

THE UAW'S GM CONTRACT It Was a Victory, But -... page 6 Which Pattern Will Be Set? ... page 6 The Dangers of the 5-Year Term ... page 7

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Supreme Court Hits Legal Jim Crow in 3 Decisions; **Dodges Segregation Angle**

By JESSE KAAREN and LARRY O'CONNOR

The Supreme Court last week dealt telling legal blows at Jim Crow practices in education and public transportation in the South in three major decisions.

In the case of G. W. Mc-Laurin, a Negro attending the University of Oklahoma, the court ruled that he and 23 other Negro students, who are seated apart from their white classmates, must be admitted to regular classes with white students.

Similarly, in the Texas case where Hemon Marion Sweatt of Houston demanded admission to the "white" law school in Austin, the court ruled that the Negro law school there is not the equivalent of the school provided for whites and that Sweatt may rightfully claim a "legal education equivalent to that offered by the state to students of other races." The third case was that of Jim Crow practices in the dining cars of railroads. Elmer W. Henderson, director of the American Council of Human Rights, was plaintiff against the Southern Railway Company. In writing the decision on this case, Justice Burton said: "Where a dining car is available to passengers holding tickets entitling them to use it, each such passenger is equally entitled to its facilities in accordance with reasonable regulations."

POLITICAL MOTIVE INVOLVED In rendering these decisions the

Supreme Court avoided committing itself on the principle that it is legal for Southern states to give are never "equal" to those provided for whites, and cannot, in

These decisions have struck one more legal blow at Jim Crow, and department and becomes "incom- it is a powerful one. It is clear that the Supreme Court took into government purge has come to, account the political and economic realities which face the government. The failure of Congress to pass a fair employment practices (Turn to last page)

nas from the House Un-American

the subpenas, he would of course the nature of the situation, be have been subject to contempt equal. charges. Since he did respond, he is "impairing" the efficiency of the petent." This is what the Truman

Page Two

Bell Aircraft Strike Heads Sentenced

Court, Corporation Work Together to Soak Union

round of the post-strike persecu- cution case in regard to witnesses tion of 23 United Auto Workers photographs and other evidence defendants has ended with the was gathered by the company and sentencing of five of them for six gone over in the plant. months each

The trial was an outcome of the 19-week Bell Aircraft strike and was part of a company plan to break or demoralize the local union that started with injunctions, back - to - work movements and sheriff - department and scab vigilante provocations. This particular trial was based on a conspiracy charge in connection with a local union open meeting on last September 1 and an area-wide labor demonstration on September 7.

Martin Gerber, regional director of the UAW, and Edward Gray, sub-regional director, were acquitted of riot but convicted of the charge of conspiracy. Joe Ippollito, rank-and-file member of Ford Local 425, Donald Fried, rank-and-file member of the United Steel Workers, and Joseph Blackowitz, rank-and-file member of Bell Local 501. UAW, were acquitted of conspiracy charge and convicted on riot. Although the riot charge was a felony and the conspiracy a misdemeanor all convicted defendants received the same sentence. Nine other defendants were dismissed before the end of the trial for lack of evidence; eight others were acquitted of both counts. Although the corporation is on its way to getting its pound of flesh, it failed to obtain a conviction on any of the local union strike leaders.

The prosecution started the case by stating this was not an antiunion persecution nor a companyunion struggle. However, the company's role in the trial soon became obvious and even got into the court record despite strenuous attempts by the district attorney and the judge to keep it out. Corporation lawyers coached witnesses right in the courthouse. The witnesses were brought to court in company cars and escorted either by the company chief of police, the company special investigator or a company labor - rela-

By FRANK HARPER

and CIO.

raded down Broad Street in mem

ory of those Negro soldiers "who

died in vain." This protest against

continued racial segregation was

sponsored jointly by the National

Citizens Memorial Committee and

the Committee Against Jim Crow

in Military Service and Training,

and was endorsed by the AFL

The parade moved from Jeffer-

son Street to Rayburn Plaza in the

central city, where brief addresses

were made by labor and civic

leaders and musical numbers were

given by contralto Carol Brice and

the Omega Glee Club. The march

was headed by the blind veteran,

Isaac Woodard, whose eyes were

gouged out by South Carolina po-

lice on a Jim Crow bus. Parade

banners protested Jim Crow and

segregation, and stated that "The

Answer to Communism Is More

Democracy, Not Less."

BUFFALO, June 3 - The first tions man. The bulk of the prose-

TRUTH COMES OUT

As to the actual picket-line incidents which made up the charge of riot, the following was admitted by prosecution witnesses:

(1) That the horses used by the mounted deputies were leased to the sheriff's department by Bell Aircraft Corporation;

(2) that helicopters used against the strikers by the sheriff's department were loaned by Bell;

(3) that the sheriff's department and the company had planned in advance to take three busloads of non-strikers and scabs through a previously unused gate that had small picket line;

(4) that a group of company men from inside the plant had come out to this gate;

(5) that a rock fight between the pickets and the company men inside the gate had taken place;

(6) that the mounted deputies without warning had charged into the picket line in an attempt to disperse it as the buses approached the gate and before any rocks were thrown.

The defense added to this that there were armed vigilante groups inside the plant: it was they who started the rock fight; that one of the non-strikers who was assaulted had first attempted assault with lethal blackjack made in the plant out of government material

The conspiracy charge was completely ridiculous; the charge was based on speeches and a movie made at a public meeting a week before the demonstration. The demonstration was not even called by the local union which had the meeting

SETS A PATTERN?

1500 Marchers in Philly

Besides the obvious bias of the judge, exemplified by his various objections to the defense attorney's questions, even without the district attorney's objection, and besides the wide latitude the DA had in cross-examination as com-

pared with the very narrow limits accorded the union's attorney, the judge went far afield in taking on the role of a second prosecutor. The DA's summation stressed the fundamental aspect of the trial as the freedom to scab. This, according to him, is one of the fundamental liberties afforded by American democracy. The judge's charge to the jury was another prosecution summation which, while less hysterical, was more detailed and more effective.

The jury was out over two days. came back once to notify the court that it was hopelessly deadlocked and found it impossible to reach a verdict. The judge summarily charged the jury to go back and arrive at a verdict. After this a quick compromise was reached.

The convictions, of course, will be appealed. The legal struggle following the strike has been of great expense to the local and international unions. The degree of court. DA and sheriff-department complicity in the company conspiracy of union-busting and labor-persecution is astounding. The battle may well go on for years and much will yet be brought to light. This could well become a pattern for future government and corporation cooperation for unionbusting and legal persecution.

The judge in sentencing the convicted defendants made almost a classical speech expressing the class sentiments of the court when he said that "the court could not condone the actions of the defendants because they represented a threat to the fundamental fabric of our system of law and order." To him men fighting to protect practically social-revolutionists.

LABOR ACTION

OHIO LABOR NOTES_ **Big UAW Locals in Cleveland Vote to Approve GM Contract**

Charles

in favor.

suspicious of ballot fixing, showed

that they were anxious for a stand-

ing vote, but they were willing

to take a secret ballot when it

was explained that this was the

constitutional procedure. The vote

reported later was approximately

ten to one in favor of acceptance.

was acceptance of a local wage

agreement, finally negotiated by

the local union under the favor-

able pressure of the national nego-

tiations. This settlement was par-

ticularly needed by the piece-

workers, who previously had all

the wage increases since 1946

added to their pay as a flat hourly

rate. Now the increases will figure

Also acted on at this meeting

By JOE HAUSER

CLEVELAND, June 5-During the past week, the five General Motors locals of the UAW-CIO in Cleveland voted on ratification of the new GM contract. Three of the five voted to accept, while the other two voted rejection. Fisher Body Local 45, Cleveland Diesel Local 207, and Electro-Motive Local 1047 voted in favor of accepting the contract. They represent about 7.000 of the 12.000 GM workers here.

Euclid Station Wagon Local 1045 and Parma Chevrolet Local 1005 voted against accepting. Possibly of some significance is the fact that these two plants are only two or three years old and thus the pension and increased vacation provisions mean less to these workers. The newspaper reports were that Local 1045 took its action because of the five-year contract term, speed-up and production standard provision, and the escalator clause: while Local 1005 objected to the grievance procedure, five-year contract and modified union shop.

The action taken by Local 45 was of the most interest locally, inasmuch as it is the largest local here and the main sounding board for the Stalinists in the UAW. Reuther sent one of his own assistants, Jack Conway, to present contract to a jam - packed the meeting. Conway gave a straight point-by-point explanation of the settlement and was even complimented by local President Beck-"non-factional" apman for

It was apparent from the outset that the unusually large audience had come down to insure that the contract would be approved and that the Stalinist-inspired leadership would be overruled. Many members wanted to vote right their union from destruction are away without discussion, but finally agreed to hear debate limited the strikebreaking employer.





By SAM FELIKS to begin in late June.

Mayor O'Dwyer has given New York teachers an ultimatum: end your "strike" against extra - curricular work before we talk about salary raises

who so enthusiastically supported O'Dwyer in the last election ought to be able to recognize this tactic from their own experience. It's always been high up on the list of



Reporting on the Convention of the United Steel Workers

By JEFFERSON JOYCE

The United Steelworkers of America (CIO) held its fifth constitutional convention on May 12 when 2,328 delegates from the United States and Canada assembled in Atlantic City for four days. With the absence of factional lineups throughout the union, it was a very quiet convention for a CIO union. Resolution after resoution rolled through the conven tion with only slight discussion voiced on the floor from the delegates themselves and virtually no criticism of Phil Murray's policies was manifested.

About the only skirmish came over the seating of Charlie Fizer, a delegate from the Chicago area who was challenged on the ground that no Communist Party member has the right to be a convention delégate under the union constitution. In the debate, Fizer admitted that he had been a member of the CP but had resigned more than two years ago from the Stalinist organization. Unfortunately many delegates cared little whether or not he was a member of the CP so long as they could use him as a scapegoat to let off a little redbaiting steam.

That the union's provision against office-holding by CP members is a bureaucratic means of guarding against CP control was not discussed at all. although in the discussion many delegates attacked the CP for other than redbaiting reasons.

A motion by Murray was carried to permit Fizer to remain on the convention floor as a guest until a special committee investigated

whether Fizer still was a member of the CP. He said that he did not want to unseat Fizer if he had left the ranks of the Stalinists, but was opposed to seating him if he still belonged to the CP.

POLITICAL ACTION STRESSED

Murray's opening address dealt primarily with the pension agreements and the social-insurance agreements that had resulted from the Steelworkers' strike last fall. These agreements now cover some 630,000 union members, and together with sick-benefit provisions won an extra allowance of \$17 million worth of weekly benefits has been added. He mentioned that under the hospitalization plans already worked out, covering the families as well as members of the union, more than 1,750,000° people are already insured.

Membership reports showed that 959,978 workers were currently paid up and in good standing in the union and that the union had assets of \$81/2 million despite the drain on the treasury during the 1949 strike (Strike relief of \$818-000 was paid out to striking memhers.)

The keynote of the convention was in the field of political activity and social legislation. Resolutions were passed to rededicate the union to fight for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and to try to replace it with a law containing the basic provisions of the old Wagner Act

Resolutions also were passed to do battle for a guaranteed annual wage; to improve social-security laws: to fight for a national health

program including a national health insurance plan; to obtain a national FEPC law: and to have a bill passed to raise the minimum wage to \$1 an hour, extending the coverage to 7½ million workers by removing the discriminatory exemptions

While great attention was given to political action, there was no policy change proposed. The union will still, in its own words, remain independent and non-partisan, giving support to the progressive forces in both major parties." The idea of a labor party essential to trade-unionism today, did not come up.

Murray commented on the letter to discuss labor unity sent by William Green of the AFL and predicted that prospects today lead to greater hope of unity; but he expressed the belief that the best way to begin would be for the two organizations to decide on a coordinated political-action agreement. The convention passed a resolution endersing Murray's proposals for labor unity and expressed the hope for its acceptance by the entire labor movement.

Few constitutional changes were made. The union will henceforth have only one rather than two vice presidents. This means that they will not have to fill the vacancy left by the death of vicepresident Van A. Bittner last year. Another amendment barred Ku Klux Klan members from the same rights that at the previous convention had been denied to Communist Party members.

No opposition was shown to the Murray leadership.

to the second

Protest Military Jim Crow Springfield, Ill., on July 4. PHILADELPHIA, June 3 - On In the words of the committee:

futility of the Negroes' dying for

Porters, is the guiding figure in the Committee Against Jim Crow. The co-chairman of the committee of the committee, while worthy of support, are very limited. Accord-

ber, 1947, now interprets its immediate task to be the incorporation of eight civil-rights amendments into the new Selective Service Bill. It is believed that these amendments, sponsored by Representatives Dollinger and Javits and Senator Langer, "would safeguard Negro draftees from all forms of segregation and discrimination, both on and off military installations, while they are in uniform."

The Philadelphia parade is one of four memorial events arranged view these amendments as "safeby the Committee Against Jim guards," in the opinion of this Crow. The first was held in Gettysburg, Pa., on Sunday, May 21, writer. Moreover, socialists, desirand was addressed by labor and ing to follow a road independent political leaders, including Nor- of the two war blocs, cannot acman Thomas from the Socialist cept, as does the Randolph-Rey-Party. The remaining two will be nolds committee, the extension of held in Washington, D. C., and the draft.

May 28, 1500 silent marchers pa- "The ceremonies will mark the,

a democracy they hoped to enjoy. leaving to their heirs the bitter legacy of inequality.", A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car

is Grant Reynolds. The objectives The committee, formed in Octo-

on their piecework rates, adding somewhere around three or four cents per hour to their pay. The local as yet does not have a signed seniority agreement. **Recognize It?**

The AFL and CIO labor leaders

pacity of 60 million tons.

Here is the basis for the Ger-Therefore the essence of the

man challenge to France's steel industry. Germany, the largest exporter in Western Europe, the most efficient and lowest-cost producer in Western Europe, is cut off from her traditional markets in Eastern Europe at a time when there is "excess capacity" in steel. Schuman Plan-the creation of a high authority whose decisions would be binding on the participants-shows why Britain refuses to enter into the pooling agreement. The British steel industry has its markets protected by preferential tariff agreements among the British commonwealth nations

would have the power to allocate tion of "excess' capacity" and the markets, to set prices and costs. responsibility of this high author-(which would mean wages too) and to channel investment and raw material. It would be a supra- ernments in order best to carry

good use of them.

June 12, 1950

freedom to date.

Brooklyn College Scandal: 'Liberal' Prexy Swings Ax on Academic Freedom for Press

The administration of Brooklyn College, headed by "liberal" President Harry D. Gideonse, has just succeeded in perpetrating its most flagrant violation of academic

The issue, which has enraged virtually the entire campus, developed over the suspension of the college newspaper Vanguard. Involved is the right of a student body to publish and control its

own newspaper, free of adminis- 12, Vanguard's adviser, Dr. Julius ministration was out to "get" Vantrative censorship, and the right Portnoy of the Philosophy Depart- . guard. of students as citizens to put out their own independent publications. The affair has been accompanied by student protest meetings and the largest petition campaign in the school's history. Here is the story.

Vanguard, like all other extracurricular organizations on campus, requires a faculty adviser in ment, resigned on the ground that the staff has been rejecting his advice.

Usually such a resignation is preceded by a search for a new adviser so that the paper might appear uninterruptedly. But it is clear, in the light of other evidence, that Dr. Portnoy did not want the paper to appear. As a order to function legally. On May matter of fact, the Gideonse ad-

tasks: the development of the Af-

rican continent." The period of

colonialism is more or less over

its sights on new fields, Africa

It hopes to find new sources of

cheap raw materials now that

Southeast Asia and East Europe

are no longer available. But it does

not have the leisure of the late

19th century to carry it out. The

social perspective remains but the

possibilities of fulfillment have

That this plan means one big

cartel is seen in the problems it

presents. Europe with a combined

steel capacity of 60 million tons

would be a formidable competitor

of the United States for export

markets. Therefore in the annual

report of the Economic Commis-

sion for Europe, where this con-

ception was previously presented,

the suggestion is also made for a

vorld-wide commodity agreement

read: market-dividing) in order

There is one important omis-

sion in the French proposal: iron

ore. The proposal included soal

and manufactured steel but not

the source of the iron. And since

France is the largest iron-ore pro-

ducer in Europe and an important

source of iron ore for German

steel, the fact that it was not in-

cluded tips the French hand and

points to the method by which

domination will be attempted

Everything connected with steel

will be included in this supra-na-

tional body except the iron, and

France controls the most impor-

But it is against the working

class that the Schuman proposal

For one it will make nationaliza-

tion, even the bureaucratic social-

democratic kind, meaningless,

What can be the meaning of na-

tionalized industry when the con-

representative body? It attempts

to take away the basis for the

On another level it will subvert

the struggle even for ordinary

trade-union demands. If cost and

pricing policy is in the hands of

this high authority, then what is

of this widely heralded plan for

"unifying" Europe. It is a unity

marked by struggles between the

national states for the dominance

of one among many, the prepara-

tion for the third world war, a

new period of colonial exploita-

tion in Africa, and against the de-

The only real unity will be

Europe opposed to the war drives

of United States and Russian im-

found in an independent Western

mands of the working class.

perialism.

These are some of the promises

struggle for workers' control.

he point of striking?

trol is visted in some distant non-

tant sources

ANTI-STRIKE PLAN

o avoid this competition

greatly diminished.

Asja, and capitalism has set

Just two weeks previously a news item very embarrassing to Gideonse hit Vanguard's front page. It revealed his intervention in the election of a chairman for the History Department, Gideonse had refused to give his approval to the chairman elected by the department. Professor Jessie Clarkson, and threatened to appoint a man of his own in his stead if the department faculty continued to vote for Clarkson In opposition to this bludgeoning attitude, the department elected Professor Arthur C. Cole, a friend of Clarkson and no puppet of Gideonse's.

NEW PAPER PUT OUT

It was known that Gideonse wished this story kept out of Vanguard. When it was published, he was intent on teaching the staff a "lesson." The administration may even have initiated the resignation of Vanguard's faculty adviser in order to crack down; in any case; it utilized the resignation to suspend the paper immediately.

There followed a series of student attempts to get another faculty member to serve, against pressure exerted by the administration to prevent this. Most faculty members refused the spot; a few did accept only to pull out under the squeeze from above. The staff finally obtained Professor Bernard Grebanier of the English Department

The four faculty members of the Faculty-Student Committee on Publications closeted themselves with Grebanier, excluding the four student members from the confab. When Grebanier left the room, the student members were invited in, and a vote was taken. The faculty contingent on the committee voted solidly against him, making a 4-4 tie: the FSCP then adjourned, refusing to hear any further nominations

Since the appearance of Vanguard for the week was thus effectively stopped, half the members of Vanguard's staff, financed money collected from individby ual students and student organizations, on Friday, May 19, issued a four-page publication entitled Draugnav (spell it backward). Its masthead declared it to be "an independent publication. Published whenever occasion demands, by a group of individual persons representing only themselves. This is not a Brooklyn College publication." Five hundred issues were distributed at the college gates.

The administration cracked down! Six students were suspended, one for five days, five for three so clear-cut, the administration so days, and 50 staff members were crude in its attack on students' lly reprimanded. As a resul of the suspension some of the stu- that the suspensions will be redents will "overcut" and thereby strikes some of its heaviest blows.. fail a number of courses. Notations will be placed on permanent record cards, making it harder for them to get jobs.

THE SCHOOL RALLIES

The students broke no administration rules in publishing a newspaper representing themselves. Gideonse's only charge was Student Committee on Publica-"conduct unbecoming a student." If the action were allowed to go the faculty adviser system.



(Continued from page 1)

bionage sense—is not any issue in this connection, even aside from the fact that no reasonable evidence has been adduced. Truman's cabinet member has clearly based his case on something else.

While the administration and its supporters fill the air with cries indignation against the foul lo campaign of Senator McCarthy- Dealers?

unchallenged it could set a prece dent for action against any student group with which the admin istration disagrees. The college president's move was so obviously undemocratic and dangerous in its implications that the New York Post editorially criticized him.

The students reacted. A group of non-Stalinist clubs, the Democratic Coalition Committee, together with the Eugene V. Debs Society, held a meeting on Monday, May 22. (The DCC consists of the Socialist Club, Young Democrats, Young Liberals, Student LID and Students for Democratic Action.) Four to five hundred students came to voice their protest against the administration. Proposals were made to contact the American Civil Liberties Union and Workers Defense League to help turn the public spotlight on what is happening.

The behavior of the Stalinist student section was scandalous. The initiative for the defense of student rights had been taken by the socialist and liberal groups. The Stalinists, reacting to their isolation from the broad campus struggle, responded by attempting to disrupt the rally. They repeatedly took the floor to demand the dissolution of the DCC and the formation of a new organization to include them and their propaganda. These "demands" were accompanied by long speeches on the Marshall Plan and "the victory of the people's forces in China." Bu their attempts to prevent the rally from functioning met with failure, and their rule - or - ruin tactics earned them the well-deserved hostility of student opinion which previously had been either sympathetic or neutral.

The Young Republicans conducted a petition campaign to protest against the Vanguard suspension. More than 1800 signatures were attached to it.

FOR STUDENT CONTROL

In the midst of what might have developed into the most advanced expression of united student protest in defense of academic freedom since pre-war days, news was released that Vanguard now had an adviser-the same Dr. Portnoy who had originally resigned! But the paper was not to be published for the remainder of the terms and there is some doubt whether it would appear next term.

This "solution" does not resolv the question of the students' suspensions, nor the question of who will control the paper.

The suspensions have been contested. They will be brought to court if necessary. The issue is scinded. On this point, the student body and the clubs will continue to give their fullest support

On the broader issue of Vanguard control it is necessary for the stulents to raise the question of putting their own paper under their own control, through a student majority on the Facultytions or through the abolition of

which is amed at itself-the Tru-

manites go further than McCarthy

the civil-liberties issue is not

mere denunciation of McCarthy-

ism. It is: What are they going

to say, what are they going to do,

about the fantastic lengths of the

loyalty purge under the control

of Truman and his men, the Fair

The test of labor-liberalism on

has advocated in words!

Schuman Plan Asks Autocratic 'High Command' for Economy

It is now certain that the British will not join the Schuman Plan for the pooling of French and German steel and coal resources. However, these two major steel-producing countries in Western Europe will be joined by four smaller producing nations, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxemburg and Italy, in the negotiations

The immediate background for the French proposal is the attempt by the French government to have a decisive voice in the control of German steel and coal production. Faced with the necessity for bringing Germany into the military and economic, and thereby political, councils of Western Europe, this is probably the last alternative to achieve this control. And even then it may be too late. However, equally as important are two recent reports of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. In December, 1949, it was announced that there were six million tons of idle steel capacity in Western Europe, all among the countries which have agreed to enter into these negotiations. And in January, 1950, a survey reported that by 1953 there would be eight million tons "excess capacity" out of a total ca-

and the sterling bloc as a whole.

BRITISH OBJECT

national authority exerting decisive power over the entire area. At least the French government would like to have it so, with France in the leading role

It is at this point that the British raised an important objection to the plan. To whom would this high authority with powers to bind the participating nations be responsible? Obviously, to no one -not even in the parliamentary sense. But it would certainly be susceptible to the pressures of the steel magnates and high government officials and owe its responsibility to them

This in turn runs in conflict with the nationalistic policies of the British Labor government. Such an all-powerful authority would have decisive control over an important section of British industry

The British Labor government which has its base in the British working class, is committed to a policy of full employment at home, and the British workers are better paid than most European workers (which is not saying much). This full employment to a great extent depends upon their protected overseas markets. But the pool's high authority would not have this consideration and would undoubtedly carry out policies that would endanger the economic base of the BLP

Thus while the British Labor government uses this valid argument for not going into this kind of a pooling agreement, it has not recognized its own argument at home. It has assiduously avoided giving the workers any direct control over the nationalized industries, but rather has set up boards with almost as little direct responsibility to the workers as the proposed high authority has to particular governments.

EYES ON AFRICA

The other important question asked about this pooling scheme is whether it will be a cartel. The fact of the matter is that it cannot help but be one, given the nature This proposed high authority of its activities, given the situaity. It will be a cartel on a regional basis initiated by the gov-

Books for Germany: Help Build Socialism!

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

Send them to: LABOR ACTION (Attention: H. Judd), 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N.Y.

out the cold war. In addition, one of the main tasks of the pooling scheme is pointed out in the text of the plan itself: "Europe, with its resources thus increased [!], will be able to pursue one of its essential

Page Four

Editorials

SP Convention

To hundreds of thousands of Americans By DANIEL WELSH the voice of Norman Thomas has been the voice of socialism, or at least of the Socialist Party, for almost as long as they can remember. And for decades the Socialist Party has permitted this fact to give Norman Thomas the power of life or death over their political and organizational decisions.

Those days are now gone, it seems. The Detroit convention of the Socialist Party last week decisively repudiated the policies put forward by Thomas and his supporters in the party. And because of the peculiar relationship he has had to his party for so long, it was inevitable that a repudation of his policies involved a repudiation of his leadership, and even of the man himself.

The Socialist Party is in trouble. This is true indeed of any organization which advocates socialism in America today. The social and political tides are running against us. And only those socialist organizations will manage to keep their heads above the waters, and to hold out till the tide turns once again in our favor, who understand the period in which we live and who are capable of learning what can and must be done in it.

The ideology of the Socialist Party, of which Thomas has been the chief exponent, is poor equipment for swimming against the tide. For years he and his party have been proclaiming that Roosevelt, and after him Truman, have been putting their program into effect. Although they have insisted, and still insist, that only socialism can solve the problems of humanity, their "gradualist" approach has led them time and again to condone and apologize for the general policies of the Democratic administration, while chiding it for not going far enough fast enough.

Thomas has drawn the logical conclusions from his ideology. To this convention he proposed, in effect, that the Socialist Party should become in the main an educational society while giving political support to the Fair Deal wing of the Democratic Party.

The majority of the party has rejected this proposal decisively. They believed that the kind of party they have left cannot survive without periodic electoral campaigns. Except in New York City and in a very few other centers the Socialist Party simply does not exist as a political organization on a year-round basis. Only during electoral campaigns do the "members" emerge from the comfort of their private lives to collect a few signatures and urge their friends to vote for ... Norman Thomas.

But Norman Thomas will not run again. And without him, how many who voted against his proposals will actually make the effort to get the party on the ballot and campaign for someone who cannot possibly draw a fraction of Thomas' last poor vote?

In these times no socialist organization can hope to live simply by going through the motions of life. A socialist movement can live only if its ideas, its theory, can explain the world of Stalinist barbarism and capitalist decay, and can give a new rising generation of socialists effective ideological weapons with which to struggle against them both.

Instead of such weapons, the Socialist Party is equipped with fuzzy half-socialistic. half-liberal ideas combined with the somewhat radical phraseology which Norman Thomas always kept on tap for special occasions. That is essentially why these hard times for all socialists are likely to be fatal for them.

If you're-

- against capitalism
- against Stalinism
- for socialist democracy

You belong with the

INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE

4 Court Square Long Island City 1, N.Y.

You're Invited

to speak your mind in the letter column of L.A., "Readers Take the Floor." It's YOUR forum. Our policy is to publish all letters of general political interest, regardless of views. Keep them to 500 words.

CP REGISTERS LOSSES Admits Decline under Attack

But Not Disintegrating - Yet

the current witchhunt in government and industry is to destroy the American Communist Party. There is no doubt that the "anti-Communist hysteria" has had serious effects in reducing the influence of Stalinism among large numbers and increasing hostility to it among others; but a study of membership figures, reported in a speech delivered to a meeting of CP leaders and published in the May issue of "Political Affairs," would seem to indicate that the CP is NOT disintegrating under the attack of government and pres

The main ostensible purpose of

In terms of membership alone. the CP claims only a slight decline in numbers. For the first time. however, figures on membership are reported in the Russian style of giving only percentage of past membership rather than absolute number of members. From other sources, the claimed party membership is supposed to be around 47,000, not counting FBI agents. This is down from a peak of 63,000 members achieved during the latter stages of the war.

Of all members who belonged to the party a year ago, only 85 per cent are considered as current members. As the CP reporter says, "this reduced fluctuation ... takes place on the basis of a sharp downward curve in recruiting during 1949, which accounts for a slight reduction in the total membership of [the] party.'

DECLINE IN TWO FIELDS

No national figures are given on the increase or decrease of membership according to union or industry status, and figures for the separate districts show few consistent trends. One exception to this is the consistent and percentage-wise large rise of members listed as railroad workers. This would seem to indicate a national concentration in this industry, but the absolute number of workers is probably small, as the Stalinists have never been strong in this

field. Two of the most interesting big drops in membership are among electrical workers in Illinois and maritime workers in New York. Since both of these represent fairly large groups of members, the 25 per cent decline (as compared with the national figure of 15 per cent) represents substantial numbers of workers who have either left the party or transferred to other industries. The effect of the Bridges trial and the concurrent anti-Stalinist revolt in the San Francisco local of the Longshoremen's Union are reflected in the admission that in "California Longshore and Warehouse some ses have been taken." On the other hand, the Michigan CP claims an increase in the total number of auto union members reregistered, including a number of old members who had dropped out.

Geographically, most of the district figures fluctuate around the national average of 83-85 per cent. The biggest drop in reregistration of members was reported from Louisiana, where the figure given is 55 per cent. This probably rerecent losses in the mariflects time and transport fields, which were once the basis of the CP's biggest base in the South, in and around New Orleans. Smaller losses are reported to have occurred in Midwestern states, including Ohio with 81 per cent. Pennsylvania 77 and 75 per cent. and Michigan 78 per cent

YOUTH GROUP GAINS

As far as proportion of Negro members is concerned, again no national figures are given; conflicting figures are given for the separate districts, and the total impression is one of slight change or no changes whatever. Since Negro work is now one of the main fields of the party, this would indicate that few gains have been made in a major area of concentration

The decline in absolute number of registered party members may be partially offset by recruitment to the Labor Youth League, the Stalinist youth organization. It is reported to have grown from around 3000 to 6200, including "a significant number who did not come from former youth clubs of the party." As might have been expected the witchhunt seems to have helped the CP attract a certain number of young elements who are drawn to Stalinism BE-CAUSE it is suffering persecution and frameup

Of course, membership figures. even if honestly reported, are not the complete story. Because of their policy of keeping on the books practically anybody willing to carry a card, it would be necessary to revise their figures radically downward in order to secure an accurate picture of the CP's actual organizational strength. Yet it would certainly seem as if a "cultural lag" is operating to protect the party itself from feeling-the full effects of its growing unpopularity and isolation. Members of long standing do not leave the Stalinist party simply because of its increased unpopularity

But before we can evaluate the strength of Stalinism it is necessary to consider such other factors as the size and closeness of its sympathizing circles, its strength and ties with the unions and other mass organizations, the level of morale among its membership, etc. The first will be dealt with next week

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Reading from Left to Right

THE RELATION BETWEEN POLITICO-ECONOMIC RADICALISM AND CERTAIN TRAITS OF PERSON-ALITY, by M. Sanai and P. M. Pickard. (Journal of Social Psychology, Nov. 1949)

The authors, both of the University of London, used a combination of questionnaire, Rohrschach test and personal ratings to match the two sets of factors on a selected group. A sum-

"The correlation between intelligence and radicalism is the highest of the highest of the

"Our finding in this respect is in line with previous investigations. For instance, Mrs. Thurstone ... found a correlation of 0.44 between intelligence and radicalism; Dexter ... one of 0.22; Breames, Remmer and Morgan found one of 0.31; and Whistler and Remmers found one of 0.32 ... as Nelson concludes after a careful survey of the field, 'Most of the studies of political issues indicate a positive correlation between radicalism and intelligence.'... "None of the correlations between normal

traits investigated ... and radicalism seem to be significant. . . .' There were "slight_positive correlations between radicalism and introversion" (but not

neurotic introversion, say the authors, on the basis of some American investigations) and "very slight positive correlations between aggression and radicalism," but these "turned out to be insignificant at the 5 per cent level," and



ican Journal of Sociology, May) The following is presented without prejudice to the work of contemporary sociology in general as a curious example of the momentous conclusions sometimes reached by exhaustive questonnaires and laborious investigations. The author, of the Diagnostic Center at Menlo Park, N. J., reveals the following, without waiting for

Kinsey ""A point which can be more confidently upheld is that for these college girls, love is an exceptionally important and serious matter. Being in love with a suitable member of the opposite sex is of vital importance to them when they are in love and is still consequential when they are not in love. Love, moreover, is a feeling which they do not allow themselves to entertain lightly and around which they place certain selective restrictions. It is something that, according to their own high standards, they do not often admit exists to a high degree between their own parents. And it is a feeling that, when experiencing it themselves, they tend frequently to be confused about."

All of which, in case you weren't sure of it, can be proved statistically.



British RR Union Head Says Union Majority Opposes Wage Freeze

Resistance, resentment and revolt in the ranks of the British trade unions are growing against the policy of the General Council of the Trade Union Congress (the national labor federation) to obey the Labor government's wage freeze.

At the beginning of last month, the leader of the 600,000-strong National Union of Railwaymen, J. B. Figgins, blasted it and challenged the TUC to declare the policy dead. The following is from his article in the Railway Review.

By J. B. FIGGINS

The General Council, if it is to retain any influence whatsoever on trade union wages policy, will require to face the obvious fact that, since January, unions which at the conference voted on behalf of the General Council's policy in view of the imminence of the general election have since declared their opposition to such policy, and there is no longer a majority in the trade-union movement for the policy of wage restraint in the face of the rising cost of living.

In addition to the unions which have reversed their policy, other unions which supported the General Council have decided to ask for substantial wage increases. This is speaking with two voices and simply brings ridicule upon the whole movement. If they are in favor of wage restraint, then let them face their responsibilities when they meet their members in conference and oppose any application for a wage advance....

The General Council knows that the unions with sliding-scale agreements are continuing the same; for example, the Building Workers, the Steel Workthe Boot and Shoe Operatives, etc., etc

The workers in these industries by virtue of the sliding-scale agreements have obtained substantial increases since 1947 and are continuing to get, under such agreements, further advances.

The General Council recognized in January that no wages policy of general restraint could be successfully operated under such conditions. The General Council, if it accepts the logic of its own policy, must under these circumstances openly delare that its policy can no longer hold the field.

It is essential that the General Council, not later than at its May meeting, should make a public pronouncement along these lines, especially when we bear in mind the answer that Mr. Attlee gave to the staff side of the National Whitley Council for Civil Servants, namely, "the government is bound to observe toward its own employees the policy it hopes and expects that other employers will observe toward theirs."..

This government policy of wage restraint has

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been used to oppose any increase to railwaymen, as it has to civil servants, since under nationalization it has been interpreted that this policy of wage restraint must be firmly adhered to. If railwaymen are to get an increase, then it is essential that the General Council should make it

ment policy, and thus restore to the trade unions a measure of freedom in negotiations. When such journals as the Financial Times cansay that the process of disintegration of the policy of wage restraint which has already been far advanced has now been completed, it is surely about time the General Council opened its eyes to the

facts. And when the Economist for the 29th April, referring to the higher assistance scales of the National Assistance Board, uses these words-

"Thus an unemployed person may keep 10s. 6d. for his casual earnings in a week without having his assistance payments reduced and his wife (like other recipients of assistance) can keep 20s. of hers. It is quite possible, therefore, for the 85s. 6d. to be increased to five pounds a week or more, at which level it approaches, and may even exceed, the income of the lowest-paid wage earners in similar family circumstances. The government's recognition that the rise in the cost of living requires. a rise in the rates of assistance is consequently bound to make the pressure for raising the lowest wage rates even stronger. And how can it resist the pressure without giving the impression that it considers that the unemployable deserve better treatment than those who gain their own liveli-

hoods?" -it is surely time that the Railway Executive recognized that the claim put on behalf of the lower-paid grades in the railway service is, beyond dispute, eminently reasonable.

For World Politics-

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dismantling, based on a semi-confidential report mimeographed for Washington circulation by Congresswoman Katharine St. George. We have labeled it a cold war crime, and the published information bears it out.

For good reason most attention in the world today is fixed on the struggle between the Western world of capitalism and the Stalinist world of totalitarian bureaucratic collectivism. But within the former camp, the struggle between the rival capitalist imperialisms goes on. The case of Germantling is a case in point.

Behind the scenes of the dismantling issue, only partly uncovered even by the material we have published, is a crisscrossing of imperialist interests among the ruling classes of the U.S., Britain, France and Germany.

The main point behind the St. George report is the conclusion that the dismantling program has not been directed against Germany's war-making power as such, out of fear of future aggressions, nor for any other reason than this: the desire to cripple German industry, or important sectors of it, for the sake of such crippling itself.

Britain Still at It

Chief power behind the drive, the evidence says, has been Britain, obeying the needs of its capitalist class's interests against German competition. It underlines the fact that the Labor Party government, in its foreign policy, has pursued a line of imperialism indistinguishable from that of its predecessors

France too has played a part, possibly out of the traditional French fear of a powerful Germany. France, as always, has ambitions to be supreme on the Continent. An industrially shattered Germany could scarcely challenge its political and social influence. France, to be sure, cannot hope to take Germany's place industrially, as can Britain at least in part, but it can dream.

As usual, the paths of U.S. im-

have run a series on the Allied oc- of the position of U.S. imperialism cupations' program of German in world affairs, and partly out of sheer confusion in Washington. On this point, first let us quote the Report again, under its heading, "America's Share of Responsibility in the Dismantling Crisis."

America's Share

In view of the recommendations for retaining these major steel plants, made by all four of the U.S. technical missions sent to Germany during the past fifteen months to investigate the effects of the dismantlings upon the recovery effort, certain highly-placed American officials must bear a heavy responsibility for the approaching crisis brought on by a continuation of the dismantlings. These officials include:

(1) Officials in the Department of State who ignored the recommendations of the Humphrey Committee and surrendered these most critical steel plants in the Washington agreement.

"(2) The administrator of the ECA, who has publicly admitted that 'the dismantlings cannot be justified on economic grounds,' but who has violently defended continuation of the dismantlings on the ground of 'security considerations.' The security argument appears specious on the very face of it. Even if the critical steel plants surrendered in the Washington agreement were to be saved, they would result in only a 2½-million-ton increase in German steel production. The present permitted level of 11.1 million tons in the Trizone would be increased accordingly to 13.6 million tons which would be less than Germany was producing during the peaceful days of the Weimar Republic, and which would represent only 21.9 per cent of the total production planned for the ERP countries by 1952.

"Furthermore, such unsubstantiated claims that Germany would represent a future security threat, completely ignore the security threat of our present reparations dealings with Rusesia. As late as March of this year, the last shipment of the great Krupps-Borbeck armament works was sent out of perialism have been more devious the British Zone directly to Rus-

In the past three weeks, we and more amorphous, partly out sia. Over 50 per cent of the total tries.

> ator from New York State, who gressional investigation of the dismantlings on the ground that only selfish big American cartel interests are behind attempts in this country to stop dismantling in the steel and forbidden industries. The reductio ad absurdam of this argument is the fact that of two of the great hydrogenation plants on the 'forbidden industries' list, one with American oil interests behind it and the other with British Shell Company interests, the former is slated for complete dismantlement by the British, beginning on August 15, while the British-controlled plant is to continue in operation."

Crisscross

U. S. interests have been faced by internal contradictions on the dismantling question, as a result of the clash of capitalist interests in the West.

Washington wants to see Europe capable of sustaining itself without the dole, and for this the heartland of European economy, Germany, is a necessity, Washington wants to see Europe's economy integrated, and for this a crippled German heartland would be a great obstacle. Its own competition with German industry is not so acute as Britain's.

But a revived German industry means an industry once more capable of export-to the U.S. as well as to the rest of Europe and the world. While not so acutely opposed as Britain's, U.S. interests also are unwilling to open their own markets to German rivalry.

There is a tug-of-war within the framework of U.S. imperialismthe St. George report itself was one of the tugs. Outside of the economic considerations are two political ones, also counterposed:

(1) U.S. desires to organize Europe under its own power revolve around Britain and France as the most reliable pivot points. These two countries press Washington to go along with them on German policy, in exchange for their own cialist basis. Our voices are with cooperation in the objectives desired here.

(2) Overriding everything else of dismantled equipment shipped is the necessity of organizing Eufrom West Germany has gone to rope for war-making power as an Russia or Russian satellite coun- ally against the U.S. chief enemy, Russia. Is German industry an in-"(3) The newly-appointed sen- tegral necessity for reviving Western Europe's ability to function has vigorously sought to stop Con- as an anti-Russian ally? Which is more important from this. angle: placating allies Britain and France or rebuilding potential ally Germany?

> In the face of these conflicting pulls, all wholly within the framework of its own needs and desires, it is no wonder that Washington's record on the question of German dismantling has been one of vacillation, helf-measures and contradictions, with a general trend in the direction of slowing it up. The Morgenthau plan for the virtual agrarianization of Germany died a while back in this country in the face of the cold war.

> Within Germany itself, dismantling faced a united front of all classes, for obvious reasons. To the German canitalist class dismant. ling meant the end of their power. To the German working class meant the end of their livelihood and a perspective of increasing misery. A foreign drive to cripple a country's whole economy produces such a united interest.

It is with regard to the ALTER-NATIVE to dismantling that the struggle between the classes shows itself in Germany also. Rebuilding German industry does not have to mean returning power to the same class which pushed Hitler to the top. It can mean building a socialist Germany.

Insofar as the U.S. has taken a line against dismantling, in whatever hesitating fashion, it has at the same time acted to raise again to the top the same industrialists, even as to personnel, who were behind Nazism.

That is why, in opposing and exposing the Western imperialists' dismantling program, the other side of that fight takes place within Germany,

There have been three forces involved in the dismantling fracas: the imperialist rivals who wish to cripple German industry, the German capitalists who wish to recapture their power, and the Geramn working class which wishes to rebuild German economy on a sothe last, as the only progressive force against this cold war crime

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 Fai 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 an 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! Readers Take the Floor

Harpooned

To the Editor:

We come bearing glad tidings: Gustav Eckstein is loose again!

Readers of LABOR ACTION familiar with his revolutionary rhapsodics will not want to miss his latest revelations in the March-April issue of the Fourth International.

They deal with Moby Dick, which Eckstein solemnly assures us is a parable of the decline of capitalism, written in 1851 by Herman Melville, who "penetrated so deeply below the surface of capitalist society that it took nearly 75 years before the crisis of world capitalism could make people begin to see what he was driving at."

It's a pleasant delusion, and since we are ones for encouraging minor manias as adding a needed diversity in a rather prosy world we would like to suggest a series of articles on Melville's writings. Something like the following should prove satisfactory:

Typee: Melville on the Problems of the Colonial Revolution. Omoo: Melville, the Utopian So-

cialist.

The Confidence Man: Melville on Primitive Accumulation. White Jacket: Melville's Theory of the Self-Mobilization of the

Masses. Billy Budd: Melville on the Ma-

terial Basis of Bourgeois Law. I and My Chimney: Melville on the Housing Question.

Israel Potter: Melville, Theorist of the General Strike.

Thar she blows, Gustav! Lower away!

J. M. F.

From Holland

Dear Comrades: In the name of the editors of Socialistische Stemmen. I wish to thank you for sending us your New International and LABOR ACTION. We shall be very glad to quote from them, for the contents are interesting and important for the world labor movement.

We hope you are receiving our publications. Comradely. yours

F. KOOL

Amsterdam, May 5

On the UAW's Contract with General Motors IT WAS A VICTORY, BUT -

By MAX SHACHTMAN

Page Six

The contract signed between the United Auto Workers union and the General Motors Corporation represents a real victory for the GM workers, even if it is not the victory claimed by lyrical union spokesmen.

The gains for the workers are unmistakable and substantial, both in terms of wage increases and social services like medical funds and pensions. The pension provisions, while still far from adequate for the elderly worker whom industry has wrung dry and then discarded-a living standard of about \$100 a month for a 65year-old worker is a criminal pittance in a country of such extraordinary wealth-are nevertheless in advance of what has been achieved thus far in any other contract.

The ferms of the sliding wage scale, on which the UAW officials have vacillated uncertainly in the past, are improved in comparison with the previous contract and represent the reaffirmation of a demand which should become part of the program of every union in the country. The idea that the wage scale should rise automatically with the rise in the cost of living is absolutely sound. We have advocated it for at least a dozen years and it is gratifying that so decisive a section of the American working class as the GM workers has been able to incorporate it into a contract.

It is true that the terms also provide for wage cuts when the cost of living goes down, which is very equitable from the point of view of the corporation, but intolerable from the point of view especially of the GM workers who have accumulated such stupendous profits, year in and year out, for this gigantic combine. However, this defect, which ties wages to the cost of living, not only in the progressive but also in the regressive sense, is compensated in the new GM contract by the provision for an annual fourcents-an-hour wage increase that is to be added to the basic scale every one of the five years that the contract runs.

Real Gain

This four-cents-per-hour-per-annum wage increase is a real gain. But it would be well to bear in mind that it is a gain only in comparison with the failure of other workers, in the auto industry and in other industries, to do as well. In terms of the great increase in the productivity of the GM workers, of the increase in the profitper-worker made by the corporation, and compared with the over-all profits-after-taxes of GM -the UAW made public the most impressive detailed figures on these points-the four-centsper-hour-per-annum wage rise is downright trivial. GM could grant twice and three times this increase without cutting very deeply into the skin of its multi-hundred-millioned profit melons.

The GM contract is considerably better than anything obtained by most workers in recent times. It is certainly better than the outcome of the strikes in Chrysler and Bell Aircraft (Buffalo), to mention only UAW plants, although it is doubtful is GM would have granted what it did grant without the picture of these two bitterlyfought strikes before its eyes. But even this contract shows that the workers' living standards have not yet caught up with the growth of productivity and wealth which they have made possible. The GM contract is real progress for the workers, not only for the GM workers but also for other workers, in the auto and other industries, to the extent that they are stimulated to fight for the same economic advances-and the GM contract will stimulate them to make such a fight. But it is still slow progress.

At a High Price

The contract means real gains, we repeat. But the price the workers have to pay for them is high and bitter. That is evident already, and it will become more evident and oppressive later

We refer to the five-year term that the contract runs. That the GM corporation and, following its lead, virtually the entire capitalist press should hail the five-year provision of the

contract with enthusiasm, is perfectly understandable. That the union leadership should act likewise or, at best, wave it aside as a trifle, is unpardonable.

Even if it could be demonstrated that, given the present state of the labor movement and of the policies it has followed under the present officialdom, there was no other way of getting the economic concessions incorporated into the contract without conceding the five-year clause -even in that case the attitude of the UAW official could not be excused.

The elementary obligation of a union leadership in such a situation, if it is concerned with maintaining the union consciousness, understanding, alertness and militancy of the membership, would be to explain honestly and openly that it was not a trifle it conceded to GM but a heavy price that it paid for the concessions obtained; to explain that this price is a dangerous one and will become more dangerous every year; that it is not good for the union, that it should be resisted by workers in all other unions; and that if it had to give in on this score it was only because the union is too weak to make a bitterend fight against it right now.

They Play It Down

This the union leadership did not explain. And if it did auite otherwise, it is due to the fact that the weakness of the union is represented primarily by the policy—the political timidity, the fear of coming into conflict with Trumanism at home and abroad—of the leadership itself.

That the Stalinist demagogues have begun to howl against the five-year-provision as a monstrosity is not very important. Let them howl! What is really monstrous is the effrontery of these people. These agents and partisans of the Stalinist regime defend a production system to which the workers are tied for life without any rights whatsoever: not the right to organize, not the right to so much as a voice in the "contract" that the employer arbitrarily and one-sidedly imposes upon them and keeps imposed by police terror. not the right to determine wages, hours or working conditions, and of course not a glimmer of the right to strike.

But the demagogy of the Stalinists cannot and should not be used to cover or even mitigate the evil of the five-year clause. The claims made for its advantages are, at best, nonsensical.

"It will insure five years of labor-capital stability." Preposterous! We are living in one of the most unstable periods in history. The greatest seer among us, if he had the largest crystal ball available, could not foresee the situation three years from now, let alone five. The idea that a four-cents-per-hour-per-annum wage increase will take care of the problems that may very well arise in the next five years is mad smugness which can easily prove to be disastrous. To think of planning wages five years in advance without being able to plan anything else in society, is like planning to keep warm with a box of matches in the path of an uncertain wind.

Just as bad, if not worse, will be its effect on the union as a living organism. It means that for five years the membership of the GM locals cannot discuss and decide or re-decide their relations to the corporation. What interest will the workers maintain in their union under conditions where they are excluded from reviewing their contract every year?

Democratic rights have been highly prized by the UAW from the beginning. One of the most important of these rights is the direct and active participation of the membership in the determination of the conditions under which they work for their employer, for this determination is the primary reason for the formation of unions. A democratic right that is not constantly exercised tends to die away altogether.

No Handcuffs!

It is worse when a democratic right is formally put on the shelf for five years. And what five years they may prove to be! The saving grace of the contract, it is said, is that it continues to allow for negotiations and even the right to strike over production standards, a polite expression for the vicious speedup system which is notorious in GM and which the corporation undoubtedly expects to intensify as compensation for its "generosity" in the contract. This is all to the good, without a doubt, and opens the way for local initiative in the plants and the unions, for militant leadership, for maintaining the integrity of the union and the working conditions of the men.

But the saving grace is limited, because it limits-such is the tendency, at any rate-the, fight against the not-at-all-altruistic corporation to local skirmishes. That is better than no fight at all against the speedup system that every GM worker has felt and protested against so vehemently, but a giant like GM can be brought to its knees not in skirmishes but in frontal battle alone.

The five-year clause is bad, it is very bad. It is not so bad from the standpoint of the growth of bureaucratization in the union, for shifting more and more power into the hands of the officials. But it is bad in every respect from the standpoint of the workers, of their union and their future. And the sooner ways and means are devised to do away with it, the better.

The GM contract is a good next goal to shoot at for all other workers who have not vet reached such a wage and benefits level such as the GM workers will now enjoy. But anything like a five-year clause is a pair of handcuffs over our own wrists.

CH PATTERN W

By PHILIP COBEN

The contract with GM that has been signed by the-United Auto Workers has two sides to it, as has been pointed out in LABOR ACTION last week and in the article on this page: the gains for the workers which it registers, on the one hand, and the price (the long-term tie) on the other.

This contract was, by and large, a victory for the UAW. It has been hailed on all sides as setting a precedent. The question is: a precedent for what?

The magazine Business Week, a big-business publication, is fully aware of both sides too. In its May 27 issue it writes in its "Washington Outlook" column:

"The General Motors contract with the UAW-CIO... could keep the general wage trend on the rise. As long as one big union is getting increases, the others aren't going to let up."

That's right! That is the pattern which the GM contract has got to be made to set, by the labor movement. As the same magazine points out in its news story on the contract:

"A lot of observers figure that this new UAW deal will set the pace for bargaining in the electrical industry-especially in plants held by the CIO International Union of Electrical Workers. They figure that, since GM's UAW agreements usually establish the pattern for GM's IUE dealings, the same thing will happen again. And then they expect that IUE may use the GM deal as a model for other pacts that it may make."

Which is the pattern-wage gains or long-term con-

tracts? A danger is that weaker unions, presented with the "model," can be more easily euchered into long-term contracts without even the compensating gains won by the UAW. All the more reason why the UAW leadership had and has the duty of clearly explaining to its own members (and the labor movement) that the five-year "model" is no pattern for labor!

Finally, Business Week, in still a third place, points sharply to another side of the five-year feature: "GM has bought five years of comparative labor

peace. Its workers, with nothing to fight over for the next half decade save minor grievances, will almost forget they are union men. By 1955, UAW's GM unit may no longer be a militant bargainer." (Emphasis theirs.)

That's worded in typical businessman fashion ("nothing to fight over") and it expresses a wish and a hope, to be sure, but there is no doubt that, from the capitalists' angle, Business Week has put the finger on the same characteristic that ought to concern the union men.

The five-year term was the big price for a contract which otherwise represented gains. To present it otherwise, as is the tendency of the UAW leaders, is a danger to the whole labor movement.



June 12, 1950



To the Editor:

As a worker in a General Motors plant, I should like to take exception to the article appearing in last week's LABOR ACTION dealing with the GM contract. The gist of the article was that the new contract was a victory for the union, even though the fiveyear term was a dangerous thing. By way of added introduction I should like to say that in 1948 I was in favor of the GM contract negotiated then, although somewhat apprehensive over the twoyear length of that agreement.

The concessions granted to the UAW in this new contract are 'substantial. In particular the fourcent yearly increases mark the .first major break in the employer front against fourth-round wage increases: and the principle set on the pension deal is good, that any increase in federal social security will mean added benefits to the retired worker rather than decreased payments by the corporation. Without question, these and other gains - are better than those won at Ford and Chrysler. The only disagreement can be

on the price paid for these concessions. I think the five-year contract was too stiff a price. There was a time when one-

year contracts were the pattern in the CIO. To the more militant members this was very desirable; it kept the ranks involved in the struggle between union and company, and made it possible for them to meet problems as they erose. Then came the two-year contract, usually with a one-year wage reopening clause. This was not so desirable, but with the 'settling down" of the ranks and the hardening of the union bureaucracy it was unavoidable. The more militant members deplored this trend.

WORKERS DISTURBED

Now we come to a new standard; the five-year contract, a further development of this trend. and I say that it is time we declared that we are going to fight this trend right now. It isn't enough to say that we wish the term wasn't so long but that we have to go along with it, knowing the dangers. Now, when the first five-year contract is proposed now is the time to fight. A year or two from now, when we have seen the bad effects of this longterm policy, it will be too late for effective opposition.

The LA article speaks of the mood of the GM workers, of their reluctance to repeat the Chrysler experience, of the conservatism in the ranks. These factors are real, and there is no doubt that the new contract meets the approval of the AVERAGE union member. To

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many of these, even the five years is welcomed as a sign of stability. They take stability and think it means security.

But what about the more advanced worker - not the radical. but the more union - conscious member? He is greatly disturbed by the five-year term. He knows that it takes the ranks right out of any participation to determining their relations with their employers for a long time to come. it not only appeals to the conservative mood, but it helps this mood to spread. Instead of going along with the average worker, LABOR ACTION should appeal to bolster the more militant and worker.

The UAW and its GM department have been proud of their progressive role in the past. They have raised new demands, they have set new patterns. With this contract, where will these workers be in the coming struggles with the employers? No one can say for sure what new conditions must be faced, or what new demands must be made, in the coming five years, but some point can be considered even now.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers has already called for the 35-hour week: the International Ladies Garment Workers has already called for employers establishing funds for severance pay; Reuther himself has repeatedly called for guaranteed annual pay (a demand so dear to the hearts of auto workers approaching normal seasonal operations); with increased political activity, more unions are calling for Election Day as an added paid holiday; other problems involving war preparations, technological changes. etc., are apparent.

Where will the GM workers be in these campaigns? They will be sitting complacently on their ... contract; or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the contract will be sitting on them. Not only will they be out of the struggle, but their being tied down will act as a brake on the other workers.

EFFECT ON UNION

One last point must be made. The LA article points to the internal UAW trend as shown at the last convention, where Reuther wanted less frequent local elections and national conventions. Now with a five-year contract for GM, and extensions likely for other manufacturers, Jason says it is more important than before to have frequent conventions and other indications of union democracy.

I will grant that this may be more important to him and to me, but the trend of the leadership has been indicated, and now more than ever they will be able to sell the idea of fewer conventions and longer terms of office locally. After all, what do they need to meet and discuss for? Can't talk about contract for five years! Reuther says more political action is needed. But how often must you discuss that? The relatively unimportant "off-year" elections occur every two years, and the presidential elections every four years. This five-year contract will prove to be no exception. It sets a pattern that will be welcomed

Full Text of Debate between

Max Shachtman and Earl Browder

in the

MAY-JUNE ISSUE

of

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

by both the corporations and the union chiefs, as a stabilizing influence. It will remove the union ranks from frequent participation in their economic struggles, and it will increase the trend toward union bureaucratism. This should be sufficient grounds for socialists to oppose it.

Joe HAUSER Cleveland

Our own viewpoint on the UAW's contract is discussed in the articles on page 6. Although written before the receipt of the above letter from Comrade Hauser, they adequately present a reply.

Comrade Hauser's letter emphasizes the dangerous meaning of the five - year contract feature. We think his arguments are well justified in making THIS point and deserve the closest attention of our readers. From our view, they underline the point we are making: the most dangerous aspect of the five-year feature is the fact that the UAW leadership tends to present it as inconsequential!

Our disagreement with Comrade Hauser is on the conclusion to he drawn with regard to a vote on THIS contract, in its context and as a whole.

The GM contract can be a pattern, a turning point, for wage and other gains or it can be primarily utilized as a pattern for longterm contracts. Which it shall be depends on the militancy and conusness of the rank and file of the UAW and other unions. The UAW leader's attitude on the question is education in the wrong direction. Comrade Hauser's letter, for all that we consider his conclusion unwarranted, is education in the right direction as far as its argumentation goes.-Ed.

SYL Forum Hears Prof. Gerth On Karl Marx and Max Weber

CHICAGO, May 28 - Over 100 people, students and faculty, came to hear Professor Hans Gerth. noted sociologist of the University of Wisconsin, speak on Karl Marx and Max Weber at today's session of the regular Sunday afternoon public forum sponsored by the Chicago unit of the Socialist Youth League, Professor Gerth is translator and co-editor of Weber's "Essays on Sociology."

In his talk, Professor Gerth pointed out similarities in Marx's and Weber's analyses of modern capitalist society. He noted that both writers arrived at a conception of capitalism that was not narrowly one of an economic system in production, but a broad sociological structure having ramifications in all spheres of human activity, such as politics, etc. Their approaches to the problem of freedom through a discussion of political and economic power provides a basis for comparison, he said.

Gerth presented a stimulating discussion of contradictions he had found in Weber's works.

In Weber he found a prediction, on the one hand, of the slowdown and stagnation of technological advance in industry and the coming to predominance of ground rent over industrial profit. Accompanying this will be the development of the bureaucraticmonopolist state with reduction of freedom through the loss of competition-incentive.

On the other hand he finds in Weber the prediction that the international imperialist wars will provide the incentive for a hightempo in technological progress. In a spirited style, evoking en- this undertaking.

thusiastic audience response, Gerth criticized Weber's liberalbourgeois formulation of a solution to the problem of decreasing freedom through a balance of power in a supposed opposition between state and corporation bureaucracies. In contrast to this and some of Weber's references to freedom as a manifestation of private, personal experiences, somewhat in the German humanist tradition, Gerth noted Marx's criticism of man's loss of freedom through his alienation from the means of production, through his assuming a role in society determined by his class position in society.

MARX VS. WEBER

He contrasted Marx's unfailing optimism and hope that the workingman, through activity beyond that prescribed by his economic role, through the political struggle for revolution and a new social order, can achieve a totality, a roundedness of experience that transcends his condition in the class society.

In the question period that followed, Gerth provided an interesting criticism of the notion that freedom exists in the incentive supposedly afforded only by a competitive society. He made a piercing criticism of that society which the framework of values is pervaded by competition, a society resulting in antagonism and insecurity that places drastic limits on the freedom and develonment of the mass of the citizens

After the discussion, an announcement that the Chicago SYL had adopted a refugee anti-fascist Spanish family resulted in a generous audience contribution to aid



IUE-CIO Versus UE-FE: Is It Just a Jurisdictional Dispute?

To the Editor:

The article in the May 8 issue of LA about "Why Is UAW losing to the Stalinists in FE?" gave me the impression that the writer of that article is in favor of the UAW raiding the FE although he does not like the crude red-baiting and flag-waving technique used.

The UAW's "organizing" drive on the FE actually amounts to little more than raiding and scabbing on a sister union and is not one whit more principled than Bock's attempt to "merge" with the ILWU in San Francisco or to 'organize" the striking retail clerks at the Safeway stores in Oakland.

UAW, instead of trying worker against worker in a bitter fratricidal war, would serve the interest of the toilers far more by expending the same energy organizing the unemployed and/or the unorganized. The toiling masses, regardless of union affiliation, should spend their time fighting their irreconcilable class enemy, the employers, instead of engaging in futile jurisdictional disputes.

It is true that the FE is Stalinist-controlled and that the workers did not choose their leaders wisely; however, that does not make the UAW's raiding or anyone's endorsement of their action justifiable. The Stalinists, as the recent plant elections have plainly demonstrated, made capital out of the UAW's frontal attack against FE by posing as ardent defenders of the union in the eyes of the rank and file.

Let's quit being dupes and giving our unwitting support to Stalin's trade-union disciples by denouncing UAW's raiding of FE for what it is: unprincipled, detrimental to the interests of the working class and disruptive! The only effective way to beat the Stalinists is to form a progressive because the FE is now an integral

union which on the basis of a mili- himself whether his remarks can tant program and policy will win also be applied to this struggle. the support of the majority of the membership away from the CP hacks and restore trade-union democracy.

Roger SAND

It seems to us that correspondent Sand draws no distinction between two quite different questions: (1) What is the most EF-FECTIVE way of defeating the Stalinists in the Farm Equipment Union (which is now merged with the UE); and (2) is it contrary to progressive trade-union principles for the UAW to contest Stalinist control over the FE plants in the situation that developed as a resuit of the CIO Split?

On the first, we have said many times that the bureaucratic approach of the CIO leadership is evidenced by the fact that it made no attempt to fight the Stalinists in the FE and electrical fields by organizing the rank and file from within, and gave little or no aid This was true before the split.

With the split, however, the Staplants from the CIO. The FE split from the CIO even before the last power. convention, before the expulsions, refusing amalgamation with the labor movement deservedly have UAW. The FE merged instead with the Stalinist-controlled UE, a sheer struggle for dues-paying which is now engaged in a struggle for control of the electrical ing. To apply this analysis to the field with the CIO's IUE.

the situation in the light of a gone on up to now.-Ed. Dave Beck raid. This, we think, is entirely wrong. The real parallel is the present struggle between the IUE-CIO and the UE. In fact, the "raids" on the FE are an integral part of this struggle, rank-and-file caucus WITHIN the part of the UE. Sand should ask

The UAW has nowhere scabbed on the FE or the UE nor has it anywhere organized workers scabbing on the FE into its ranks. That is what Dave Beck did at Safeway in Oakland. The comparison made by Sand is thereby completely false, unless he is equating ANY kind of inter-union fight with 'scabbing.'

The UE and FE left the CIO. They are now part of the Stalinist attempt to build their own trade-union movement counter to the bona-fide labor movement. We see nothing wrong, in itself, with a struggle to win their members back to the CIO

We did and do oppose the bureaucratic expulsion of the Stalinists from the CIO. But as between the CIO (or AFL) in general and a Stalinist-created rival trade-union movement, we draw a distinction based on political as well as trade-union considerations. The Murray and Green leaderships to those militants who tried to are bureaucratic, conservative and do so (particularly in the UE). pro-capitalist working-class elements; the Stalinists, on the other hand, are an anti-working-class linists set out to break away their force within the working class, subservient to a reactionary

Jurisdictional wars within the a bad name. Their connotation is power without any other meanpresent IUE-UE fight, however, Correspondent Sand interprets is to ignore everything that has





MacArthur Teaches Iron-Fist 'Democracy'

(Continued from page 1)

tion to lawlessness." There is no need for doubting that the Japanese CP, as the agent of Moscow's policies, is all in favor of "lawlessness" against the occupation. Democracy, however, demands that people be punished for acts and not for wishes.

The specific act which led to MacArthur's vicious decree is another story. It underlines the anti-democratic and brutal character of his latest "teach democ-

The American army announced that it was going to hold a large Memorial Day parade in Tokyo. decided that this was a good occasion for a counter-demonstration. no doubt in the hope of playing on the feelings of families who had lost dear ones in the late im-

Japanese police, acting under orders from MacArthur's headthe United States ceremony had been held.

Over 5,000 people assembled. While Michio Watanabe, Stalinist member of parliament, was speaking, demonstrators saw a Japanese plainclothesman taking notes. They snatched the notes from his hands. An American officer and three enlisted men recovered the notes, and explained that the Japanese detective was their interpreter.

So far, it would seem the "incident" was the normal kind of thing likely to happen at any mass demonstration. But at this point a Japanese policeman tried to ar-The Communist Party of Japan rest a demonstrator who, he said, criticized the occupation while he was being questioned.

It would seem that in the kind of "democracy" to which the Japanese are being "re-educated" criticism of the occupation (which is the real government) is sufficient cause for arrest!

regation in interstate travel for

draftees in uniform; making mob

violence against draftees a federal

offiense; giving all draftees the

option not to serve in states with

Jim Crow laws; and forbidding

federal dictation of segregation

in the National Guard. These

clauses have almost no chance of

being adopted in the forthcoming

quarters, forced a postponement Some of the demonstrators such "democracy." In the words of the New York Times dispatch for May 30, they "milled around the four United States servicemen and the Japanese, shoving them around. Two of the enlisted men were struck on the head by stones." (Pictures show that the soldiers wore steel helmets, so it can be presumed the stones did little real damage.) One American soldier was knocked down in the scuffle.

SAVAGE SENTENCES

See.

It appears from the press dispatches that the Japanese involved escaped in the crowd, but eight Japanese were arrested later by United States military police. The arrests precipitated several other minor skirmishes.

The dispatches do not say that the eight men arrested were in any way connected with the original scuffle. It is quite possible that the police simply picked up eight known Stalinists. It would not be the first time police have proceeded in that manner. But whether or not the eight arrested were in fact involved in the "skirmishes" is fairly unimportant.

One of the rules of a democracy is that accused persons shall be brought to speedy trial. THIS rule was carried out, and with a vengeance! Just four days after the incidents described above, the eight Japanese were tried and convicted in an occupation court, and sentenced to from five to ten years imprisonment. The man who got the ten years sentence was designated by the prosecution not as the most violent assailant of the American soldiers, but as the "number one man among the de-

time to prepare the defense, and sentences are subject to review by Major General Walter L. Weible, commander of the headquarters group.

The Stalinists called nationwide protest meetings against the sentences, and a one-day "general strike" in which over 100,000 workers participated, according to government estimates.

TYPICAL SAHIB STUFF

One significance of this episode can only be understood from the savage sentences given the accused. The acts themselves were of such minor character, and so common to any large demonstration in which the police are taking a "tough" attitude, that normally one would expect sentences of sixty to ninety days in the county jail. It is only when masters are trying to show their complete supremacy, and to teach their underlings to stay "in their place" that they even dream of condemning men to five or ten years of jail for daring to lift their hands against them.

But this kind of procedure is typical of colonialist-IMPERIALIST behavior. As such, it must be condemned by everyone who is opposed to imperialism, including those who claim that what America is doing in Japan is not imperialism.

The immediate effect of these sentences has apparently been to cow the Stalinists somewhat. Yet anyone with an ounce of political understanding knows that if the sentences are carried out, the American occupation has handed them eight martyrs for future exploitation. It is thus that Stalinism feeds off the foolishness and brutality of capitalist imperialism. The cause of socialism and democracy can draw strength that they had not had enough from the same source only if all

those who truly fight for freedom of the demonstration until after tried to protect their man from stated they would appeal. The in America be the first and loudest to protest the imperialist practices of the American armed forces in the countries which they now occupy.

More Camps

A bill in Congress which has been recommended for passage by the House Judiciary Committee virtually calls for "setting up a permanent government concentration camp" for 3,278 aliens in the country whose deportation cases have been pending, some of the cases being many years old. (The denunciatory quote is from Representative Celler.)

"Under this measure, aliens ordered expelled would be imprisoned, without bond, until such time when they can be deported -no matter how long that may take. It's possible that might be for the duration of their lives," says Washington columnist Robert S. Allen.

His Name's Mud

N. Y. Post series on Westbrook Pegler reveals (May 26) that the anti-labor mud-sling king was once well advanced on the Stalinist fellower-traveler road, in the mid-thirties, marked by an invitation to write for the New Masses and an interview in the Daily Worker. After exhuming some more skeletons from his past on the same order, writer Oliver Pilat remarks: "The point in recording these youthful deviations from modern Pegler principles is to remind you what Westbrook Pegler would do in 1950 to a victim pinned under his unfriendly scrutiny if he found such retroactive evidence about him. It would be murder."

PRO AND CON: DISCUSSION **ON POLICY FOR POLITICAL ACTION**

By HAL DRAPER

bill

Saul Berg's proposal for a policy different from either Shachtman's or Hall's illustrates a notinfrequent tendency in discussions such as this. His conclusion is: Hall's criticism of Shachtman is correct in general, but we must allow for exceptions from Hall's position.

Advocacy of "making exceptions" may sound like advocacy of "flexibility," etc., but the advocate has to face a prior question. On what basis are these exceptions to be made?

exceptions by itself merely opens unprinciple wheeling. In these days particuister in Little Rock, Ark., whose larly, when the pressure of bourpetition to become a candidate for geois politics on the socialist movement (and of the labor bureaucracy on socialist thinking) is tremendous, comrades will do well to think their positions out to the full before jumping for a "new" line, out of a feeling of isolation.

> Comrade Berg seems to realize this, for he asks "comment from elsewhere in the country" to work out his proposal "exactly enough." His own justifications for his conclusions are certainly not worked out

(1) Berg bases much on the fact that a PAC club like Abner's, being under CIO discipline, could not act more independently than it did. What is the relevance of this to our policy-assuming that it is a fixed and unchanging fact? In the first place, it means that the proposal twice put forward in LA in articles by Comrade Ferguson-that Abner's PAC now ingless.

Comrade Ferguson's proposal

is a good one. Berg negates it, perhaps without realizing the import of his argument. This is not fatal to Berg's view, but we wonder whether he has worked out

the consequences of his view. - More important: Assuming that the club cannot run an independent candidate, how does Berg jump from this conjunctural fact to justification of socialists supporting candidates in primaries of the capitalist parties?

We hesitate to press the logic of Berg's point even one step further, since we are sure that Berg does not do so himself, but-what A provision merely for making if CIO discipline also makes it impossible for any affiliated union or local to run or support inde pendent candidates? (It can!) What does that do for Berg's distinction between policy for a PAC club and policy for a union?

> CIO discipline cannot impose an unsocialist policy upon us. A proposal to support candidates in capitalist party primaries has to be justified on its own grounds, and not by considerations of opportunity.

Berg further claims that support of candidates in capitalistparty primaries is a necessary deduction from our advocacy of building PAC clubs into yearround functioning organizations. This is fantastic.

One of our points has been precisely that there are many political activities and tasks for the PAC besides its annual support of capitalist candidates, and that permanent consistent functioning will strengthen its independent moods.

But, asks Berg, suppose the only thing PAC clubs can do is run him independently in the follow CIO discipline? How then main election, as a result of his can it really become a year-round defeat in the primary-is mean- functioning organization without . . what?

Here again the immediate con-

sequences of Berg's arguments avoiding both the Hall and must carry him beyond his own conclusion

Berg himself proposes his tactic only for exceptional cases. Does this then mean that in most cases (that is, all other cases) it is meaningless to advocate building PAC clubs into functioning organizations? Or is it the other alternative: that in all the other cases, we must be led to support capitalist candidates not as an exception but as a rule?

Consider Berg's only generalized formulations: "It is only where the question arises of what the rank-and-file and secondary leaders should do with a genuine year-round political-action move ment that they have built, that we must deviate from our labor-party position" in the way he pro-

"Only"! Where does this stop? On the basis of Berg's general consideration, why stop merely with supporting candidates in capitalist primaries? That is where Berg is determined to stop. to be sure-right now-but once socialist analysis is traded for free-wheeling, politics asserts its own logic. The usual cries about "flexibility" and such do not stop it.

Berg wants to find a reason for supporting such campaigns as Abner's. He invites help in finding a reason. It would be wiser to try to draw conclusions from thought-out reasons, than to try to suck out a reason from a predetermined (or wished-for) conclusion. This method of approach to the question should be a danger sign to comrades who find themselves adopting it.

Most unthinking of all is Berg's allows for support of Abner while road to independence!

Shachtman positions. This is as big a jump as any in Berg's quite jumpy thinking on the question. - 150 - A

I can with no difficulty at all invent a half dozen other positions (all equally opportunist or worse) which allow for support of Abner while differing from Shachtman and Hall. Not any of them thereby becomes a consensus by virtue of that fact.

The vote of the NC majority on Abner took place on the statement of a specific conclusion, unmotivated by any general considerations. The proponents of "exceptionalism" have to work out a general motivation before they claim to have tion," let alone one which "consensus."

The above is directed to Berg's discussion because, in my opinion, even more clearly than Shachtman he reflects a prevalent mood -the desire to find a shortcut to the stimulation of independent political action in the midst of a temporarily unfavorable situation. In the grip of such a mood. some comrades tend to find the simplest exercise of reason an offense to "flexibility."

In my opinion, Shachtman's resolution is an outgrowth of this mood — equally characterized by unwillingness to recognize the most immediate political consequences of his proposal, which are not essentially different from Berg's exceptionalism.

The situation from which it arises-the decline of labor-party sentiment following Truman's razzle-dazzle victory in 1948-is already beginning to pass. It is to be hoped that its further weakening will not find the socialist vanguard bogged down in the disfinal claim that his view must crediting "realism" of pointing to represent a "consensus," since it the Democratic primaries as the

The Supreme Court decisions are an advance. This situation can and should be used by the Negroes and all enemies of discrimifendants." Defense counsel maintained nation to drive hard for FERC and against all prejudice.