

LABOR ACTION

Independent Socialist Weekly

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FIVE CENTS

H. S. Students Strike To Support Teachers In N. Y. Pay Demands

By MAX MARTIN

NEW YORK, Apr. 28—In a heartening demonstration of solidarity with their teachers' demands for wage increases, the students of New York City's high schools have been out on strike and have been staging demonstrations throughout the city—principally before City Hall—for the past few days. This is the first time since the anti-war strikes of the '30s that high school students have been on strike on a mass scale, and it is the largest high school strike in the history of the city.

The teachers have been demanding, through their trade unions and professional organizations, an annual wage increase of \$650. The city administration had promised to grant this demand. When the time for delivery arrived, the mayor's budget included only increases of \$250 for high school teachers and increases of \$150 for elementary school teachers.

Not only was this a rebuff to the teachers, but it also reintroduces the hated double-salary schedule which had been abolished last year. The hypocritical claim that the city had no money, made by the administration, was belied by the large salary increases which the leading city officials gave themselves a short time ago. The teachers en masse responded to this by ceasing the supervision of ALL extracurricular activities, including athletics, school dances, and clubs.

Naturally the students resented this. Their resentment was aggravated by the fact that this semester is traditionally the one in which spring dances and senior proms are held. The students would have to forego them due to lack of teacher supervision. The strike resulted.

It began on Tuesday, April 25, when several hundred students from Brooklyn Technical High School left school, marched across the bridge to lower Manhattan in a body, gathered before City Hall and, shouting slogans in favor of wage increases for their teachers, demanded to see Mayor O'Dwyer so that they could present their views to him. Needless to say, the mayor did not put in an appearance. The strike was at its height on Thursday when upwards of 35,000 students absented themselves from school and staged demonstrations throughout the five boroughs.

COPS USE HOSE

The largest of these occurred in City Hall Plaza and Foley Square where the municipal buildings are located. More than 8,000 students marched here from all parts of New York to express their views. They kept up a continuous shout

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SCOOP!

The press reports that a huge meteorite recently crashed down from the sky onto the plains of Asiatic Russia. Some peculiar markings upon the celestial missile are now being examined by Russian scientists. LABOR ACTION is in a position to reveal the results of their findings now. We predict the hieroglyphics will be found to spell out: "GLORY TO STALIN."

Roosevelt's Way

A letter to the editor in the New York Post on the high school strike demonstrations, by a Roosevelt admirer, provides an instructive backlight on the meaning of FDR's famous charm. It reads:

"Can't help thinking how Roosevelt would have handled the student demonstration at City Hall. He probably would have faced the kids and talked to them seriously, yet with a twinkle in his eye, explaining exactly how teachers' raises were being handled and the financial problems involved. The students probably would have left quietly. Mayor O'Dwyer, however, chose to sulk indoors..."

Only thing left out is the ending: "The students would have left quietly with no more than they had before; ditto the teachers. The problem would be solved in a twinkling of the eye—for the administration."

Pour on the blarney, O'Dwyer—show that you are a New Dealer too!

CIO Electrical Union Wins Big Plants from CP-Controlled Rival

By A. WINTERS

NEWARK, May 1—The CIO electrical union (IUE-CIO) won a decisive victory last Thursday over the Communist Party-dominated United Electrical Workers (UE) in a national NLRB election among all Westinghouse workers. The total popular vote for the IUE-CIO was roughly 27,000 votes to 22,000 for the UE.

Since the voting was on a unit basis the popular vote is misleading as to the real extent of the victory. The IUE-CIO won the big shops, the Stalinists most of the little plants. Already certified for the IUE-CIO as a result of the elections are 28,000 workers and the UE has certified only 14,000.

Meaningless then is the fact played up by the Stalinists that each union won 20 plants. Adding to the CIO total the 13,000 workers of the East Pittsburgh plant, the CIO will represent three Westinghouse workers to every one the UE represents. Pittsburgh Local 601 is being held up because 147 votes were challenged; since the IUE-CIO won this plant by only some 100 votes, much hangs on the decision of the NLRB and what it intends to do with the challenged votes. If the votes are opened and counted, the chances are that the CIO will get them, since it was the UE which challenged them.

If the Stalinists succeed in getting another election at Pittsburgh and succeed in taking the big

plant, then the Westinghouse chain will be split down the middle and the Stalinists given a chance again. However, their chances of finally winning this plant are not rosy.

NARROW SQUEAK

The Westinghouse chain is the second major one to go IUE-CIO in an NLRB election. Previously General Motors electrical workers had voted almost 9 to 1 to go CIO. The trend is now clearly toward the IUE and the Stalinists are frantic. They poured their full resources into the Westinghouse campaign and even had themselves believing that they were going to take this pivotal election. Everybody understood that the Westinghouse vote would have a big influence on the coming General Electric elections on May 25. The CP could not afford a decisive defeat here.

The two big plants that the UE won were in Philadelphia and in Essington, Pa. The IUE-CIO won in Bloomfield, the key New Jersey local, in Buffalo, Sharon, Mansfield and elsewhere and at the disputed East Pittsburgh plant.

The big surprise for most observers was the narrow squeak in Pittsburgh. IUEers were talking of a 10-to-1 victory at the plant and the narrow victory of 100 was an eye opener for all. The local had been, previous to the split, an opposition local; one of its leaders, Fitzpatrick, had run against Emspak at the last UE convention. The Stalinists had previously been de-

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Labor War Brews On West Coast—Bridges vs. Beck

By S. ROBERTSON

SAN FRANCISCO, Apr. 21—The situation around the waterfront and warehouses of San Francisco is developing into a bitter jurisdictional battle, which before its conclusion will likely be characterized by violence and bloodshed.

At present the focus of conflict lies in the warehouses where the workers for the Distributors Association are organized into Local 6 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (CIO), led by Harry Bridges; and where Local 12 of the AFL Teamsters, led by officials recently seceded from Local 6, is conducting vigorous raiding tactics. There is considerable evidence that the real aim of dictator Dave Beck of the Teamsters is eventually to take over jurisdiction of all of the waterfront—or possibly to divide it with Lundeberg of the AFL seamen.

The warehousemen were first organized into the longshoremen's union in the days when it was still the International Longshoremen's Association—still part of the AFL. In those days jurisdiction was contested by the Teamsters and awarded to them by the AFL but never recognized by the longshoremen or the warehousemen, who went together into the CIO and became the present ILWU. From its earliest days the ILWU and its predecessor, the ILA, has in this area been completely dominated by Harry Bridges and the followers of the Communist Party line.

Local 6 has been even more completely dominated by the Communist Party clique than other locals. It is in Local 6 that the bright college boys recruited to the CP line have been overnight built into big figures in the trade-union bureaucracy—specifically Lou Goldblatt from the University of California, now international secretary-treasurer of the ILWU, and Dick Lynden from Stanford, now secretary-treasurer of Local 6 and president of the San Francisco CIO Council.

Local 6 has for some reason been maintained as a tremendous local, sometimes claiming up to 18,000 members, and sprawled all over six, seven or more counties in this part of the state. Through several strikes and jurisdictional struggles the control of the Com-

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This Is NOT News

Of course you knew it all the time, but the Federal Trade Commission has now officially revealed that those athletes and other celebrities who appear in ad testimonials in enthusiastic endorsement of some brand of cigarettes are kidding you.

The FTC questioned 43 of them who had boosted Camels and found:

- Some do not smoke cigarettes at all.
- Some admitted they smoke various brands and can't tell the difference.
- Some admitted to signing the testimonial without reading it.
- Some admitted they can't read at all.

Chrysler's Beating UAW To the Punch on Publicity

BULLETIN

As we go to press, a Chrysler spokesman has announced that agreement has been reached with the union on the settlement of the strike. No indication of the terms is given, nor any clear confirmation by the union that the end has really been reached.

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT, Apr. 24—Premature announcements by United Auto Workers officials last week that the Chrysler strike was almost over raised hopes among the 89,000 strikers that they would be back to work this week with a sound pension plan, a new health insurance program, and an improved contract.

"We've got the ball on the five-year line," Norman Mathews, UAW Chrysler director, declared last week. Walter P. Reuther, UAW president, told a mass rally of strikers at Nine Mile Road that the end was here.

But the strike entered its fourth month this week, and Chrysler keeps pounding away in negotiations and through full-page newspaper advertisements in a campaign calculated to weaken the UAW in Chrysler plants.

Back in 1947 Norman Mathews had unfortunately sent a letter to the corporation in which he agreed with a company contention that shop stewards and committeemen were abusing the grievance procedure and spending time on other things. Today the corporation quoted this letter in one of its ads and urged the union to "assume responsibility." It also quoted from an old NLRB ruling against the union, to try to prove its case that it is only asking the UAW to live up to previous contractual obligations.

What's behind this new twist in the company propaganda? Essentially it is a shrewd counterattack against the union demands for badly-needed contract improvements on grievance procedure, holiday pay, company security, seniority, etc.

OUTMANEUVERED

Chrysler has offered the union a voluntary checkoff in return for giving up the present system of chief stewards and shop committees functioning in the plants. Chrysler wants to substitute the General Motors setup for its present one, but this is meeting with terrific resistance among the UAW activists, and the union negotiators to date are standing pat on this situation.

In the GM setup, stewards' or

committeemen's time is limited to a few hours in which the union officials can negotiate grievances. Under the present Chrysler setup, the chief stewards and committeemen may and often do spend full time on union grievances within the shop. Any limitation of this power of the chief stewards and committeemen would weaken the union's position in the shop. It would pile up grievances, which already are sufficiently great in number to merit major contract improvements to eliminate them.

Under the bargaining procedure, the grievances now go through channels that remind one of army red tape before they are finally settled.

Last week the company outmaneuvered the union on the question of the pension plan. The company offer which we have noted in these columns, had many "gimmicks" in it, turns out to be, with whatever poor features it has, better than either the Ford or Nash pension plans. Likewise, the corporation gave in on health insurance to an extent that goes far beyond the Ford or Nash settlement. And the union negotiators accepted this last offer, with minor details to be worked out. Then the corporation announced through full-page ads that the pension and health insurance issue was settled, so why the strike? Of course the corporation knew that the contract questions were not settled, but it utilized the confusion to hammer away at the UAW's prestige.

8 Curran Goons Arrested for Assault on NMU Opponents, His Port Agent Convicted

Continuing terrorist activities by goons of the Curran administration in the National Maritime Union, and several setbacks for the would-be NMU dictator, are featured in the May bulletin of the Committee for Democratic Unionism. The CDU is the group in the union which has taken the stand of opposition both to the Curran leadership and to the Communist Party forces in the union.

On Friday, April 7, a number of officials on the Curran payroll were arrested on a charge of felonious assault after they had attacked two well-known administration opponents, Charles Keith and Morris Wiener, in a candy store near the union hall, Form, New York Times of Sunday, April 9:

"The eight men were accused of smashing in the door of a candy

NOTE
Our special May Day issue last week crowded out a number of important trade union stories. We're catching up this week in order to bring our labor coverage up to date. Several of the articles in this issue came in fast week, as the date-lines show.

The continued failure of the Reuther leadership to keep the ranks really informed of the state of negotiations and to carry out an effective counter-publicity campaign has been one of the astonishing features of this strike. Unlike the General Motors strike in 1946, when Reuther beat the corporation to the punch on every issue, the UAW now seems to be lagging behind on publicity.

At the present time the main feature of the Chrysler pension plan is a funding similar to Ford, but with 25 years' seniority at the age of 65 necessary for eligibility for retirement with \$100 a month, including social security. At Ford the years required for seniority are 30. Chrysler makes 1,700 hours yearly the amount of work needed to get a full year's credit. This is too high, but at Ford it is 1,800; at Nash it is also 1,700. Chrysler has agreed to pay 1/2 of health insurance (the Blue Cross or Blue Shield plan). Neither Ford nor Nash has this provision.

MICHIGAN LABOR NOTES COBO'S HOUSING VETO UPHELD; STRAPHANGERS TO BE SOAKED

DETROIT, Apr. 22—The city Common Council has refused to override Mayor Cobo's veto on plans for multiple dwellings containing 54 units. The Schoolcraft Gardens Cooperative this week undertook the construction of from 28 to 42 single homes in the disputed 35-acre site.

Cobo's veto followed protests by the Tel-Craft Civic Association, a neighborhood home owners' group, against the zoning of the site in 1948 to permit the type of housing originally envisioned by the cooperative. Tel-Craft has also obtained a court restraining order forbidding construction of multiple units.

Supporters of the co-op contend that the racial question and not the zoning issue is behind Tel-Craft opposition to the project. They point out that no protest was lodged until it was "discovered" that four Negro families were included in the first group of co-op home owners.

The editors of the Detroit Collegian, student publication of Wayne University, is to be commended on its forthright stand for academic freedom. They point out that "Refusal by Wayne to allow Dr. Phillips to speak on campus set off a series of similar refusals by other colleges in the Michigan area. A most worthy precedent!"

"At other ultra-conservative schools throughout the country Phillips was allowed to speak. Yet, at Wayne, 'dynamic, liberal, progressive' Wayne, the thumbs-down signal was given.

"All these policies curbing academic freedom add up to a very discouraging situation.

"No wonder students from other universities are patting themselves on the back on saying 'See, we're not so bad off... look at Wayne.'"

Cobo's "business" administration continues to give the working people of Detroit the business. One of the ways in which it will be felt by all the people in the near future is the new fare schedule for riders of the Department of Street Railways. Fares are to be increased an average of approximately two cents a ride. This increase, to take effect May 15, according to Cobo and the DSR commission, is only a stopgap measure. They said that a system of zone fares would be instituted eventually. The zone fares will increase the cost of long

rides to 20 and possibly 25 cents. it was predicted. The present fare is four tickets for 50 cents.

According to George Edwards, former president of the Common Council, the people of Detroit have already suffered the following major setbacks under the present administration:

(1) Shift of \$750,000 in taxes from downtown property owners to small home owners.

(2) Elimination of 10,000 desperately needed housing units and the abandonment of all vacant land sites for homes.

(3) Dropping of one-half of the Detroit river-front development.

(4) Failure to continue acquisition of land for parks and playgrounds.

The members of the NMU is also aroused about the recent exposure of racketeering within the store at 309 West 17th Street and wrecking it while savagely beating two opponents of the union administration. They were held in \$1500 bail each by Magistrate Vernon Riddick. The police gave the names of the eight as John Chatman, Eugene Dellano, Hugh MacMurray, John Davis, Simon Mardislian, John O'Conner, George Groz and John Shinsky.

Patrolman Joseph Sabine arrested the eight men at gunpoint as they attempted to flee into the union hall entrance on 16th Street. Additional charges of malicious mischief and burglary were placed against these men since they were accused of looting the candy store.

On March 22 the N. Y. Times reported that "two former employees" of the NMU, "accused of a \$25,000 swindle through issuance of fake union books," were arraigned and jailed in lieu of bail.

The men, Herbert De Jesus and Frank Di Martini, were denounced by an assistant district attorney as "a pair of mean, conniving, vicious vultures who had victimized poor Puerto Ricans." On March 26 the N. Y. Daily News announced that a third member of the ring, Faust Portela, was being held in \$20,000 bail.

The CDU Bulletin pairs these press reports with two quotes from the "confession" page of the NMU Pilot, now virtually President Curran's personal organ. (The Pilot has been printing "confession" statements by members pledging support to the administration in regular Moscow Trial fashion.) Both Faust Portela and Herbert De Jesus are represented by signed statements as supporters of Curran in the union.

A high official of the administration may also be involved. Writes the CDU Bulletin: "On Wednesday, March 30, Ignazio

of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, is gleeful over the fact that the first person to be hit was tallist Edith Van Horne. Doesn't the Wage Earner realize that the distribution of its own paper is also "illegal" under the present ruling? Or would it destroy democracy for all to make sure that one person following the Stalinist line does not enjoy its benefits?"

New Low: Farrell Attacks Politicals in Trade Unions

By PETER LOUMOS

PHILADELPHIA, Apr. 22—A panel composed of Irving Howe, James T. Farrell and Miss Aleine Austin led the highly successful symposium on "Labor Tells Its Story" at the Labor Educational Association's quarterly conference this afternoon at the Broadwood Hotel in Philadelphia. The chairman was Dr. Albert A. Owens of the city Board of Education.

The LEA, a cooperative endeavor of the Board of Education and the labor movement in the Philadelphia area, directs labor education programs in the community and in the union movement. Its quarterly conferences usually include a panel of trade unionists or government representatives discussing some concrete collective-bargaining problem.

Departing from this practice of more than 10 years, the April conference brought together the above three writers in the labor field to discuss the general question of the state of American labor.

The many questions, the spirited discussion and the favorable comments from many of the more than 200 individuals and representatives of labor and welfare associations that participated in this forum attested to the success of the conference.

Miss Austin, author of "The Labor Story," made the first presentation, tracing the effect of the depression, the union struggles and the war on the consciousness of the workers and concluding that the American worker has now reached a stage of semi-socialism in which he looks to the government for welfare advances and

gains. A crisis, she warned, would set these masses in motion; but whether they would follow a socialist course or a fascist course with "socialist" trimmings depended on the effectiveness of the education these workers received before the crisis occurred. Her report was inclusive and well documented and provided the necessary background for the other presentations and much of the discussion.

Farrell drew on his personal experiences to show that labor's advances thus far consisted of losing its fears and intimidations and gaining greater "social space." Its big problem now was to train its big members for the responsibilities that they may be called on to assume. Farrell stated that he was in general agreement with Miss Austin's analysis.

Irving Howe, co-author with B. J. Widick of "The U.A.W. and Walter Reuther," posed the three challenges that faced labor today. In the unions themselves, the challenge arises in the conflict between democracy and growing bureaucracy. On the national scene there is the choice between forming an independent labor party or continuing to tail after the Democratic donkey as at present. Internationally, Labor must head for a Third Alternative that would offer to the workers—not only of America but of all the world—a means of avoiding both Stalinist slavery and A-or H-Bomb destruction.

Howe's discussion was clearly the most provocative. All but three of the questions were aimed at

him; probing his views on independent labor action, the British Labor Party, the role of intellectuals, the meaning of democracy and the idea of a Third Camp. Not a single question was directed to Farrell; but he managed nevertheless to throw the only discordant note into the discussion.

This was typified by the manner in which he injected himself into a question answered by Howe on the role of the intellectual in the trade-union movement. Missing completely the meaning of the question, ignoring the nature of the audience and the context of Howe's reply, Farrell seized upon the question to launch into an attack on intellectuals in the labor movement and to ridicule and berate them because they "have to write to New York for instructions on how to vote" whenever an issue came up.

Farrell's attack was meaningless to the others. For this reason, no doubt, as well as the fact that the problem had been dragged in by the ears, both Howe and others who understood the slander kept silent.

But one of the trade-unionists, smarting under Howe's criticism of bureaucracy, took Farrell's remark for what it appeared to be to most of the audience: a carte-blanche defense of the old-line bureaucrat. He likened the bureaucrat who had a million members in his union to a woman who raised children. This woman he said, doesn't have to read a book to tell her how to raise her children. She knows how to raise them; she is doing it. And the trade-unionist (i.e., bureaucrat) doesn't need any intellectual to tell him how to run his union. He knows. And moreover he not only doesn't need the intellectual in the movement but he doesn't even need the books the intellectuals write. And intellectuals should stick to lecturing and avoid even the subject of trade-unionism.

This vulgar extension of Farrell's more subtle remarks incensed the audience, many of whom leaped up to reply to the speaker. After several people had spoken, Farrell felt he had to get out from under. He arose to say, "I don't completely agree with the speaker." He then turned to him and with the utmost seriousness softly said: "After all, books should be read and ideas are important."

Announcement
With the next issue LABOR ACTION subscription rates will be increased as follows: For one year, \$2; six months, \$1 in the United States. Foreign rates will be \$2.25 for a year and \$1.15 for six months. Individual copies will continue to sell at five cents.

This change in subscription rates has been long overdue. While printing costs have mounted, we have kept our rates the same. All other newspapers of a similar character have been charging \$2 per year for some time. The financial problems of LABOR ACTION are such that we cannot delay the change any longer.

Subscriptions already in effect will, of course, be honored in full at the old rates.

During May and June LABOR ACTION will conduct a drive for new subscribers. For this period ONLY there will be in effect a special offer to NEW subscribers of \$1.50 per year and 75 cents for six months. This rate will not be available to resubscribers. This introductory offer will not be extended beyond the end of June.

Looking toward the speakers' platform at the New York May Day meeting of the Independent Socialist League, Max Shachtman, chairman of the ISL, delivered the main speech on "Ten Years of Independent Socialism." He was preceded by a representative of the Socialist Youth League who spoke on the political situation on the campuses of the nation and on the prospects of the Socialist Youth League. The meeting was enlivened by spirited singing, ending with the fighting song of socialist labor, the International. A good collection was taken as part of the \$12,000 fund drive of the ISL.

John L. Lewis Adopts Political Purge in UMW

By FRANK HARPER

PHILADELPHIA, May 1—The labor movement has gotten itself another "political purge" victim. The United Mine Workers' national office has recently fired William E. Collier from his post as field representative of District 30, United Harbor Workers, because of political activity—in the Democratic Party.

Collier is a candidate for State Senate in the Eighth Senatorial District of Philadelphia. The dismissal was ordered by A. D. Lewis, chairman of the UMW organizing committee, on the ground that Collier's job was a full-time one and did not permit "extracurricular activities."

Collier has been a member of organized labor for 25 years, had held his post in District 50 for seven, and headed the Maritime Port Committee composed of 16 AFL, CIO and independent waterfront unions here. Waterfront labor leaders reported to the Philadelphia Inquirer that the dismissal came as the result of "bucking" John F. Byrne, Democratic leader of the 35th ward, who was candidate for the same senatorial post. The dismissed unionist had received the endorsement of the

CIO Council and had as recently as a year ago spoken publicly for a labor party.

Collier said that he had been informed by UMW Regional Director Michael Pasternick that he was dismissed because his political activity was "against union policy." He did not seek reinstatement but said he felt he was "dismissed for exercising his right of citizenship." This is a fundamental right of a citizen and of American manhood and a man is a coward who would yield to such an ultimatum (to withdraw from candidacy). The firing is something of a precedent in the UMW, since Thomas Kennedy remained active in the UMW while he was lieutenant governor of Pennsylvania.

The absence of a labor party to which unions, other groups and individuals could affiliate on the basis of wide political agreement has been a great factor in the development of the concept of political conformity as a requirement for leadership in the labor movement. A demand for "loosing a political line" is a proper issue for discussion and decision in a political party but is certainly out of order in a trade union.

OSCAR COOVER

As we go to press, we learn with sorrow of the death of Oscar Coover, one of the active militants who helped to found the Trotskyist movement in this country and a devoted fighter for socialism.

Comrade Coover was one of the first to be expelled from the Communist Party as a supporter of the Russian Opposition to Stalin, and was a delegate to the founding convention of the first Trotskyist group, the Communist League of America. He was a member of the Socialist Workers Party and an active trade-unionist.

Funeral services will be held Sunday, May 7, 2 p.m., at Beethoven Hall in New York City.

They Need Your Help!

Local New York of the Independent Socialist League has been regularly mailing packages of food and clothing to needy workers in Europe. The relief committee has especially urgent need for clean, wearable clothing for children of school age, particularly in the 12-14 age group. Please bring or send your contributions to the city center of the ISL, at 114 West 14 Street, 3rd floor, New York City.

Fund Drive Box Score

Branch	Quota	Received	Per Cent
BERKELEY SYL	\$30	\$112	373
CHICAGO SYL	100	280	280
ST. LOUIS SYL	15	29	193
SYL AT LARGE	30	53	177
YOUNGSTOWN	100	125	125
NEW YORK CITY SYL	125	151	121
NEWARK	250	284	114
WEST VIRGINIA	50	55	110
NEW YORK CITY	4000	4250	106
BOSTON	75	75	100
CHICAGO	1500	1500	100
CLEVELAND	300	300	100
PHILADELPHIA	400	402	100
READING	100	100	100
ST. LOUIS	100	100	100
STREATOR	25	25	100
NEWARK SYL	15	15	100
DETROIT SYL	30	30	100
BUFFALO SYL	30	30	100
Los Angeles	500	487	97
Buffalo	1000	800	80
San Francisco Bay Area	500	401	80
Baltimore	75	59	79
Pittsburgh	150	101	67
Akron	200	114	57
General	1525	871	57
Detroit	500	216	43
Seattle	300	30	10
Total	\$12,000	\$10,996	92

Next Week: Final results and full report on ISL Fund Drive

The ISL Program in Brief

The Independent Socialist League stands for socialist democracy and against the two systems of exploitation which now divide the world: capitalism and Stalinism.

Capitalism cannot be reformed or liberalized, by any Fair Deal or other deal, so as to give the people freedom, abundance, security or peace. It must be abolished and replaced by a new social system, in which the people own and control the basic sectors of the economy, democratically controlling their own economic and political destinies.

Stalinism, in Russia and wherever it holds power, is a brutal totalitarianism—a new form of exploitation. Its agents in every country, the Communist Parties, are unrelenting enemies of socialism and have nothing in common with socialism—which cannot exist without effective democratic control by the people.

These two camps of capitalism and Stalinism are today at each other's throats in a world-wide imperialist rivalry for domination. This struggle can only lead to the most frightful war in history so long as the people leave the capitalist and Stalinist rulers in power. Independent Socialism stands for building and strengthening the Third Camp of the people against both war blocs.

The ISL, as a Marxist movement, looks to the working class and its ever-present struggle as the basic progressive force in society. The ISL is organized to spread the ideas of socialism in the labor movement and among all other sections of the people.

At the same time, Independent Socialists participate actively in every struggle to better the people's lot now—such as the fight for higher living standards, against Jim Crow and anti-Semitism, in defense of civil liberties and the trade-union movement. We seek to join together with all other militants in the labor movement as a left force working for the formation of an independent labor party and other progressive policies.

The fight for democracy and the fight for socialism are inseparable. There can be no lasting and genuine democracy without socialism, and there can be no socialism without democracy. To enroll under this banner, join the Independent Socialist League!

INTERESTED?

Get acquainted with the Independent Socialist League—

4 Court Square Long Island City 1 New York

- I want more information about the ideas of Independent Socialism and the ISL.
I want to join the ISL.

Name
Address
City Zone
State Tel.

YOU and SCIENCE

By CARL DARTON

The scientist, engineer or technician is, in some respects, a professional man. But few scientific workers realize that the technical societies have never been and cannot be developed into well-rounded professional organizations.

The Academy of Linx, established in Rome in 1601, was the prototype of scientific societies, including the early and famous Royal Academy in France and the Royal Society of London. When these societies were formed, there were no professional scientists but only doctors, lawyers, landed gentry and more rarely shopkeepers or mechanics who devoted their spare time to scientific pursuits.

Many scientists in industry and government employ would like to see the existing technical societies developed into "truly professional" societies such as the American Medical Association and the American Bar Association. Such a development, they feel, would give them greater prestige and economic security.

There are, however, two insurmountable barriers to this development. The technical societies are financed and controlled by industry and government and are usually officered by prominent engineers and scientists whose primary allegiance has been changed from science to management.

Because of the unprecedented expansion and concentration of science which has taken place in the last decade, the practicing scientist now has many new social and economic problems which are still often expressed by the utopian longing for professional status. The employment of hundreds of scientists under one roof has brought the scientific worker face to face with the long-standing problems of mass-production industry; the specialization of skill, subdivision of labor, job monotony, speedup, comparative wages, supervisor-worker conflict and poor working conditions.

Getting Advice on Collective Bargaining

The scientific societies, particularly those in branches of engineering, have noted the increased concern of their members with job problems and have attempted to guide this concern in directions most satisfactory to the interests which control the societies.

The broad policy of the technical societies in this matter of collective bargaining can be summed up as follows:

(1) There is recognition that the societies themselves cannot act as collective-bargaining agents, since their membership "embraces both individuals and corporations. The individuals in turn embrace both employers and employees."

(2) It is also recognized that most scientists and engineers are uninformed on collective bargaining; thus the societies would do well to supply gratis selected information and advice to their members. The Committee on the Economic Status of the Engineer, a joint endeavor of five of the largest societies, has been issuing A Manual on Collective Bargaining for Professional Employees.

(3) The technical societies have also advocated and pressed for legislation giving special collective-bargaining status to professional workers. The provision of the Taft-Hartley Act, which stipulates that the National Labor Relations "Board shall not decide that any unit is appropriate for such purposes if such unit includes both professional employees and those who are not professional employees unless a majority of such professional employees vote for inclusion in such unit" is the result of pressure applied by industry through the technical societies.

There is no doubt that the tremendous power and prestige of the technical societies are being used to hinder the organization of scientific workers into genuine collective-bargaining units affiliated with the large labor organizations. In some cases, like the American Chemical Society, these societies are actually in position to blacklist any member who actively advocates an "undesirable" type of unionism. Society technical journals are being used to split scientists from other workers and their organizations.

Engineers, scientists and technicians constitute a relatively small but important segment of workers and efforts should be made by labor, particularly the CIO, to counteract the miseducation being given by technical societies. If the CIO and AFL are to organize any appreciable number of scientists, they must simultaneously convince them that their basic economic needs are the same as other workers' and assure them that consideration will be given to the secondary special needs which do exist.

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Reading from Left to Right

ELECTIONS "DOWN UNDER," by Alzada Comstock. (Current History, March)

Setbacks to the Labor Party in both New Zealand and Australia before the recent British election were widely heralded as rejections of "socialism." In this interesting article, the Mt. Holyoke professor of economics analyzes the reasons for the reversals down under and does this mainly by an analysis of the Labor Parties themselves. It becomes quite clear, though the writer does not present any thesis, that their loss of power was not due to the lack of dynamism in the socialist program but just the reverse: because the parties did not present a dynamic socialist program to the people.

Of New Zealand, for example, Professor Comstock summarizes as follows: "The Labor Party appears to have gone down because it was old and tired and unimaginative in office. Its chief goals were achieved in its first two terms. Then the pace slowed."

The New Zealand LP was able to present a record of achievement in its first term of 1935-38 and to less extent in its second term of 1938-43 on the basis of an active reformist program springing from the drives of the depression. But when the possibilities of reformism were exhausted, it did not forge ahead to a socialist fight. The people saw no more promise in it and it fell by the wayside.

WHAT CAN WE DO? by Milton Mayer. (The Progressive, April)

The following excerpt should be introduced by the note that Mayer and A. J. Muste are, of course, both anti-Nazi and anti-Stalin. It is "original Christianity" which is being advocated as a solution and it seems to come to a difficult pass:

WORLD POLITICS

By HENRY JUDD

There was a time when international conferences of the big powers, such as that of the United States, Britain and France which is about to open in London, were called together under the title of "peace conference," or some other title ostensibly related to the problem of guaranteeing, strengthening or finding peace. Now, however, even that slim pretext is dropped and the forthcoming London conference is openly convened to strengthening existing alliances and ties of the great powers in their coalition against Russian imperialism.

The speech of Herbert Hoover, calling for a formal burial of the corpse of the United Nations and the creation of a "grand coalition" in its place, although somewhat in advance of present intentions of the Big Three, much more accurately reflects the true state of affairs than most diplomats would be willing to admit. As the N. Y. Times has stated: "American foreign policy is now based on the premise that the cold war is here to stay, and that the home front and the whole Atlantic front must be mobilized and organized on that basis."

The London conference thus marks a stage in the development of what Secretary of State Acheson has called "total diplomacy," which—translated—means total readiness for waging war. It is expected to last for two weeks, and many significant issues will be discussed—not, apparently, with the intention of working out some new approach to the Russians or arriving at a compromise, but to harden the anti-Russian front and settle issues within its ranks.

Here are some of the issues which evidently will be discussed:

(1) The formation of the Atlantic Pact nations into a more solid bloc, capable of dealing in some kind of united fashion with Stalinist threats. This involves the approaching expiration of the Marshall Plan (1952), together with various proposed economic steps to achieve some small measure of economic unity in Western Europe. The truth is, of course, that Western Europe is exceptionally weak, from a political point of view. The British Labor government probably cannot last very long; the French government holds on by a thread, and Belgium is in the midst of its monarchical crisis.

Considered by themselves, the Western European powers hardly are able to hold their heads above water, let alone prepare any kind of anti-Russian offensive. Acheson would like to rectify this situation, if he can, and the only way he can think of is some kind of vague economic "unity" or "integration." Closely associated with this is the issue of Germany, that perennial issue.

LITTLE TO BE EXPECTED

(2) What to do about the demands of the Bonn government for greater autonomy, particularly in domestic affairs? What to do about Germany's integration into the Atlantic Pact bloc, and possible

"Terror. Nameless, useless terror... If we can do to change the course of history..."

"If we can be unterrified, we can love Stalin. 'I once heard a holy man named Muste say in a shaking voice, 'If I can't love Hitler, I can't love at all.'"

"Why? I said. 'Because I am trying to be a Christian,' said A. J.

"Oh, if that's all," I said, 'that lets me out. I'm just trying to be a Jew. I'm under the Old Law, you know.'"

"Christ came to fulfill the Old Law," said A. J.

"So I tried to love Hitler. I don't say I succeeded; I certainly never got to like him. But I often thought, as I tried, that maybe I could love him without liking him. Maybe what we can do is love Stalin, without necessarily liking him. Maybe he won't respond; I'm not sure. But of this I'm sure—he won't respond to our hate."

YOUTH FESTIVAL IN BUDAPEST, by Paul Seabury. (Columbia Journal of International Affairs, Winter 1950)

Stalinist youth delegations from various countries came to this shindig, held for two weeks last August. In a footnote, the Columbia instructor in government brings out a typical sidelight on the "people's democracy" in the world of sports and entertainment:

"From official Festival news releases, the author is unable to discover any contest or program participated in by a Soviet sport, musical or cultural group, where that group did not win first prize."

The judges certainly knew on which side of the prison camps their bread was buttered.

rearmament? All the old and unsettled questions are raised again, since American efforts to rearm Germany, or put the Bonn government on a more equitable footing with the other powers, are inevitably opposed by the French imperialists, who conceive of the North Atlantic Treaty as directed just as much against any future German attack as against a Russian attack.

In this respect, perhaps the proposal of French Premier Bidault for a new Atlantic Council which would "coordinate the economic, political and strategic policies of the Atlantic Pact powers" may be the most important proposal to come up before this London conference. From the meager information made available regarding this plan, it appears to be a concrete step for forming a high board of European strategy, to speed the preparations for war to a more active phase.

(3) It is also likely that issues affecting the Far East will probably be touched upon at this conference, such as the disastrous war of the French against the Viet Nam republic; how to liquidate with a minimum amount of embarrassment the stinking remnants of Chiang Kai-shek's regime on Formosa and settle down to the real task of doing business with the Chinese Stalinists, what to do about the proposed treaty with Japan, etc.

While it does not seem too likely that important issues will be settled, or that much will come from this conference, we shall nonetheless follow its developments over the next few weeks. In any case, more permanent and formal arrangements which clarify the relations between the Big Three in their anti-Russian bloc will probably emerge. This is a conference for business; any phony talk about "peace" will be at a minimum.

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Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor

Heated Objection from Jim Cork

To the Editor:

Just got around to reading your quite fetching "notice" of my Antioch Review piece on Dewey and Marx. It was quite a remarkable performance, even for people who tailor their morality strictly according to the pontifical arrogance of Trotsky's "Their Morals and Ours." Needless to say, any indication of the real content of my piece was successfully kept from your readers (I hesitate to accuse such moral people of doing so deliberately). The following, for instance, were some of the issues raised which I expected might excite the argumentative risibilities of Trotskyites and arouse them, possibly, to reasoned rejoinder:

(1) I reject the dialectic as an outworn piece of mystification and asserted that Trotsky and the Trotskyites remained blind to its glaring deficiencies. Now, either defend the dialectic and show how I am wrong, or drop the useless baggage yourselves.

(2) I asserted that Trotsky was, logically, way off base on the means-ends relationship in his "Their Morals & Ours," that Dewey easily demonstrates same and that any sophomoric with a bit of logical training could see it. Now, was Trotsky right or wrong, is Dewey wrong or right? An answer, please, and no weaseling.

(3) Yes, I asserted that Marxists have misinterpreted Dewey out of ignorance, or have willfully distorted his actual position out of arrogance and an unexamined faith in certain negative aspects of our Marxist ideological heritage. Whether you are among the ignorant or the arrogant I have no way of telling, as yet, since you substitute wisecracks for a statement of your beliefs. I modestly admit the justice of your charge when you say, "The various Marxist movements have attacked Dewey's pragmatism, but that (we gather) is because they're not as good Marxists as Cork," and insist that the measure of my superiority is contained in my recognition of these distortions and my indicating the mistaken grounds on which they are predicated.

(4) I asserted that Marxists have misinterpreted Dewey out of ignorance, or have willfully distorted his actual position out of arrogance and an unexamined faith in certain negative aspects of our Marxist ideological heritage. Whether you are among the ignorant or the arrogant I have no way of telling, as yet, since you substitute wisecracks for a statement of your beliefs.

(5) I indicated some matters (means-ends relationship, democracy, experimental vs. dogmatic attitude) in which, I thought, Marxists could learn from Dewey. You were probably too proud to take notice of such heretical assertions.

All these and many other issues raised and analyses made were bypassed by you in favor of a couple of quotations isolated out of context and a few snide remarks. The contents of my piece were not indicated nor met on their own or any other legitimate grounds. The piece itself might be good, bad or indifferent, but, certainly, no reasoned arguments on your part were of any help in establishing its nature, whatever it might be, for none such were forthcoming. It would have been salutary to examine the issues raised in unbiased and objective fashion. But the barely disguised arrogance of your approach (which is possible, I suppose, only to people who are convinced of their own omniscience and infallibility) did no service to decent canons of polemical discourse and was thoroughly self-defeating. In fact, your performance hardly escapes the characterization of a hatchet job, a la the Stalinists.

Jim CORK

A Mild Reply

Not to emulate Cork's rather violent language, we note only that it is unfortunately too frequently met with from people who are ready (at the drop of a criticism) to denounce Marxists for the deplorably harsh tone of their polemics and for "arrogance" in asserting their own beliefs.

The column "Reading from Left to Right" (which Cork is talking about) is devoted to a variety of short notices of interesting passages in current magazine articles. It commented briefly on what was in fact the main point, and in our (humble) opinion the most interesting point, of Cork's article. This

was on the question: Why does not Dewey recognize his affinity with Marxism?

Cork says nothing about what the column did say about this aspect of his article, except to dismiss it as "barely disguised arrogance," "snide remarks," "hatchet job a la the Stalinists," "out of context," etc. This, we presume, is in order to set a model example of how to answer a view with which one disagrees without arrogance and without weaseling.

Cork's really violent objection, however, is that the column did not ALSO deal with other points in his long article. The column has no such obligation, of course, moral or otherwise.

There is no doubt that a worthwhile article could be written on Cork's discussion in his Antioch article on the relationship of Marxism and Deweyism, or for that matter on the recent book on Dewey just published under the editorship of Sidney Hook. Cork's point seems to be, however, "that no one has a license to limit comment to the one aspect of his article which was fairly new, particularly his correspondence with Dewey. We are inclined to wonder whether he would have mailed a letter like the one above to the New Leader, Nation, New Republic or any other sterling moral publication whose literary comments and even book reviews frequently limit themselves to limited points. . . . And in any case the "Reading, etc." column does not even purport to be a review.

It is also necessary to correct an erroneous impression which the reader may get from Cork's first two points. In the first, he seems to say that his article discussed the blindness of "Trotsky and the Trotskyites" to the "glaring deficiencies" of dialectics, and demands that we defend it. It is given as point 1 of what we "successfully kept from (our) readers" with regard to the content of his article.

This subject upon which Cork so peremptorily demands a full-length reply is treated by him in his own article in a SINGLE SENTENCE—no more—after which it is dismissed. So that there can be no mistake about it, we quote this sentence in full: [The [Trotskyites] have satisfied themselves in the main, in their periodic "notices" of Pragmatism, with the impassioned defense of the mystic nummeries of the dialectic, and an

occasional attack on Sidney Hook for the latter's purportedly profane attempt to water down the revolutionary purity of Marxist philosophy by his espousal of Pragmatism.

There is not another word on the dialectic and the Trotskyites' writings thereon. And Cork was not writing a brief notice in a "Reading from Right to Left" column but a long article in a serious magazine. The reader will note that Cork here too gives an example of how not to dismiss an opponent's views "arrogantly." . . . The reader also learns, incidentally, that there have been "periodic notices," impassioned defenses and occasional attacks on the views Cork is putting forward. Presumably he has not been convinced by them. That is his democratic right. Yet his letter might well leave the impression that nothing had ever been said on the subject.

In his second point, Cork demands that we (in order not to conceal "the real content" of his piece from our readers) must take up his gage on the Trotsky-Dewey controversy regarding ends-and-means. The readers will, we think, be surprised to learn that in his Antioch article this controversy figured not in a page, nor in a paragraph, but exclusively in a FOOTNOTE of a few lines! And in this footnote Cork's "discussion" of the controversy is limited to the assertion that Dewey "easily convicts the great revolutionary of the most childish illogicality on the means-end relationship."

No less! Also no more. We have no doubt that Cork has many cogent things to say on that controversy, but they do not appear in his article.

We have a final recommendation to Cork, which we make with understanding fear and trembling, and yet with hope that it may not be taken amiss. It is: in writing to a publication like LABOR ACTION which fights for socialism, albeit on the basis of views with which he may disagree, that he use approximately as well-considered language and as much objectivity and fairness as he would in writing to a publication which (say) supports U. S. imperialism or the Truman administration or the anti-CP witchhunt. That would be more effective in demonstrating what Cork calls "the measure of my superiority," in this case in the field of morals.—Ed.

Grady, United States ambassador in Greece, issued a letter to Venizelos informing him that an economic and fiscal reform program was necessary in Greece if Marshall Plan aid was to continue. The letter was made public, of course, to give the impression that the U. S. was not backing Venizelos but on the contrary was criticizing him.

When the Grady letter appeared, everybody in Greece down to the smallest child knew that Venizelos could not get enough votes in Parliament to sanction his government, and that his government must fall before Parliament opened in the middle of April. In fact, Venizelos resigned as premier just before Parliament opened.

In other words, the Grady letter was not intended for Venizelos, but for the eyes of Tito, of American public opinion, and of Plastiras, who was to be made premier. The U. S. hopes that Plastiras will give the U. S. credit for his appointment to the premier-ship.

Plastiras may not be the smartest man in the world, but we are sure that he can see through this. This recent chapter in Greek history shows U. S. diplomacy making the same moves that British imperialism made in attempting to put in its lackeys in the various governments. Even from the point of view of American imperialism, the Greek election was something that could have been exploited for its own propaganda purposes.

U. S. Diplomacy Loses a Round in Greece

By CHRIS SIKOKIS

United States diplomacy lost a round when General Nicholas Plastiras was named premier of Greece. The United States pulled a couple of face-saving stunts when its plan did not work, but these stunts have fooled nobody in Greece.

The recent elections in Greece gave the center and left parties more than 160 seats out of 250 seats in the Parliament. The Populist (right wing royalist) party, which in the 1941 elections had obtained 55 per cent of all the votes, was reduced to less than 20 per cent of the total votes in the March election of this year, giving it only 62 deputies in the Parliament.

It was obvious that the center parties commanded the majority votes and would form a coalition—which they did as soon as the elections were over. The three center parties—Liberal, National Progressive Union, and the Social Democrats—signed a pact that they were ready to form a government and chose Plastiras as their candidate for premier. Sophocles Venizelos, leader of the Liberal Party, was in full agreement for the coalition to become premier.

This was done on the advice of

U. S. MANEUVER So the U. S. was left with its playboy premier who was on the spot. On March 31, Henry F.

governments. Even from the point of view of American imperialism, the Greek election was something that could have been exploited for its own propaganda purposes.

But the U. S. State Department does not feel safe unless it has puppets wherever possible. The U. S. Diplomats have nothing to fear in Plastiras, and they know it, but he won't jump fast enough to suit them when they crack the whip. He may have a few small ideas where he disagrees with U. S. policy.

Now it is up to the Greek people themselves to force the Greek government to live up to its election promises. Plastiras will make concessions to American diplomacy and even to the Greek royalists, for they have thousands of ways to put pressure on him. The people will have to keep forcing the issues through action in their trade unions and other workers' and peasants' organizations.

The Greek workers have a unique situation. The people voted overwhelmingly for democratic parties in the last election. Reaction has been beaten back, at least for the moment. The grip of the Stalinists on the trade unions has been smashed. Now is their time to rebuild on solid foundations.

UC Faculty Compromises on Oath Struggle; Wayne Hears Stalinist Prof.—Off Campus

Calif. Regents Dump Ultimatum, Get Same Pledge in Contract

By A. GARBER

A settlement, after a fashion, came to the University of California last Friday when the Board of Regents withdrew its ultimatum demanding a loyalty oath from each of the university employees and substituted instead a contractual statement.

On or before May 15 each employee and faculty member will receive for signature an oath and a contract form. The oath will be the general constitutional oath of office required of public officials of the State of California. The contract form will include the following statement for each signing employee: "I am not a member of the Communist Party or any other organization which advocates the overthrow of the government by force or violence, and . . . I have no commitments in conflict with my responsibilities with respect to impartial scholarship and free pursuit of truth. I understand that the foregoing statement is a condition of my employment and a consideration of payment of my salary."

In the event that a member of the faculty or any other employee refuses to sign either or both, he will have the right to petition for a review of his case by the Committee on Privilege and Tenure of the Academic Senate. He can request a full investigation and hearing of his reasons for failing to comply with these requirements. The Committee on Privilege and Tenure shall thereafter submit to the Board of Regents for final determination the results of its findings and its recommendations. All of this will have to be done by June 15.

LIMITED COMPROMISE

After almost a year of tumult and agitation involving academic freedom and a loyalty oath, it has been finally agreed that academic freedom is to go by the board, at least temporarily, and that the loyalty oath will be replaced by a contractual statement of the same essence and content. A simple verbal mumbo-jumbo by academic medicine men and we now have a compromise—acceptable to both the Board of Regents and the Academic Senate.

It is true that in a very limited sense a compromise has been attained in the year-long controversy. The formula finally devised satisfies the regents who have been demanding an anti-Communist statement from university employees, and at the same time denies the regents the right to dismiss summarily an employee who refuses to make such a statement. In this process the control of the university—at least tenuously and shakily—still remains with the Academic Senate.

Perhaps the greater victory by the Academic Senate was the resignation of die-hard L. M. Giannini, who cast the only dissenting vote at the Board of Regents session last Friday. Giannini in his

Condensed from a talk delivered by radio news commentator A. Garber over radio station KPFA-FM (Berkeley, Calif.). Garber may be heard by all residents of the San Francisco Bay Area over this station every Thursday evening at 7:45—10:10 on your dial.

letter of resignation said, "It now appears that through the use of Communist techniques and raising fears and dividing and exhausting their opponents, the dissident minority of the faculty will prevail over my continuing opposition in its declared 'cold war' on the regents. I am unwilling to yield in principle, or compromise my strong convictions and opposition to Communism."

THREATENS "VIGILANTES"

The head of the greatest banking institution in America concluded his statement of resignation with the following extra-legal threat: "If the new implementation which is neither an oath nor an affirmation should prove ineffective, as I fear it will, I hold myself in readiness to participate with others in providing for the organization of 20th Century vigilantes, whose objective will be to unearth and expose Communism in all of its repulsive manifestations." This is the sort of regent secured by an appointive process, responsible to no one but his own personal vested interests.

Effecting this so-called compromise was the intervention of the University Alumni Council representing 36,000 members, which threw its support to the president of the university and the Academic Senate in the last days of the conflict. Still another factor contributing to the settlement was the support given to the Academic Senate by numerous liberal university elements throughout the entire country.

From Stanford came a letter signed by 245 professors and employees, strongly backing the California faculty stand against the regents' previous ultimatum. And probably the most interesting response came from Chancellor Robert Hutchins of the University of Chicago. Hutchins announced that faculty members at Chicago and at least a dozen other campuses were preparing a fund to aid California professors who might be dismissed for refusing to sign the mandatory oath. Eighty thousand dollars at least was being pledged from the University of Chicago alone. The issue had apparently become too big for the Board of Regents and the conservative Academic Senate to handle. A settlement was imperative.

That no fundamental or effective compromise has occurred will be evident at the end of this semester as scores of members of the faculty—both Senate and non-Senate—will emigrate from the campuses of the university.

Why Nazis Recoup

Joseph Mire, economist for the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, writes on the German civil service under Western occupation:

"In 1935 a certain Dr. Hans Globke published in Munich a commentary on the new German racial laws. These laws, Dr. Globke explained approvingly, 'mean a renunciation of the liberalistic idea of the equality of human beings. . . . A nation can flourish only if the leadership is entrusted to the elite. . . . Only those of German blood can be citizens.'"

"For the unfortunate and unhappy victims of Nazi Germany's racial legislation, Dr. Globke had this comforting thought: 'They should have chosen their parents more carefully.'"

"Today this same Dr. Globke is head of the personnel office for the German government of Western Germany, and the author of the new German civil-service act which is now before the German parliament. The new law and author are both symbols of our [U. S.]'s failure to reform the German civil service system and to purge it effectively of Nazi followers."—From the ADA World, March 20.

Michigan Universities Maintain Ban on Student Council Meetings

DETROIT, Apr. 30—Dr. Howard Phillips, former University of Washington philosophy professor who was dismissed from his post because of membership in the Communist Party, again made the news here when he spoke at an off-campus demonstration attended by about 750 students and faculty members on the lawn of the Main Public Library, about a block from the Wayne University campus.

As reported in LABOR ACTION, about three weeks ago the administration of Wayne banned a campus debate between Phillips and Dr. Alfred Kelly of the faculty. The meeting was to have been held under the auspices of the Student Council.

There were immediate repercussions on the University of Michigan campus. The Student Council, sponsor of a similar debate there, suddenly found it impossible to find a faculty member willing to debate. Their problem was shortly settled by that university's administration when in an act of arro-

gance equaled only by that of the Wayne administration, it ordered the debate canceled.

In both cases the meetings were to have been sponsored by the Student Council, the highest voice in what passes for student government in Michigan. By these actions the two administrations have turned these bodies into mere rubber-stamp groups.

Action was started on both campuses to have off-campus meetings where Phillips could speak or debate. Such moves were led mainly by the Stalinists, but they also attracted many students of varied liberal and radical shadings. The Ann Arbor meeting took the form of a debate between Phillips and Prof. Preston Slosson of Michigan's history department. More than 2,000 students and faculty members were present and many more were turned away.

PHILLIPS TOES LINE

However, Wayne's attempt to have a meeting or debate did not fare so well. The meeting was to have been held in a local Episcopal church, about two blocks from the campus. But too much pressure was exerted on the local minister by his bishop and the local American Legion. It has also been reported that the minister, a recent arrival from England, had only his first citizenship papers and that it was probably pointed out to him that sponsoring such a meeting at his church might have undesirable results.

Regardless of what was the reason, the fact is that at the last moment permission to use the church's facilities was withdrawn. The Stalinists were quick to take advantage of this situation, and organized the meeting outdoors. At one time the crowd numbered well over 900. A group of policemen made an appearance, but there were no real disturbances.

Phillips began a short speech that was inaudible 20 feet away. Many students, as a result, lost interest and began their own conversations. Others drifted away. The hostility of a large part of the crowd was indicated by frequent catcalls that made it even more difficult to hear Phillips.

After a short summary of his case, Phillips presented the CP's line in an extremely crude manner. This came as a surprise to many who expected him to represent the more sophisticated brand of Stalinism that usually manifests itself in academic circles.

The most interesting point he made, perhaps, was that he did not consider himself a foreign agent, but that he could not vouch for the entire party! At the end of his speech, he was asked his attitude toward the fight of the 18 Minneapolis defendants who were the first victims of the Smith Gag Act, and toward James Kutcher, the legless war veteran who was fired from a government job because of membership in the Socialist Workers Party. Phillips indicated his slavish adherence to the CP line by replying that he did not believe in universal tolerance, and that the Trotskyists were really reactionaries in disguise. A hoot went up and someone cried: "You mean that you are only interested in civil rights for yourself!" Other questions were answered with the stock in-trade Stalinist arguments.

The off-campus meetings, however, do not meet the real problem: that of challenging the precedent set by the action of the two university administrations. Unfortunately, no organized group capable of taking up this fight has developed. It is badly needed—now.

Why Is UAW Losing to Stalinists in FE Plants?

By PETE JARMS

CHICAGO, Apr. 24—The Stalinist-controlled United Electrical Workers (which now includes the former Farm Equipment Union, the FE) has administered another defeat to the United Auto Workers (CIO) in the election held at the International Harvester Tractor Works in Chicago on April 21.

The vote was 2410 to 1491, with 146 for no union. This election marks the third consecutive major defeat for the UAW in Harvester and, for all practical purposes, ends the latter's drive to take over the Harvester plants controlled by the UE-FE.

The UAW also lost at the previous elections in Louisville and West Pullman. In the spring of 1949 the UAW also lost to the UE-FE at McCormick Works in Chicago.

It is obvious that the UAW has to take stock, that it is time to ask questions and demand answers on why the most militant union in the CIO, with the most democratic tradition, thus loses consistently to the Stalinists in this field.

There are many explanations given. They begin with the fact that it is difficult to defeat the union which originally organized the plant. This can be conceded. "We didn't have the proper in-plant leaders; the FE discredited these people."—How come? Cer-

tainly, the CP forces are past masters at character assassination, but couldn't this have been overcome by a superior line? And who had the better line?

REDBAITING BOOMERANGS

The mood of the workers in the shops today is primarily anti-company. They want a fighting union, free of the taint of back-door deals with the companies. They are wary of strikes, but they want a union which talks, acts and fights against the company. They are for wage increases and their enthusiasm for the pension issue is not very great.

The FE Stalinists understood this much better than the UAW. It is true that the Stalinists used the Chrysler strike dishonestly, in a manner bordering on strike-breaking in their comments on the UAW assessments. But they consistently attacked the company, brought their Harvester council into action and came out with a wage-increase demand.

At Louisville, on the other hand, the UAW thought that because there had been 87 wildcat strikes during the previous year (horrors!) that was enough to win for them. They found out quite differently. The spectacle of the UAW even talking about condemning wildcat strikes, in view of how it was built itself, is something to be imagined.

At West Pullman and at the tractor works, the central theme of the UAW was the cry of "Commie!" Attacks on the company were conspicuous by their absence. No effort was made to show that the UAW fights the company. The piecework earnings of FE workers in these two plants are lower than all of the UAW plants; yet this point was not even raised.

The UAW was harmed so much by its constant attacks on individuals as "Commies" that, according to a report in the Chicago Sun, Reuther's office issued instructions to cut it out. But 'redbaiting' remained the central issue of the UAW to the end.

If it is said that the FE victories here over the UAW had something of a progressive content, because it showed that the workers were unmoved by the current redbaiting hysteria, there would be some point to the claim. But the fact is that such a factor is far outweighed by the corruption imposed by the Stalinist political line on the union. Yet with this background these same workers, in the UAW, could have provided new material for a growing healthy left-wing sentiment in the auto workers.

ONE LESSON

There was no imagination in the UAW drive. It had a majority of the executive board at Tractor Works, yet allowed the FE to take over the building owned by the union. They had some shop committees, yet organized no spectacular fight against the company throughout the drive. They sat on their hands too long between the start of the drive and its finish.

An effort should have been made to get the three elections held on the same day, so as to prevent the snowballing effect that the defeats in Louisville and at West Pullman had on Tractor Works. The people who had led the drive the previous year at McCormick were not leading the following year's drive. The top leaders of UAW were oblivious to the ranks and appeared as uninterested porkchoppers.

But these reasons could be listed under hindsight rather than foresight. The fact remains that the UAW never had a serious discussion on the defeats of 1949. It allowed Vice-President Livingston to excuse the defeats because of the incompetence of individual representatives. A leadership that does not analyze and try to learn from defeats will go on making the same mistakes over and over again.

All of the lessons to be learned cannot be placed in one article. A serious discussion must take place within the UAW itself. But one aspect bears emphasis now.

Why does FE succeed in outdoing the UAW within the shop, in discussions, locker-room meetings, etc.? The answer comes that they have politically-trained CP members; they are articulate; they have a "left" line (pseudo-left, to be sure); and they attract politically-minded workers. The last sentence must be underlined. To this writer this is the most important lesson. The CP attracts politically-minded workers. Why? Because it is false to think that nowadays it is possible to sell the Democratic Party to workers. The Negro workers are not impressed with the plea to make sure of a 1950 electoral victory. With no other force around, they naturally tend to go to the CP. These politically-minded workers are the people who do the talking in the shop, carry departmental weight, etc. One lesson, if it must be pounded in, is that the labor movement—for its own protection from the bosses on one side and from reactionary Stalinism on the other side—needs a new political approach, a new program, a labor party NOW.

Not in the Headlines

High Cost of Scabs

AFL's George Meany gave a sharp answer to the anti-labor editorialists who harp on "what it costs to belong to a union." He said:

"You don't see anything in the papers about what it costs to stay out of the union. It costs \$2 to \$3 a day. That's the difference in wages paid to union and non-union workers."

New Unemployed

"People out of work no longer include just the marginal workers and the handicapped. A growing percentage are people with skills, good backgrounds, who used to be taken for granted that they would always have jobs."

—U. S. News & World Report, April 7

gate. "Labor," the railroad unions' paper, picks up the thread of the story:

"Since then newspapers have been silent on the subject. Why? Perhaps because the former local union official who had been quoted on the 'secret signal' business—Lloyd Sidener of Canton, Ill.—denied he ever said anything like the newspaper reports."

"Sidener was supposed to have declared that 'if the whistle blew once' it was Lewis' code message for the strike to continue and if the whistle blew three' the men were to return."

"I've told 2,000 people in the last week," Sidener declared, "that there never were any secret signals. Everyone who knows anything about coalmining knows it is traditional to blow whistles to let miners know whether or not to report to work the next day."

Free Enterprise Nofe

A little picture of insanity under capitalism, as seen in a recent editorial in the Indianapolis Times:

"It had to do with the fiasco of our surplus-potato crop—which seems to be getting sillier by the hour."

"Farmer Art Wardner (at East Forks, Minn.) sold to your Uncle Sam 160,000 pounds of potatoes at \$1.45 per hundred weight."

"The government, of course, does not want these potatoes, but it wants to keep them off the market so the price will stay high. So, Farmer Wardner said he would buy them back for livestock feed at the government's price of one cent per hundredweight."

"Evidently this was all arranged beforehand, because a government representative was there with checkbook. It was probably the first transaction of its kind under the potato-dumping program announced by Secretary of Agriculture Brannan on Feb. 3."

"The government man handed over his check—that would be \$2,320—to Mr. Wardner. In turn, Mr. Wardner wrote out his—that would be \$16—and handed it to Uncle Sam."

"The potatoes never left the farm. Mr. Wardner's profit figures at \$20.80 knocking off \$240 for grading and inspection by a state agency at the rate of 15 cents per hundred-weight."

"And Mr. Wardner still has his potatoes which he can chop up, dehydrate, boil and feed to his cattle and hogs."

"The check that Mr. Wardner got can be made good by 43 men (with wife and two children each) by paying federal income taxes on wages of about \$3,000 a year."

Electric Shock

The Truman administration's Rural Electrification Administration has cracked down on union contracts.

President Dan Tracy of the AFL Electrical Workers has announced that he is "shocked" by the policy which has come to a head in Montana. There the union had signed contracts with seven REA cooperatives providing for union conditions on work let by contract.

But Acting REA Administrator William C. Wise, in a letter to a state board handling such projects, announced that such a "restrictive provision" in further projects might increase costs and that REA's veto might stop it. Thus the federal agency proposes to save money by plugging for scab labor.

The shocked AFL president says it's a terrible thing to be done "by a government committed to a policy of collective bargaining." But Truman does not seem to be very firmly committed. . . .

Cheaper Power

It pays to eliminate the profiteers' cut. The Wisconsin "Rural Electrification News" surveyed cities of over 20,000 population in its state and reports on what the user of 1500 kilowatts has to shell out for bills. If the city owns the plant it costs \$23.75; if the plant is run for private profit, the cost is \$45.41.

In other words: "The average charges of profit power companies are almost double the amount the users would have to pay in comparable publicly owned systems."

Underground in D. C.

Congressman Buchanan of the House special committee on lobbying has disclosed that two-thirds of the lobbying activity going on in Washington is underground. He said there were 1500 lobby groups and only 500 have registered as such. Of 10,000 individual lobbyists, about 2000 have owned up.

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From many parts of Western Germany we have received requests for Marxist literature IN ENGLISH. Books and pamphlets by Trotsky, Lenin, Marx, etc., are in urgent demand, but any Marxist works are needed. Almost none of this literature is available at present. All books and pamphlets contributed will be widely circulated. Help rebuild Germany's socialist movement! Send us your unused or duplicate copies of any and all Marxist literature, or any you can spare. They will be forwarded immediately to those who will make good use of them. Send them to: LABOR ACTION (Attention: H. Judd), 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

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Labor War on West Coast --

(Continued from page 1)

munist Party group has seemed complete; and in ILWU conventions the tremendous bloc of votes of this local has been cast unanimously for the line of the Bridges bureaucracy and the Communist Party group. It was this local which, in the last days of Browder's reign in the CP, just before the end of the war, adopted the infamous "security preamble"—the provision in their contract guaranteeing no strikes for an indefinite post-war period.

GO OVER TO BECK

Suddenly last year, following a very long-drawn-out strike in which a victorious settlement gave the workers very small gains in relation to their long period on the bricks, a sharp rift appeared in the San Francisco section of Local 6. In the annual elections an almost complete slate running on a flat anti-CP platform was elected.

At the time some of these anti-CP leaders—including some incumbent Local 6 officials—were denounced by their CP clique opponents as being in the pay of the teamsters' union. From the outside at the time it was difficult to judge the truth of these charges. Today these men, elected or re-elected in the last election, have gone over to the Teamsters and form the official leadership of Local 12.

For the most part, at least, these are characters of long standing in the ILWU bureaucracy, therefore almost certainly Communist Party members in the past. Apparently they are people who began to see the handwriting on the wall as the federal government and the national CIO bureaucracy both began to move sharply against the CP. About a year ago they seem

to have abandoned the CP and begun to move toward the Teamsters as a better guarantee of their personal economic security than the national CIO.

It should be said that at least one main leader of the anti-CP victory in the annual Local 6 elections, Frank Maxey, dissociated himself from the pro-Teamster move, maintaining loyalty to Local 6 in the current situation but orienting toward the national CIO.

In this situation of factional division in Local 6 of federal government pressure on the ILWU in the form of the Bridges trial, and of national CIO attacks upon the ILWU in the form of the impending trials by that body of Bridges and of the union, and the probable expulsion of the union from the CIO—in this situation the teamsters' bureaucracy decided that the time was ripe to give effect to its long-nursed desire to raid at least the warehouse section of the ILWU.

PICKET BATTLES

The seceding officials and ex-Communist Party liners from Local 6 were given a charter in the Teamsters and put on the payroll. The demand was advanced for plant-by-plant NLRB elections, and the raiding campaign was under way. Local 6, the employers' association and the NLRB rejected the plant-by-plant election demand; and the Local 6 leadership, a month before the expiration of the old contract, hastily concluded a new one with the employers, to run for three years.

The new contract provides for very minor wage increases, minor welfare provisions and for very limited opportunities for improving wages during the life of the contract. This contract, accepted by the membership of Local 6,

has been bitterly denounced by the Teamster raiders, and by the whole AFL officialdom backing them, as a complete sellout engineered solely to prevent the Teamsters from winning over the warehouses by a vote of the workers concerned.

The policy adopted by Local 12 has been to picket individual warehouses under contract to Local 6, thereby shutting off all truck delivery to and from the warehouse, forcing the warehouse to shut down, throwing the CIO members out of work and pressuring the warehouse to withdraw from the employers' association. The reply of Local 6 has been legal action against the Teamsters and (as of yesterday) a campaign of forcible removal of the picket lines. This last action, however, is perhaps only the prelude to further legal action, as the Teamsters have announced that, picket lines or no, the trucks will not deliver to the warehouses in question. Another possibility is boycotting all the Teamsters if they boycott certain warehouses.

The national CIO, through its regional director, Tim Flynn, has given its full support verbally to Local 6, and has spoken of the possibility of calling a conference of all CIO unions in the area for the purpose of organizing and planning active support. However, yesterday's papers also carried the news that the trial of Bridges and of the ILWU before the committee of the national CIO is set for May 17, this decision apparently having been held up pending the outcome of Bridges' perjury trial.

The AFL throughout the area, even including sections from which some resistance to such outright raiding tactics might have been hoped for, has lined up unanimously to support the Teamster

attack upon Local 6. Even the East Bay Labor Council, the AFL of the Oakland side of the bay, and its relatively very progressive organ, the East Bay Labor Journal, have, with apparently very little resistance, endorsed the raid by the Teamsters.

SUP BEHIND BECK

This occurs in an area where the Teamsters have been in violent conflict with the rest of the AFL because of their Beck-dictated outright strikebreaking against the Retail Clerks, who are engaged in an extremely long-drawn-out strike against the Safeway Stores. In view of the general stand for unity, or at least for fair dealing with the rest of the labor movement taken at least by the council's organ, the Journal, it is discouraging to see this support of such barefaced raiding by such a notoriously scabby outfit as the Teamsters' International in this area.

This is, of course, not to infer that the rank and file of the teamsters desire to scab on their fellow workers. The locals are compelled to fall in line by Beck's ever-present and often exercised threat of suspension of charters and officers and imposition of international receivership.

One other AFL union seems to be associated, and in the dirtiest way, with the Teamsters' attempted raid. That union is the Sailors Union of the Pacific, once regarded by militants as the greatest advocate and defender of democracy and of genuine labor unity. It is alleged by the officials of Local 6 and probably with good reason, that those picketing in the interest of the Teamsters are not actually teamsters at all but are men from the Sailors Union employed as goons at a substantial daily wage.

The recent record of the AFL sailors under Lundeberg's domination in relation to other jurisdictional struggles of the Teamsters, in relation to strikebreaking against the Canadian Seamen's Union and against the NMU on the Union Oil tankers, as well as their pretty well-established desire to break strike on the Hawaiian longshoremen, points to the probable truthfulness of the charge leveled against the SUP now.

This charge and this record, along with the virtually complete destruction of democracy in the SUP and the current purge of all dissident elements from that union, constitute a sad commentary on the fate of what was once a militant and democratic union, always ready to help other workers in need of assistance. The fate of this union is also a result of the disastrous trade-union policy followed in past years by the Socialist Workers Party, which at one time was a very active and influential minority in the SUP. As the fruit of their past policy of "support Lundeberg right or wrong" because he was THE anti-Stalinist force on the waterfront, the situation today is that every SWP member in the SUP lives under the threat of quickly following those who have already been expelled.

CP NO BETTER

Our indictment of the raiding, labor-splitting and undemocratic policies of the AFL and the so-

called right wing of the labor movement is by no means to give any clean bill of health to the practices and policies of the Stalinist trade-unionists led by Bridges. This Bridges-CP group, who falsely claim for themselves the name of "left wing," have contributed their full share and more to the cause of labor disunity. Off-hand two instances come quickly to mind.

One is the famous Sheppard Line beef of '38 or '39 when the National Maritime Union, CP-controlled at that time, backed by Bridges, the ILWU and by all the CP-controlled maritime unions, attempted a raid against the SUP on the Sheppard Line ships—a raid almost identical to that which the Teamsters are trying today against Local 6.

The second example is the Machinists strike in the bay area just after the war. In this case the actions of the Bridges clique never reached the stage of open strikebreaking, but to any careful observer their desires and intentions, were clear from their threatening of the Machinists' leaders, their maneuvering to get control of the strike, and their attempts to whip up sentiment in their own membership to go through the Machinists' picket line.

This observation was confirmed in the following months by the exposé of the strikebreaking activities of the Communist Party itself, exposed by those who left or were expelled from the CP in the bitter struggle over this strike policy and other questions. There is no doubt that the Stalinists are preaching about unity and democracy today only because they are very much on the defensive—in these times.

It is the power-seeking struggles of all the various bureaucracies that have brought about the utterly split-up, dog-eat-dog situation in the labor movement here. The rank and file are the forgotten men in every case. Each bureaucracy seeks power in its own interest and in the interest of its imperialist masters, whether American or Russian, using the rank and file only to vote the bureaucrats into office and to pay their salaries. And the solution is only a flat reversal of this picture.

The welfare of the rank and file lies only in the unity and democracy of all workers. The main struggle in every instance must be by each worker for real democracy in his own union, so that in his union the rank and file may direct policy in the way of genuine cooperation with the rank-and-file interests of all other workers.

On the waterfront and in the warehouses of San Francisco workers must resist being swallowed up by the virtually totalitarian teamsters' union, but they must never forget the fight against the Bridges bureaucrats and their henchmen. And above all they must remember that until the CP crowd is removed from power in the ILWU and control is placed in the hands of the real rank and file so that the union can return to many of the forgotten policies upon which it—and the Maritime Federation—was founded, until such a time conditions are not established where the ILWU could take a genuine stand for labor unity.

H. S. Students --

(Continued from page 1)

of "We want Willie" (Mayor William O'Dwyer) and, when the mayor did not sifw up, "Willie is chicken." Hundreds of uniformed policemen, both mounted and on foot, endeavored to disperse the students. They used big Sanitation Department sprinkler trucks which sprayed the streets and rode their horses into the crowd. Several students were injured and others were arrested.

Friday saw a repetition of the previous day's events. The police had barricaded the bridges leading to lower Manhattan. Close to 5,000 students made their way to City Hall. Once again the police dispersed them. The students carried placards reading "School Clubs, Not Police Clubs" and charged O'Dwyer with the responsibility for the strike.

The press, of course, was full of stories about student violence and vandalism. Actually the violence was provoked by the police and whatever violence occurred on the part of the students was in defense against police attack.

The city administration, echoed by most of the capitalist press, charges that the strike was organized and led by "subversive" ele-

ments, and points to the fact that the Stalinist-run Young Progressives of America handed out a leaflet at the strike. It has begun an investigation to establish "responsibility" for the strike, but an honest inquiry will show that the charge is entirely false. The strike has been entirely spontaneous and unorganized. Indeed this is what accounts for its weaknesses and is what should be remedied. The fact that after the strike began, the YPA handed out leaflets in support of it (for its own reactionary reasons and purposes, to be sure) proves absolutely nothing.

SYL SUPPORTS

The Socialist Youth League issued and distributed a leaflet at the strike. This leaflet hailed the students for supporting the efforts of their teachers to gain a living wage. It pointed out the indivisibility of the struggles of the teachers from the struggles of other municipal employees. It urged the students to continue their struggles and pointed out that in the final analysis the struggle was one over the question of who controlled the government—the working people or the men of wealth.

Cynics are attempting to minimize the political significance of the strike. They say that its primary motivation is not the plight of the teachers but the ending of extracurricular activities; that it was merely a blowing off of steam, a release of tensions that have nothing to do with politics, and a chance to play "hokey." This misses the point entirely.

Even if all of the above were true, the fact is that these "tensions" were "released" in a politically progressive manner. The students could have been angry at the teachers for cutting off their extracurricular activities. Instead they recognized that it was the city government that was responsible, and continued their strike even after the teachers' organiza-

tions asked them to go back.

In addition to this, there is plenty of evidence that many students consciously aimed to give help to the teachers, aside from the effect that the teachers' action had on them. The task of the more advanced and militant students is to educate the others on the meaning of the strike, to make them conscious of its political meaning.

It is also up to the parents, through their Parent-Teacher Associations, to get into the fight behind the teachers, to support them in their demands, to raise a hue and cry about the way in which the police used force and violence against their children when the latter sought to exercise their right to protest before the city administration.

Whatever happens, this strike will have many significant results. For one thing the students will have had a social experience that must leave its imprint upon them for a long time to come. They will remember, and the next time they take action (whether it be still as students or later on as workers) they will do it better. And they have shown once again that the youth of America can enter the road of struggle for social progress.

By LEON TROTSKY

Marxism in the United States

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CIO Wins Big Plants --

(Continued from page 1)

angle inserted into the fight by the ACTU. After the Pittsburgh near-debacle, it will not be so cocky!

In contrast to the Pittsburgh events, the victorious campaign at Bloomfield was a model of how to fight the CP. There the UE was rightly crucified as the betrayers of the workers, the ones who had allowed the electrical workers to slip below the national average

wage structure, the ones who had allowed the fourth wage round to go by without getting a single penny for the workers. The CP was wiped off the map by over 4 to 1.

Everywhere else the picture was the same. The more redbaiting, the stronger the Stalinists were.

The Stalinists made all kinds of alliances. In the Newark Meter plant they made an alliance with the bookies; and only this under-world agreement saved them from

defeat here, where they squeezed through by 400 votes. Their steward system is also the setup for collecting all kinds of bets!

The coming fight at General Electric will be vicious. The wounded Stalinist beast has a lot of fight in him. The victory at Westinghouse, if its lessons are absorbed, can be the basis for future decisive victories. There is already evidence that they will not go un-