

# INTERNAL BULLETIN

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## THE NEW YORK LOCAL - REPORT AND TASKS

By Mike Bartell

The past year was a period of sound activity and substantial achievement for the New York Local. Our successes must not be measured in ideal terms, but from the point of view of what is possible in an atmosphere of reaction in the citadel of world counter-revolution preparing for war. Our gains are determined in large measure by this objective situation, and our tasks have been set accordingly.

We kept up a well-measured pace of propaganda activities.

Our campaigns, electoral and otherwise were placed within the framework of these propaganda activities.

We sought to break down the barriers between ourselves and the Stalinist ranks and peripheral circles erected by the Stalinist bureaucrats. And in this, we have been moderately successful.

A steady stream of new people have been attracted to all our public functions.

The internal education of the party has been lively and steadily improving.

Our finances have been stabilized and New York has more than maintained its position as the outstanding contributor to the functioning of the national organization.

By a realistic view of our tasks, by exploiting opportunities where they existed, by counteracting the process of stagnation which comes with isolation, by keeping the party's ideology fresh and alive, by enlarging our circle of friends and sympathizers, by penetrating into new circles -- we did all that was possible and did it well. There were no doubt mistakes and shortcomings but the general orientation was correct and rewarding.

### I. ORIENTATION

The year 1947 brought an abrupt change in the conditions under which our party operated. The grievances of the workers, the Negro people, veterans, tenants, etc., which had accumulated during World War II burst forth at its conclusion in an offensive of considerable scope and power. Our party intervened energetically in these struggles, and turned its attention directly toward new layers of worker militants who were emerging out of the mass. We were rewarded by rapid growth in every respect.

By 1948, this situation had turned into its opposite. Although on a world scale great revolutionary upheavals were in the making, in America the labor movement was in sharp decline all along the line. Conservative moods were becoming dominant among the workers. The witch-hunt had begun. The mass movement rolled back leaving us isolated.

With minor ups and downs, this trend has continued for six years. In the past year, we have seen a deepening of reaction, culminating

in the victory of the Republican party for the first time in twenty years. Furthermore, while all the conditions of social crisis are maturing beneath the surface, the readings of all social barometers indicate that the unfavorable climate will continue for a time and will probably get worse in the period immediately ahead.

It is naturally impossible for a revolutionary party to prosper in such circumstances. On the contrary, for a small tendency such as ours, a lengthy period of isolation presents very serious problems. The danger is a double one. The obvious and apparent danger lies in the contraction of our forces through losses -- a quantitative decline. But we also face another problem: the danger of succumbing to the conditions of isolation by sinking into the habits, moods and methods of an ingrown sect.

In 1948 we began to adjust our activities to conform to the changed conditions. The changes in our general approach here in New York can be summed up as follows: we shifted the axis of our activities from mass action and broad agitation to concentrated propaganda and education; we turned our attention from the general mass of politically uninitiated workers to a narrower but more selective audience of left-wing groups, politically-minded workers and intellectuals, and student youth; from expansion of our organization and activities to retrenchment and more modest tasks.

This course has demonstrated its validity and we have no need for any major change now. We need only to pursue it more consistently and carry out the indicated tasks more energetically.

With this approach in mind, we proceed to an examination of the more important phases of our work.

## II. TRADE UNION WORK

Since the mass movement is quiescent (relatively), and dominated by an unchallenged imperialist-minded bureaucracy, our opportunities for work in the union movement have become extremely limited, and since our activities are to be directed primarily toward more politically conscious circles, the question naturally arises: what about the proletarian, or trade union, orientation?

The answer we give to this question (not only verbally -- but in action) is of the greatest importance, both for our future possibilities and for the health of our movement today.

First, while we are perforce limited in the main to propaganda activities because of the social stability that obtains for the present, we must never lose sight of the very real perspective of great class struggles that will inevitably erupt. We must not so adapt ourselves to the exigencies of the moment, as to be completely unprepared for the stormy movements which will arise in the factories and flow through the channels of the trade unions. We will succeed in influencing the movement, and in putting flesh on the skeleton of the party only to the extent that we are rooted in the factories. This fact alone dictates the placing of every possible comrade in some factory or union.

But there is the additional urgent need to retain and extend our links with the working class as it is -- in all of its conservatism and apathy -- so that we do not become isolated from the workers physically as well as politically. Such links act as an antidote, at least in part, to the dangers of sectarian decay. They help to prevent unrealistic wish-fulfillment thinking today, and to assure that we will not be caught unawares and lag behind when the workers begin to move on the morrow.

Furthermore, it is of course not true that nothing whatever can be done even today in the shops and unions. The class struggle, as we know, is never completely dormant. Indeed, a surprising number of our members have participated in strikes and stoppages in the past several years, in most cases in the capacity of secondary leaders. A half-a-dozen of our comrades are union stewards. We have found that opportunities to speak at union meetings for a labor party and on other issues are not entirely absent either. Finally, there is important political work that can and should always be carried on in factories (or for that matter, anywhere) and that is persistent contact work among one's fellow workers. Even if recruiting is extremely difficult it is surely possible to win friends and sympathizers, who can be turned into recruits when things loosen up.

This problem of "proletarianization" is a peculiarly New York problem, and it always has been with us. We do not suggest that the character of the New York Local can be transformed overnight by a big campaign for "proletarianization." But we must come back to this question at every convention and persist the year round in our efforts to strengthen our contacts with the mass organizations of the workers. We have made a little progress in the past year. A number of comrades who persisted in their efforts have succeeded in entering some key spots. We now have groups that are fairly well established in four unions and some beginnings in others.

There are still some, however, who choose jobs which are most convenient, even though they are useless from the point of view of helping the party penetrate the mass movement, and of maintaining and extending its ties with the class. Young comrades especially, should adjust their lives so as to live as proletarian revolutionists and prepare themselves to become workers' leaders in the struggles that lie ahead.

### III. PROPAGANDA

This phase of our work, which refers to the dissemination of Marxist ideas -- especially the Marxist analysis of our changing world and the socialist perspective -- has occupied our main attention for the past year, and correctly so. "Propaganda" includes public lectures and classes as well as the circulation of our press. It also includes contact work, which is personalized propaganda carried on by the rank and file member, who supplements the work of the lecturer and writer and attempts to complete the task of recruitment.

Further, our propaganda work is not only concerned with influencing

new people. Taken together with internal discussion it also means the continuous clarification and refining of our own ideas, and keeping abreast of the great events which are occurring with unprecedented speed in all parts of the world. This work is indispensable if we are to keep our concepts in tune with the every changing reality and prevent sluggishness and routinism in our thinking. Above all, it is the best shield against the tremendous pressures bearing down upon us.

Our program of public meetings, lectures and classes in the past year was by far the richest in many years, both in quantity and quality. In one year we held 15 public meetings and lectures on domestic and international events, six lectures on the World Crisis, summarizing the views of the World Congress, two lectures on philosophy, a six-week lecture course on the American Revolution, a weekly discussion class for new members and contacts that ran most of the year, and a study course in Capital. Furthermore, all of these undertakings with very few exceptions were distinctly successful. The lectures consistently attracted sizable audiences both from the party ranks and from left-wing circles. The success of this propaganda activity was made possible by the great achievements of the Third World Congress which armed us with a consistent world outlook and with clear answers to all the big questions of our time.

The weekly forum fulfills a number of important needs for us: it fulfills a major educational need for the party itself; it serves to counteract disintegrating tendencies by providing a strong and attractive political center which draws to it some less active members, and a number of sympathizers, and by keeping constantly before the movement the forward march of the masses on a world scale, and the great revolutionary perspectives for America; finally it has attracted a considerable number of new people, primarily young people from the Stalinist peripheral movements, several of whom have drawn very close to our ideas.

To maintain a weekly forum over an extended period of time is an ambitious undertaking for a small organization under present conditions. But if we recognize its importance, and are ready to put in the effort required to sustain it, there is a good chance that it will succeed, and that these efforts will be well rewarded.

The four classes on various aspects of Marxist theory and analysis which will open in January under the auspices of the Marxist Labor School will round out our educational program.

The circulation of our press (and not only the Militant but also the "heavier" literature such as the F.I. and the new Pablo pamphlet) is the primary vehicle for our propaganda, for with it we can reach far more people than we can attract to our meetings, and penetrate ever wider circles with our ideas.

Our literature activities should be consistent with our overall tasks, and general orientation. We should direct a concentrated fire at the more politically conscious currents in the population, certain unions and schools and other selected points rather than indiscriminate broadsides at the population in general. We should

not indulge in door-to-door sub campaigns aimed only at obtaining the maximum number of subs. The results obtained under present conditions of widespread conservatism and fear are not commensurate with the enormous amount of energy required, and such efforts could only divert us from the activities that we are -- and should be -- engaged in. One sub sold to a real contact made through our propaganda efforts is a step toward winning an adherent, and is worth far more than a sub gotten at random door-to-door that generally leads nowhere. On the other hand, limited door-to-door work which is aimed at culling out contacts through consistent visiting, as is being done in several projects, has proven to be worth while. Our guiding line should be that "subbing" is an important part of contact work, and not an end in itself. Within this approach we should get every subscription we possibly can.

The inevitable decline in our sub list must be compensated for by stepping up the sales of single copies at political meetings, forums, unions and schools. This work has lagged in the last few months, but our own experience shows that a stable circulation can be built up in this way. We should also try to place the Militant on more newsstands, since this outlet has provided a steady sale of 100 copies a week for a number of years.

We should not engage in mass street sales as a general practice. However, when a hot issue arouses great interest we should conduct a special demonstration-sale, and intervene at least agitationally in the given struggle. The Harry Moore murder was a case in point. We were able to sell 1,000 Militants by two mobilizations on the streets of Harlem and 200 more at various protest meetings. In addition tens of thousands saw our dramatic display of placards and heard our slogans.

IV. CONTACTING AND RECRUITMENT

In the past several months we carried on more systematic and extensive contact work than ever before. Some forty comrades visited more than 100 contacts including almost all of those who had responded to the radio broadcasts. For the first time we are becoming familiar with the people on our mailing list, who were by and large merely names to us before. Many worthless names were weeded out. We found that most of the radio contacts were not prospects. In many cases they completely misunderstood what and who we were. But a half a dozen subs were gotten from this work, and a few prospective recruits.

In the matter of recruiting, we have hit up against a new and peculiar phenomenon. In spite of expanded and improved activities, in spite of the fact that we have attracted more new people than in recent years, recruiting has dropped to a new low.

We have won over a number of young people to our viewpoint in the past period -- people who accept our ideas, come quite regularly to our functions, read our press, contribute to some degree to our work, and in some cases even bring their friends to our forums -- but can't or won't take the final step of joining. We will have to give some serious thought to this problem.

First, we should recognize that this represents a gain for our

movement. We have won new adherents and supporters, even if they do not take out memberships immediately. Second, we should try to gradually work them into our activities, and get financial contributions, until membership appears to be an easy and natural step formalizing the real relation.

#### V. ELECTION CAMPAIGN

We conceived of the 1952 election campaign as a special vehicle for propaganda activity. We decided not to dissipate our energies in wide, thinly spread agitation on street corners or door-to-door canvassing, not to be diverted by the election campaign from our propaganda tasks. We decided, on the contrary, to take advantage of the heightened political activity and interest generated by the elections, to intensify our propaganda work. We decided to limit our outdoor work to a few meetings in connection with the tours of the candidates. We planned, as the central activity, a series of weekly lectures on the major issues in the campaign to be highlighted by a rally for comrade Dobbs and a banquet for comrade Weiss. In addition, we planned a class on the resolutions of the Third World Congress for new members and contacts. We conceived of a broad division of labor between the candidates and the party membership. The candidates were to exploit every possible opportunity to reach the public at large by radio and television, while the membership followed through by systematic visiting of those who had responded to the broadcasts, as well as other contacts, and by coverage of all candidates' forums with literature and leaflets announcing our forum. Some were assigned to enter the Compass clubs in the attempt to bring our campaign into these clubs. We hoped that by this method, when the campaign was over, instead of tallying the results by the thousands spoken to on street corners, we would be able to total up a few subscribers, contacts and potential recruits.

On the whole, our plan worked out splendidly. The forums and class both surpassed our expectation, maintaining a high level of attendance throughout and generating a great deal of enthusiasm. The Dobbs rally and Weiss banquet were highly successful. We drew a small but steady stream of new people to our meetings and we came out of the campaign with a new periphery. Another virtue of this kind of campaign is that instead of going through a whirl of feverish activity followed by a general collapse of activity and morale we are able to continue without seriously breaking our stride.

The 1953 municipal elections promise to be interesting. It is impossible to foretell the lineups now, but Rudolph Halley will probably run for Mayor on the Liberal Party line. He has a fair chance of getting elected, especially with new and more sensational scandals breaking over Tammany's head. Under these circumstances, it is possible that other sections of the labor movement will shift to Halley. That does not, however, exclude the possibility that the anti-Tammany Democrats and Fusion Republicans will enter into a coalition with the Liberal Party.

On the other side, the ALP, already beset by a lesser civil crisis, and shaken up by its decline will probably face an even more serious internal conflict over Halley. The C.P., which yearned for a "broad anti-Tammany coalition" in 1951, is likely to press more vigorously for it in 1952. Meanwhile, others are pushing in the

opposite direction, i.e., for the conversion of the P.P. into a "socialist" party.

All of this will provide opportunities for our intervention, but it is too early to decide on our precise tactics now. We should plan a discussion of our election policy for 1953 later on when the picture becomes clearer.

## VI. OPPONENTS WORK

We recognized as early as 1948 the importance of penetrating the Stalinist-P.P. movement and related organizations, and of proposing united front actions on specific issues. Although this tactical approach is not an easy one to carry out, we scored some very important successes, especially in our intervention in the Stalinist defense movement and the YPA.

It is true that this movement has suffered a sharp decline since 1948, but it remains the only current of conscious opposition to the war and reaction (apart from ourselves) and its very decline has now brought it to a crisis of perspective. Huberman, one of the editors of the Monthly Review, is now publicly opining that the P.P. should have gone out of business in 1948, that there is no future for a party with a liberal bourgeois program, that the movement should adopt a straight socialist program, and advocate a labor party based on the trade unions. Corliss Lamont, the P.P. candidate for Senator from New York in the recent elections has also spoken in favor of this view. The UE has declared for a new party based on the unions, instead of the P.P. A "discussion article" has appeared in the CP organ "Political Affairs" advancing a similar line. On the other hand, the Stalinists take issue with the proposal to convert the PP into a "socialist" party, since this would appear as a direct rival to the CP.

We have already intervened to a limited extent in this discussion. Both the Compass and the Monthly Review published contributions by prominent SWP spokesman in their literary discussions. In addition we entered the discussion in the Brownsville, West Side and New School Compass clubs, and in the Monthly Review forum. In all cases we were given a friendly hearing. In the one case where a Stalinist attempted to have our spokesman silenced, the chairman ruled against the Stalinist and the audience applauded the decision.

The atmosphere in and around the Stalinist movement is less hostile than ever before. Indeed, their movement could be said to be rife with "Trotskyist conciliationism." Unity sentiments are widespread even among some leaders and spokesmen of the PP movement. Our victory over the Stalinists in the civil liberties struggle is virtually complete. The Daily Worker editorial on the Kutcher case was the formal announcement of the change in line. Leading Stalinist spokesmen are declaring both publicly and privately that they were wrong both in the case of the 18 and the Kutcher case, and proclaim the need for unity in the struggle. Trotskyism has become legitimized among many Stalinist members and sympathizers who recognize us as a legitimate, although "ultra-leftist," tendency in the radical movement.



We should take the fullest advantage of this exceptional opportunity to penetrate deeply into this movement. We have made contact to one degree or another with quite a number of Stalinist peripheral organizations in the past year: Compass clubs, YPA, Youth Peace Council, ALP, Monthly Review, Citizens Emergency Defense Committee, Civil Rights Congress Youth, LYL. In addition our opponents work committee has some good leads in the Zionist youth movement.

With few exceptions, however, this work has been sporadic and inconsistent. Our members have not yet penetrated these organizations, become integrated, developed personal acquaintances, and made party contacts. In the main the experiences have been of a hit and run variety. There were many technical difficulties. Most of these organizations were foreign territory, entirely unknown to us. Time was needed for exploration and selection. The summer months and the needs of our election campaign limited the work. But we have become more familiar with the Stalifold world than ever before, and we have penetrated this movement more widely than ever before, even if not yet deeply.

A few comrades who recognized the importance of this work and persisted, have succeeded in establishing themselves and finding a political milieu in which to operate. One comrade has done this so well that he is invited to present the SWP program on controversial issues and to give educational talks in his neighborhood Compass Club. He has also joined the ALP club to widen his contacts with this movement.

The Compass Clubs have decided to continue their existence in spite of the death of the Compass. These clubs are the most satisfactory places for work since they meet regularly, and their sole activity is political discussion. The ALP is the most difficult to work in since it is primarily an electoral machine although it does carry on other activities. Nevertheless it is the most important of these organizations by far, since it is the heart of the movement and its active core are the politically conscious cadres. Furthermore, the future of the ALP will, after all, be debated and decided by the ALP, not by the Compass Clubs or the Monthly Review. We should send a number of comrades into the ALP who are prepared to participate in its activities and remain in for a considerable period of time.

We must take note that one of the difficulties we have faced in this work is reluctance or at best inertia among the members, a tendency to limit their political activities to 116 University Place rather than to enter a strange milieu.

Yet this is one of the most important means we have of avoiding complete political isolation. We noted previously the importance of having a maximum number of our members in the factories to maintain contact with the working class and gain a footing for future advances. We should add that it is also of the utmost importance that our members find a field for political activity today outside of our own party, to maintain contact with the rest of the left-wing political world and to propagate our ideas to people who are equipped to understand them and are willing to listen.

## VII. CIVIL LIBERTIES

This was not one of our major fields of activities this past year, since we had no major national defense campaign. The New York branch of the Kutcher Committee raised the quota of several hundred dollars assigned to it, and our fraction at NYU organized an excellent united front meeting in defense of all victims of the Smith Act.

With the Kutcher case now entering its second round we can expect stepped up activities on this front in the coming year.

## VIII. FINANCES

Our active workers conference of approximately a year ago resolved to straighten out and improve the very sad condition of our finances. A number of reforms were introduced at that time which altered the entire situation with the result that this has been one of the brightest sides of our work -- and it is by no means the least important.

After examining every possible means for cutting expenses and increasing income, we revamped all quotas and worked out a realistic budget which provided for a \$200 monthly sustaining fund quota to the N.O. We have maintained a very business-like attitude toward finances all throughout the Local ever since, and have adhered very closely to the budget.

Our biggest cut was in salaries for our full time staff. However, we also made substantial gains in income. First by more careful scrutiny of individual pledges and greater regularity of payments on both dues and sustaining fund pledges. Second, we did not neglect the financial side of our expanded propaganda activities. Net income from public meetings, lectures and classes for 1952 will show a big increase over the past several years. Our weekly forum has been averaging a profit of \$100 a month. Third - by carefully planning social and other fund raising activities for the year and placing a competent comrade in charge of the new "fund-raising" department. Our greatest success here was our bazaar in May which netted \$400 profit, and we hope to do even better with our Christmas Bazaar.

As a result, we have been able to pay all bills on the first of every month and build up a surplus. Consequently we are now able to respond to the appeal of the National Office by contributing a substantial lump sum and increasing our monthly contribution to the national sustaining fund by \$50. In addition we went \$200 over our very substantial quota of \$4500 in the last fund drive.

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This report will not consider those fields of work which are the province of particular branches, such as youth work and East-Harlem tenants work. Each branch should discuss its special problems and perspectives in the course of the pre-convention discussion and report to the convention.

## IX. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The activities described above add up to a considerable volume of

achievements. If we add to all that has been reported that last March we accepted the major responsibility for the Pennsylvania ballot campaign, and completed this very difficult chore in two weeks; that at the end of July we went on to put the party on the ballot in our own state in the record time of three weeks -- itself no small task; that in between we conducted a modest sub campaign which netted 121 subs, a bazaar, and organized the arrangements for the national convention; that our NYU fraction organized the biggest event of the semester: a public debate in which the editor of the FI defended Marxism before 300 students; that we organized a tenants league in East Harlem which won protection for thousands of tenants against arbitrary relocation and possible eviction, and established a toe-hold for the party in the area; and that we provided most of the manpower for the construction crew and staff of the camp -- when we add it all up we can say that while there is always room for improvement, on the whole it was a year packed with fruitful activities.

The record shows that in 1952 we carried out more numerous and successful activities than in recent years, and this has been both a cause and an effect of a morale that was consistently high all through the year, without crises or slumps. We must attribute this to the fact that we did the things we should have been doing.

The prescription for the coming year should be more of the same. We should penetrate more deeply into the unions and into the left-wing political groups. We should center the activities of the local around propaganda work: regular lectures and classes, the sale of our press at selected spots, and systematic contact work. We must continue the struggle for civil liberties. We should carry on other activities to be sure, but only such activities which can either be fit into this framework, or that will not seriously interfere with our main tasks.

While no plan we might devise could bring us big gains in the coming year, we believe that the approach and tasks set forth in this report will best prepare us for the historic role to which we aspire.

PERSPECTIVES FOR THE PERIOD AHEAD

By D.Stevens and H.Ring

Our Local pre-convention discussion takes place at a time when the tasks and perspectives for the period immediately ahead are not indicated in an obvious way by an openly manifested movement of the workers. In a period of great upsurge, strike struggles and mass radicalization, our course can be almost automatically set by the events. Even at such times, problems abound and consciousness, analysis and a correct line are crucial.

Such consciousness is all the more required today when the surface manifestations of the situation reveals mainly conservatism, reaction, class peace, and apathy. This is not the total reality. Beneath these surface manifestations lies a molecular process of the growth and development of profound transformations of ideology, and the maturing of a new readiness for great militant actions by the workers, the Negro masses and the youth.

To understand this process and to draw the correct conclusions is no simple matter under present conditions.

It is to be expected, therefore, that comrades will have various viewpoints on the question of tasks and perspectives, thus providing a profitable exchange of views and the basis for a correct and realistic line of work for the Local.

This discussion takes place against the background of great revolutionary upheavals throughout the world with the U.S. standing as the last stronghold of world counter-revolution. We enter the discussion armed with the brilliant analysis of this period arrived at by our co-thinkers at the 3rd World Congress, the subsequent plenums of the I.E.C., and the decisions and resolutions of our 15th National Convention. All of this should be our starting point in this discussion.

The work of our co-thinkers relating to our tasks in this country is summed up by M.Pablo in the section of his report to the 10th Plenum of the I.E.C. entitled - Essentially Independent Work. There he states that "for a whole category of very important countries where the obstacle of a strong reformist or Stalinist movement does not exist, the immediate central task of the Trotskyists is to act from now on as the revolutionary leadership of the masses." The U.S. is placed in this category with one reservation: our work for the formation of a labor party.

This concept, "to act from now on as the revolutionary leadership of the masses" is not a passing agitational phrase. It is not meant for the future. Pablo calls it, "the immediate central task" and reiterates this view five times on one page alone of the published report. (International Information Bulletin - June 1952, p.8) This idea may be questioned by some comrades in view of our present size and influence.

We must understand the present situation as one of the development of the revolution everywhere. In America it is not yet manifested. Here it is being temporarily delayed. But all the social conditions are driving towards an inevitable revolutionary eruption. Viewed in this light, the need to conduct ourselves today as the revolutionary leadership becomes apparent. Pablo answers any

scepticism on this score as follows:

"The small nuclei of revolutionary Marxists can and must play the role assigned them by history, that of the revolutionary leadership. These nuclei can discharge this task and by so doing develop in a relatively short time into powerful currents, provided they are from now on prepared ideologically and politically, that is to say, if they have from now on a clear and profound understanding of the explosive revolutionary character of the period and if they elaborate a concrete policy and concrete tactic adapted to the particular conditions of their country."

He sums up, "These nuclei can discharge this task...if they act from now on not as a general propaganda group but as the nucleus of the revolutionary leadership conscious of the needs and aspirations of the masses of their country and have a concrete political answer to their problems."

This historic task is not for tomorrow. It is for today, "from now on". It is "immediate" and "central".

This should be our point of departure for estimating our work and elaborating our tasks. In our opinion this approach is absent from comrade Bartell's The New York Local-Report And Tasks.

Essentially, this document proceeds not from the need to act today as the revolutionary leadership but rather to act as a propaganda group. It sees little if any active role for our party in the mass movement and among the workers today and turns its major attention to propaganda directed towards the groups in and around the Stalinist movement as the main axis of our work in this period. In this sense it fails to proceed from the analysis of the Third World Congress and from the Political Resolution of our 15th National Convention.

This national Political Resolution states unambiguously, "The work of our party has been and continues to be fundamentally directed toward influencing, winning and recruiting leftward moving militants among the organized workers--especially in the C.I.O.--who owe no allegiance to any radical party. This is our main field of work."

Even the section which underscores the importance of activity directed towards workers in the Stalinist circles concludes, "This tactic (towards the Stalinists) is a necessary supplement to our main course of struggling for influence and leadership over the principal body of trade union militants and politically unorganized workers." (Our emphasis)

As in Pablo's report this "main course" is not postponed for the future. It lists as the most important of our "present activities...work in the unions, mass organization and electoral activity." It further asserts, "The great bulk of the American working class still remains politically unorganized and attached to the capitalist parties and our main strategic orientation in this country flows from that fact. The raising of the workers from trade union to political class consciousness, the transformation of their great industrial power into independent class political action remains the principal political orientation and strategy of the party."

We believe that the Report And Tasks in its primary emphasis is at variance with this orientation. It is necessary to appraise this consciously, carefully--and to correct it. We are quoting liberally from the documents of our movement both nationally and internationally because we are firmly convinced that our New York perspectives and tasks should be based upon them.

The section on trade union work in the Report And Tasks begins with a question: "Since the mass movement is quiescent (relatively),...and our opportunities for work in the union movement have become extremely limited, and since our activities are to be directed primarily toward more politically conscious circles, the question naturally arises; what about the proletarian, or trade union, orientation?" (Our emphasis) Whatever the answer to this question may be, and we will deal with it, it must be recognized that the question states that our main tasks are in the direction of "more politically conscious circles" rather than in the mass movement and the trade unions.

This reversal of the order of things is based on an incorrect conception of the relation of immediate tasks and orientation to the main perspective of our party over a longer period of time. It was put as follows (in comrade Bartell's summation at the city membership meeting of Nov. 30, 1952) True, our main tasks are in the mass movement, but that is the strategy for the long run. It will become our main work tomorrow when there will be great labor upsurges. The supplementary work directed towards the Stalinists, semi-Stalinists, etc.,--that is a tactic and constitutes our main work for today.

The conclusion is clear. Our main orientation becomes a secondary field of work today. The tactic directed at the Stalinists becomes our major work today. This construction is certainly not in accord with the documents of our movement nationally and internationally.

The postponement of work in the mass movement as our primary task to some future date is based upon an incorrect and one-sided understanding of the nature of the "relative quiescence" in the labor movement.

It is necessary to understand this quiescence not formally, statically, but dialectically. What is the nature of this particular quiescence? Is it the quiescence of the American labor movement of the prosperous twenties? Or that of the German movement under Hitler? Obviously not.

This present quiescence in America, at any rate a very important aspect of it, is one of preparation for pending class battles. New layers of militants are emerging, and together with old militants in the shops are searching and groping on various levels of consciousness for new ways of struggle.

This is what is important to us. Every worker comrade knows too well the limitations for work in the unions. He feels

it every day. The task of the party is precisely to develop ways and means of carrying on fruitful work in the mass movement within the limitations; to inspire and guide the work from day to day.

The Report And Tasks sees only one side of the present situation in the mass movement. It says only that "our opportunities for work in the union movement have become extremely limited." It sees only "the working class as it is--in all its conservatism and apathy--....". It accepts our isolation from the workers politically for this period and sees our role among them at present mainly as one of maintaining links with the class "physically" in order to be on the spot later when great struggles break out.

For the present period it contains no perspective, orientation, or concrete program. At its best it speaks negatively about how "it is of course not true that nothing whatever can be done even today in the shops and unions". (Our emphasis) It grants that "The class struggle, as we know, is never completely dormant." At the city membership meeting comrade Bartell fixed the degree of life of the mass movement more precisely by declaring that it is more nearly dead than not dead. Such "realistic" formulations can only appeal to moods of pessimism.

How different is the Political Resolution on this question. It does not simply accept a state of quiescence. It analyzes it, and views it in all of its aspects. It finds that the conservatism "discernable among the workers, especially the better paid", the power of the bureaucracy and the growth of reaction "does not mean that the big events and experiences of the post-war period have passed without effect upon the American people. The impact of militarization especially, has already begun to produce certain shifts in the moods and minds of some parts of the population. The more critical among them are carefully observing the powers above them and are less duped and confused by their lies. They are interested in such fundamental problems of world and national affairs as war and peace, the colonial uprisings, the USSR and government policy."

This entirely correct analysis shows the other side of the picture; the side that makes fruitful work possible for us. It is not stated for merely inspirational purposes. The Political Resolution goes on to say:

"The whole course of American imperialism abroad mingled with the aggravation of their personal and class problems is leading the working people to view the great issues of our society in a broader way. Until recently, to consider problems in global terms was the mark of a radical; today attention to world problems is becoming an every day matter. However retarded or confused its first manifestations are, this serves to overcome the traditional provincialism of the workers and makes them more accessible to socialist ideas and education." This is another important aspect of the state of quiescence and is of the greatest importance for us. It opens up to us the possibilities of political work in the mass movement.

All this is for the present, not the future. This is made clear over and over again by our national Political Resolution, which was unanimously adopted. Has anything occurred since then to cause us to depart from it, or to modify it? If so, what is it? Or was the Political Resolution wrong on this question at the time it was adopted? If so, then how and why? It is always necessary to square what we say and do today with what we said and did yesterday. This is scientific procedure in every field.

In another connection dealing with the war drive the Political Resolution concludes, "All the broadening, deepening, basic causes arousing unrest continue to operate on the background of this unresolved political crisis of American labor. This dictates that the militants multiply their efforts in the unions to help clarify the gathering political ferment and further any moves toward progressive breaks away from traditional collaborationist politics and in the direction of independent political action by labor."

This is decisive. To act as the revolutionary leadership, oriented in the main towards the masses. We should declare with Pablo "It is necessary to start where the masses themselves start... It is necessary to have confidence in the masses, to avoid an over-estimation of their apparent apathy during any period, their inevitable temporary retreats, and it is necessary not to underestimate the constant molecular processes taking place in its depths and operating in the direction of the revolution and which explain the abrupt qualitative transformations, the revolutionary explosions. It is necessary not to be late. It is necessary to act quickly, to be always ready, full of the spirit of revolutionary initiative and boldness. It is the character of the period which imposes this conception. It is necessary to understand it and to demonstrate it by acting adequately."

It is this spirit, this orientation, this analysis which must be a living part of the New York Local. We must proceed energetically and against all obstacles, with a firm revolutionary will to apply these ideas, to carry them out in life in our work in the mass movement.

How can we apply this in the trade union movement today? If we view mass work as activities only during periods of strike struggles, or internal struggles within the unions, then it is difficult to see any field for work in this sphere today.

Mass work does not start and cease with the rise and fall of the class struggle. It only changes its form. Our work must be continuous and persistent in periods of lull and preparation as well as during periods of upsurge. We must view our tasks in the mass movement today as one of intensive political work on the job together with broader work on the question of the labor party, the Korean war, and the wage freeze. It is often possible to speak quite freely on these questions to broad strata of workers in all mass organizations today. The passing of a labor party resolution at the last national convention of the U.A.W. in the very midst of the period of lull and reaction is highly symptomatic of great changes in the moods and thinking of significant sections of the working class.



This is expressed again only a few weeks ago in the passing of a labor party resolution by Ford local No. 600 after an unprecedented attack on the militants and leaders of these workers by the press, the Reuther bureaucracy and the House Un-American Committee.

The U.E. at its last national convention also adopted a labor party resolution. And here in New York one of our comrades, as has been reported, was able to speak on the labor party question before 800 workers of local 65 and before the Stewards' Council.

These do not constitute a mass turn towards a labor party. But they are not accidental events. They express serious and cumulative stirrings in the ranks of labor, which is becoming increasingly distrustful of the two capitalist parties and their domestic and foreign policies. It reflects the need felt by a growing number of workers to find a political means to meet the political attacks upon them.

By speaking for a labor party, against the war and the wage freeze wherever an opportunity presents itself, our comrades can attract and gather the best militants around themselves. As this occurs, we must unfold a process of intensive political education of these elements. Personal discussions with such workers, obtaining help from the most qualified comrades in the local by introducing them to these workers, the use of our press; all this opens up the most important and the most fruitful contact work in this period.

Our own cadres must be educated not only on the great problems of the revolution which is sweeping the world, but equally on the great problems that confront American labor today. They must be armed with facts and ideas in order to develop the necessary confidence and firmness which are so much required today in the mass movement.

Our fractions, although small and not involved in union power struggles, should meet frequently and regularly in an organized manner. Their business should consist primarily of our political work in the unions and the shops. Reports on each single contact should be made and discussed. How can this worker be developed politically; how can he be brought closer to us; how can the party comrade be aided in his work with his contact? These questions should be the center of fraction work.

The fraction members should use The Militant and other literature in the plant and in the union. Here they must, of course, exercise the necessary caution and common sense. But they must do it. Every fraction member should report regularly on literature work. Undertake to handle a sort of bundle order. Begin, let us say, with one Militant a week, or even every two weeks. Build it up to two a week or more, if at all possible. Do it regularly. Discuss its effects. Follow it up. We may have every assurance that this kind of work will "pay off".

The excellent work of comrades Calvin and Bea, among others demonstrates the fruitfulness of this work.

The party leaders are perforce removed from the day to day life in the shops. Regular fraction meetings provide the vehicle for the exchange of experiences, information and ideas between the party leaders and the worker comrades. This link serves to deepen and broaden the work.

The fractions and individual members should report frequently to the branches, and on special occasions to city membership meetings on their work. Shop reports should be made and used to inspire other comrades, to learn lessons, and to set examples for activity in the mass movement.

The city trade union director should guide this work consistently and report regularly to the City Committee the state and the progress of our trade union work.

The entire leadership of the Local must periodically review the disposition of our forces in this field from a long range perspective. The question of concentration must be dealt with in an organized manner through the fractions and the leadership of the Local consciously and prepared to make any necessary alterations at every new opportunity and every change in the situation.

But we cannot expect to enlarge our work in the trade unions or even to maintain what we have effectively, with a perspective based mainly upon the idea that we are simply accumulating seniority for the future struggles, while we maintain "physical" contact with apathetic workers today. This will inspire no one to do vital work in the mass movement. Comrades will be convinced to change their jobs, to live as "proletarian revolutionists" only if the party provides immediate perspectives for proletarian revolutionary activity. The preparation for the great labor upsurges to come is in the labor movement itself. That is where the workers are preparing. That is where we must prepare-- along side of them.

NOTE:

We are preparing a second part to this discussion article on other important aspects of the Report And Tasks.

PERSPECTIVES FOR THE PERIOD AHEAD - Part II

by D. Stevens and H. Ring

In the first section of our discussion article we wrote at some length of the party's national orientation as laid down in the political resolution of our 1952 national convention and in the report of Comrade Pablo to the Tenth Plenum of the I.E.C. We did so in an effort to demonstrate that the the national orientation of the party clearly and correctly characterizes work in the trade union movement in this period as primary, and propaganda work in Stalinist and liberal circles as an important but supplementary arena of activity.

We considered this a necessary contribution to our Local pre-convention discussion because, in our opinion, Comrade Bartell's Report and Tasks reverses this relationship between primary and supplementary fields of work for the period immediately ahead.

This reversal is not fully expressed in an explicit, clear-cut manner. Much of it must be inferred in our opinion from the over-evaluation of the opportunities inherent in work directed toward the "left-wing groups," the underestimation of the possibilities available to us in trade union work, a largely one-sided, pessimistic view of the state of the workers movement today and by omission.

The lack of a positive perspective for fruitful work within the limitations of the situation in the trade unions and shops today constitutes the principal weakness of the Report's trade union section.

A similar lack is even more strikingly seen in a field of work that the entire party has come to understand as second only to trade union work. We refer, of course, to the Negro struggle, which is completely ignored in the Report and Tasks. A report on "tasks" which omits the question of our work in the Negro movement cannot be considered complete.

On this question too we can obtain guidance from the political resolution of our last national convention. The resolution states: "The new stage of militancy in the Negro resistance to discrimination and the new techniques of Jim Crow brought to bear against them, have already been noted. Incident upon incident arouses indignation and impels the Negroes into organized protest. Our party should continue and expand its support to all actions against Jim Crow undertaken by the NAACP, in the plants and in the neighborhoods.

"In and through these activities our comrades must seek to educate the best militants we meet among the Negro people on the basic causes of the Jim Crow system and convince them that the full emancipation of the Negro people can be achieved only through the struggle for the socialist revolution. In this way we can enlarge the Negro cadres of our party and help give the Negro people the kind of leadership they need ...."

We believe that, necessary as it is to build the revolutionary cadres in the unions and plants today in preparation for the

great upsurges tomorrow, it is, in a sense, even more imperative that we hammer out a revolutionary Negro cadre today. White Trotskyists can prepare to lead the union struggles tomorrow, but only Negro Trotskyists can lead the coming Negro upsurge. This crucial fact must be understood with the fullest clarity. We will win the leadership of the Negro struggle tomorrow only if we undertake the task of forging a Negro cadre today.

The absence of this concept from the report is not alone due to the lack of a correct orientation and consciousness. It is expressed not only in the report, but, even more decisively, in our work. We must begin with the fact that for almost a year the Local has not conducted any organized work in this important field.

Even where the Local has correctly attempted to gain a foothold amongst the Puerto Rican people, through the medium of the Tenants League, the central task of developing a Puerto Rican cadre, has not been brought forward with sufficient clarity. In Negro work, as in the trade union field, a recognition of the present limitations, and in some ways, even greater difficulties, of carrying out this task cannot become a reason for foregoing it. We realize full well that the task of building a trained Marxist Negro and Puerto Rican cadre is the thorniest problem confronting the New York Local. But this can only mean that even greater attention must be devoted to it.

The beginning of the accomplishment of this task must be the conscious acceptance of the responsibility for it by the Local leadership. No significant results can come from a relegation of it to a branch.

The New York Branch of the NAACP lags behind other branches throughout the country (particularly in the South) in its reaction to the new wave of Jim Crow terror. This makes even more limited the opportunity for our effective participation in its life. But it does not permit our absence from it. To explain the fact that we do not have a single comrade in the NAACP by simply stating that 'there is nothing doing there' misses the point completely. Our long standing estimate of the NAACP as the principal organization of Negro struggle has been strengthened by the post war developments.

In his report to the city convention of 1950, that is, two years after the 1948 decline in the working class and Negro struggle, Comrade Bartell correctly declared: "We determined to persist in our efforts to strengthen and consolidate existing fractions and to establish new ones in the unions and the Negro mass organizations. In this field too, we saw our major task the political struggle against both the Stalinist and the 'right-wing' in order to lay the basis for a genuine left-wing and to recruit advanced workers and Negro militants." If anything has happened in the past two years to justify altering or forgetting this "major task" it should be explicitly stated in the Report.

The Uptown Branch in the course of this pre-convention discussion has begun to consider specific proposals to send at least one comrade into the NAACP; to investigate the possibility of participation in Negro discussion groups and clubs; and to begin the regular sale of our press at the Negro "Y", the Schoenberg

Library and other gathering centers where it may be possible to reach the individuals who will be the potential cadre material that we are seeking. If these proposals are to be executed in an effective and thorough-going fashion it can only be on the basis of their becoming a major responsibility of the incoming City Committee.

We are not attempting here to draw up a blue print of concrete activity. It is the orientation and perspective that counts. The arduous, obstacle-ridden path to the Negro cadre cannot be successfully traversed by the Uptown Branch alone. The New York Local from the top down must re-enter the field of Negro work.

#### OPPONENTS WORK:

The Stalinist movement, although small and in progressive decay in America, is still larger than our small party. To the degree that it exercises influence among sections of workers, the Negro people, and youth, it constitutes an obstacle to us and requires our special attention.

The Report's section on opponents work does not present a clearly defined perspective for the comrades assigned to this work. This lack can create the danger of the development, particularly among young inexperienced comrades, of misconceptions that can strip their work of effectiveness.

Equally important, in our opinion, is the absence of a sober and realistic estimate of the situation in the Stalinist circles and of the scope and nature of the opportunities open to us.

We believe the following section of the Report demonstrates this. "The atmosphere in and around the Stalinist movement is less hostile than ever before. Indeed, their movement could be said to be rife with 'Trotskyist conciliationism.' Unity sentiments are wide-spread even among some leaders and spokesmen of the PP movement. Our victory over the Stalinists in the civil liberties struggle is virtually complete. The Daily Worker editorial on the Kutcher case was the formal announcement of the change in line. Leading Stalinist spokesmen are declaring both publicly and privately that they were wrong both in the case of the 18 and the Kutcher case, and proclaim the need for unity in the struggle. Trotskyism has become legitimized among many Stalinist members and sympathizers who recognize us as a legitimate, although 'ultra-leftist,' tendency in the radical movement."

If the picture were as bright as it is here depicted, it would certainly dictate a major tactical turn towards this movement locally and nationally. One could legitimately raise for consideration the question of some form of an entrust maneuver in order to crystalize this "widespread sentiment."

If the Stalinist movement were indeed "rife with Trotskyist conciliationism," we would necessarily deal with it in the positive fashion that we did in the case of the Musteites and the Socialist Party left wing. At any rate, if "leading Stalinist spokesmen (not one but several) proclaim (!) the need for unity in the struggle (unity with us, we presume)," we should be energetically pushing propositions for the realization of such "unity."

The only experience of this kind that we can recall occurred during the organization of the Citizens Emergency Defense Committee about a year ago. At that time, with the support of leading non-Stalinists behind us, we proposed that we be given representation on the executive board. Again risking the danger of a fight with the non-Stalinist elements, the Stalinist majority turned the proposition down cold.

We are not saying that there is no basis at all for the exaggerated picture of the Stalinist movement contained in the Report. As a result of the serious blows we have dealt to Stalinism on many questions; and by our independent struggle in the civil rights cases of the 18 and James Kutcher, there is today less hostility among their ranks and sympathizers towards us. This is important and good, and should so be recorded in the report. But to exaggerate its scope and depth, as we think the Report does, can only lead to "wishful thinking" and a softness toward Stalinism.

The same lack of sobriety is expressed on relationship to the current Stalinist attitude on our civil rights. The report states that "our victory" over them "is virtually complete." It says further that "the Daily Worker editorial on the Kutcher case was the formal announcement of the change in line." Should these statements be accepted literally? Has Stalinism actually decided to join the struggle for our civil rights? It should be obvious what is involved here. Under our direct blows and under the pressure of their liberal allies who threatened to break with them they have been forced to abandon their suicidal policy of open struggle against our civil rights. This too is on the profit side and should be exploited to the fullest. But this should not lead to the faintest illusions that Stalinism is now ready to genuinely defend our rights.

Their retreat on the question of our civil rights dictates a heightened campaign on our part within their ranks. Every effort should be made within the ALP, the Compass Clubs, YPA, the Monthly Review, the Youth Peace Council, the Citizens Emergency Defense Conference, etc. to bring the Kutcher Case, the Trucks Law case, coupled with our defense of Stalinist defendants, sharply to the fore. Such propositions should be included in the Report, which says only that "we should take the fullest advantage of this opportunity to penetrate deeply into this movement."

The Report proposes to "send a number of comrades into the ALP who are prepared to participate in its activities and remain in for a considerable period of time."

What is the precise meaning of this? How many constitutes "a number of comrades?" What type of comrades? Can young inexperienced comrades accomplish this task? Or will it be necessary to make older politically seasoned comrades available for this? Will the comrades who enter function openly as Trotskyists or will it be necessary for them to establish themselves simply as good ALP builders over a period of time? These are some of the practical, concrete questions that must be posed and solved, if there is in fact "this exceptional opportunity ..." for us in and around the Stalinist movement.

The Report says further that it is of the "utmost importance

that our members find a field for political activity today outside of our own party, to maintain contact with the rest of the left wing political world and to propagate our ideas to people who are equipped to understand them (!) and are willing to listen."

At this point things are stood on their heads. It is, of course, completely correct to state that it is "of the utmost importance that our members find a field of political activity today outside our own party." The Report, however, looks in the wrong place for the primary accomplishment of this necessary task. It finds this field not in the factories, where, we are told, that our role in this period is limited to maintaining "contact with the working class and gain a footing for future advances," but rather in what it terms "the rest of the left wing political world." It is mainly there that the Report finds "people that are equipped to understand them (our ideas) and are willing to listen."

Implicit in this is the conception that the worker in the shop is not "equipped to understand" our ideas at the present time. If this is so then there is something obviously wrong -- not with the workers - but with our ideas and our methods of propagating them. As a proletarian revolutionary party it is our cardinal task to address ourselves to the workers - in a way they will understand. There is no substitute for this process. If we fail in this we fail in everything.

Moreover, it is in the course of this process that we can do our most effective opponents work. For it is in the field of the class struggle that Trotskyists can demonstrate in life to Stalinist-influenced workers the correctness of our program in competition with all others.

Finally, it must be clearly understood that we cannot recruit from the Stalinist circles on the basis of attempting to demonstrate that we have a better program for the realization of common aims. To the contrary, we must prove and demonstrate that ours is the sole correct program and leadership and that the Stalinist program and leadership can lead only to betrayal and defeats.

Only in this way can we convince rank and file Stalinist not, as some of their "conciliationist" elements tell us, that we 'really belong with them in the ALP,' but that they belong in the SWP with us.

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At this point we want to discuss an aspect of Comrade Bartell's report which he touches upon, in passing, in several places. This is the question of what is termed "the danger of sectarian decay," to our movement. Page 2 of the Report refers to "the danger of succumbing to conditions of isolation by sinking into the habits, moods and methods of an ingrown sect." On page 3 we are told there is the need for "counteracting the process of stagnation which comes with isolation."

If the need exists for "counteracting" this danger, we must assume that it already exists in some incipient form, and is not merely a theoretical possibility considered inherent in the

present situation. If this be the case, this certainly is not the way our movement deals with so important a problem. Such a danger should be dealt with in a sufficiently specific way as to make the membership conscious of its existence and thereby able to cope with it. What are the manifestations of this danger? How can it be cured? We should have concrete answers to these questions if the danger is an actual one.

If, on the other hand, the danger of sectarian decay is viewed simply as a theoretical possibility -- then a more rounded view should be taken. Why take for granted only the danger of sectarian decay? One can speak with at least as much validity of the theoretical possibility of the danger of opportunistic efforts to break out of our isolation. Actually it has been largely in periods of proletarian upsurge that history has demonstrated the danger of lagging behind the masses in sectarian isolation from them. Periods of reaction and isolation usually witness the development of opportunist tendencies to leap beyond the limits of the situation and over the head of the mass movement. This is an expression of impatience with the historic process and of a desire to find shortcuts to success.

In any event, questions of this scope should not be introduced in a local discussion merely in passing and in a manner that takes anything for granted.

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In this discussion article we aimed at correcting a marked tendency of the Report and Tasks to underestimate our role in the trade unions and Negro movement today, and to make the Stalinist movement our major preoccupation. We therefore dealt only with a number of questions which have a direct bearing on this problem.

Other questions like the youth, our press, the branches, etc., will, however, be dealt with in the course of our pre-convention discussion. Also, we find ourselves substantially in agreement with the report in its sections on the forum, classes, contact work, etc., as questions in and of themselves.

The main question before us in this discussion, however, is that of basic orientation. If comrades think that the orientation decided upon by our last national convention no longer applies for the period ahead -- they should use the national internal discussion bulletin which has been made available for such purposes. If the major orientation towards the Stalinists today is motivated by the peculiarities of New York City -- those peculiarities should be enumerated and examined concretely to see if they dictate a different course. For our part, we don't believe that is the case.

Our party acts on many fronts because the class struggle is a complex and manifold process. At different times different aspects of the struggle assume special importance for the party and for the development of the revolutionary movement in the working class. We must be flexible in order to take advantage of various opportunities as they arise in one field or another. But at all times we must view each task in relation to our main job as a proletarian



revolutionary party. That is to gather, educate and organize the revolutionary leadership in the mass movement of the workers and of the oppressed.

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Note: We wish to correct two errors of fact in the first section of our discussion article dealing with the possibilities for propaganda work around the labor party question. Neither the past conventions of the UAW or the UE actually adopted labor party resolutions. In the case of the UAW such a resolution had wide support from the delegates and was defeated only on the basis of Reuther's direct intervention. Even this intervention was motivated solely on the basis of a demagogic appeal that the adoption of such a resolution would torpedo the newly formed AFL-CIO United Labor Policy Committee. At the same time he found it necessary to strongly associate himself with the sentiment for a labor party which was held by the majority of the convention. Despite his intervention and parliamentary maneuvering the resolution secured the votes of more than 20% of the delegates.

In the case of the UE the need for the organization of a labor party was put forward in the keynote speech of President Albert Fitzgerald, who was unanimously re-elected. The resolution adopted was sufficiently vague, however, as to permit the endorsement of candidates of the existing parties.

We believe that our contention that these and other facts cited did not constitute a mass turn towards a labor party, but were rather symptomatic expressions that indicated the possibility open to us remains fully valid. The report in the December 29 issue of The Militant on the adoption of an excellent labor party resolution by Chevrolet Local 1031 of the UAW in Oakland further demonstrates the point.