals of the Radio Corporation of America in Camden,

N. J. and Lancaster, Pa. On Tuesday, Camden Local 103 tried to hold two meetings to vote on the issue of affiliation. The night shift voted 147-132 to defeat a motion for a vote of confidence in the Stalinist UE. The day-shift meeting broke up after several hours of tumult without a vote being recorded. Both sides claimed victory.

The disturbance was touched off by the appearance of CIO Secretary James B. Carey as an uninvited speaker. Carey refused to leave the hall on the ground that the executive board decision to invite speakers of both the CIO and the UE to the meeting was not being carried out by President John Leto. Unable to force Carey's eviction or to keep the meeting in hand, Leto finally left with some of his followers. Later in the week a similar occurrence took place at the Lancaster local.

CONVENTION CAN TIP SCALES

The only local victory claimed by the UE was Local 155, the amalgamated machine-shop local controlled by self-avowed Communist Party leader Dave Davis. That local's membership voted unanimously to remain in the UE, according to press releases. However, rumors persist that some shops in 155 have a pro-CIO orientation. No decision has been reached in General Electric Local 119, where a bitter battle has been raging over local offices.

With the passage of time since the CIO convention it becomes evident that the struggle in some of the large key locals is going to be more severe than expected. It is no longer possible to simply ride the wave of the sincere but vague feeling of the members that the CIO is where they belong.

That pro-CIO feeling still exists but the Stalinists have been busy sowing doubts and confusion with some effectiveness. In order to convince the best elements that it is necessary to return to the CIO one must point up the anti-labor record of the Stalinist UE and offer an adequate program to meet its pseudo-militant line. The "Labor Unity" slate at 107 put forward such a program in its recent campaign, highlighting such points as: returning the local to the membership; against any political, racial or religious discrimination; for a guaranteed annual wage; and for independent political action by labor.

Many locals still on the fence will be closely watching the founding convention of the IUE-CIO here in Philadelphia next week and all steps taken by that gathering to build a democratic and militant union will cut the ground from under the remaining bit of influence the Stalinists have in the electrical and allied industry.

I. F. Stone, Baldwin to Be Speakers At Rally for Kutcher Defense Case

NEW YORK, November 17—James Kutcher, celebrated Purple Heart Veteran, who lost both legs in combat at St. Pietro, Italy, in 1943, and last year, lost his job as a Veterans Administration clerk in Newark, N. J., because of membership in the Socialist Workers Party, will be welcomed home from his coast-to-coast speaking tour at a public meeting December 15, at 8 p.m. at the Capitol Hotel, 51st Street and Eighth Avenue.

The meeting, sponsored by the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, will also mark the 158th anniversary of the Bill of Rights. Kutcher will tell the story of his fight to retain his government job, which has become the key case arising from the loyalty purge and dramatizing the violations of the democratic rights of free speech and thought under the loyalty procedures.

Other prominent speakers include I. F. Stone, noted author and columnist; Roger Baldwin, director, American Civil Liberties Union; Carl Holderman, president, New Jersey State CIO Council; Benjamin F. McLaurin, international organizer, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (AFL), and

S. F. BAY AREA NOTES

Anti-Stalinist Forces Win Election In S.F. Local of Bridges' Union

By ARLENE WILLIAMS

OAKLAND, Nov. 19—Harry Bridges is discovering that a war must be fought on more than one front at a time. This week, while engaged in a fight with the U. S. government to prevent his deportation, he received the sad news that the election results in Local No. 6 of his International Longshoremen's Union (ILWU) proved that the Stalinist iron grip on longshore in the Bay Area is a thing of the past.

An unofficial tabulation, released in the CIO News, California edition, reveals that the anti-CP slate, backed by a strong rank-and-file caucus, was successful in winning eight important posts in the San Francisco division of ILWU Warehouse Union Local 6. These consisted of three business agents out of five, four nominees for board of trustees and one candidate leading in the field for one business agent post, with a runoff to come. Along with this, the slate was leading in the count for the executive board.

The results of this election will undoubtedly prove very significant in the future when the fate of the whole ILWU will be determined by the CIO executive board.

In line with his "clean-up" campaign in the CIO, Philip Murray has "under serious consideration" the charges recently filed by several unions in California against the state CIO Council. The council has been under attack in recent months as a "Communist front organization" and several unions in the state recently refused to participate in the state conference of the council for that reason. Murray is reportedly sending in a committee to investigate this charge.

The first meeting of the officers elected at the recent state convention to the State Federation of Labor Executive Council will be held November 19 and 20 in San Francisco. The major question that the council will deal with will be the organization of the California Labor League for Political Education for the 1950 elections.

ASSOCIATED FARMERS HELP CP

An editorial worthy of reprinting appeared in this week's issue of the East Bay Labor Journal:

"Death by malnutrition, a common disease of the poor," was the verdict of a coroner's jury in the San Joaquin valley of the baby of a cotton-picker.

This verdict was reached about the same time that a House Labor subcommittee was holding hearings on the Di Giorgio farm strike of the AFL National Farm Labor Union, with Republican Congressman Nixon heckling H. L. Mitchell, national head

of the union, every inch of the way. "And the November 11 edition of the Communist People's World had as its page one headline: 'Valley Hunger—Officials Do Nothing as 10 Babies Starve.'

"These three things add up: the coroner's verdict, the Congressional subcommittee hearing on the Di Giorgio strike, and the headline in the Communist paper.

"They add up because the AFL strike launched two years ago against the huge Di Giorgio outfit was part of an effort to improve the conditions of the migrants who pick the cotton and do the other hard work of harvesting. This year the AFL won a strike for the cottonpickers, holding their rate at \$3.00 per 100 pounds and preventing it from going down to the \$2.50 the Associated Farmers were trying to put over.

"But it takes more than one successful strike such as that of this year, preceded by the Di Giorgio strike, not so successful, launched two years ago, to put these poor workers on their feet. Most of them are units in a homeless population wandering around the country desperately seeking to hold body and soul together.

"Naturally, these people don't know all that is to be known about either nutrition or thrift. They've never had a chance to learn much about either.

"The Associated Farmers resist every effort to organize these people. Formerly, when a Commie-controlled union was in the field, they said they couldn't deal with the union because it would be unpatriotic to encourage communism. Now that the Commies are out of the way in that field, and that the AFL has moved in, the Associated Farmers keep fighting unionism just the same, the babies continue to die of malnutrition, and the Communist paper exploits the situation.

"So it all adds up, all right, into a most miserable sum of misery among the workers, greed among the Associated Farmers and cynical exploitation of real wrongs among the Communists."

Cotton Pickers - -

(Continued from page 1)

strikers were arrested, among them James Price, the DiGiorgio strike leader, who was a victim of a yet unsolved attempt at assassination in May, 1948. One union member, who has behind him a lifetime of struggle for the rights of poor farm workers, was arrested while reading the First Amendment to the Constitution, which guarantees freedom of speech, assembly and worship, over a loud-speaker.

At the same time, the powerful Tagus Ranch was unmolested in its use of loudspeakers in government-owned migrant camps to recruit cotton pickers, and International Harvester cotton-picking machines, were driven through the rural slums of the valley, with the warning that if the farm workers did not yield, they would be replaced by the machine.

The number of strikers swelled to 30,000 and many of them went without food for three and four days. It was literally a last-ditch stand, made in the ditches and roadbanks where so many migrants live.

ASSOCIATED FARMERS LICKED

Meanwhile, the small growers were under heavy pressure from the Associated Farmers not to deal with the farm hands. In spite of, and perhaps in part because of, long-smouldering resentment at this pressure, a significant group of more than fifty small growers, led by Joe E. Lewis, a member of the California state legislature, broke with the big growers and agreed to restore the wage cut.

After two and a half weeks, and with miles of unpicked cotton standing in the fields, the big growers yielded. The cotton-picking rate was restored to \$3.00 a hundred. The settlement affected 100,000 workers. It was the first time in the history of California agriculture that the Associated Farmers was forced to settle with the migrants and day laborers on the latter's terms. It is the first

LABOR SCOPE

Why Gerard Urged Big Steel to Settle: Help Murray's Hold on Men

By GERALD McDERMOTT

Several incidents have come out of the steel strike that deserve considerably more attention than they have received.

One shows that behind the economic façade of the strike, the capitalists, at least, are aware that the strike represents exactly the kind of class struggle that Marxists contend is present always in capitalist society. The other incident shows, in the words of a magnate of the House of Morgan itself, a basic feature of capitalism that the free enterprisers are almost always silent about.

The statement of James W. Gerard, big stockholder in U. S. Steel and former ambassador to Germany, got mention in the press for a day or so. Featured was the fact that he thought the corporation should grant the union's demands. His reasoning for this unusual position, however, makes an interesting revelation of capitalist thinking and tactics.

The corporation, Gerard said, should be glad to accede to the demands of such a "responsible" union leader as Murray. After all, Gerard points out, the non-contributory pensions are a "modest concession." Murray is actively fighting communism. If the U. S. Steel Corporation will not deal with Murray, Gerard maintains, the union will pass to the control of radicals who will not be satisfied with ten cents an hour, but will surely carry out a "revolutionary seizure" of the steel mills.

As a diplomat, Gerard knows something about such things as "revolutionary seizures." In his concern with the fierce stand of Big Steel against "modest demands," he declines to perpetuate a myth much broadcast by the ruling class. That myth, to be found in a million editorials and in the statements of every last company with a strike on its hands, is the myth that the "employees" do not want to strike, but that the "union leaders"—or bosses, or czars—have forced them to.

Gerard makes plain what the more literate capitalists know: it is the

workers who force their leaders to strike, by and large, and when the "responsible" leaders do not protect the workers' standard of living and gains, the labor movement will find radical leaders and ideas.

VOORHEES BLURTS IT OUT

Therefore, men like Gerard recognize that "responsible"—that is, basically pro-capitalist—labor leaders like Murray are a great bulwark to their system. They confine the struggles to ten cents an hour, and not "revolutionary seizures." That is why Marxists have long referred to men like Murray as "labor lieutenants of capital."

It is interesting to note that Murray seems to have found Gerard's support a little embarrassing. In the CIO News, Gerard's support of the strike demands is headlined, but no mention is made of his reasoning.

Gerard is a capitalist who thinks that his class should go a little easy on labor right now. It is apparent that most of his brothers in U. S. Steel do not agree. One of these is Enders M. Voorhees, chairman of the corporation's finance committee. In speaking for the monopoly before the steel fact-finding board, he admitted to something that Marxists have been charging capitalism with for many years. He claimed that union LEADERS (note that he is sticking to the myth

that Gerard ignored) seem to feel that the needs of workers "are virtually limitless." However, U. S. Steel, Voorhees continued, "cannot subscribe to the notion that people should be paid in accordance to their needs."

This blunt statement by a responsible spokesman for American big business should be underlined a hundred times. It is exactly what Independent Socialists maintain about U. S. Steel and all the rest of the capitalist system—it is concerned with profits, and not with the needs of the people. In their commercials and advertisements and other propaganda, big business would have us believe that it is concerned only with more and better goods, at lower and lower prices and higher and higher wages. But here is the truth when the chips are down.

Independent socialists—that is, independent of both the Stalinist totalitarians as well as of the supports of capitalism—have an alternative to this. We are for a society where production IS for workers' needs, even "virtually limitless" ones. We think that a world without imperialist wars and preparations for war, without capitalist waste and depression, and without the likes of Enders M. Voorhees, could bring this about. Gerard is afraid that you'll agree.

Magnates Pin a Label on Murray

James W. Gerard's reason for urging the ending of the steel strike with concessions to Philip Murray, noted in the accompanying article, does not seem to be confined to Gerard. Gerard had written that if the steel industry will not deal with "responsible union leaders like Philip Murray it will have to deal with Socialists, Communists, or worse," and he called on U. S. Steel "to show enough wisdom and instinct for self-preservation to settle promptly this strike."

In its issue of October 27, Iron Age, magazine which is the mouthpiece of the steel industry, carried the following estimate of the role of Murray:

"Efforts are now being made to settle the steel strike without ruining the prestige of Philip Murray as president of the Steelworkers Union. . . . Steel men see trouble ahead if Mr. Murray is badly beaten. There are other capable executives in the union but industry leaders are afraid they lack the power to hold the membership in line. Aside from the present dispute the steel industry's relations with labor have been remarkably good for many years; employers have generally been able to override the reds and radicals in local unions by direct appeal to Phil Murray. Once this fight is settled they'd like to keep things that way."

And then came Life magazine in an editorial on November 14:

"Leaving aside the formally anti-capitalist fringe, U. S. labor is a capitalist movement operating within a capitalist society. If you hold that welfareism is good for capitalism, it might even be argued that Mr. Murray is the most useful capitalist functioning just now in the U. S. Who knows? Maybe a bust of him will one day be erected in the lobby of Pittsburgh's super-capitalist Duquesne Club."

It's not every day in the week that the corporations (or at least the more "enlightened" capitalists and their spokesmen) show their hand so clearly by pinning such a big yellow label on a labor leader: "This is OUR Man." It ought to spur trade-union militants to put forward their own program and leadership against the Murrys in the unions. Not because Murray and his like are in any personal sense the "agents" of the corporations but because, with their capitalist viewpoint, they function as "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class" to keep the workers within the limits that do not disturb the capitalists too much.



WITH THE Independent Socialist League

All readers of LABOR ACTION are invited to attend meetings, classes, lectures and socials sponsored by local branches of the INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE. For general information and literature of the ISL, and for local information not given below, write to: INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, New York. For information on the SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE, youth organization of the ISL, write to the SYL at the same address. Telephone: IRonsides 6-5117.

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SPARKS in the NEWS

Man Bites Dog

"Pierre Montel of France [speaking at the UN] angrily rejected the assertion of the 'Ukrainian' that Frenchmen were destined to serve as American cannon fodder. . . . 'France, let me assure you, would not tolerate the use of her manpower as cannon fodder. Frenchmen when they fight, fight for their liberty. The military budget of France was inflated, he added, because of the campaign in Indo-China. . . ."

—N. Y. Times, Nov. 21.

Isn't it just too bad that the Indo-Chinese are forcing Frenchmen to "fight for their liberty" against the conquest of France by Viet-Nam?

Man Bites Dog—II

In New Zealand, a union treasurer appealed to the courts to reinstate him in his job after he was suspended for reasons unprecedented in the history of any labor movement. It was discovered that he had twice as much money in the union treasury as he should have, and neither he nor any other union member could explain it.

Truth

In Stockholm, Sweden, strikers picketing a restaurant chain were hauled into court twice because they could not prove the allegations on their picket signs. But they won their strike in less than ten hours after they appeared outside the restaurants with placards reading:

"The Truth Is: We Can't Prove or Disprove Whether the Ekborck Co. Makes Its Hamburgers Out of Skunk Meat."

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STALIN'S GRAND DUKE

WILL HISTORY REPEAT FOR MARSHAL ROKOSSOVSKY?

By A. RUDZIENSKI

The naming of the Russian marshal, Rokossovsky, as marshal of Poland and Polish minister of national defense is an event without precedent in the history of the Western civilized countries.

A Russian general, a conqueror of Poland, a hangman of Warsaw, is taken and set up between night and morning in Warsaw as minister and marshal of "an independent, democratic and powerful Poland," according to Stalin's statement.

Is the situation of Russian imperialism so weak and so dangerous that such illegal, extraordinary measures are necessary? Or is it so strong that it can permit itself everything, acting with an extreme kind of cynicism that is unknown in the capitalist West?

Stalin and his politburo control Poland with a multiplicity of trustworthy strings: the "president" of Poland, Bierut, is nothing more than an employee of the GPU, one of Stalin's police, an ex-chief of the "Polish" section of the GPU, who had the job of liquidating and assassinating the leaders of the Polish Communist movement who were suspected of a certain political independence with regard to the Kremlin.

The minister of government, Radkiewicz, who controls the whole police apparatus, which has a scope not even known in the time of the "Colonels" (almost half a million agents and police), is a White Russian who scarcely speaks Polish and is a tested employee of the GPU.

The "adviser" and "grey eminence" of the Warsaw regime, Amsterdam-Henrykowski, one of the few ex-leaders of the CPP (old Polish Communist Party) who saved his skin by denouncing his comrades and friends, is a constant commuter between Moscow and Warsaw on Stalinist matters.

Moscow's ambassador to the Warsaw Stalinist regime, Lebediev, represents another string whereby the Kremlin manipulates the Warsaw puppets.

Besides these, there are many other puppets, like Berman, Zawadzki, Jozwiak, Sokorski — bloodhounds and hangmen of the Polish people; there is, an extensive net of Russian GPU agents in Poland; there is an army of occupation; there are controls on controls and yet more controls; and all of this is not enough? A Russian

marshal is necessary in order to control the Polish army? Are the Russians so badly off in Poland that the silence of this same martyrized and crushed Poland sends them into a panic?

SOME HISTORY TO REMEMBER

Certain words of Lenin come to mind at this moment: "The struggle of Polish democracy against czarism had a unique, primary importance not only for Russia and all the Slav countries, but for all of European democracy." The shadows of history pursue the assassin in the Kremlin; the blood-stained shadows of the Russian inquisitors and the Polish revolutions.

In 1815 the Congress of Vienna created the Polish Congress Kingdom under the scepter of Czar Alexander I. After a short period of coquetting with feudal Polish democracy, Czar Alexander sent the Grand Duke Constantine to govern and represent him in Warsaw. The Grand Duke, an Asiatic despot, made himself so hated that the military school under his command became the storm center of the 1830 revolution.

The hypocrite, Catherine II, forced through the election of her lover Stanislaw Poniatowski as king of Poland. Stalin has not only made his police agent president of a "free and democratic Poland" but has also "re-inforced" him by a modern edition of the Grand Duke Constantine.

The "Grand Duke Constantine" Rokossovsky, the assassin of Warsaw, the conqueror of Poland, must directly control the Warsaw government, in the Stalinist Duchy of Warsaw, the "country above the Vistula." (The czars, like Molotov, wanted to wipe the name of Poland from the map.) Should history repeat itself, it may be that he may have to flee Warsaw "in the night and mist" as did his predecessor, Constantine Romanov, in 1830.

For should a Polish Tito emerge, whose embryo pursues Stalin before birth, a Polish rebellion at the side of Yugoslavia could endanger the entire Stalinist empire and acquire "primary importance not only for Russia but for all Europe."

The Kremlin tyrants know this very well and are trying to prevent it by all means, no matter how cynical they are. But if the shadows of the assassins return, there must also return the shadows of the avengers.

Unsolved RDR Crisis Brings Dissolution Demand in Paris

Reports to LABOR ACTION from France indicate that the RDR (Revolutionary Democratic Rally), which was founded a year and a half ago, now awaits only a formal acknowledgment by its leadership that the organization has for all practical purposes been dissolved. A proposal for formal dissolution was adopted at the last membership meeting of the Paris Region of the RDR which took place on November 3.

The news will be received with deep regret by all those who followed the development of the RDR with the friendly interest it deserved.

The RDR was formed to offer a way out of the situation that faced tens of thousands of independent revolutionists, left-wing socialists and militant democrats in France who refused to choose between the totalitarian Stalinist movement masquerading as socialist and the official Socialist Party which has borne such a heavy responsibility for the strike-breaking and imperialist policy of the government.

Founded by prominent political and intellectual personalities of the French left, the RDR proclaimed its independence from Moscow and Washington, and called for a socialist reply to capitalism and a democratic reply to Stalinism. It did not pretend to be a new political party, or to create one overnight, but appealed for a broad rally ("rassemblement") of all those in agreement with its simple basic declaration, without prejudice to more detailed or more far-reaching and elaborated views that might be held by any of its adherents.

FAILED ON APRIL 30

The initial response to the appeal of the RDR was very encouraging to all those interested in breaking out of the isolation, dispersion, and even apathy in which independent left-wingers found themselves. Thousands of them promptly joined, through their organization or as individuals, even in those cases where joining meant abandoning moribund little sects which displayed nothing but a sterile negative attitude toward the RDR and hoped for its speedy demise in order to justify their own paralysis.

The initial support acquired by the RDR in France was not the only sign of the powerful appeal inherent in the idea of independence from the two imperialist blocs, the idea of a revolutionary and democratic road out of the vicious circle of capitalist decay and Stalinist barbarism. A sign of no smaller significance was given by the remarkable response of all sorts of organizations and individuals throughout Europe to the "International Conference Against War and Dictatorship" which the RDR initiated and convened in Paris on April 30 of this year. Delegates were present not only from the most radical socialist groups but even from conservative labor and socialist organizations in Europe.

However, it is precisely at this international conference that the delegation of the RDR failed to take advantage of the situation, failed to measure up to its possibilities and obligations, and revealed weaknesses in the leadership that have since taken their unfortunate toll.

The failure was twofold. The delegates from the United States created a scandal by their unashamed espousal of American imperialism. The RDR leadership simply failed, in the position it took at the conference, to reply to the Americans in such a clearcut and unambiguous way as would underline before this imposing European forum not only the political independence of the RDR but the importance and need of such a position being adopted by every European who seeks freedom, peace and prosperity.

On the positive side, too, the RDR failed at the conference. To reject both American and Stalinist imperialism without offering a concrete alternative can have little meaning in the long run. The RDR offered no such alternative at the conference or afterward. The idea of a Western Union as a powerful force genuinely independent of Moscow and Washington was not even put forward.

DRIFTED TO CRISIS

The equivocal position of the RDR leadership, or rather of important figures in it, toward American imperialism—on the one side—and its failure to develop and inspire others with a concrete positive program to implement its general (and by itself inadequate) opposition to the two world blocs—on the other side—created a crisis in the RDR.

A national conference of the organization, hastily summoned, sought to resolve the crisis by a frankly compromise resolution. Its merit lay primarily in the fact that, by preventing a split that would immediately destroy the RDR, it would allow the time required for a frank and free discussion in the ranks on the tasks and role of the movement.

No such discussion followed the conference, however, principally because the main political leaders of the RDR did not make it possible. Instead of placing before the membership their ideas, which were obviously moving more and more in the direction of a conciliatory attitude toward American imperialism as the

alternative to Stalinism, these leaders abandoned their responsibility toward the RDR and even their interest in it.

The reason is not too difficult to understand. It is impossible to defend successfully a position of conciliation toward American imperialism before any audience of independent socialist militants in Europe today. Such militants not only understand the nature and policy of American imperialism too well, but understand also that one of the strongest sources of Stalinist strength in the world today lies precisely in the fact that its best-known opponents offer the people the alternative of support to a capitalism which is no longer endurable, above all in Europe and Asia.

Under these circumstances, the RDR fell into complete passivity, lost its orientation and, more and more, its strength and power of attraction. A few weeks ago, one of its outstanding leaders, Jean-Paul Sartre, resigned in protest against the direction which the other leaders were taking. On November 3, the Paris Region of the RDR adopted a resolution calling for the formal dissolution of the organization. The resolution concluded by "addressing itself to all those who adhered to the initial manifesto [of the RDR a year and half ago] and have remained faithful to a policy of independence toward the two blocs, and calls upon them to remain associated together in order to resolve democratically in common the problems of the revolutionary struggle."

The Paris group is publishing a bulletin for all the militants of the organization on a national scale. Discussion as to next steps has already begun.

In this connection, it is noteworthy

that leading members of the ASR (Revolutionary Socialist Action) have taken steps to reconstitute that organization as an effective Marxist movement. Composed of the left-wingers who broke from the French Socialist Party and its youth section as well as those who broke from the sterile "official Trotskyist" group, it provided the RDR from its inception with its most active organizers and spokesmen.

MARXIST GROUP RE-FORMS

In their desire to concentrate all energies on building the RDR, the work of maintaining the ASR as a Marxist grouping was neglected to the point where it no longer functioned. The result was bad in two respects: it meant the falling apart of the independent Marxist organization and, because there was no organized left-wing group in the RDR, it meant no organized force capable of dealing effectively with the crisis in the RDR.

Efforts are now being made to make up for this neglect. A "cadre school" of ASR militants will assemble next month, at which the basic questions of the organization and of its reconstitution will be discussed in detail. Its outcome will be reported in LABOR ACTION.

The promising future which could have been expected from the RDR did not materialize. But the ideas which animated it at its foundation remain powerful. Even during its brief existence, it showed that these ideas correspond not only to the needs but also to the desires of thousands upon thousands who want a highway out of the two big swamps of our time. These ideas will find expression and form again, not only in France but everywhere else.

French Unions - -

(Continued from page 1)

ber of Deputies the day after the strike call. The Stalinists had amended the wage bill to provide a 3,000-franc general increase. The Socialist Party deputies, faithful to their ministers in the coalition government, voted down the amendment. They thereby voted against the wishes of their friends and fellow SP members in the national committee of FO!

The next day the Socialists made further concessions. Bidault, when appointed premier, had promised that the annual wage increment for civil-service workers would be paid promptly on January 1, 1950. Now he announced that because of budgetary difficulties only two-thirds could be paid. The Socialist ministers then compromised with Bidault on a settlement in which the whole increase would be included in the budget, but two-thirds will be paid on January 1 and the rest on July 1.

Since the civil servants are by far the largest group of workers, among whom FO has any real strength, the government's action depriving them of part of their annual increment will help still further to spur action by FO.

MOVE FOR UNITY

While bargaining is going on at the top, France's revolutionary trade-unions have been taking steps to strengthen their campaign for militant action. Last week saw the second national conference of the Cartel d'Unité d'Action Syndicaliste. Participating were: the Autonomous Federation (the most radical of the trade-union federations, with 50,000 members, of whom 10,000 are metal workers in the Paris region); the CNT (Anarchist trade-union federation federation with 30,000 to 40,000 members scattered through the country); Unité Syndicale (the trade-union fac-

Swedish Bull's-Eye

Senator Thomas (D., Okla.), on a European junket, complained that a certain country snubbed him and his visiting junketeers. When his associates identified the certain country as Sweden, the Swedish press talked back. One Swedish liberal newspaper headlined: "U. S. Senator Rages Against Sweden, Which Did Not Bow Low Enough for Him." Most other papers were simply sarcastic, though they also called the Oklahoma solon a liar and a boor, questioned his "mental acumen" and termed his remarks "twaddling nonsense."

The paper Expressen (liberal), however, noted that there wasn't much to worry about. Reason: the U. S. Senate, it said, "is certainly a high assembly, but is also a dumping place for all sorts of quaint characters and the most ignorant country politicians from the darkest corners of the Union."

Roughing It

On election morning the New York Times reported that regardless of the outcome, Dulles and his wife planned to leave the city by train and chartered plane to "relax and lead the simple life at their thousand-acre island retreat in Lake Ontario."

There's simply nothing like a thousand-acre estate if you really want to lead the simple life.

tion of the official-Trotskyists); Ecole Emancipée (the revolutionary faction of the teachers' union, supported by 20,000 of the union's members); and —perhaps most significant of all— for the first time, the departmental councils of FO from several departments (sections of France) in the western part of the country.

Up to now the work of the Cartel d'Unité has consisted mostly of bringing together revolutionaries of various origins for joint work in the shops. This was the case with a number of big plants in which the Trotskyists and the CNT had small active groups. But the growing strength of the revolutionary syndicalists inside FO and the growth of the Autonomous Federation outside has brought about a new situation where what is wanted is united action not between groups but between those UNIONS which, on a local, departmental or national level, are in agreement with the program of the Cartel.

A resolution of orientation to this effect was introduced at the Cartel by the spokesman of the Autonomous Federation, Didier-L. Limon. With slight modifications the resolution was unanimously adopted, and the Cartel gave way to the "Provisional Committee for Trade-Union Unification."

SHOWING THE WAY

Its program remains essentially the same: (1) For trade-unionism independent of all governments, states and parties; (2) for full democracy in the unions; (3) to fight inflation, for a sliding scale of wages and prices, but only if superimposed on a base wage that cannot be cut; (4) against piecework; (5) for a radical reduction of the gap in wages between skilled and unskilled, privileged and unprivileged, by the application of uniform general wage increases; (6) for extension of the powers of the factory committees in the direction of workers' control of production.

It was heartening to see the progress being made by the revolutionists inside and outside of the FO. Perhaps the most interesting report was that of Perrier, representative of several western departments of FO. In his own department, Maine-et-Loire, FO is larger than the CP-controlled CGT. But perhaps more significantly, the revolutionists outside FO are given seats on the FO departmental executive, although they may be dues-paying members of FO's rivals! The whole is officially called the Union Départementale Syndicaliste Révolutionnaire FO de Maine-et-Loire. Needless to say, none of this is in line with FO's statutes, but the national leadership knows better than to interfere.

The conference also witnessed the appearance of the first number of a new paper, Workers Action, founded to serve as a forum for all the revolutionary unions and unionists and to propagate the program of the Cartel's Provisional Committee for Trade-Union Unification. Slowly but surely, out of the confusion and the debris of the splintering of France's trade-union movement, the best forces seem to be lifting their heads, uniting their energies and extending the influence of their program and leadership over broader sections of the working class.

HOLLYWOOD vs. JIM CROW

A NEGRO LOOKS AT THREE RECENT FILMS

An interesting slant on the current crop of anti-Jim Crow movies as seen by a Negro appeared in the column by movie reviewer Archer Winsten in the New York Post for November 2. Winsten quotes the reactions of a Negro friend to "Home of the Brave," "Lost Boundaries," and "Pinky." The comments are exceedingly interesting—though obviously controversial—and we present them without prejudice.

On "Home of the Brave"

"Look at the Negro in it. When he first comes into the squad some of the whites don't want him. They don't think he'll stand up. And what happens? He doesn't. He's the one that cracks. Nothing happens to him. He isn't wounded. He just can't use his legs. So somebody has to carry him out. But one of the whites, he's been wounded, but he stands up there, ta-ta-ta-ta-ta, shooting into the jungle and holding off the Japs. Somebody has to drag him back to keep him from fighting there until the end of the war. Listen, if I'd been there, I'd have shot that Negro myself. He deserved it. He was endangering the squad and its mission. You know what some people tried to say during the war, that Negroes crack up in the tough missions. Doesn't this picture show that? Doesn't it say, be gentle to Negroes? If you don't, they'll all go crazy. You think I'm going to like that picture? Shucks, man. You're crazy."

On "Lost Boundaries"

"I can't get myself worked up over the sad predicaments of a few marginal people who are so white they can't decide which to be and nobody else can tell by looking at them which they are. What has this got to do with the problems of Negroes in the United States? It reminds me of a kid I know who was telling what he learned from 'Gentleman's Agreement.' It was: don't be mean to a Jew; he might turn out to be a Christian. What I mean is this: they're saying there's no difference, that prejudice and race hatred are based on an illusion, or a word. There's nothing to see, or feel, or touch. I say there is a difference. Let there be a difference. But fight the prejudice that's based on that difference. It's a difference that doesn't mean inferiority or superiority."

On "Pinky"

"You think that isn't a word of derogation? Try it on some of your light-colored friends. Hi, Pinky. See how they like it. Here's another story of a marginal Negro. What the devil has it got to do with all the Negroes in this country? She can go up North and pass. She can have a white doctor fall in love with her and want to marry her. When she comes home and the whites find out she's colored, she's treated badly. So then the picture is saying, look, she's as white as you are, she's just as sensitive and intelligent, just as pretty. How awful it is for her to be treated like that. She's just the same as you are. What about the others who aren't just the same? Well, look at them. They know their place. The grandmother does, the bug guy does, and his girl friend does. How much sympathy does the picture demand of you for them? I don't have to mention the picture's pro-segregation slant. You saw that."

"As far as I'm concerned, I can sum it up like this: a well-intentioned bungler handling the explosive subject of race is like giving your baby an atom bomb to play with. They haven't said nuthin' yet. Nuthin'!"

PICTURE IN 3 PANELS

WHO'S GOT THE WELFARE IN THE "WELFARE STATE"?

By JUSTIN STEWART

You don't have to be an expert, or wade your way through fat volumes of statistics. Just read the papers and don't skip the items with figures in them. And you may find out what's been happening—down at the bottom—under the New Deal and the Fair Deal and the "Welfare State" and post-war "prosperity."

Take the news for Sunday, November 13, for example. There are three items that go a long way toward giving a picture of where all the welfare in the welfare state is.

According to the first item, more than eight million American families and individuals in 1948 had cash incomes of less than \$1,000 a year.

These figures were made public in a report by the Congressional Subcommittee on Low Income Families. The report also disclosed that almost one third of the country's families and individuals received less than \$2,000 cash income in 1948.

These facts remind us of the one third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clothed and ill-nourished which Roosevelt talked about in 1937. He was speaking then in the depths of the Great Depression. But 1948 was the greatest prosperity year in the country's history.

Coming after the economic expansion of the war years and the prosperous post-war period, these figures invite a good look at the social system prevailing in the wealthiest country in the world. The boast is made: "The national income has gone up 400 per cent in the years since 1937." Whose income has gone up?

OTHER SIDE OF THE PICTURE

One of the reasons why the national income level is not lower than it is, is illustrated by the second item. An Associated Press survey showed that the federal payroll for the fiscal year ending June 30 will be over ten billion dollars. What this points to is the nub of our peculiar post-war prosperity: government spending. Spending for what? Look a little closer.

The federal payroll represents a little less than one quarter of the government's record-breaking \$43½ billion total budget and accurately reflects the uses to which our tax dollars are put.

Sixty-two per cent of the federal payroll is classified as military expenditure. Which is growing faster—the Welfare State or the bureaucratic militarization of the state?

By way of contrast, only a minute percentage of the \$227 paid annually by the average federal income-tax payer goes to the aid of the nation's destitute people in Mississippi to a high of \$70.70 in California. At the present time, some ten per cent of the persons receiving old-age insurance benefits also are getting old-age assistance. The national average old-age insurance benefit of \$25 a month is not enough to keep them from the ranks of the needy.

There is the picture in three panels. After seventeen years of what is represented as welfare-statism, capitalist society still maintains large sections of the population at a substandard level of living. We spend billions of dollars to build great enterprises of destruction and there is not enough kept over to maintain those who have given a lifetime of labor and effort to those who own the country's plants and run them for their own mounting profits.

There is a fourth item in the same day's news which sheds another light on the picture. That is the one which recorded the victory of the steel workers in their struggle for pensions. It points the way to the genuine welfare state: only through its own fight will labor improve its lot. That is the only way it ever has gotten, or ever will get, even a slice of "prosperity"—and it can go the whole way to real security when it goes all the way to the fight for a new socialist society.

It's all in the daily papers.

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Background of NMU Fight --

Nailing the Newspaper Lies on NMU Meeting

(Continued from page 1)

books were simply taken away from critics, who either were asked to appear at a so-called trial or were summarily told to "get moving." The membership in the outports was intimidated by all this.

CONVENTION A FIASCO

However, in New York at the beginning of 1949, a sizable group of officials led by Jack Lawrenson, vice-president in charge of The Pilot, and David Drummond, the New York Port agent, spoke out against a proposed amendment to the union constitution which would bar all "subversives" from membership in the union. The referendum was thrown out by the Honest Ballot Association because of "irregularities." In spite of the "irregularities" in the Southern ports, the unofficial count showed the proposal to have been defeated.

The membership knew this amendment was directed not alone at "subversives" but at all critics of Curran. They were tired of the witchhunt. Unemployment was growing, conditions deteriorating and this was no satisfying substitute.

The Curran machine's next move was to prepare for the fall 1949 convention of the union. With unemployment and dissatisfaction growing in the NMU, time was against him. If the so-called "subversives" could be removed and the constitution changed so that it would be less democratic, more "efficient," more "flexible," he could consolidate his power against any future opposition, now that the CP was out of the way.

It should be pointed out that at this stage the CP forces were completely demoralized. While the membership was sick of the expulsions, no one was ready to battle for the CP as such. The fight against the "anti-Communist" amendments was led by leading member of the Rank and File Caucus who themselves had ousted the Stalinist machine. The CP caucus in the union, "the Voice of the Membership," was small and ineffectual. Its leadership consisted of both legitimately and illegitimately expelled NMU members. The members looked to Lawrenson, Drummond, Charles Keith and the other oppositionist officials for leadership. The convention was a fiasco.

democratically ruled by Curran, whose years of CP schooling were not wasted, the delegates were not allowed to think or discuss in a proper atmosphere. Under the guise of "loyalty to the country" and "anti-Communism," the Curran machine attempted to push through wholesale changes in the union's democratic institutions and in union policy. In previous issues of LABOR ACTION we have fully analyzed the proposed changes.

Suffice it to say that while failing to jam all the proposals through, those that were able to get the two-thirds vote of the delegates are now before the membership for acceptance or rejection. If carried, they will go a long way toward hamstringing ANY kind of opposition—right, left or center.

A special National Council meeting on September 30 adopted Curran's proposal to put an administrator over the port of New York. This action, taken without explanation or attempt at justification, was voted down at New York membership meetings. But Curran, aiming at machine control over New York to ensure a majority in the coming referendum, went ahead at full steam, violating the NMU constitution, which provides for membership ratification of all major decisions of the council. This act was the first big provocation directed against the New York membership.

The proposed amendments to the constitution were put before the membership on November 1. The balloting goes on for 60 days. The heaviest voting takes place in the first few weeks. The only way the opposition has of presenting its point of view to the members in the outports is through the pages of The Pilot. Immediately prior to the balloting, Lawrenson was unconstitutionally removed from his responsibility for The Pilot. The editor appointed was not approved by the headquarters port, as per constitution.

NEWSPAPER RIGGED

The new editor, now taking orders from Curran, refused to publish any critical or questionable material. (Even in their balmy days the Stalinist machine in the NMU never attempted this.) The four-page letters to the editor section, a tradition in The Pilot, stopped carrying any critical letters from the men on the ships and ashore.

The New York membership, aroused by this development, voted almost unanimously, after much discussion at a regular New York meeting of 3,000 men, to condemn the action of the Curran machine and demanded that the reports of the New York membership meetings and its agent's report be printed. This was completely ignored by Curran's machine. The men, now really aroused, elected a committee of 100 at a special meeting in the hiring hall to go

up and see Curran on the sixth floor, which is the national office of the NMU.

Confronted with this committee, Curran threatened to call the police if the men did not vacate the floor. The committee then elected from its midst a smaller committee of 15. In the presence of this group Curran took full responsibility for the policies of The Pilot. The committee of 100 reported back to the special meeting waiting in the hiring hall which consisted of about 1,000 men. The meeting instructed the port agent to prefer charges against those national officers who were ignoring the will of the membership and violating the constitution.

It was apparent that a serious fight was in the offing. The national office majority immediately decided to get Vice-President Lawrenson out of the way. They assigned him to the Great Lakes to negotiate contracts with various companies, a task not normally performed by him. The charges were preferred against Curran and Treasurer Stone. Curran left for the Gulf and Stone was dispatched to Europe to attend a labor conference.

RANKS TAKE OVER HALL

On Monday, November 14, Vice-President Warner, obviously according to plan, walked into the New York Port agent's office and informed Port Agent Drummond that he was "resigned." According to the NMU constitution, still in effect, an official can be removed only after charges have been preferred against him and the charges tried by a trial committee and if the verdict is guilty, it must be voted on by the port membership. The latter is what Curran's machine was trying to avoid, since he knew that the New York ranks were supporting Drummond and all the other elected officials obviously threatened by this flagrant move. A special meeting was immediately called by the agent and he was instructed by an enraged, unanimous membership to get a court order immediately against the national officers perpetrating this outrage, build a defense guard to protect the challenged officials and do everything possible to keep them in office in the port.

Next morning the New York members occupied the New York offices to make sure that only the elected officials would work out of them. That Tuesday afternoon, the thirteen NMU patrolmen who opposed the Curran machine received notification that they too, were finished. Thousands of members, seething by now, met once again in special meeting and decided to come to the hiring hall early next morning to defend their hall and officers from the uninformed outport members who were arriving with suitcases and going to the sixth floor to shape up a goon squad.

On Wednesday morning, November 16, the ranks poured into the lobby of the NMU building when they heard that newly appointed patrolmen were being dispatched to cover the ships, from the sixth floor. (According to the NMU constitution, all appointments must be approved by

the membership of the particular port.) The approximately 500 seamen in the lobby set up a security committee to keep order and check the union books of all people entering the building. The only approach to the sixth floor is through the lobby. Three of the appointed patrolmen, on attempting to leave the building, were given the choice of retracting their acceptance of their appointment or being faced with charges. They retracted.

The day went by in comparative calm until one Curran supporter denounced the crowd in the lobby by shouting that the whole thing was a "Jew plot" against Curran. The NMUers nearly tore him apart. The membership left the lobby at 6:30 that evening after the national officers and a handful of their supporters were taken out of the building by a large squad of police and plainclothesmen.

ENTIRE MEMBERSHIP AROUSED

From that day until the present there has been no attempt to take the New York hall from the New York membership. The injunction which the men had asked Drummond to obtain was gotten. It temporarily restrains the national office from interfering in New York Port affairs and ties up their funds. However, this injunction has been ignored by the Curranites. The most flagrant case, of course, was the Thursday regular New York meeting of the NMU at St. Nicholas Arena which is described elsewhere in this issue.

The "goons" whom Warner lined up on Tuesday—seamen who were deluded into coming here to defend the sixth-floor officials—never showed up to do so. Many of them found out what the trouble was all about and went back to their original ports to tell the truth. The 500 men who were imported on Thursday for the meeting that night received an excellent education on how the Curran machine operates against the membership of the NMU. That device of Curran's will also boomerang against him in the next few weeks.

There is no question in the mind of anyone—anyone close to the situation—that this fight has rallied to its cause the entire membership in and around New York. There are now 7,000 men on the beach in New York and the turnover is anywhere from 1,500 to 2,000 a month. The Curran machine is doomed to failure because of its actions of the past few weeks. Every seaman in this area agrees that Curran will never live down what he has done.

The struggle has been led by the Independent Caucus, whose leaders are Lawrenson, Drummond and Keith. The group was formed during the 1949 convention and has grown by leaps and bounds because of the events described above. If properly handled the future belongs to it and its supporters, the NMU membership.

The story of this outrage should be spread to the entire labor movement. These methods must be stopped in the trade unions before they engulf and submerge them completely. The CIO itself faces the duty of acting to stop Curran.

Daily press and radio reports falsify what happens in the NMU. Canned releases from the Curran office are repeated without attempts to verify their claims. Reporters deliberately distort what they see with their own eyes. Not one news writer or columnist states the facts. Let the reader judge from the following:

LIE: A small group of "reds" seized control of the New York hiring hall by force.

FACT: The hall was "seized" in the same way that one "seizes" his own home: by opening the door and walking in. The New York membership of the NMU walked into their hall as they have been doing for years. They recognized only their elected port agent and ignored the dictatorially appointed Curran administrator. The only effort at force was Curran's futile attempt to direct the police to take the hall away from the membership. The police could find no legal basis for evicting the New York membership. (One future possibility: the police may file trumped-up criminal charges against one of the opposition leaders and pile into the hall on the pretext of "searching" for the "criminal.")

LIE: Oppositionists molested women office workers of the NMU.

FACT: This reporter saw the office workers day after day walking peacefully in and out of the hall at lunch time and quitting time. Some of them mingled in the crowd out of curiosity; they spoke to seamen whom they knew. All on the friendliest basis.

LIE: Jack Lawrenson, NMU vice-president, the only top official supporting the opposition, deliberately left town to avoid responsibility for the fight.

FACT: Curran's majority in the National Office Committee assigned Lawrenson to Detroit to negotiate Lake contracts in order to get him away from the scene of Curran's crime.

LIE: The opposition utilized the accidental absence of NMU officials Curran, Stone, and Hanley to time their "coup."

FACT: The crisis was timed and initiated by Curran who made the move to remove Drummond. After all plans had been laid, Curran left New York to round up supporters. Hanley went on "vacation." Warner and Duffy, the two top officials who were left behind to take responsibility for the dirty work, made the ridiculous claim that they did not know how to contact Curran—two days after newspaper headlines blazoned reports of the fight.

LIE: Curran was elected chairman of Thursday's membership meeting by a vote of 2,700 to 2,200.

FACT: The Fire Department allows no more than 3,000 into the Arena and was present to enforce this rule. Keith was elected by a 5-1 vote at least. Two thousand NMU members remained in the hall, after Curran left with a small group, even though most of them had been present for five hours (since 6 p.m.) and they remained until after 11.

LIE: The opposition is led by the Communist Party.

FACT: Most of the present top officials of the NMU were once members of the Communist Party. As members of the Communist Party, they helped to engineer the expulsion of Keith, Lawrenson, and Drummond from the CP when the latter protested against policies that the CP was forcing on the NMU. Nevertheless, all the leaders of the present opposition, the Independent Caucus, joined together with the Curran group in the Rank and File Caucus to break the CP hold on the NMU. Drummond and Lawrenson were elected to office on a joint anti-CP slate along with Curran almost two years ago.

LIE: The opposition imported supporters from all over the country to stage its coup.

FACT: This is exactly what Curran tried to do. He had the finances of the NMU at his disposal while the opposition deals with nickels and dimes. And Curran failed.

LIE: Curran has had the assistance of a token police guard.

FACT: Hundreds of police and plainclothesmen have been rallied to impose Curran's police-unionism.

LIE: The opposition is violating the union constitution.

FACT: This is what Curran has done. In violation of the constitution he tried to remove Drummond, took over the New York port meeting, excluded all opposition statements from the "Pilot," weekly union publication, refused to act on duly presented charges against Curran and Stone.

LIE: "Battles" between "right" wing and "left" wing members have been raging in the streets, in the union hall, and in membership meetings.

FACT: No bloc of "right" wing members exists. There have been no such physical fights. Curran must have the police because no one else in New York will fight his battles.

Joe Curran was reared in the Moscow school of totalitarianism. Although he has broken with the Stalinists, he is now importing into the National Maritime Union all the dictatorial techniques he learned in his long years as a fellow traveler of the Communist Party.

He has perfected the technique of the Big Lie, with the help of the daily press and the radio which drums out a common distorted version of events. He accuses his opposition of the very crimes which he himself perpetrates.

Curran Dictatorship --

(Continued from page 1)

clothesmen patrolled up and down the street.

The seamen were herded into a long line, 500 of them, five abreast. More and more arrived and as they waited outside, bus after bus pulled up to the entrance. They were marked "Chartered." Their license plates: Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts.

Several hundred men got out and were escorted into the hall by the police, as were some national officials of the NMU, including Hubert Warner, illegally appointed port administrator. The crowd outside was allowed to file in.

They saw the lobby crammed with cops and plainclothesmen. In the main hall, union officials were already seated on the platform protected by a police squad. Along the front of the hall, below the platform-stage, another line of cops was posted—a second line of police in the rear of the hall—one down each side aisle—one in the balcony. At least 250 cops were ready for action inside the meeting hall or outside, waiting on call.

Scores of Curran-appointed "masters-at-arms," identified by armbands, acted as ushers. These men were seamen; and, as the meeting proceeded, many of them tore off their armbands in protest against Curran. They had been called in from other ports and knew nothing but snatches of Curran-inspired gossip; when all shipping in their ports was stopped by Curran, they came to New York to save their union "from a small group of red conspirators." But that night they learned a lesson.

MIKE DROWNED OUT

But this time, about 1,500 men were seated, waiting for their meeting to begin. Curran arrived flanked by policemen. David Drummond, accompanied by a federal marshal, stepped onto the police-packed platform and presented Curran a fed-

eral court injunction restraining the national office from interfering with the conduct of the New York port and from obstructing Drummond from carrying out his duties as agent. (As port agent he opens the meetings of the New York membership.) Curran ignored the injunction and called on the police to throw Drummond off the platform, which they promptly did.

To open the meeting, Warner (Curran-appointed administrator) stepped to the microphone, an extraordinarily powerful instrument, specially selected for the meeting. A deafening roar drowned out his words. "We want Drummond—we want Drummond!" shouted the crowd.

The Curran imported seamen were stunned and silent. For half an hour the din of angry voices made it impossible for Warner to continue. By then the hall was packed, with approximately 3,000 members of the NMU present.

Confident that they had an invincible majority, the men quieted down. Nominations were taken for chairman. Curran was named. A sprinkling of clapping was hoisted down in the boos and hissing. Charles Keith, leader of the anti-Curran Independent Caucus was put in nomination: a terrific wave of cheering. Warner asked all union patrolmen to step to the platform and supervise the counting of the votes. He pointed out anti-Curran patrolmen and the police threw them off the stage.

COPS VOTE FOR CURRAN

Warner takes the count: "All those in favor of Curran." Some 500 hands go up, mostly in the section marked off for Curran's imported supporters. "All in favor of Keith." Twenty-five hundred membership books are waving. Wild cheering. A storm of applause.

"Just one moment," says Warner, "there is a large overflow crowd which couldn't get into the hall. They are now at Transport Hall.

We will have to send tellers to count their vote." He dropped this fantasy quickly enough. Transport Hall is several blocks from St. Nicholas Arena where the meeting was being held!

"Let's take a recount," says Warner. The same 500 hands for Curran. The same 2,500 hands for Keith. Another wild victory celebration. Warner hesitates for a moment. And then when the cheers die down he looks at the crowd and reports: "Brother Curran is obviously elected!" Keith, who was seated on the platform as a nominee for chairman, rushes toward the mike, succeeds in shouting out one word. . . . Police and plainclothesmen swoop down and throw him off the stage.

The New York Times' radio station WQXR reported: "After a show of hands Curran was named chairman." The newscast omitted the fact that 250 police clubs outvoted 2,500 NMU membership books.

When Curran walked to the mike, the audience rose: "We want Keith—we want Keith." Curran could not be heard above the chant. Seamen lifted rows of twelve folding chairs joined together, pounding them up and down on the floor. When the chairs were smashed in pieces, they picked up chunks of wood to hurl at Curran. The crowd leaned forward. For one moment it seemed as though 2,000 men would fight their way forward, overwhelm the police, trample over the top union officials, and take over the hall. But the opposition leaders passed the word around: "Hold back—Take it easy!"

For three quarters of an hour, Curran tried to speak. But it was impossible. Each time he opened his mouth the crowd shouted: "Curran is a fink—Curran is a fink," and "We want Keith—we want Keith."

MOCK MEMBERSHIP MEETING

And there, protected by the police and only by the police, facing the unanimous hatred of the New

York membership, Curran, the man who had just been imposed as chairman, cried out to the NMU before him: "What's the matter with you guys? Don't you believe in democracy?"

"Let's take a recount," says Warner. The same 500 hands for Curran. The same 2,500 hands for Keith. Another wild victory celebration. Warner hesitates for a moment. And then when the cheers die down he looks at the crowd and reports: "Brother Curran is obviously elected!" Keith, who was seated on the platform as a nominee for chairman, rushes toward the mike, succeeds in shouting out one word. . . . Police and plainclothesmen swoop down and throw him off the stage.

It took Curran only ten minutes to mumble out this mumbo-jumbo, after which he declared the "meeting" adjourned and he and a few hundred out-of-town supporters walked out of the hall under police escort.

Curran left, but the police remained. Drummond tried to get to the mike, but the police pulled it out and took it away. They turned off the lights over the platform and prevented him from taking the stage.

Drummond climbed up on a chair. The hall was still packed but in the pin-drop silence he could be heard in every corner, speaking without a microphone, using a piece of cardboard rolled up into an improvised megaphone. Perfect order prevailed. Keith was elected chairman. Charges were preferred against Curran and M. Hedley Stone, national treasurer. Two thousand members elected a 15-man trial committee.

This is the true account of what was reported in the press as a big battle between the "right" and "left" wings at the NMU membership meeting. Who was in the "right" wing? Curran, a few officials and hundreds of cops and dicks. Who was the "left" wing? The united New York NMU membership.

U. of C. Regents Hedge On Academic Freedom

By A. GARBER

The Academic Senate of the University of California still opposes the anti-Communist oath prescribed by the Board of Regents. The Senate's most recent stand, however, reveals an irresolute attitude toward academic freedom as much as a conviction that its rights are being usurped.

Five long months of heated labor through four strained meetings produced no more than a tepid resolution to form a new committee for further discussions with the Board of Regents and the appointment of a member to draw up a "diplomatic" statement of policy.

This decision was buttressed by the following premises:

- That the Senate unalterably opposes communism;
- That Communists, instructors and otherwise, should be excluded from the university payroll, but that some other device than a loyalty oath be used;
- That communist employees are not opposed on political grounds, but for professional reasons, based on a belief that they cannot be objective scholars;
- That no employee of the university be disciplined because of failure to sign the new oath; and
- That the new oath, therefore, be withdrawn by the Regents.

TIED UP IN A QUIBBLE

What is presented as a reasonable set of premises by the Academic Senate reveals itself as an illogical hodgepodge upon closer inquiry. Communism as a political theory and social practice is categorically rejected. Yet the Senate affirms that it doesn't oppose Communists in the faculty and staff on political grounds. Nonetheless, it is maintained that Communists should be removed from the payroll because they cannot be objective scholars.

But the Regents press for the ousting of all communist employees. What of the non-Communist Communist, the janitor, for example? On what ground would HE be dismissed?

The loyalty oaths are repudiated by the faculty as a means of solving such problems, but what method IS justifiable? Apparently the Academic Senate is tied up in a quibble because it is concerned with the episodic question of a loyalty oath and not the principle of academic freedom.

Why not a forthright statement of policy instead of a diplomatic ones—a statement which declares that to compel academic personnel into conformity is little better than doing it by purges and pogroms? Why not the affirmation that unpopular opinion, criticism, independent thought and protests are inherent in intellectual life at a democratic university?

What's wrong with asserting that discrimination against teachers, holding them up for special interdiction, will drive independent men out of the field, forfeiting the profession to sycophants?

WHO'S "OBJECTIVE"?

The Nazi state preserved only the servile in its educational system. Russia, too, impales academic freedom upon its totalitarian state. And now we begin to embrace the same methods as Russia—in the name of Americanism.

Even if one grants that a strict party-liner cannot be an objective scholar—although it is difficult to see how some fields, like geology for example, can be "tainted with communism"—does it follow that all anti-

Condensed from a talk delivered by radio news commentator A. Garber over radio station KPFA-FM (Berkeley, California). Gordon Haskell is heard by residents of the San Francisco Bay Area over this station every Thursday evening at 7:45-101 on your dial.

Communists or non-Communists possess objectivity? What of the supporter of the National Association of Manufacturers, or the chauvinist, or even a Catholic scholar?

Academic freedom fosters intellectual variation. It offers the chance to differ, to experiment, to discover. It presents the opportunity for testing the validity of ideas, of having them survive through intellectual combat. The conflict between science and truth-by-revelation fortified the scientific method. Of course, no guarantees can be made, but surely without that opportunity neither individual genius nor group development will occur.

When Charles A. Beard first appeared upon the scene as a historian, the reactionaries almost hooted him out of academic life. During the First World War when he, Barnes, Robinson and others refused as historians to denounce Germany for total war guilt, they were shamefully treated. Veblen was plastered with the crime of political heresy for his writings and researches. Even John Dewey in his early educational work was pronounced a radical. What if these men had been bayed completely from academic circles? Where would the level of social science in America be today?

PURGE IN TEXAS

Academic restrictions, once uncorked, cannot be turned off by a faucet.

Already abuses pile up. Remember the case of Socialist Smith at Olivet College!

Only two weeks ago Professor Frank Magruder's secondary textbook, "American Government," was outlawed by a Texas board of education. Anyone who labored through this work knows Magruder's conservative bent. But on page 37 Magruder timidly stated: "The government of the United States has some socialism and a bit of communism. The postal system, power projects and progressive taxes are socialistic. Public free education is communistic." To wipe out any possible misconception, he hurriedly added on the same page: "Communism has not only proved economically impractical in Russia, but it is disliked by most people because it was introduced . . . through revolutionary confiscation of property by atheists."

No atonement, however, fits so heinous a crime as speaking of socialism, communism and the United States in the same breath. So we have the ridiculous spectacle of millionaire Magruder, advocate of private enterprise, ending up on the book-burning list.

The Academic Senate muffed an opportunity to present a clearly defined object lesson on democracy to its own student body. Apparently it needs a bolstering of its own democratic principles. Perhaps it had better turn to some of the private universities and read such speeches as Chancellor Hutchins' address at the 237th convocation of the University of Chicago.

WHAT'S ON AT THE LABOR ACTION SCHOOL

Following are Sessions 4 and 5 taking place in the next two weeks—

TUESDAYS

Dynamics of the American Labor Movement

by Ben Hall
8:00 - 9:10 p. m.

Nov. 29—Bureaucracy and democracy.

Dec. 6—The trade union left wing.

Significant Events and Documents in U.S. History

by E. R. McKinney
8:00 - 9:10 p. m.

Nov. 29—"The Irrepressible Conflict."

Dec. 6—"The Rise of Populism."

The Modern State

by Max Shachtman
9:20 - 10:30 p. m.

Nov. 29—Decay of the bourgeois state: reformism in power.

Dec. 6—The Stalinist state.

FRIDAYS

Problems of the New Asia

by Jack Brad
8:00 - 9:10 p. m.

Dec. 2—China: the Stalinist way.

Dec. 9—The sociology of Chinese Stalinism.

Contemporary Problems of Marxism

by Hal Draper
9:20 - 10:30 p. m.

Dec. 2—Russia: internal contradictions and disintegrative forces.

Dec. 9—"The historic role" of bureaucratic collectivism.

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