INDUSTRIAL CONFLICT AND RACE CONFLICT

Parallels Between The 1930's And The 1960's

OFFICERS OF THE IRRA FOR 1967

President: Neil W. Chamberlain, Yale University

President-Elect: George P. Shultz, University of Chicago

Executive Board: Benjamin Aaron, University of California at Los Angeles
Frances Bairstow, McGill University
Jack Barbash, University of Wisconsin
Seymour Brandwein, OMPER, USDL
Frank H. Cassell, USES, USDL
Douglass V. Brown, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Woodrow Ginsburg, IUD, AFL-CIO
George H. Hildebrand, Cornell University
Sar A. Levitan, George Washington University
David G. Moore, Cornell University
Abraham H. Raskin, New York Times
Roy R. Reynolds, Kaiser Industries Corporation
Arthur M. Ross, BLS, USDL
Jack Stieber, Michigan State University
Harold L. Wilensky, University of California, Berkeley

Editor: Gerald G. Somers, University of Wisconsin

Secretary-Treasurer: David B. Johnson, University of Wisconsin

Legal Counsel: Jesse Freidin, Polletti, Freidin, Prashker, Feldman and Gartner, New York City

PAST PRESIDENTS OF IRRA

1948	Edwin E. Witte	1955	Lloyd Reynolds
1949	Sumner H. Slichter	1956	Richard A. Lester
1950	George W. Taylor	1957	Dale Yoder
1951	William M. Leiserson	1958	E. Wight Bakke
1952	J. Douglas Brown	1959	William Haber
1953	Ewan Clague	1960	John T. Dunlop
1954	Clark Kerr		

1961 Philip Taft
1962 Charles A. Myers
1963 William F. Whyte
1964 Solomon Barkin
1965 Edwin Young
1966 Arthur M. Ross

ANNUAL MEETINGS OF IRRA

Twentieth Annual Winter Meeting, Washington, D.C.
Thursday and Friday, December 28-29, 1967, Statler-Hilton Hotel.

The Meetings are held in conjunction with the Allied Social Science Associations Meetings, with the IRRA program being planned by President Neil W. Chamberlain. The general theme of the program is "The Development and Use of Manpower." Local arrangements chairman is F. Robert Volger, National Labor Relations Board.

1968 Annual Spring Meeting, Columbus, Ohio
Thursday and Friday, May 2-3, 1968.

The program is being arranged by President-Elect George P. Shultz. Local arrangements are in charge of Robert P. Miljus, Ohio State University, and Rankin M. Gibson, Lucas, Prendergast, Albright & Warren.

Twenty-first Annual Winter Meeting, Chicago
December 29-30, 1968.

INDUSTRIAL CONFLICT

AND RACE CONFLICT

Parallels Between The 1930's And The 1960's

CONTENTS

---

*The paper by Robert L. Green, Michigan State University, presented in this
session, is not included in the published Proceedings.

PREFACE

When the I.R.R.A.'s President Neil Chamberlain suggested that the
Association's 1967 spring meeting in Detroit might appropriately focus on
the twenty-year parallel between industrial conflict and racial conflict,
the natural reaction, expressed by one member of the Executive Board, was
"I wish I had thought of that." Certainly, the topic was most timely and
the locale most appropriate.

Unlike previous IRRA meetings, the participants were urged to forego
formal papers in favor of an informal presentation and discussion. Their
remarks were tape recorded and then submitted in transcribed form for their
approval. The result would appear to be the best of both worlds--an
uninhibited discussion for the benefit of those attending the sessions and
a worthy compilation of papers for the readers of these Proceedings.

We are grateful to President Chamberlain, not only for suggesting a
brilliant "plot" but for providing the outstanding "cast of characters";
to the participants for their cooperation in making these Proceedings
possible; to the enterprising local arrangements committee, headed by
William R. D. Martin and E. J. Forsythe; and to Karen Krueger who transcribed
the discussion. I am especially indebted to our Executive Assistant,
Betty Gulesserian, who in the absence of the Editor during the crucial
stages of the publication process, bore the major editorial burdens.

<div align="right">

Gerald G. Somers
Editor, I.R.R.A.

</div>

Madison, Wisconsin
June 1967

INTRODUCTION

INDUSTRIAL CONFLICT AND RACE CONFLICT
Parallels Between the 1930's and the 1960's

NEIL W. CHAMBERLAIN
Yale University

Every age is an age of protest. There are always some groups--not scattered individuals but people who are leagued together--dramatizing publicly their opposition to some main current of their time.

Whether the opposition is on an esthetic level (to classicism and orthodoxy in art forms, for example, or contrariwise to obscenity and license), or on an intellectual plane (to accepted views of nature or history), or on an ideological basis (to forms of government or people's relations to each other)--whatever the basis of opposition it almost always develops its own emotion and passion. Even the most passive sort of oppostion, nonviolent protest, perhaps growing out of a religious faith such as a "true believer's" Christianity might instill, is effective only to the extent it is buttressed by passionate conviction.

But protest movements, if they ever move past the stage of protest to become effective, must also move past the stage of passion. Unless they go on somehow to institutionalize their views in the prevailing mores their efforts are likely to be limited largely to sound and fury. All of which makes for a fascinating subject of study.

Responding to this intellectual bait, philosophers and social scientists have occasionally sought to diagnose the common characteristics of rebels and oppostion groups and protest movements. The group of industrial relations specialists meeting in Detroit in Spring 1967 under the sponsorship of the Industrial Relations Research Association had a more modest aim. As members of an organization which had been founded soon after the memorable worker agitations of the nineteen-thirties, they had for several years become increasingly conscious of apparent similarities between the events of that earlier time and those occurring in connection with the civil rights movement of the present.

The objectives of these two protest movements, separated though they were by three decades and a cataclysmic war, appeared to have common ingredients. In the 'Thirties, workers were demanding "recognition." In the 'Sixties, Negroes were doing likewise. The industrial protest concentrated on fair and unbiased treatment of individuals in their place of work, the civil rights protest on fair and unbiased treatment of individuals in all aspects of social intercourse. The uprising of the economically distressed 'Thirties sought a more equitable distribution of the fruits of industry in terms of higher wages and better working conditions; the organized protest of the economically prosperous 'Sixties sought, too, a more equitable distribution, though not only in terms of wages and what they could buy for the individual but also in terms of the social dividend and what the individual could not buy for himself even if he had the income, such as desegregated schools and housing.

The earlier period of industrial unrest seemed also to have originated or taught or refined instruments and mechanisms of protest which were used to good advantage by those spearheading the civil rights movement. Quickly moving beyond appeals to individual consciences or reliance on judicial enforcement of political philosophies embedded in the federal constitution, the groups espousing racial equality took up the saturation of Congress with demands for action backed by threats of political reprisal; mass demonstrations; picketing of public institutions, private organizations, and even homes of individuals associated with the oppostion; disruption of normal civic routines to call attention to grievances; sit-ins in offices and buildings; organized buyer boycotts of products made by companies considered antagonistic to the cause; the equivalent of favoring businesses with the right racial "label"; strikes to protest job treatment considered discriminatory.

Nor were the parallel tactics of the two periods confined to the protestants. The reactors appeared to respond in historic kind with court injunctions, armed private guards, support for apparently spontaneous citizens' groups calling for rigorous enforcement of law and order; support for Negro leaders urging a more conciliatory approach.

There are other seeming parallels of the two periods in such matters as the splintering of the protest movements in a way that brings the more radical if less numerous components to the fore, the early favorable public attitude which cools as it confronts the prospect that success means excess, the frustrations within the movements themselves as mounting passions demand their outlet and cannot always find an immediately constructive one, and the dilemma of the next move if momentum is to be maintained but channeled.

And yet, with all these intriguing parallels between the two times, real questions remain as to whether the contrasts are not at least as important. When workers sought "recognition," no one was much in doubt as to what they meant--recognition of a union as their representative to negotiate with an identifiable management for terms explicit enough to be reduced to writing and enforced if need be through arbitration. When racial minorities seek "recognition" the meaning is much more elusive. How can recognition of one's equal rights as a member of society be negotiated,with all the many groups and institutions and even other individuals, and reduced to enforceable terms--except as a body of law so detailed and so voluminous as to preclude hope of passage or meaningful administration? But if not that, then is the fight for recognition to proceed on a piece meal basis--job rights now, desegregated schools next, then voting rights, and so on? And if so, who is to choose the current target? What organization and discipline is there comparable to the unionization of a majority of a company's workers who bind themselves as a body to certain objectives and tactics?

Did industrial protest, despite its tremendous impact on the shape of American society., succeed to the extent it did because it had more tangible goals and dealt with differences between people who were not all that different among themselves? After all, the American labor movement was basically white and non-sectarian.

Questions like these provided the focus of the talks and discussions held at the IRRA Detroit meeting. There were two reasons why an association of experts in industrial relations should have concerned themselves with race relations: first, to see what light knowledge in their own special field might throw on the most important issue of our time; second, because industrial relations has itself always had race relations as a component problem.

White workers and the unions they have formed have always held ambivalent and ambiguous feelings towards Negro workers: on the one hand, worker solidarity and avoidance of competition among workers (which could only benefit managers) dictated nondiscrimination. This message was underscored in a few instances, such as the post World War I strike in the meatpacking industry, when Negroes--free of any sense of loyalty to white workers who had effectively excluded them from employment and union membership on equal terms-- served as strikebreakers. In that industry whites and Negroes had both come to appreciate the mutuality of their interests vis-a-vis the employing companies.

On the other hand, where unions were more securely intenched, as in construction and railroading, white advantage was generally served by disadvantaging Negroes, with systematic exclusion of the latter from better jobs and union membership. In what ways, if any, has the current civil rights movement affected this historic coincidence and conflict of worker interests, divided by race?

The deep-seated nature of the issue under discussion was highlighted by the composition of the participants. Of the approximately 150 people present, only four were Negroes. This imbalance was not the result of any exclusionist membership policy practiced by the IRRA directly but simply reflective of its constituency, which comes principally from academic circles, management and union staff officers, and some independent professionals (lawyers and arbitrators), all of which fields have been difficult for Negroes to enter, either because of discrimination in educational preparation, professional discrimination, or any of the catalogue of social barriers which operate, sometimes in subtle ways, to exclude minorities viewed as inferiors from preferred positions. In any event, for the most part the talks and discussions emanate from white participants. The two principal exceptions are, among the speakers, Robert Green and Norman Hill.

An effort has been made to retain the informal quality of the sessions by editing the taped record primarily for length, retaining only the substance of greatest interest and value. Little attempt has been made to dress up the language. The quick exchange among participants made impossible the identification of every speaker, so that the practice has been followed of identifying only those making invited statements.

If these discussions provide the reader with a new perspective on any aspect of one of the most incendiary issues of the contemporary world, their purpose--modest in intention but ambitious in consequence--will have been served.

IS THERE A GENERAL THEORY OF CONFLICT?

KENNETH E. BOULDING
University of Michigan

The Center for Research on Conflict Resolution of the University of Michigan, with which I have been associated from its inception, was based on the idea that the phenomenon of conflict could be abstracted from the many social systems in which it takes place and that a discipline of conflict studies might be developed as a department of a general social science. It is true that we had a certain ulterior end in view, as our major conviction was that the study of the international system was in poor shape, as was also the international system itself. We felt that the present international system was a threat to the future of mankind and we felt that only an interdisciplinary effort directed towards improving both the theory and practice in this field would make the kind of impact that was necessary. I had in mind quite explicitly indeed the example of industrial relations which broke away from the shackles of economics a generation or so ago and became interdisciplinary, to the great benefit of all concerned. As we got further into the matter, however, it became apparent that we had an even larger bear by the tail, at least as large as the creation of a whole new discipline. This is not only a large but a very grumpy bear, for anyone who sets out to create a new discipline will arouse both fear and contempt in the minds of the practitioners of the old ones. The basic problem in the international system, it was clear to us, is its inability to manage conflict. The understanding and the management of conflict, however, was something which went far beyond the bounds of the international system, and it seemed to be impossible to stop there. Indeed, it seemed to us that by bringing as many fields of conflict into the picture as we could there might be carryover from one field to another. Some things that we knew in industrial relations, for instance, about conflict might very well be applied to the international system. After nearly ten years, then it is perhaps a good time to look at the whole problem again and to see whether the original idea was justified.

There seem to be four conditions for the establishment of a new discipline. One is the development of a body of abstract theory. This must include a set of concepts, and of relationships among them, which are common to the phenomenon which is being studied no matter where it is found. The second condition is the development of an information system centered around the theoretical concepts in such a way that the theory can be tested by means of the observation of the fulfillment or non-fulfillment of predictions. The third condition is the development of a body of workers with a sense of community among themselves, a large volume of communication among them, and usually something of a specialized language, who visualize themselves as specialists in the field. A fourth condition which may not perhaps be absolutely necessary but which seems to be characteristic of the existing disciplines is the allocation of a certain set of institutions to the new discipline which it can take for its particular province, as economists, for instance, study banks, sociologists families, anthropologists tribes, and political scientists states. I have sometimes argued that this division of the institutions of the system among the different disciplines is not altogether desirable as it leads to the neg-

lect of certain aspects of almost all institutions. Economists neglect the
anthropology of the banking system, sociologists neglect the economics of the
family, and so on. Of these four conditions then, the first, I suggest, is
close to fulfillment. The second is barely in embryo, and the third and fourth
still seem to be a long way off.

A strong case can be made that in the last twenty years we have developed
something like a general theory of conflict. Game theory is perhaps the core
of this, though the concepts of game theory go beyond conflict into cooperative
games and there are some aspects of the theory of conflict which game theory
does not treat, especially its dynamic aspects. The two fundamental concepts
can be called a _strategy space_ on the one hand, and a _welfare space_ on the
other. A strategy space is defined by a set of n-tuples, each component of
which represents a variable under the control of one of the parties of conflict.
If there are only two parties to the conflict we have a two-dimensional stra-
tegy space, which can be represented on a plane by a matrix or by Cartesian
coordinates. A strategy space may, of course, include more than one variable
for each of the conflicting parties. In the theory of duopoly, for instance,
we might have a strategy space which included both price and quantity for each
party. In game theory the strategy space is usually expressed as a matrix with
discrete strategies, but there is nothing to prevent situations in which the
strategies are continuous. Each point in the strategy space may then be iden-
tified with a pay-off or welfare number for each of the parties, and these can
be mapped in a welfare space, which consists of a set of n-tuples each element
of which is a number representing the welfare of one of the parties. For two
parties this can be represented by a Cartesian diagram in a plane.

These concepts will perhaps be clearer if they are illustrated with re-
spect to conflict between two parties, A and B. Figure 1 then represents the
strategy space in which we measure along OA some variable which is under A's
control and which affects its welfare and along OB some variable which is un-
der B's control and affects its welfare. P_0 is a position of the system at
any moment. In such a system A can only move parallel to OA and B parallel
to OB. From position P_0, for instance, A may wish to move from A_0 to A_1, mo-
ving the system to P_a. The assumption here is that P_a is preferable for A to
any other point on the line B_0P_0. We might suppose that this line is touched
at P_a by one of A's indifference curves. Similarly, B might wish to move the
system from P_0 to P_1. There is no reason to suppose, however, that P_1 is an
optimum for either party and the system will move again. It may or may not
reach an equilibrium at some point from which it pays neither party to devi-
ate. A factor which adds greatly to the difficulty of conflict theory and
particularly makes it hard to apply is that in the course of a move, shall
we say from P_0 to P_1, the welfare functions of the parties themselves may
change, for these welfare functions are themselves derived by a learning pro-
cess from past experience which is very hard to specify.

The point P_0 may be mapped in the welfare field of figure 2, say at W_0
where again OA_1 is A's welfare and OB_1 is B's welfare. If any small move from
P_0 in figure 1 still maps into W_0 of figure 2, P_0 would be in equilibrium. If
P_0 is not in equilibirum then P_1 of figure 1 would map, let us say, into W_1 of
figure 2. The move from W_0 to W_1 is then a welfare move. Four types of wel-
fare moves may be distinguished: a northeasterly move is "benign" in which
both parties are increasing their welfare, a southwesterly move is "malign"

in which both parties are diminishing their welfare. A move to the northwest
is an A-win conflict move in which A is better off and B is worse off; a move
to the southeast such as from W_0 to W_1 is also a conflict move (B-win) in
which B is better off and A is worse off.

There may be a welfare boundary, such as the dotted line AM_aM_bB beyond
which the system cannot go because of some scarcity in resources. The Pare-
tian optimum of the system is anywhere on the boundary between M_a and M_b
where no benign moves are possible.

The dynamics of conflict systems depend very much on whether the moves
of the two parties are simultaneous or successive, on the nature of the
learning process involved, and in particular on whether the moves are long-
sighted or short-sighted. Short-sighted moves often land us in situations like
the "prisoner's dilemma" in which a succession of conflict moves maps into
welfare space as a malign move, making both parties worse off. Such is the
sequence $W_0W_1W_2W_3W_4$ etc. If a succession of benign moves finally lands the
system on the Paretian optimum with the existing welfare limit, there are no
moves possible but conflict moves and malign moves. However, it may still be
possible dynamically to devote resources to pushing out the welfare boundary
rather than devoting resources to conflict. This might be called the develop-
mental solution to conflict, and it is particularly important in economic con-
flict.

An interesting problem in the theory of conflict is the definition of male-
volence and benevolence, where the utilities of the parties are interdependent.
A is malevolent towards B if his perception of an increase in B's welfare di-
minishes his own. He is benevolent if his perception of an increase in B's
welfare increases his own. Selfishness, it should be observed, is simply the
dividing point between malevolence and benevolence, and is probably very rare.
In the dynamics of conflict situations people learn to be malevolent or bene-
volent, and we understand very little about how this happens. In order to de-
fine malevolence and benevolence we have to assume a welfare space of at least
six dimensions. For each party, there is his perception of his own welfare
and welfare of the other, and there is also some objectively measured welfare.
If, in the welfare field of figure 2, we suppose that OA measures some objective
measure of A's welfare, such as his real income, and OB represents A's percep-
tion of B's welfare, we could then postulate indifference curves for A in this
field, each of which would represent a constant subjective welfare for A or
what an economist would think of as A's utility. If these indifference curves
are horizontal and parallel, A exhibits selfishness, that is, he is indifferent
to B's welfare. If they had a negative slope this indicates that A would be
willing to sacrifice some objective welfare in order to increase B's welfare.
This would indicate benevolence. If they had a positive slope, A would sacri-
fice objective welfare in order to damage B. This would indicate malevolence.
The assumption which economists so often make that behavior is selfish is in
fact quite naive and unrealistic. Most people are bound to others with whom
they have contact in a complex web of integrative relationships and feel
either malevolent or benevolent towards them.

Another aspect of conflict theory which might turn out to have consider-
able practicial importance is phase theory. Almost all systems exhibit phases,
a phase being defined as a certain syndrome or combination of properties which

are invariant within a certain range of fundamental variables or <u>phase deter-</u>
<u>minants</u>. Where there are a number of phases they may be separated from each
other in the field of phase determinants by very sharp boundaries; thus water
is liquid for certain combinations of temperature and pressure, is a gas for
other combinations and exhibits various forms of ice for other combinations.
Temperature and pressure here are the phase determinants. Conflict systems
likewise exhibit something that look like phases, although they may be less
well defined and the boundaries between them are fuzzier than in the case of
physical systems such as water. For the international system I have defined
three or perhaps four fundamental phases which also apply to many other con-
flict systems. The first of these is stable war, which is characterized by
mutual malevolence, the dominance of threats and counterthreats in the rela-
tionship, and organized attempts by each party to damage the other. At the
other extreme we have stable peace. Each of these is separated rather sharp-
ly from a third phase which might be called either unstable war or unstable
peace depending on the proportion of time spent in each of these states in
which there is an alternation between war and peace. If war predominates, we
call it unstable war; if peace predominates and we regard it as a norm we
might call it unstable peace. The boundary between these two phases is rather
fuzzy, but it nevertheless has some importance because there is a difference
between them in what is regarded as the norm.

    All conflict systems exhibit phases which are somewhat similar to these
four. They are familiar, for instance, in industrial relations. An employer
facing an extremely hostile left-wing union such as the IWW is in a condition
of stable industrial war. At the other end of the scale there are many examples
of stable industrial peace which have been well documented. In between we have
the unstable industrial peace which still characterizes a fairly large propor-
tion of industry in which there is an alternation between industrial war as
reflected in strikes, blockouts, sabotage, etc., in which the parties are try-
ing to establish power over the other by the carrying out of threats and indus-
trial peace in which the situation is dominated by non-coercive exchange. We
might find somewhat the same phases in racial conflict, in marital conflict,
religious conflict, and so on.

    The problem of what constitutes the phase determinants is more difficult
in the social systems than in the physical systems but here again concepts can
be developed which make a good deal of sense. Thus, in the case of conflict
systems, we might postulate two principal phase determinants, analogous as a
matter of fact to the temperature and the pressure of physcial phase systems,
the first being the "warmth" of the relationship between the parties as ex-
pressed in benevolence, affirmations of community, cooperative activity, fri-
endly communications, and so on, at the warm end of the scale, and malevolence,
hostility, factionalism and so on at the other end of the scale. The other
phase determinant, analogous to pressure, is the extent of the threat system
and the amount of resources devoted to it. In the international system this is
fairly easily measured by the size of the war industry and the level of arma-
ments. There are parallels in industrial relations in the size of the strike
fund, the amount spent on hostile propaganda and the amount of organization
devoted to carrying out threats, such as secondary boycotts. These dimensions
may not always be easy to separate one from another; for instance, the strong
threat relationship between parties, where these parties are groups, may also
go hand in hand with and even create a strong integrative relationship within

each party. We do not have to confine ourselves, of course, to only two
phase determinants, and in the case of social systems there may indeed be
many, which is one reason why they are so unbearably complex.

   In spite of the difficulties it is interesting to postulate a phase dia-
gram of more complex systems which is illustrated in figure 3. Here we suppose
that we can measure along the horizontal axis a phase determinant which I have
called "warmth" and on the vertical axis a phase determinant of "threat." I
suppose five phases. With threat high and warmth low, we are likely to get
stable war, with warmth high and threat low we will have stable peace. If both
threats and warmth are very low, perhaps simply because the parties are a long
way from each other, we may distinguish a phase of indifference, the boundary
of which is rather vague, as indicated by the shaded line. Somewhere between
stable war and stable peace I have postulated two phases of unstable war and
unstable peace, again divided by a vague boundary. The boundaries of stable
war and stable peace are fairly sharp, in the sense that these are rather
clearly indentifiable phases of the system characterized by a zero probability
of peace on the one hand or war on the other, or at least a probability below
the just noticeable difference which inspires behavior.

   The dynamics of this system are interesting. There is a strong tendency
for threats to escalate, largely because of asymmetry in perceptions. Thus,
a threatened party often perceives a threat to be greater than the threatener
perceives it and a counter threat is often misinterpreted as direct threat.
Furthermore, when threat systems become institutionalized in armed forces,
there is a purely technological dynamic and momentum which is characteristic
of any specialized industry in the improvement of its product. From any point
in the field therefore there are strong tendencies towards an upward drift.
On the other hand, the reversal of this does occasionally take place as it has
done, for instance, in the establishment of personal disarmament, through dis-
armament negotiations or through the concentration of the threat system in a
sovereign authority which tends to diminish the use of threats by private
parties which are subordinate to it. The diminution of threat is much easier
in the phase of stable peace than it is in the other phases and if the dyna-
mics of the system ever carries it over the boundary into stable peace disarm-
ament is relatively easy.

   There are also dynamic forces, especially in the long-run, tending to in-
crease warmth. Partly this is simply because warmth in the sense of benevo-
lence pays off. The more we are together the happier we shall be. The devel-
opment of exchange knits people together, even conflict itself, as Georg Simmel
pointed out, also knits people together and creates community. We need our
enemies and they need us, if only to give us legitimacy. The progress of tech-
nology also by increasing the ease in transportation and communication increases
familiarity, destroys the exotic, and creates an ever larger sense of commun-
ity. One the other hand, the increase in the threat system tends to diminish
war and increase hostility. From any point in the system, therefore, the dy-
namic processes depend a good deal on the extent to which the upward drift in
threat counter-balances the long-range increase in warmth. Thus from a point
such as P_0 if the upward drift in the threat system is strong, this may coun-
teract the long-run increase in warmth and we could drift towards a point
such as P_1 and eventually perhaps even drift into stable war. On the other
hand, if the forces making for warmth are strong, we might even have a dyna-

mic such as represented by the movement P_0-P_2 which would carry us over the phase boundary into stable peace. If this happens, the threat system is likely to subside very rapidly, let us say, to P_3.

An interesting property of a phase system is that phase boundaries themselves are hard to cross. In physical systems they usually require large inputs or outputs of energy. For instance, when ice melts a great deal of energy has to be put into it in order to melt it and the temperature remains constant in spite of the application of large quantitites of heat. Similarly, in social systems and especially in conflict systems the crossing of a phase boundary is difficult and requires large inputs, in this case, probably, of information, or some equivalent activity. This is perhaps one reason for a mild optimism about the position of the system at the moment. As far as the world as a whole is concerned, we are unquestionably in the phase of unstable peace, that is, we regard peace as the norm, but the probability of war is high enough to make it an active subject for preparations and policies. It may well be, however, that especially among the developed countries around the temperate zone the system is very close to the phase boundary and the very fact that we seem to be putting a lot of effort into peace and not getting very much result may be evidence of this very fact. We need a concept in the social sciences analogous to latent heat measured by the activity input which is necessary in order to cross phase boundaries. If we are unaware of this phenomenon, this may distort the learning process, simply because we learn from outputs that are related to inputs. Hence, if we put a lot into something and seem to get nothing out, we are apt to get discouraged and abandon it. It is precisely on the phase boundary that the old proverb "if at first you don't succeed try try again" makes sense, whereas if we are not on the phase boundary it does not; if at first we don't succeed we should try something else. The epistemological problem, however, in perceiving where the phase boundaries are is a very difficult one. It is a bit analogous to the problem of finding where the edge of the cliff is in a dense fog. Finding the edge by falling over it is a very bad method. With a phase model, however, one could hope that the methods of the social scientists would be applied to explore the phase space, to define the phase determinants more exactly and hence to affect through the development of self-consciousness the over-all dynamics of the system in a way which will prevent the kind of perverse dynamics which leads everybody to become worse off.

The critical question facing conflict studies at the moment is whether we can develop a process of information collection and processing from conflict situations which conforms in a useful way to the categories of the theory. On the whole, information collection and processing about conflicts has been very poor. We have nothing like what we have, for instance, in the case of economic systems and exchange. There is nothing in the field of conflict which corresponds to national income statistics or even price data. Information consists mostly of scattered news stories which do not fit into any general or theoretical pattern. We have statistics of various kinds on wars, strikes, labor disputes, divorces, crime and so on, but there is very little in the way these statistics are collected and processed which fits into the kind of theory outlined above. The conclusion may well be, so much the worse for the theory. On the other hand, the categories of existing information have practically no systematic structure and throw very little light on the real dynamics of the processes involved. Consequently, in the international

system, in industrial relationship, in student-faculty-administration conflicts, in marital conflicts and racial conflicts, and so on, there is extraordinarily little feedback from policy decisions. It is not surprising that under these circumstances conflict is perceived to be costly and unmanageable in many instances.

The international system is the most scandalous example of a conflict system getting almost completely out of hand, and resulting in enormous costs. The world war industry, for instance, is now about 150 billion dollars a year and its principal product is a positive probability of almost irretrievable disaster. If I am going to have irretrievable disaster I want to buy its probability cheaper than that. We have done much better in industrial relations, especially in what might be called the successful capitalist countries where the cost of industrial strife is relatively low in terms of strikes, hours lost and so on, though it may be much higher in terms of the less visible items such as sabotage and both organized and unorganized restrictions on productivity. If we regard internal revolution as in part a breakdown of the industrial relationship, however, the cost may be very high indeed, as a revolution of major proportions seems to cost a country about two generations of growth. Our inability to deal with crime, marital breakdown, and racial conflict is yet another illustration of the absence of policy based on adequate feedback.

It may be that the gravest difficulty is in the measurement of welfare, either subjective or objective. We have at least rough measures of economic welfare in terms of real income, but our information about the estimates of political welfare or social welfare of various kinds is very haphazard. There may be some hope for direct measurements of hostility or friendliness, malevolence or benevolence through, for instance, content analysis. A world hostility matrix is by no means an impossibility. This, however, does not fit very well into existing conflict theory, mainly because of the absence of any real learning theory in this field. The gap which seems to exist between the theoretical structure and the system of information collection and processing should, however, in the immortal words of Malthus, "exists in the world not to create despair but activity."[1] It is only very recently in economics that the information structure and the theoretical concepts have come even close to one another, and in a field as new as conflict studies we should not be surprised to find a gap of this kind for quite a while. Nevertheless, there is a strong urge to close it, both by encouraging the collecting of information along the lines which the theory suggests and also along the lines of modifying or perhaps extending the existing theory to take care of the kind of information we now have. Of these two lines of activity I suspect the first will be the most fruitful, simply because the existing collection and processing of information is so clearly in need of improvement, but the second should not be neglected altogether.

In the light of these difficulties and needs it is all the more surprising that there seems to be so little in the shape of a profession which is devoted to conflict studies. We have virtually no professors of polemology and only the bare beginnings of professional organization and communication in the field in the shape of, for instance, the Peace Research Society, the Interna-

[1]From the last paragraph of the first Essay on Population.

tional Peace Research Association, and the Journal of Conflict Resolution. Nevertheless, there are large numbers of people who are engaged in what might be called the clinical practice of conflict management. These include the labor mediators and conciliators, who are perhaps the best organized and most self-conscious of their professional status. They include clinical psychologists and marriage counselors, who devote probably the greater part of their time to the management of inter-personal conflicts. They include the civil rights representatives of the Department of Justice, who are presumably specializing in racial conflict, and who have as yet hardly an professional status and only the beginnings of specialized training, for instance, at the University of Wisconsin. Perhaps we should include also the commercial arbitrators and of course that large but hard to specify part of the whole activity of the legal profession which could well come under the rubric of conflict management. We might add to this list the international relations mediators of the United Nations, and again a considerable but unspecified part of the activity of most politicians, executives, college presidents and the like, even bishops and archbishops and the Pope himself, for the principal business of any occupant of the hierarchical role is to resolve conflicts among lower members of the hierarchy. If we add to this already impressive list the psychiatrists whose main business it is presumably to manage internal conflict within the personality, the whole adds up to a large body of human activity, much of it of a professional nature. Nevertheless, the practitioners of conflict management in all these various fields have no sense of community among themselves, no sense of belonging to a common discipline, no sense of a common body of theory and very little intercommunication, in spite of the fact that many of their problems in different fields exhibit strong similarities and one would think that these various professions and occupations would have a great deal to learn from each other. One wonders whether there might be some leadership arising in the industrial relations field, which is one of the most central and best organized of the conflict management professions, which might reach out to other disciplines and other occupations in the hope of learning from them and of giving to them.

If we look finally at the fourth characteristic of a discipline, the allocation of certain institutions as a special property of the discipline in question, we may get some further insight as to why the discipline of conflict studies seems to be so hard to create. The major institutions which have specialized in the conduct of conflict in the way, for instance, that banks specialized in exchange, are the armed forces, the police, the criminal gangs, etc. All social institutions of course engage in conflict of some sort. For the firm, however, conflict is incidental and peripheral. Its main business is production and exchange. Similarly, even though conflict is important to the political party, its prime interest is legislation and administration. The armed forces, however, are specialized in conflict almost in a sense that they have no other business and the same is true in a lesser degree of the police. One would expect, therefore, that the institutions in the study of which the department of conflict studies would specialize would be armed forces, foreign policy, and police and criminals. These institutions, however, are highly sensitive. The armed forces especially belong to the sacred aspects of society and hence are hard to study objectively, though we see the conflict field today sharply divided between the strategists who are commited to the sacredness of the national state and the peace researchers who are mainly interested in the transformation of the international system and the

desacralization of the national state. The value differences between these
two groups are so great that although they do learn something from each other,
they would find it pretty hard to live together in the same discipline. Here
again perhaps the industrial relations field might act as an intermediary. The
labor union has specialized in conflict, in the sense that it partakes some-
what of the quality of an armed force, but it is not, however, a sacred insti-
tution, though it has some sacred aspects. It may be therefore that if we
can get industrial relations and international relations under the same roof
we will have at least the beginnings of a discipline of conflict studies.
One hopes therefore that perhaps in the next generation there will be a group
of scholars who will be impatient with the fragmentation of the field, who
will be conscious of the essential unity of the study of conflict in all its
manifestations, and who will devise both certain new theoretical structures
and new instruments for the well-sampled collection of information from con-
flict systems and its processing into forms that allow feedback from decision
into constant and cumulative process of social learning. The need for this
seems to be so great that I find it hard to believe that it will not happen,
in spite of some of the disappointments and the setbacks of the last ten years.

Fig. 1

Strategy space

Fig. 2

Welfare space

Fig. 3
Conflict Phases
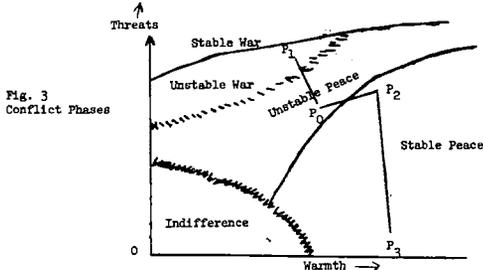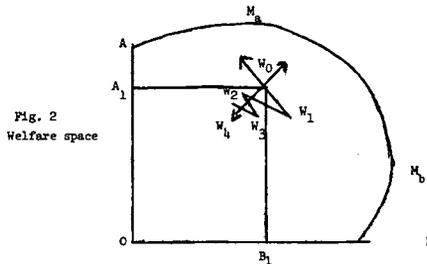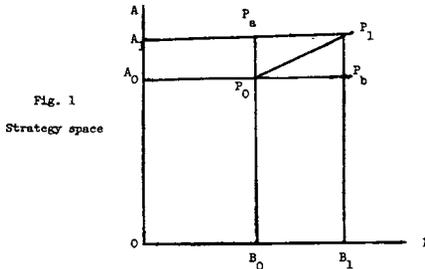
NATURE OF THE PROBLEMS OF THE TWO PERIODS   Paper I

EMIL MAZEY
United Auto Workers

     I'd like to start with the last part of the subject first--what brought
about the organization of workers in mass production industries. In my opin-
ion the injustices that took place, following the crash of the stock market on
October 26, 1929, were primarily responsible for the organization of mass pro-
duction industries. In that particular period, as you'll recall, at the bot-
tom of the Great Depression of the thirties, we had 52 percent unemployment
in Michigan, one worker out of every two did not have a job. We had an aver-
age of 26 percent unemployment nationally in 1933. During that period of
time workers wages were drastically slashed, speed-ups took place inside the
plants, and in the open-shop period of the auto industry there was no legal
or contractual obligation as far as service and seniority was concerned. As
a result, the employers indiscriminately laid off older workers and they kept
the younger workers, those that still had a gleam in their eye and a strong
back, and the resentment of this injustice gave the basis for the revolt that
took place in 1936 and 1937.

     When the workers began to get back into the plants in 1937 as a result
of some of the "pump-priming" policies of the Roosevelt administration, they
remembered the injustices that they had. So they were seeking some guarantee,
some way of protecting themselves against a recurrence of what happened in
the thirties. They then turned to the labor movement. I think, too, that
the passage of the Wagner Act, which for the first time in our country estab-
lished a legal right to organize helped to set the stage and the climate
that made organization possible.

SEARCH FOR SECURITY

     Now, the thing that workers were seeking primarily was security. They
wanted security against unfair lay-offs, unfair discharges, unfair disciplines.
They wanted security against wage cuts and the first collective bargaining
agreements partially took care of this menace. So that I would say that the
search for security was the primary motive on the part of most workers for
union organization. This is what they wanted.

     The union had opposition from management, in the question of organizing
people, and I think that the employment problems that the Negro workers have,
has been basically management opposition. We had opposition to a union, the
employers preferred to maintain their industrial dictatorship, where they
made all the decisions affecting a worker and his life. Life was rather sim-
ple in those days. The employer decided when you were going to work, how
hard you were going to work, what your wages were going to be. Workers didn't
have to make any decisions at all--they were all made for them. The employers
liked that system and they wanted to maintain it. And of course, the employers
showed their opposition in many ways.

Mr. Killingsworth has mentioned the fact that I was fired from the Briggs Manufacturing Company on December 1, 1936, this was the third discharge that I had in the thirties--I was fired from the Gulf Refining Company after I was chairman of a committee that negotiated successful wage agreement under the National Recovery Act provisions. I was fired by the Rotary Steel Corporation and subsequently by Briggs. It looked for a while like I couldn't hold a job.

When I was discharged, the Briggs management wanted to make sure that they fired anyone that was associated with me. They fired my dad who had been chief inspector with the Briggs Manufacturing Company at one point; they fired him because he was related to me. He wasn't sympathetic to the union at the time and was not a member of the union. They fired a brother of mine, primarily because he was my brother and he happened to be at home recovering from pneumonia at the time he was discharged. There was another Mazey in Briggs, of no relation to us who was called in and grilled, they wanted to find out if he was related.

All of the employers and manufacturers maintained spies, the Bergdorfs, the Pinkertons, the Corporation Auxillary and numerous other groups--in 1937, 81 million dollars were spent for spies as related by the LaFollete Committee investigations of that period. And then, they used the practice of the process of the black ball. If you had any record of participating in progressive movements or being in a labor movement, the chances of surviving were rather difficult and risky. So the management opposed the things that we were seeking. And of course, we were seeking higher wages, we wanted decent living standards, with which the higher wages would provide a better home and would provide better clothing and better food, and opportunities for education for our children. This obviously is the principle objective of the civil rights movement today. Before I make the next point, I want to point out that there weren't too many Negro workers in the auto industry in those days, but the struggle that I am talking about was participated in, actively, by many Negro workers who were part of the sit-downs, who were part of the early organizing efforts and who had obviously the same objectives and the same interests as white workers.

Then of course, we wanted to have dignity in the plant. Prior to the organization of the union, the Bill of Rights did not apply in any industrial plant in the country. · The worker did not have the right to have an opinion or to express it. He could express it, but he wouldn't have a job after expressing it. I recall specifically in September of 1936, when I was working as a cushion builder at the Briggs Manufacturing Company, a foreman came along and put a sunflower lapel on my shirt. The sunflower was representing the slogan of Landon who was then running for governor on the Republican ticket against Franklin Roosevelt. My immediate impression was to take this button and tell the foreman what he could do with it and I was ready to do this in very expressive language--I had it all figured out, but I decided that the organization of the plant hadn't progressed enough and so I lived with the situation and so did the other workers. And that fall they went out and voted for Roosevelt despite the fact that the supervision and management at Briggs said that Landon was their candidate and they wanted Landon to be our candidate. So, this business of having the right of an opinion on political matters and on basic social questions seeking dignity, I suppose that dignity is a very broad term, but the freedom and dignity was important. We

wanted to stop being nameless, faceless clock-card numbers and so this was one
of the things that we were seeking. In this period, when we finally got our
union, it was over the vigorous opposition of management, it was over the vi-
gorous opposition of the courts that were, the judges were mostly management
oriented. During the sit-down strikes in Flint for example, we had a judge
by the name of Black who handed down an injunction, barring picketing of the
plants and ordering the workers to evacuate the GM plant. The injunction was
laughed out of existence when we were able to disclose the fact that Judge Black
owned $50,000 worth of General Motors stock, and he obviously had a conflict of
interest. We found that most judges and most sheriffs and most police depart-
ments were very unsympathetic to the thing that we were doing. They were part
of the establishment, they were part of the status quo, and there was a great
deal of brutality on picket lines. I had my head bashed in on numerous occas-
sions. I recall that on one strike I participated in, I was jailed for seven
hours for making a speech on what I would do if I were police commissioner.
This is the only thing that I talked about, what I would do if I were to handle
the situation. So, we had the opposition of the police, the opposition of the
courts, and there is a great parallel here as to how the police and courts
function in some of the Southern states today against some of the people seek-
ing civil rights and human rights. I think everybody knows that when I talk a-
bout management opposition, in the Ford situation we had tremendous opposition.

On May 26 of this year, we will be marking the thirtieth anniversary of
the Ford overpass--the beatings of Walter Reuther, Dick Frankenstein, and Bob
Kanter and numerous other people. There were a lot of people pushed around.
I was supposed to be involved in that beating, but I missed it fortunately,
by being in jail. On the way to the Gate 4 overpass, I was arrested by four
Ford servicemen and by the Dearborn police and thrown in jail after I protes-
ted the police molestings of some members of our Women's Auxillary. So that
our movement came into effect over the opposition of management, over the
opposition of police, over the opposition of judges. The Bill of Rights, for
example, wasn't in effect in the city of Dearborn until we went to the Supreme
Court and got it into effect. We couldn't pass out handbills, we couldn't rent
a hall, we couldn't hold meetings, we were even arrested in conversations in
restaurants. So that we had tremendous opposition in getting the union started.
We of course had the Wagner Act as one of the things that we could lean on to
give us a legal right to have a union and be a member of a union, but the Wag-
ner Act, as you will recall, was challenged by all of the major manufacturers
and finally, the Supreme Court upheld the legality of the Wagner Act, although
a previous court had turned down the legality of the National Recovery Act.
We find somewhat the same situation in the civil rights movement today, be-
cause we've had judges who have -- been appeals of the civil rights laws of
1964 and 1965. These have gone to the courts, only we are getting a little
better results on the interpretation of these laws now and the legality of
laws we had some thirty odd years ago. So that, in summary, the labor move-
ment came into existance because of the injustices perpetrated in the thirties,
high unemployment, reduction of wages, speed-ups, we had the opposition of em-
ployers and police and the courts, and the things we were seeking were a better
way of life, and all its broad aspects, we were seeking industrial democracy,
a voice in the conditions of employment, a voice in the say, we were trying
to end the industrial dictatorship of employers. I think that we have been
part of the most successful social revolution that has taken place anywhere
in the world in the past thirty years. If you make a comparison of wages and

the other benefits, you will find that we have increased wages in our large plants by more than $2.25 an hour. We had no fringe benefits thirty years ago, we now have fringe benefits that include vacations with pay and holiday pay and pensions and supplementary unemployment benefit programs and paid hospital-surgical programs and paid group life insurance plans and sick and accident insurance plans and numerous other benefits that are worth at least $1.15 an hour. We now have a measure of industrial democracy because no employer can impose wages or working conditions or other contractual conditions without our help. So we have completed the first thirty years of our revolution and I hope that the next thirty years will make twice as much progress as we have in the first thirty.

NATURE OF THE PROBLEMS OF THE TWO PERIODS   Paper II

IRVING BERNSTEIN
University of California at Los Angeles

Konrad Lorentz, the Austrian ethologist, published his remarkable book, On Aggression, in the United States last year. The assumption of ethology, of which he is the founder, is a continuity between forms of life. Thus, one can learn about a higher species from an understanding of the behavior of the lower. This is because the forces of evolution affect all species in the same general way.

Aggression, as Lorentz defines it, is "the fighting instinct in beast and man which is directed against members of the same species." The wolf that kills a deer is not aggressive; he is merely hungry. Aggression, like hunger, sex, and fear, is deeply imprinted upon all creatures, a spontaneous instinct which responds automatically to certain signals. The evolutionary purpose of aggression, as Darwin observed, is to spread the individuals of a species evenly over a territory in relation to a limited food supply for which they would otherwise compete. In man, aggression probably emerged during the hunting and gathering stage of the Early Stone Age. The primary unit of the species--the individual, the pair, the herd--defines its own territory and defends the borders against trespassing members of the same species, with violence, if necessary. Aggression, therefore, is related to territory and is inherently defensive. For this the popular writer, Robert Ardrey, has coined the felicitous phrase, "the territorial imperative."

I shall now leave Konrad Lorentz to turn to the interesting historical question that has been posed for this session. But I shall return to Lorentz at the close.

The assumption of this question is the truism that there is a continuity in human affairs. One may profitably draw parallels between the past and the present, thereby exploiting history to learn contemporary lessons. But the parallels, given the complexity of human affairs, are seldom, if ever exact. That is the case here. Industrial conflict in the thirties and racial conflict in the sixties share a number of characteristics in common. But there are also significant differences. I should like to point to each in order. Let us start with similarities.

First, both have been mass social movements of disaffected and theretofore suppressed groups demanding a bigger piece of the economic pie and a transfer of power. The industrial worker of the thirties wanted a job, employment security, higher wages, shorter hours, and, in some industries, a slower pace of work. He also wanted a voice in the government of the shop, the town, the state, and the nation. The Negro nowadays wants a job, the opportunity to advance, the elimination of all forms of discrimination in the workplace. He also wants to be heard by the white community, to enjoy, in the contemporary cliche, "Black Power." Both movements represent historic shifts in the power balance of American society, or, if one uses the term loosely, they are social revolutions, certainly the most significant of the twentieth century in the United States.

Second, both convulsions had an ethnic base and in the earlier it was religious as well. In the case of the Negro this is self-evident in the color of his skin. With the industrial worker the problem was more sophisticated. In the twenties the most important positions of power, economic and political, were in the hands of white Anglo-Saxon Protestants. In the thirties they were challenged in large part by the suppressed ethnic and religious groups--the newer immigrants from southern and eastern Europe and their first-generation offspring, many of them Catholics and Jews, along with some Negroes.

Third, in both cases, because the stakes were so high, the resulting conflict was intense. The demands for change were met with determined resistance. It was necessary to fight on a multitude of battlefields--in the factories, on the streets, in the legislatures, in the courts. Conflict sometimes erupted into unlawful seizure of property and/or into violence. It is doubtful that some of the most significant gains would have been made without these means, though a heavy price was paid in adverse public reaction.

Fourth, both movements aroused the sympathetic idealism of some sectors of the dominant middle class. The appeal was particularly to young people and to intellectuals, concentrated where both gather, the universities and the arts. Volunteers participated actively and sometimes at the risk of life in both. Each movement led to intensive social science analysis, to a creative literature, and to the enrichment of our folk music.

Fifth, both forces found the existing organizations inadequate and established new ones. The militant industrial unionists in the thirties were unable to revitalize the conservative, craft-oriented American Federation of Labor and created the Committee for Industrial Organization. The activists in the civil rights movement were dissatisfied with the traditional organizations, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League, and established or energized the Congress of Racial Equality, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The brunt of the fight was borne by the new organizations.

Sixth, both movements gained significant support from all three branches of the federal government. President Roosevelt was a friend of labor; Presidents Kennedy and Johnson have supported the Negro. Legislation of great importance was enacted in each era. The National Labor Relations Act of 1935 asserted the rights of the worker to self-organization and collective bargaining without interference from his employer. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 protected the Negro against discrimination in voting, public accommodations, education, and employment. NLRB v. Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp., 301 U.S. 1 (1937) may be equated symbolically with Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

Seventh, both groups made their primary political identification with the Democratic Party, but in each case it proved an uneasy relationship. That is, the liberal, northern wing of that party espoused labor's aims in the thirties and those of Negroes in the sixties. But the traditional southern wing was essentially anti-union and, of course, anti-Negro.

Finally, both movements emerged at a time when the American attention was focussed upon domestic issues and each was the center of interest. But in the late thirties and the mid-sixties the focus shifted to international conflict and the rising American involvement in war. It is no coincidence that John L. Lewis denounced the war in Europe in 1940 and that Martin Luther King condemns the war in Viet Nam today.

These are some of the notable-similarities. Let us now turn to the differences, which are at least as significant.

First, the issues raised by racial conflict presently are far more prickly than those of labor in the thirties. While, as I pointed out above, many overlap, they are the ones that lend themselves to compromise and/or resolution, notably employment and the rights of citizens to participate in political affairs. But with the Negro, as we are now learning to our dismay, such gains are only preliminary advances to the goal of full integration. The residual questions are social and sexual and at the present stage of history appear to be irreconcilable. The white community with very few exceptions presents a stone wall to the Negro in primary and secondary education, in housing, and in intermarriage. Growing black nationalism piles courses of granite atop this wall.

Second, while the labor rising of the thirties, as noted, had an ethnic base, it was fundamentally different from the Negro's. The national and religious groups that emerged a generation ago were overwhelmingly European in origin. Though there were important differences between them, they shared several critical values in common--the virtue of work, aspirations to education and upward economic and social mobility, the solidity of the family, and a sense of the past and of the future. For many Negroes in the sixties, those who live in the rural slums of the South and the urban ghettos of the North, these values have little or no significance. These people are part of that divorced subculture that Oscar Lewis calls the culture of poverty and an aspect of which Daniel Patrick Moynihan stressed in The Negro Family: The Case for National Action. In this context one must develop a different perspective on time. In the thirties one could hope for tangible gains in a few years, at the outside, a decade. Now we must think in generations.

Third, the perspective of size is as dissimilar as that of time. The aspirations of the labor movement in the thirties were premised upon the assumption of the majority: you may be rich and powerful, but we are many. The central concept of the Wagner Act was the representation election determined by majority rule. It is worth recalling that the AFL paid a heavy price--compromise of one of its most cherished doctrines, exclusive jurisdiction--for this principle. Further, the unions buoyed themselves at the time with the idea, as yet unrealized, that they would organize most of the labor force and thereby become very powerful politically. The Negro can enjoy no such majoritarian dreams. He is by definition a minority.

Finally, and most important, there is a fundamental difference between the institutions of each movement. The labor movement of the thirties was heir to that remarkable Anglo-American social invention, the system of collective bargaining. It assured that every conflict would be fought for tangible goals: economic gain, a system of shop government, the survival

and security of the institution itself. Many of the objectives of the Negro
organizations presently seem intangible. There is little for the organiza-
tions to hitch themselves to. Since they are heavily dependent upon the white
community for financial support, excessive militancy tends to be self-destruc-
tive. The organizations that dominated the racial conflict of the past dec-
ade--CORE, SNCC, SCLC--presently face a crisis of identity. They risk col-
lapse because they have developed no correlative to collective bargaining.

This brings us back to Konrad Lorentz. He points out that evolution,
having implanted the instinct of aggression related to territory upon ani-
mals, some with powerful destructive natural weapons, then developed an in-
stinctual suspension of aggression at the moment of death in order to ensure
the survival of the species. This process of suspension takes the form of
ritualization, a harmless ceremony that serves as a substitute for the kill.
In some species this is primitive, for example, the dog shaking an imaginary
enemy in his teeth. In others, it is highly sophisticated, for example, the
triumph ceremony in the goose. In the latter cases, the ceremonial forms a
bond between the participants, that is, love or friendship, that leads to an
enduring relationship.

Viewed in this light, the workplace becomes the territory in which the
employer and the worker compete for a limited food supply. Since man is a
highly aggressive animal, conflict over the territorial imperative leading
to self-destruction is inherent. But man, applying his intelligence, ritu-
alized the conflict in collective bargaining, thereby forming the enduring
bond. This is a tremendous achievement of social evolution.

But no such process of ritualization has as yet taken place in racial
conflict. This is one of the great challenges of our time to social inven-
tion.

NATURE OF THE PROBLEMS OF THE TWO PERIODS--DISCUSSION

Charles Killinsgworth: Back in my graduate student days, I was fortunate
enough to study with Selig Perlman. As you know, one of his great ideas was
that the American labor movement had succeeded primarily because the labor
movement focused practically all of its efforts and demands on the job. In
other words, the labor movement was dealing basically with people who were in,
people who had a job and who wanted more control over that job. It was a
relatively narrow focus that was greatly criticized by some of the left-wing
as being excessively utilitarian, but it certainly worked. And it has
continued to work more or less successfully down to the present day.

     Now it seems to me that one of the differences with the civil rights
movement is that it is a great deal more diffuse than the labor movement was
in the 1930's. The civil rights movement is concerned basically with
representing not those who are in but who are outsiders. There is difficulty
in a great many situations in pinpointing a target. There was no problem
about who the target was in the labor struggles of the thirties. There
wasn't much trouble in formulating very precise and specific demands that
particular individuals had the power to grant if they only chose to do it.
Whereas today, the civil rights movement very frequently formulates demands
that can be met only by change in the minds and hearts of very large numbers
of people, or perhaps in some cases it formulates demands to particular
individuals, such as the mayors of cities, that cannot realistically be
granted. Many of the aspirations of the civil rights movement--more jobs,
higher income, better schools--are much more general in nature, and it
becomes more difficult to deal with them or to develop institutional
structures for resolving the conflicts which they generate, as the National
Labor Relations Board has done in resolving one important source of
industrial conflict--the representation issue. We don't have anything like
that so far as the civil rights struggle is concerned. Who speaks for the
Negro, as Robert Penn Warren has asked? It is sometimes difficult to be
sure which of the many voices really does represent the Negro.

Emil Mazey: One of the similarities between the labor movement and civil
rights movement in the thirty year span is the fact that both movements were
basically movements of minorities. Those of us who were organizing workers
back in 1936-1937 were a very small percentage of the workers. If we had
had an NLRB election in 1937, we would have lost our union. And the leaders
of the civil rights movement represent a small portion of the Negroes as far
as active people are concerned. There are over a million Negroes in the city
of Chicago but Martin Luther King, with all of the publicity that he gets,
can have 500 people marching with him.

     I want to take exception to one of the statements made by my colleague
Green. He said that the labor movement, which once was fighting essentially
for the poor people, has now got conservative and fat and lazy, and he says
that this excludes none of the unions. I want to say first that our union
has recently issued about five manifestos on what we think is wrong with the
labor movement. We think it is not doing enough in organizing unorganized
workers, and many of those happen to be the Negro poor. It is not doing
enough in the War against Poverty, it is not doing enough on a number of

other basic fronts. While this criticism is true of some unions, it is not
true of my union and I think that there is a mistake in generalizing.

But in addition, the labor movement, with all its faults and difficulties,
is still the most important single social force in our country. The labor
movement as a whole has been involved in getting the passage of civil rights
legislation. The 1964 and 1963 laws could not have been passed without our
support. We furnished the muscle, we furnished the money, we mobilized the
congressmen and Senators, and we helped form a coalition of Negro civil rights
movements, the labor movement, and the clergy to make this possible. In the
State of Michigan the first civil rights law, which was also one of the first
in the entire country, was passed as a result of our prodding.

On the question of job opportunities--many unions have done a very
excellent job, and this problem is not easy. We pressured employers to break
the color bar in plants. I negotiated the first agreement that gave Negro
women the right to work in Ford in 1942, and we took considerable abuse,
basically from Southern workers who work in the auto indutry, in breaking the
bar to certain job opportunities that Negroes were denied. We have done this
because we happen to believe in human rights for all people.

In the March on Washington there were unions like the Ladies Garment
Workers, the Packers Union, the Steel Workers, and ours that furnished a good
part of the money and a good part of the audience in that very important
struggle. My union currently has $40,000 tied up in bail bonds in Birmingham.
We have spent in the last three years $300,000 on an organization that we got
started, the Crusade Against Poverty. We are working on every facet of this.

The labor movement has supported social measures such as minimum wages,
social security, unemployment compensation, workman's compensation, housing
legislation, and education legislation. My union has had a full staff working
in the Watts community in Los Angeles for about a year. So I think that it
is a mistake to generalize and say that all unions are conservative and are
doing nothing, and this excludes none, because I think that you have to
realize that Negroes are basically a part of the working class and that their
closest allies are workers who belong to unions.

It is a mistake to try to create a division between these forces, because
Negroes, being a minority, can never reach their full aspiration without the
support of the American labor movement. The labor movement is the greatest
ally the Negro workers have, and I think that the leaders of the civil rights
movement ought to do everything that they can to cultivate labor leaders and
the labor movement as a whole to try to get their support because in the final
analysis, our objectives are the same. I think that the Negro worker
essentially wants a good job, he wants a good income, he wants a decent home
in which to live, he wants to have the same right of selecting his home in
any community as a white person, he wants to send his kids to school, and he
wants to be a part of an affluent society. These are basically the objectives
of the American labor movement. We have to have closer alliances in
developing programs, and if this is done, the labor movement and the civil
rights movement can jointly make a tremendous amount of progress in the years
to come.

Robert L. Green: *   Part of the major plight confronting the Negro today is
that masses of whites around the country and certain systematic, well
structured organizations have been able to relieve themselves of the present
plight of Negroes by always citing hand-outs such as the March on Washington,
bail-money in Alabama. This is not to say that they are not well-meaning
individuals and members of unions who are concerned about the plight of poor
people, but if we look at the general structure of unions around the country,
by and large they have not been the strong, staunch allies of the Negro.
They have been strong, staunch allies of the unions themselves.

One great dissimilarity between unions and the current struggle for
human dignity for Negroes in the United States is the whole notion of color.
Unions did not have the same difficulty in organizing. There wasn't the
automatic reaction to masses of white workers organizing that we tend to have
today to masses of Negroes organizing for fair housing. Union leaders did
not have the massive difficulty pushing for a decent salary in the 1930's and
1940's that Negroes are confronted with today in seeking fair employment, for
example.

One other critical point here is the diffuse efforts of civil rights
organizations. The unions in the thirties had one major objective--decent
employment. Decent employment and higher wages were relevant to other aspects
of their lives: with a decent job you would be able to find adequate housing;
with a decent job, you would be better able to live the good life. But when
we look at the plight of Negroes in our society, they have no one objective.
Negroes are shut out from all segments of American life. We can't just focus
on jobs alone. We are shut out in terms of housing, we are shut out in terms
of employment, we are shut out in terms of decent treatment. So efforts must
be diffuse.
Now relevant to the diffuse efforts is that typically Negro organizations
have had to depend on white support in order to survive. Whites have been
very willing to pay for non-violant marchers to march down the highways in
Alabama, and at the same time, nonviolantly to receive clubs on their heads.
Whites in the North were willing to pay for this, but they are no longer
willing to pay for Negroes to march on Lawndale; they are no longer willing
to pay for Negroes to march on Oak Park. As a matter of fact, they are no
longer willing to pay for Negroes to attempt to buy homes on the far Northwest
side of Detroit. It is a different problem altogether.

The problems that we are confronted with today are quite in contrast to
the problems and conflicts that we confronted with three years ago. Three
years have brought about drastic change in terms of aspirations relevant to
the Negro population. I think that the real challenge today for civil rights
organizations is to find a way to move into black ghettos around the country
and systematically organize poor people and get them to speak for themselves.

---

*The discussion by Robert L. Green, Michigan State University, presented
in this session, is not included in the published Proceedings.

As I said before, integrating restaurants and stores in the South didn't cost whites anything at all. As a matter of fact they discovered that they made money selling hamburgers to Negroes. They made more money by allowing Negroes to try on suits. Formerly when a Negro bought a suit he suffered the indignity of having to buy it and take it home before he could try it on. If it didn't fit, that was tough. But store owners discovered that as more Negroes were allowed to try on suits in stores there was a greater inclination on the part of Negroes to purchase suits. So the whites made money by making minor changes in Southern communities. When you think of breaking up a large urban ghetto, like in the city of Chicago, you are thinking of something that costs money. Realtors will no longer be able to hem in the Negro housing market and charge $17,000 for a home that in a white community would only cost $10,000. When you think of breaking up a Northern urban ghetto, you are thinking of breaking up unfair consumer practices. There was a recent article published by the Upper Westside Council in New York City which found that food prices in Harlem went up two and three percent on days on which relief checks became available in the greater New York area. Another study cited by Reporter magazine indicated that food prices were significantly higher in Harlem than they were in the posh Fifth Avenue district. Such consumer practices arise from hemming in masses of people in a given area of the community. We often think of the small merchants as being responsible for this, but it was the large supermarkets who were responsible for elevating food prices on days on which relief checks became available.

So when you think of breaking up segregated housing patterns in New York, Detroit, Cleveland, or Los Angeles, you are threatening billions of dollars are made each year by realtors, by bankers, and by individuals who loan money for mortgages around the country. When you think of breaking up segregated educational patterns, you are thinking of something that is going to cost our society a great price, since bussing children is very expensive.

Paranthetically, I find this whole concept of bussing very interesting. You know, people in the Northern communities are opposed to bussing. I don't know if any of you have lived in the South, I've lived in the South and bussing is a way of life in the South. This is a very peculiar paradox of segregation and how it works in the North and South, depending upon geographical region. In many Southern communities, you will find that Negroes and whites live in very close proximity. As a matter of fact, in Selma, Alabama, Negroes and whites live in the same block. This is true of Farmville, Virginia, too, a community that closed its schools rather than have school integration--but whites and Negroes live side by side. Well, in Southern communities, since you have Negroes and whites living in fairly close proximity, it is necessary to bus kids out. You build a white school here and a Negro school over here, and you bus Negro kids to Negro schools and white kids to white schools. In Alabama last year the first appropriation that the State Legislature made was a lump sum for bussing. And they have been bussing in the South for years. And then suddenly, I come North and everyone is opposed to bussing. They say that little blue eyed Johnny should play with his neighbor in the evening. Kids that live together in the evening should go to school together during the day. So here again we find that we are confronted with the notion of segregation.

Negroes will not make progress, I am convinced, as long as we depend totally on the white community for support. This is not to say that white support is not needed and not welcome, but we will not get far until we can more effectively organize poor Negroes and educate Negroes to give to civil rights organizations. And Negroes do give; they give to churches. Go into any Negro community and the most excellent structure you will find there will be the First AME Zion Baptist Church. These are the resources in the Negro community that we must tap.

Finally, while I wouldn t argue that all Negroes must join civil rights organizations, Negro professionals and so-called middle-class Negroes must devote more and more of their time in the Negro community, at nights, on weekends, during the summer months, assisting the civil rights leaders in educating the Negro community how to bring about change, assisting them in structuring power blocks.

Without power we will not make any progress. Unfortunately the writing is on the wall. If we took a referendum on integrated housing today, 90 percent of white Americans would vote against it. Whites do not want Negroes in their neighborhoods, and I think that Negroes are finally beginning to realize it. It is not only in Alabama, it is Detroit, Michigan, it is Flint, Michigan as well.

We always throw rocks at the South, but a recent report of the Equal Education Opportunities Program cited three major Northern cities as being the most segregated in terms of education--Flint, Michigan, Benton Harbor, Michigan, and Oakland, California. So when we look at our plight, North and South, we realize that there are a few whites who are concerned with meaningful progress and will open the door fully. The masses of white Americans are willing to allow one Negro in at a time when he becomes acceptable, and he only gets in so far. He may have to find a dummy to buy his home for him.

Even when he moves in he may find himself behaving differently from his neighbors. I live in an all-white neighborhood near the University, and every Saturday morning I raise my window to see if the college students have thrown any beer bottles on my lawn because I don't want my neighbors to think that I am drinking that much beer. At 6:10 I am out there picking them up, but my neighbors all leave theirs there until noon and then leisurely go out and pick them up.

One by one the white community is letting the Negro in. But I don't think that Negroes are any longer concerned about the one acceptable Negro, they are concerned with major changes that effect changes. As a matter of fact, in view of what has not been done by the Democratic and Republican parties, a number of Negroes are systematically attempting to organize a third political party, which will speak to the many, many needs of the Negro community.

Question: The UAW in its organizing days did not shrink from violence and conflict, and yet in 1966 the UAW and other unions in Chicago opposed marches which also engendered violence and conflict. Can you reconcile this?

Mazey: Yes, I can. Marches for some basic social objectives of the Negro
community have been very effective. I think, however, that marches for
housing is a negative approach and will not solve this problem. This is
probably what you have reference to. I appeared in Chicago with Martin Luther
King and some others on March 25th. Senator Paul Douglas was also on the
program, and he claimed that the marches had led to his defeat and the
election of Percy. I think that this is an oversimplification of the problem,
but Paul reported one Negro spokesman as saying that they were going to march
in the white communities until they all voted Republican. This was widely
publicized; he didn't deny making the statement, although he said that the
full statement wasn't there.

I don't think you can secure a single house opportunity for a Negro
citizen by marches. As I said to Martin Luther King, we ought to use the
same amount of energy to sit down and start devising some programs that will
create new housing. Let me give you a suggestion. In the city of Detroit,
our union has started the establishment of a citizens corporation for
integrated housing. Walter Reuther is the president of the group. We have
the heads of all of the large auto corporations and other companies involved
here. Our thought is to build new, decent housing on an integrated basis as
a means of beginning to resolve this question.

We ought also to seek a new federal housing program on an integrated
pattern, and to maintain it integrated, I think we are going to have to have
some quotas. One way of getting people to live in an integrated way is to
offer preferential interest rates of two or three percent instead of the six
or seven that is being charged at the present time--to get the low interest
rate you become part of an integrated group.

Housing is the single most difficult problem that we have to solve. I
appeared before the Detroit Housing Commission back in 1943, following the
race riots that we had in Detroit and I came out for open housing at that
time. I am not a newcomer in this particular struggle. I never got so much
abuse in my life from my colleagues as I did at that time. The major part of
the housing problem in Northern cities is the tremendous migration of Negroes
from the South in the past two decades. The Negroes are searching for a
better way of life, and as a result the same migration is taking place from
the South to large cities as was taking place from Europe in the early 1900's.
They come to a city like Detroit in the pursuit of happiness, and what
happens? They don't have any money, they have a limited amount of education,
they have a limited amount of training, and so they move into a house with
relatives or friends. Two, three and four families live in houses that were
originally built for one, and they become the victims of landlords, both
Negro and white, who are exploiting them on the strength of the shortage of
housing. The housing problem that is bad to begin with becomes worse.

I don't believe that many whites are moving away to the suburbs to get
away from Negro neighbors. If you take a look at the city of Detroit, and I
have lived here for some 50 years, I've seen the housing patterns develop as
we were able to raise the living standards of workers through the unions by
winning wage increases. If a worker wants to buy a new home he can't buy one
in Detroit. There aren't any new homes in Detroit. All of the lots are
filled; the city has exhausted the possibilities of any one having a new home

in the city of Detroit. If you happen to want a new home that has an attached garage or a ranch type home, you can't buy one in Detroit. I don't think that there are over two or three ranch type homes in the entire city even if you try to buy an old house. So, as a worker gets a higher income and he desires better housing, of necessity he is compelled to move into the suburbs. I agree with Mr. Green, though, that this same opportunity is not afforded to many Negro workers who have exactly the same income as the white workers.

Green: So you say that once they move out there the white workers prevent the Negroes from coming out, but they don't move out to get away from them?

Mazey: What I am saying is that the Negro worker doesn't have the same opportunity in our communities, and we have to develop a housing program that will give the Negro workers the opportunity of moving into the suburbs so that they can have the benefit of decent housing, instead of the having the benefit of old housing--hand-me-down housing. They are getting housing that the white worker has given up because he has the opportunity of decent housing elsewhere.

I happen to think that Negroes are more concerned with decent housing than they are integrated housing. If you were to take the poll which you talked about a moment ago, among Negro people, I am not even sure that the majority of Negroes would vote for integrated housing, because they don't like the way that the white community has treated them for a number of years. You might find an amazingly large number that would turn it down. Decent, good housing is probably their chief concern. I am concerned for both. I think that the society we ought to build should be integrated, totally and completely, and that Negro workers and Negro people ought not only to have decent housing but ought to be able to live anywhere they want.

And when you are deciding the tactics, you have to ask yourself the question--we want decent housing, we want integrated housing, how can we accomplish this? Will parading in Oak Park in Chicago bring this about? My answer to that question is no. You can parade there every day in the week, and it isn't going to get a Negro into a single house in that community. All you are going to do is rouse the bigots. The same amount of effort directed to the question of how to develop decent housing will bring better results.

Question: My comment is directed to Mr. Bernstein; he speaks of the need for a ritual comparable to the one which exists in the labor relations field, a ritual which is guarded by the federal government. It would seem to me that a corresponding ritual in the civil rights movement is the Community Action Program. No one here said anything about the community action program, and I wonder if you would comment on its possible value as a ritual. I believe that under Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act, the federal government does fund a community coordinating body and this body should be concerned with all of these problems which you are ticking off here one-by-one in your discussion.

Bernstein: A basic prejudice that I have against the suggestion you are making is that I think institutions are more meaningful and more effective if they are private than if they are public--that is, if they come out of the needs of some group of people themselves. I think this is the great strength

of the trade union. Obviously the National Labor Relations Act has facilitated
and protected that strength, but we had unions long before we had the Wagner
Act, and we would have had a big labor movement even in the absences of the
Wagner Act, in my judgment. This is something that I think would be much
stronger if it came out of the community itself, and by this I don't mean
just the Negro community. I think, you know, we need each other. We have
some how or other to institutionalize the relationship. I don't know how it
ought to be done, but I have a prejudice in favor of doing it privately rather
than publicly.

Comment: This point about ritualization of conflict is a fascinating one,
but there is an aspect of it that hasn't been touched upon, namely, that the
ritualization of a bond of living together comes out of a mutual dependence.
Management simply cannot get along without labor, they are forced to resort
to some form of by collective bargaining. The parallel does not appear to
hold up in the civil rights movement. I think many whites have the feeling,
and perhaps to some extent it is true, that we don't need the Negroes. The
feeling seems to be, well if they would just go away, we could get along
without them. There is not the built-in economic necessity of dealing with
the group with whom we are in conflict.

    I think that all three of the speakers have indicated that organization
is a key word here. Organization produced power for labor in the 1930's.
Organization, Mr. Green says, is the great need today for the civil rights
movement and it has not really effectively been done on a mass scale.
Saul Alinsky uses the slogan, "Organization produces power." He is trying to
do this by organization in the ghetto areas, organizing the unorganized to
build up a power structure from which they can then speak for themselves and
get a measure of justice. I would like Mr. Mazey to comment here on what
seems to me to be a conflict of interest between the existing power structure,
which includes the UAW, and the building up of a new power structure through
community organization. There seems to be to me a bit of conflict between the
present power establishment resisting the rise of any new power group.

Mazey: First of all, we are not resisting the birth of any group. We haven't
resisted WCO or any other group. WCO is the West Central Organization, an
organization basically of the Negro community. A large group of ministers
and priests are part of this group, and they brought to the attention of the
people of Detroit a number of basic difficulties and problems that we have.
By and large the purpose and intent of the movement is good, and the labor
movement isn't attempting to stop this at all.

    When you say that we are part of the power structure, this is true. We
are not the power structure, we are part of it. We work with the Negro
organizations of all kinds. In the elections in 1965, for example, we helped
to elect two Negro members to the city council.

    One of the difficulties is that it is hard to organize neighborhood
groups; it is difficult to get people to try to help themselves. My activity
in the labor movement began in the unemployed movement. I was one of the
organizers of the Unemployed Citizens League in Detroit. And one of the
frustrations of that period was the fact that I had neighbors who had been
out of work for two and three years whom I couldn't get to come down to a

meeting. They weren't interested in why they were out of work, what they
could do about correcting their condition; they just developed a lackadaisical
attitude and they had no interest in their own problems.

I find that things haven't changed too much. In 1958, when we had the
last Eisenhower recession and we had a tremendous amount of unemployment in
Detroit, the Dodge local for example, organized an unemployed group. We had
10,000 unemployed people, and I spoke at about every second meeting of the
group, and the largest audience that we had was 500 people. We had a hall, we
had facilities in which to meet, every unemployed worker received a letter--
an invitation to the meeting. We even offered them free lunch. And all that
we could get were five hundred people. I find that it is extremely difficult
to organize neighborhood groups because there is an apathy there and people
somehow don't want to help themselves.

Every movement, as I said earlier, is a movement of minorities. No
social movement has ever been a movement of majorities. We are not opposed
to neighborhood groups; in fact we have two of the leaders of our union,
Negro staff members, who each has his own organization. I wish the NAACP
would be a little more active. They claim 20,000 members, and a good chunk
of these are UAW workers, but in one recent election of theirs only 90 people
showed up to vote. There is no mass base.

Green: I guess that my comment concerning the AFL-CIO is that we would like
to see the same fervor in assisting poor people, primarily poor Negroes, that
you put into effect in the 1930's in organizing poor people around the
country who were essentially white. And we are not speaking in terms of one
Negro here and one Negro there.

The two older civil rights organizations are less relevant to the
present problems Negroes are confronted with. The Urban League has typically
been concerned with the talented tenth, the Negro with the college degree.
The NAACP has done a marvelous job in terms of litigation and they are yet
doing a marvelous job in that respect, but litigation today and the talented
tenth today is not the major concern of Negroes.

On the other hand, the masses of unions are tightly segregated, and the
so-called open minded, more forward thinking organizations only have a very
few Negroes in key positions, and these few Negroes have very much the same
status that the Negro vice-president of Pepsi-Cola has, and he has none. He
has no power.

Comment: I have spent a good deal of my research time in recent years, trying
to develop potential analogies between the legal struggles of the labor
movement in the 30's and subsequent years, and the legal struggles of the civil
rights movement. I find no analogies at all, except in the very crudest sort
of way.

I am intrigued by Mr. Bernstein's suggestion that Brown vs Board of
Education stands in its time for what NLRB vs Jones and Laughlin did some 17
years earlier. Actually, there are no parallels in the two cases as all.
NLRB vs Jones and Laughlin elevated the direct exercise of federal power to
encourage labor organizations. It legitimatized a powerful government

bureaucracy calculated to aid labor organizations to come into existance.
Brown vs Board of Education is completely negative. It has no such implications
at all. The government power is negative, it is restraining. It is to be
applied by the courts. There is no supporting legislation which flows from the
decision: There is no bureaucracy to implement the decision. It is pretty
much left to the states and to individual citizens and more recently, under
the civil rights act, to the Attorney General of the United States to secure
compliance with the decree.

I find also that in the description of institutions which emerge or ought
to emerge, one big difference is overlooked by Professor Bernstein, and that
is that the union movement could crystalize around a permanent bureaucracy.
Its activists could hope for placement in that bureaucracy. The institution
of union security could result in a steady flow of income so that that
bureaucracy could be occupied, paid on time, and could develop, then,
derivative power from the application of union funds to a variety of causes
which might seem meet to the powers that be in the particular union. There
are, of course, in the civil rights movement, no such parallel powers for
parallel institutions, for a parallel bureaucracy, for a parallel, permanent
source of income or any device comparable to the device of union security and
the institution of the check-off.

I am confused by Mr. Mazey's dialogue with Mr. Green about what the labor
movement has done for the civil rights movement and how they are inter-related
and how their work parallels or their objectives are identical. Actually,
their techniques and objectives are altogether different.

The use of legal analogies just doesn't work out, particularly attempts
to equate civil rights marches and civil rights picketing with labor marches
and labor picketing in the 1930's. The objectives were different; the law
surrounding them was different, and the analogies, when put to the test in
the courts and before the administrative agencies, just break down. I
wonder, Professor Bernstein, what your reaction might be?

Bernstein: Before I return to your question, let me go back to the one the
gentlemen raised here a moment ago and take issue with one point he made. I
think your point that the process of ritualization requires mutual dependency
is valid, but I think your assumption that the white community is not
dependent upon the Negro community is invalid. It seems to me that white
Americans need, certainly in the economic sense, and have always for three
centuries or more needed the Negro. There is no question about that. The
white community needs the Negro economically more today than he ever did in
the past. I think as the Negro increases his getting of the franchise, there
will also be a dependency politically which didn't exist theretofore. And,
of course, the Negro has made very significant contributions to our culture,
which are very important in the dependency area. One of the great achievements
of the civil rights movement in the last decade has been to make many white
Americans aware of this dependency.

The creation of tension in the relationship is evidence of this, it seems
to me, and this is basically healthy. Obviously, we don't want violence, but
if one consequence of violence is to make people who heretofore simply took
the Negro for granted and were indifferent to his existence realize that they

can no longer take him for granted. They have to contend with him and have to
contend with his problems. It seems to me that this is at least a preliminary
advance and an important one.

     Now, to go to the question that was raised here--I think that the
distinctions that you point out between Jones and Laughlin and Brown vs
Board of Education are wholly valid. I cited them in a kind of symbolic way.
The distinctions are very real. The other point that you made concerning the
differences in the nature of the two organizations really was the heart of my
conclusion, and up till now, of course, I agree with you. There are profound
differences in structure, in goals, in methods of operation, and everything
else, between the two kinds of organizations, but what I am suggesting is that
perhaps we haven't really thought as consistently and hard as we should about
racial conflict to see whether or not the kinds of organizations which have
emerged up till now, which have these disadvantages, might be converted into
different kinds of organizations which would have the viability of the labor
organizations which emerged in the past. I don't know if this can be done or
not, but I certainly think it is worth the exploration. This would require
organizations with institutional arrangements that would go to their financing,
to their permanence, to a variety of ways which would build them into some
kind of system in our society which would ritualize conflict in the racial
area. I am simply suggesting this as a possibility; whether it can be done
or not, I do not know. But at some point in the 19th Century it is possible
that if the IRRA had met to discuss the industrial revolution and emerging
labor conflict, people might have been just as negative with respect to
institutions forming which had viability as we are presently about institutions
in the racial area.

Question: Professor Bernstein, what is your reaction to Mr. Green's point,
that Negroes are now thinking of a political party of their own?

Bernstein: Well I certainly would favor much stronger political participation
by Negroes in our society. The third party idea, I suspect, unless there is a
fundamental change in the tradition of American politics, is a hopeless one,
as far as the Negro is concerned. I think that he would be batting his head
against a stone wall and would defeat himself by that device. Mr. Mazey is
someone who has wrestled with the question more than I have, and maybe he would
want to make a comment on this.

Mazey: I just want to say that I think that I was the foremost advocate of a
Labor Party in the American labor scene for a good many years. I agree that
with the tradition and the customs in this country, a third party would be a
hopeless exercise. It would be an exercise of futility. And I think that the
results of it are these: during the Wallace movement in 1948, there were a
number of good democratic liberal Congressmen who were defeated, because the
third party movement made possible the election of reactionary, conservative
Republicans. And I think the same thing would happen if the Negro community
decided that it wanted a third party. What they would do would be to elect
people to office who are against the basic aspirations of Negro people. I
think the whole idea of a third political party is a serious tactical mistake.

Bernstein: Let me make one other comment on it. It seems to be that it is
wrong in principal, because it is premised on the concept of segregation. I
hope we would be moving towards integration, not segregation, and when a
minority group moves in the direction of segregation a reasonably democratic
society, it is just asking for its own defeat.

Green: The purpose of a third political party which is in discussion phases
now, is not to structure an all Negro party. As a matter of fact, we suspect
that many white liberals and liberal intellectuals will be attracted to such
a movement.

Question: I would like to ask Mr. Mazey what can unions do, realizing that
the rank and file of the South is more an expression of the community position
than it is of organized labor, to help resolve the problem of seniority and
lines of progression, in other words to bring about real integration other
than taking down the signs from the washrooms?

Mazey: Let me tell you what we have done in our union. In 1936, in Briggs,
the Negroes had jobs as stockhandlers, wetsanders, material handlers and
sweepers. I would say that 99% of the Negroes that Briggs employed were in
these jobs. The Negroes were denied the opportunity of working on presses;
they could hand the material to a press-operator, but they couldn't work on
presses; they couldn't work in the metal division; they couldn't work in the
cushion department; they couldn't work in the trim department; they couldn't
work in the final assembly; there were no Negroes in the maintenance department.
We have changed that entire picture. We have total and complete integration
in all of these jobs. We still have one problem area, and that is the
problem of skilled trades. We have apprenticeship agreements that call for
certain standards, and there are some of us in the leadership of the union who
believe that the standards required are too high, and that some Negro
applicants have unreasonable difficulty qualifying for it, and we are in the
process of making a revision of this. We are making slow but steady progress.

     When you are talking about polls, if we were to have had a poll of workers
in our industry 25 years ago as to whether or not there ought to be integration
on the job, the workers would have voted against it. I think that the
leadership has to move ahead regardless of what the majority of the members
may feel. We have the job of trying to bring the majority along with us.

Green: In summary, I think that the masses of Negroes have lost almost all
confidence in the white communities and I think that the majority of Negroes
are convinced that before meaningful progress is made in the future we will
have to structure our own power and begin to move on our own, and then
maybe a few decent whites will come along with us. I think that you are
going to see in the future a systematic organization of power blocks in most
Northern urban communities focusing on jobs, training for young people. Most
relevant, I think that no young Negro today can afford to fight in any war
for the United States of America. We cannot afford to invest our energy in
any foreign effort. It must be here in the U. S., for systematic education
and organization of the Negro community.

Question: I would like to address my question to Mr. Green. You indicated earlier that you felt that the labor movement was not doing enough for the civil rights movement. Mr. Mazey mentioned things that they have been doing. What other program would you suggest that the labor movement do that they are not now doing?

Green: You imply that the labor movement is moving much more rapidly than other segments of our society. Other segments of our society are tending to reverse their efforts, so we don't want to compare the labor movement and its efforts in terms of what the rest of society is doing.

I think that all phases of the labor movement can begin to inaugurate a variety of programs that extend far beyond the labor movement itself--for example, sponsoring fully integrated, equal education opportunities throughout the country; initiating fair housing efforts on a wide scale. This the unions have not done and I don't see it occurring in the very near future. In essence, what we need to see is the same fervor structured for poor and disadvantaged people of today that was in effect in the 1930's.

MEANS AND ORGANIZATION IN THE TWO PERIODS   Paper I

GUS TYLER
International Ladies Garment Workers' Union

        This is the kind of a day that went all wrong. I came here to argue
with Herbert Hill, with whom I generally disagree; I find Norman Hill with
whom I generally agree. I came here to discuss means and methods comparing
1937 with 1967 and I listen to a morning session that invades my territorial
imperative and takes over the entire subject. I came here to have on perma-
nent tape an encomium in honor of Gus Tyler and the tape recorder is not
working. I expect a short introduction so I can make a long speech, and I
am told I am getting a long introduction, so I may make a short speech. Des-
pite these adversities, as one who has survived many, I hope to be able to
continue.

        I believe that there is similarity and some dissimilarity between the
civil rights movement on 1967 and the industrial union movement of 1937. I
think that all social movements tend to have much in common, especially when
they represent the revolt of a new sector of the population. I remember a
conversation I had with a Yugoslavian priest when we were discussing the Bol-
shevik form of organization. He said to me, "Where do you think Lenin learn-
ed it?" And I said, "I don't know, where did he learn it?" And he said,
"From the Greek Orthodox Church." Hitler quite openly imitated Leninist me-
thods, so if Hitler could learn from Lenin, and Lenin could learn from St.
Paul, it seems to me that perhaps the civil rights movement can learn some-
thing from the experiences of 1937, making necessary differences where called
upon to do so.

        There is another reason why I would like to stress the likenesses--I
think that when we discover in other social movements habits that resemble
our own, we are less likely to play the self-righteous role. We are more
apt to understand, and less apt to condemn. In both cases, I think that we
have the emergence of a new social sector on the American scene--the indus-
trial worker of 1937, the Negro of 1967. (When I say the industrial worker,
obviously they were not all the industrial workers; the majority of them were
never organized. In talking about the Negro, we are not talking about all
the Negroes in the United States; we are speaking about an activist sector.)

        There are three comments that I would like to make about similarity in
style. I am, unlike the morning discussants, going to confine myself to my
subject. I am going to discuss means and organizations, that is style. One,
new sectors are accustomed to indulge in uninhibited action; also, they tend
to suffer from undefined ideology; and, finally, they tend to enter upon the
scene with untested leadership. In the case of the CIO and the industrial
union drive, we are speaking about an established institution. In the case
of the civil rights movement, we are speaking about a movement still in a
transitional stage. Therefore, we can describe the CIO as she was, as she
became, and as she is; and when we speak about the civil rights movement, all

we can do is speak about its initial stage, which is the present stage.

On the nature of uninhibited action: The great start of the CIO was the "sit down," the great push of the civil rights movement is the "sit-in." Both of these are forms of well organized and massive civil disobedience. Interestingly, both of them while revolutionary in form were fundamentally conservative in purpose. The sit-down strikes in effect said, "This is ours, we belong here, this is our home, we want a voice in it." It was a way of saying, "Please notice our presence in this society known as the work place." And, the civil rights movement has been IN with a vengance. "Walk-in," "sit-in," "pray-in," "sleep-in," "talk-in," "teach-in,"--but always "in" not "out." It is an attempt to become part of the civilization, rather than to turn against the civilization and destroy it. I am fully aware of the fact that there is a sector of the Negro community that talks "out." But is is a minority, despite the fact that it may get a majority of the headlines. The overwhelming sector of the American Negro community is not "out-minded" at all; it is "in-minded," and if I may quote without naming him, one of the great and sensitive leaders of the Negro community, he says, "Gus, there is no sector of American society more conservative than the American Negro."

Secondly, both groups met with resistance; and when you meet with resistance, inevitably there is violence. There were "cattle-prods" in the civil rights movement; there were open massacres in the CIO days, far more violent, in many ways, than anything that has happened in the civil rights movement. The violence is not altogether a bad thing. Violence produces the kind of dedication in a cadre that you can only get when you go through the baptism of fire. And that cadre stays on for a long, long time. Violence also creates the kind of solidarity, that you only discover in the brotherhood of the barricades. You don't ever forget it.

There are dangers to violence. There is a social reaction; the society is horrified, and it wants to know who these upstarts are that think they can disturb our law and order. The CIO had some acceptance for its violence through the public disclosure of company violence, and preparation for further violence. The civil rights movement at its outset again had a kind of public acceptance by virtue of violent outbursts of white racism in the South against the Negro. But this kind of violence is tolerated, accepted, almost encouraged up to a point. Beyond that point, the society says, "We have had enough and now if necessary, we will enact draconic laws. And if the good-hearted people don't have the guts to do it, then the mean people will."

Finally, a period of violence tends to produce not simply bloodshed, but also a kind of bloodthirsty ideology. The emotionality created by physical disturbance becomes translated into a program, and you have extremist programs of all types that characterize practically every social movement in the history of man when these social movements are in their earliest stages. For those of you who want to explore this at greater length, I refer you to an almost forgotten little volume by a Britisher, entitled, Primitive Rebels and Social Bandits. And in this sort of a violent period, there is a real difficulty--one doesn't quite know who the martyr-hero-idealist is, and who the pure-and-simple-hooligan is. In the heat of the conflict, they are melted down to the same. They both can stand up there and give their lives for the cause. One guy, because he likes to hit and be hit, and the other guy, be-

cause he likes to belive and to create believers. But they look very much
alike and therefore, a movement, at its outset, always runs the risk that the
social conflict, in terms of violent expression, may become a social program
in terms of impossiblist-extremist objectives. Now, this leads to the next
point, the fact that there is undefined ideology when a movement is young.

     To me, the word "ideology" does not mean a written statement. Ideology
is a concensus, even when it is unwritten. That is enough for me, because
trade unions don't have ideologies, but they have a concensus. When a move-
ment is young you don't have a defined ideology, articulated or unarticulated.
So, in the early days of the CIO you had your Socialist faction, you had
your Communist faction, and if that wasn't enough, you had your Tr tskyist
faction, and your Stalinist faction, and your Lovestonist faction. Out here,
there was a Proletarian Party, the Western Socialist Part, and the Socialist
Pary of the West. These were also sects--all in the labor movement.

     Each of these leaders was sure that he had the formula. That is why he
was a leader, because he knew that he was Messiah, and why should he deprive
the masses of the revelation that had come to him privately, together with
two or three others? So, each of these men came out of the factory like a
little god. I think of them as the deus exmachina, that's the god out of the
factory. Many of them, by the way, came from outside the factory and went
inside the factory to get the masses. And so came the ideologic battle.

     I remember a management friend of mine, who said, "Gus, I have a new prob-
lem with the union. You straightened me out on Trotskyists, Lovestonists, Sta-
linists, and Socialists; so I understand all these factions in the union. Tell
me this, what's the difference between the Burnhamites, the Shactmanites, Field-
ites, and the Cannonnites?" So, I explained it to him, and his problems were settled.

     And yet, while the leadership was busy forecasting and organizing third
parties and fourth internationals, what do you suppose the members were doing?
Those who voted, voted Democart and Republican, except that 50 percent didn't
vote at all. When speaking of the masses and where they are going, who, pray,
is speaking for the masses? Who was speaking for the 50 percent who didn't
vote at all? And who was speaking for the 30 percent of the voters who voted
Republican habitually? And who was speaking for the 60 or 65 percent who voted
Democrat. Five percent, maybe, voted for the radical groups at that time at
the height of the revolution.

     So who now speaks for the Negro community? There will be many who will
speak, but there is an undefined ideology. And of course, invaribly, the mas-
ses are interested in the now and the leaders are interested in the hereafter.
The masses are interested in the reform and the leaders in the revolution. The
masses want a movement to serve them that means me, individually, rank and fi-
ler; and the leader is interested in the ideologic; he wants a movement to
serve the movement, the word the movement meaning me.

     Which brings us to the next point--this untested leadership. The begin-
nings of movements produce types. Type Number 1 at the beginning of a move-
ment is the demagogue. When movements start, you have demagogues; they are
big on promise and small on performance. They are great at the beginnings
and they are terrible at the endings, because at the beginning they haven't
been tested. Luigi Antonini, First Vice-President of ILGW, regularly des-

cribes a colleague of his by saying, "The firsa tima he talka, everybody be-
lieve. The second tima he talka, only halfa believe. The third tima he
talka, nobody believe." That is exactly right. The demagogue goes, but he
has his day.

New movements invariably produce leaders who are pure-and-simple hooli-
gans. Emotions are high, violence is common, and men appear upon the scene
who are fundamentally warriors. I respect them, some of them have been
among the greatest leaders of American laborers. But the day the war is
over, they are useless. They are men who are born for the violent hour.
They are around and they are inspiring, and we sing songs about them. They
don't build a movement, except in a moment when they are indispensible. I
have been in such moments, and thank God a couple of them were there, or I
wouldn't be here.

The beginnings of a movement will always produce the sectarian in the
same way that it produces the conflict of ideologies because someone is going
to come along and say, "We are fighting for the truth." Someone is going to
say, "But what is the truth?" Except that it will not be asked cynically,
but sincerely.

I was going to add that there are also many racketeers that attach them-
selves to movements at the beginnings, but that is a mistake. The raceteers
are always with us, when the movement is young, when the movement grows up,
and when the movement grows old. The racketeers are sine qua non.

I think that what has been said here of industrial union uprising is
true of the civil rights movement at the present time, and I think that these
hours mark the awkward age of a movement. It is marked by rapid physical
growth, emotionally by mixed moods, and programatically, by a desire on the
part of each leader to be "Big Papa." It is the social equivalent for the
syndrome of adolescence.

There are unlikenesses. I see one central difference. The CIO repre-
sented an integrated group that was seeking rights. The civil rights move-
ment at this point represents a group with legal rights that is seeking inte-
gration. And in that sense, they are opposites. The worker in an industrial
plant without a union, was already integrated into the economy. He was part
of a functioning society. He wanted the union so that he could have certain
rights; you know what they are. The CIO fought to get these rights. The Ne-
gro community within the last several years has won certain legal rights. Its
problem is not the rights; its problem is integration into the community.
Integration in the fullest economic, social and political sense. And because
of this basic difference the two movements have almost opposite problems.

Let's take the industrial union movement. When you are part of an eco-
nomy, you can have clear and realizable goals, because a revolution has al-
ready taken place if you are a part of the economy. You are in it. Now,
your next revolution, not really a revoltuion, although we think of it that
way, is really a set of reforms: working conditions, hours, wages. The big
revolution is, the union recognizes, the fact that you have a voice. That is
your right. After that come the real gains you can define and you can mea-
sure. They are tangible.

Point number two--because you can get measurable and tangible gains at a given hour, written down on a piece of paper, you can regularize the process of war and peace. You can say, when the contract ends, we had a war, but when we sign the contract, we have peace. You can even say how long you are going to have the peace, and if the peace gets disrupted in between, you set up a machinery. The industrial union organizations already had that horrible word, "a model," to follow. The model was the American Federation of Labor. It was a different form, but fundamentally collective bargaining is collective bargaining.

This morning one of the discussants said that the Negro was tired of promises. But the premise of American trade unionism is, "You don't live on promises." That is the one thing you never do. That is why you have a union. What an employer does is that he makes promises so he won't have a union. You don't depend on promises, you depend on a thing known as the contract. The contract is a piece of paper that defines the conditions, that is legally enforceable and you have a union machinery.

Unions have established jurisdictions, more or less. And this accomplishes two very, very definite things. Within the community known as the work place, you have a voice, you have one voice. Within the community known as the Negro community you do not have one voice. Let me create a negative model. Imagine an American trade union movement, totally without jurisdiction even in a single plant. We can have as many unions in a single plant as you'd like to. We would have chaos. We would have ideologic unions, personal unions, and the rest of it. The fact that we have jurisdiction automatically introduces a stabilizing factor. There is another advantage to jurisdiction, you can have many, many Indian chiefs. Somebody made the point in the discussion from the floor this morning. There are jobs; this is your chance to be a big man; this is your piece of territory; you are a hero and you can stabilize yourself and your organization because there is a place for many leaders. There are many rooms in labor's mansions.

A union is able to maintain a permanent mass base in the way that no political party can and no organization solely dedicated to demonstrations can, because the union is involved during every single hour with a process known as servicing. You do not build permanent mass organizations on speeches, on programs, on demonstrations, on upheavals, on religious revivals-- you build permanent mass organizations by personal servicing. Nobody has yet found another way to do it. May I suggest that those store front churces that give personal services are able to maintain a long existence and attached to themselves some very, very loyal parishioners.

Finally, the industrial union movement was self-financing. And the civil rights movement is not self-financing. And there is a great difference. When you are self-financing, it means that when you go out on strike and you empty your treasury; it is out of your pocket. So you say, "We only strike when we have to." When you are self-financing, you ultimately build in a set of responsibilities. Expecially is this true of the union leader who is dependent upon that treasury.

We have encouraged a style in the United States of external financing of the civil rights movement. I can understand it, and it was necessary in

the initial stages, exactly as it was necessary in the initial stage of the CIO. When the CIO started, it started with somebody else's money. But once it got past the initial stage, it became self-financing. Revolutions have to be self-liquidating. And the moment they begin to become that, then the movement can stand on its feet and make responsible decisions. These, then are the differences between the two movements.

I want to add one final note because I understand that I have completed fifteen minutes. One final note--(maybe it's a warning). This is a fairly tolerant society. I think it is. Not in an absolute sense, but in a relative sense. Social disorder can go on, and the society has the capacity to absorb it. But it is also a society that has in it a streak of anarchist anger that has exhibited itself over and over again, in vigilantism, in lynchings, in the kind of beatings and shootings that occurred during World War I. This is a society that is capable of attrocious acts of violence. I don't want to be an alarmist and say, "Here comes facism," but anybody who is involved in the making of a revolution, who has also taken time to study revolutions, knows that revolutions can provoke counter-revolutions. You can not wave it aside and say, "Not here." Of course it can happen here.

I was frightened this morning about what would happen if there were a vote on open housing. The question is, would it be 90 or 95% who would reject open housing? And that is a measure of a mood.

For this reason, at some point in the development of these movements, and I think that Irving Bernstein was hinting at it without saying it, there has to be a sober coming together of the socially progressive forces to discuss tactics and methods. Without it, there is the danger, the same as there was a danger at one point in the industrial union movement, that it might go off the deep end. But it never came to pass because there were people who moved in at the decisive moment to give the CIO a meaningful and a constructive direction.

MEANS AND ORGANIZATION IN THE TWO PERIODS   Paper II

NORMAN HILL
IUD, AFL-CIO

I think that it is both interesting and ironic that I am introduced as
a replacement for Herbert Hill. I'm not sure what the implications of such
an introduction are. The last time Herb and I had any lengthy discussion was
on a picket line in New York City. Gus Tyler referred earlier to factional-
ism within the trade union movement. I'd like to tell you about what we call-
ed each other on that picket line. My wife and I, both of us on the staff of
CORE at that time, were referring to Herb as the Left Cover for the Black
Bourgeoise. And he was referring to us as the Right Wing within CORE.

I'd like to concentrate this afternoon on the present and future in terms
of labor and the civil rights movements. I think it is important to start
with a realization of what I think are the important characteristics of the
victories in the civil rights movement, limited though they may be in terms
of the total needs of the Negro community. From 1955 to 1965 much of the di-
rect action and protest to which Gus Tyler referred took place around public
accommodations--hotels, motels, restaurants, etc. An important factor in
that struggle was that the entire Negro community could be united around
those particular struggles. Whether your income was $20,000 or $2,000, you
still had the same problem of getting a hamburger, of getting something to
eat in the restaurant, or getting a room in the hotel or motel. So the goal
itself, even though there might have been some disagreement on tactics,
brought people together through need and common deprivation.

I think the second factor was the dual function of demonstrations and
direct action in the period from 1955 to 1965. First, demonstrations drama-
tized that something was wrong. Second, by direct action they were able to
eliminate in many instances the injustice. Small groups of people who had
guts and courage and perserverance were able to socially dislocate a restau-
rant. They could sit there and endure brutality until something happened.
Even before the Civil Rights Act of 1964, there were numerous restaurants in
the Upper South that did desegregate, as a result of persons who had guts
and courage and perserverance and who were willing to endure brutality and
discomfort. Other significant characteristics during the period of 1955 to
1965 in the civil rights movement occurred in relation to the legislative
achievements. We can point to four pieces of major legislation that were
passed in the civil rights area alone, the 1957, 1960, 1964 and 1965 Acts.
Each time the newer civil rights organizations, CORE, SNCC, The Southern
Christian Leadership Conference and branches of the NAACP, served as cata-
lysts for moving the majority of society to the point where they politically
began to support and help get the votes that were needed to pass these four
major pieces of legislation.

The labor movement responded to the catalytic activity and used its po-
litical influence to secure passage of employment section of the Civil Rights
Act of 1964. In this context, the importance of the March on Washington, was
not the money that was made available from the labor movement, but that it

accelerated to a sufficient degree the political activity of a coalition that
eventually broke a Senate filibuster and secured passage of the 1964 Civil
Rights Act, a meaningful achievement with all of the current problems of en-
forcement and implementation. The March on Washington also provided public
attention around which for the first time the entire civil rights leadership
could raise from a national platform the economic dimensions of the Negro pro-
blem. I think that therefore the involvement of labor unions meant more than
financial contributions. The participation of trade unions furthered the
possibility of developing a working alliance with the civil rights movement
around a common economic program.

Since 1965 we have had a shift in goals of the civil rights movement and
its leadership--perhaps not a conscious, planned change of emphasis, but a
shift that is at least endorsed by most of the civil rights leadership--to
more fundamental economic and social problems. Without going into too great
a detailed explanation of what they may be, I would like to outline three of
these areas. One is fair, full and useful employment; the second is decent,
integrated housing; and the third is quality integrated education.

These goals are not merely racial, but social in nature. It is precisely
because of this fact, that their achievement necessitates a new strategy and
tactics. There is no Negro way, no purely civil rights way in which there
can be full employment. Full employment requires a basic institutional re-
sponse on the part of society, including democratic national planning. Given
the nature of huge slums, their spread and the economic factors fostering
them, there is no Negro way per se, there is no civil rights way whereby
there can be massive destruction of slums and the provision of decent housing
for all. I think the same is true in terms of education.

Even though the articulated needs of many in the Negro community--decent
housing, a good job, first-rate schools--are not different from the majority,
the necessity of new institutional responses to meet these needs makes the
thrust of the Negro community a liberalizing, if not radicalizing force, in
American society. If you are talking about new institutional responses, it
is not what you or I do as individuals that is most important, it is what
happens in response to collective, organized activity to make institutions re-
spond in a different or new way. In short, what I am really saying is that
there is increased need for political action on the part of the civil rights
movement.

It is interesting that if we examine what happened before 1965 we find
that one of the things that was being demanded from the federal government at
every point of major crisis in the civil rights movement was intervention in
terms of protection. There were federal troops in Little Rock, there was the
federalization of the National Guard to insure the recent historic march from
Selma to Montgomery, it was because of federal presence James Meredith gained
entrance to the University of Mississippi. The federal government could make
that kind of response with some political consequences, but with no change in
the basic allocation of resources. On the other hand, if we are talking about
current goals of the civil rights movement, what is involved is the massive
social investment of billions of dollars, quite a different demand to make up-
on the federal government and one which does require a new kind of political
constellation, if not a new political response. It is in this context that

there are some serious tactical problems in the civil rights movement at present.

In this context, demonstrations, though valuable, as a means of high-lighting a problem, have a more limited function. Unemployment can be drama-tized by a demonstration or picket line but full employment can not be cre-ated by a single demonstration. Demonstrations alone cannot achieve the de-gree of massive investment needed to solve the problem of decent housing for everybody, nor solve the tremendously complex problem of how to really build quality integrated school systems throughout the country. Demonstrations need to be coupled with political action.

Whereas earlier we had tactics made for the civil rights movement by the opposition, by the Bull Connors, the Jim Clarks, who by their stupid racist violence could create the kind of majority response that we needed to get leg-islation passed, this is no longer true. We're not likely to have the Bull Connors and Jim Clarks functioning in the same way. We therefore need analy-sis and thought, the training of a cadre and intense organization utilizing action, confrontation and the provision of services on a variety of levels. This kind of tactical change is difficult because there is a gap organization-ally, in terms of the capacity of the civil rights movement and the increased expectations and the heightened frustrations that exist in the Negro community as a whole. None of the civil rights groups really have the mass organiza-tional capacity to provide at this moment a vehicle whereby the tactical ad-justments can be made. One of the reasons for the disturbances and riots in the Negro community is the absence of a militant, mass-based vehicle with lo-cal roots and national coordination whereby energies and frustrations can be channeled into concrete, specific programs and activities.

Given this brief analysis of the civil rights movement, I would like to outline some considerations in weighing the relevance of the labor movement. One of the interesting things about the references to labor's conservatism of my friend and co-worker, Bob Green, is that he, possibly unconsciously, was using a different standard of judgement to measure labor's conduct. A stan-dard I very much share and which one is of bases for some of the disappoint-ment expressed with the labor movement. That standard flows in part from the history, the idealism, from the struggles that Gus Tyler and others have de-scribed that are a part of labor's history.

Important progress has been made, though racial discrimination still exists in some sections of the labor movement. The concrete manifestations of change will minimize clashes between civil rights organizations and trade unions.

Equally important are other specific areas in which there can be cooper-ation to change the atmosphere of false scarcity and possible depression that affect black and white workers, the working and non-working poor--regardless of race. For example, precisely because of the know-how that has been dis-played by the labor movement in getting to the point where it is today, its organizing capacity, experience with the processes in techniques of organiza-tion, trade unions have the possiblity and the potential to become at least in part the vehicle with which a great number of people in the Negro commun-ity can identify and better their own situation. One of the factors that is

responsible for the existence of the civil rights movement today has been the
organization of industrial unions. Negro workers who were members of these
unions gained some economic security and independence and could provide a ba-
sis of political and economic support of civil rights struggles. The real
challenge in question is whether or not the labor movement can demonstrate
the flexibility, creativity and committment to stimulate organization among
large numbers of unorganized working and non-working Negroes, Puerto Ricans,
Mexicans and other minorities.

     The second area in which there is a relationship is that of politics.
Still facing the civil rights movement, though we have the 1965 Voting Act
which gives Negroes additional protection in attempting to go to the polls,
is the fact that the Negro vote is as yet not really organized. Its politi-
cal potential, particularly in the South, has not been maximized. The Negro
vote could be the key to changing the nature and quality of political repre-
sentation and debate in this country because on both foreign and domestic is-
sues, Southern Congressmen are conservative and control important committees
in Congress. The labor movement needs a more favorable political climate,
nationally and regionally, to make organizational progress in the South. The
mutual political interest is clear.

     There is also common interest, though not always common awareness, in the
area of economic programs. The problem of black frustration can be dealt with
more easily with full employment. Unless we are able to obtain the allocation
of resources for job creation around social needs, there will be no alterna-
tive to the atmosphere of scarcity and fear of what's going to happen to my
job, about whether or not there is going to be a recession or depression, a-
bout whether or not my community will decline because Negroes may move into
it, about whether my recent struggle to leave the inner city and move to the
suburbs, made possible because of gains that I have made as a unionized wor-
ker, will be upset by Negroes coming into my neighborhood and coming into my
community. Whether school integration programs, particularly in the North
continue to be interpreted by large numbers of white families as likely to
cause the downgrading of the quality of education of their children depends
on a successful common struggle to achieve the kind of social and economic
program which will distribute the abundance that we now have in our society
more equitably.

     One of the things that the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO is
trying to do through the community unions--a new approach to organizing the
working poor now underway in three communities, Watts, California, the west
side of Chicago, and Newark, New Jersey--is to provide the vehicle that is
missing in the Negro community--to take trade union capacity, the know-how
which union members have shown in maintaining their local union, running
meetings, making speeches, raising funds, and keeping books and apply it in
meaningful community organizations. One example of creativity at the commun-
ity level is the use of collective bargaining in landlord-tenant relations.

     In summary, there is a possible potential, yet largely unrealized, for
a functioning civil rights-labor coalition, which could combine the energy,
dynamism and idealism of the civil rights movement with the organizational
know-how and capacity of the labor movement.

44

RONALD HAUGHTON
Wayne State University

I go along with those who have emphasized the differences. While I find some similarities in the very narrow area of conflict resolution, I see tremendous differences between the over-all movement to organize in the 1930's and the civil rights movement of recent years.

At the present stage of the civil rights movement for more rights, more participation, more "in-ness" as Mr. Tyler might say, there is a lack of the existence of parallel structures with either elected representatives or designated representatives who can lock in mortal combat, so to speak, and then sign a piece of paper providing for a truce period. Such a period in collective bargaining has traditionally been established, and generally is for one, two or three years. There is then provided within the truce period very sophisticated machinery to resolve finally any differences of interpretation which might arise. This kind of structure seems to be lacking in civil rights negotiations and settlements.

I see three dimensions to the matter of comparison. First on the immediate economic, bread-and-butter issues I see that there are problems which can be worked out through the traditional conflict resolution procedures developed over the years in the collective bargaining process. There is much that can be adapted from collective bargaining and applied to civil rights disputes settlement, for example, as long as it is limited to consideration of relatively narrow definable issues.

Second, issues such as those relating to housing, and education, which are amongst the most basic concerns of the civil rights movement, are so broad that they do not readily lend themselves to the methods of resolving conflict developed in the collective bargaining fights of the thirties.

Finally, one of the most basic differences between the problems of the two periods are the very deep fears of racial integration held by so many in connection with resistance to civil rights goals. I submit that this circumstance makes the resolution of civil rights issues much more difficult than was settlement of the more economically based collective bargaining disputes of the thirties.

I speak here from my knowledge of the white community. I am a part of it. I cannot speak realistically of the depth of feeling the Negro community has on this race matter, but I can remind every white person in this room, that if he doesn't have this fear, this unreasonable sort of religious, fanatical, mystical fear about at least some aspect of racial integration, his next door neighbor probably does. This racial fear variable makes it extremely difficult even to get parallel institutions set up to resolve civil rights problems. It did not take many years to take such matters as the check-off of union dues and union recognition almost out of controversy. These and most of the other collective bargaining issues could be resolved with money.

The depths of racial fears were not disturbed in the economic area; while this frequently must be the case with respect to actions of the civil rights movement.

I have so far tended to emphasize the differences. However, in my own activities in the area of resolving problems related to civil rights activities, I have been reasonably successful in transferring conflict resolution procedures learned in collective bargaining. I have found them to be very useful as long as the issues have been relatively narrow and economic in nature.

In my days of mediating labor disputes, especially in the early period of this activity, I found the companies in effect protecting their long held vested rights and the unions were chipping away at them. There is a whole theory in collective bargaining to the effect that if management does not formally give up a right; it retains it. The unions have spent years chipping away at so-called residual rights. The results have been incorporated into formal documents known as collective bargaining agreements.

I have found a parallel in my work with segregated Negro and white local unions in the tobacco industry. There, like management in the old days, white local unions have been satisfied to rest on certain vested seniority rights to the best jobs. Negroes, as were unions in years past, have been in the position of trying to take rights away from those who have long held them--in this case, seniority rights held by white workers.

Thus, I found white workers enjoying certain vested rights, just as has management viz-a-viz unions, with the Negroes chipping away at these rights. In the relatively narrow job related circumstances with which I was concerned the real issues were economic, and did not involve such basic matters as racial fears. The fact is, that when disputes between Negro and white workers have involved practical work related activities, I have been able to look for realistic areas of agreement based on the economics of the situation.

The more specific bread-and-butter trade union type of economic issues were involved, the more easily they were susceptible to resolution.

In one case where Negro and white locals of a company were in dispute over seniority rights, I set about getting parallel power structures established which were comparable to those I am used to in collective bargaining. The Negroes and the company each had a good lawyer, but the white local had no such professional representation.

When it was suggested, the white local quickly obtained the services of a good lawyer skilled in collective bargaining negotiation techniques. With this kind of expertise available areas of possible agreement were identified. A provisional agreement was made to in effect merge previously segregated seniority lines. This would be difficult to do even if the race element had not been present. However, subject to approval by the cognizant government agencies, money solved the problem. It was agreed by the whites and the Negroes and the company that as jobs open up in the lines of progressions, and Negroes bid into them on a plantwide basis, qualified Negroes will be awarded them in accordance with plantwide seniority.

It was recognized that the real problem would then arise if a job occupied by a Negro and a white worker is subject to a reduction in force. With merged seniority, a senior long-service Negro would be expected to stay on the job and the junior in company service white worker would be reduced even if he had much longer service on the job itself. Given such a possibility one can readily see why a white worker would be reluctant to vote for a merged seniority listing.   It is emphasized here that the democratic process of ratifying collective bargaining contracts requires a majority vote of those affected.

The economics of the problem relating to a seniority merging of racially segregated jobs provided the answer just as it would in a normal collective bargaining situation. How was it done? Well, the company had had a strong fear, probably justified, that if something were not worked out, Negroes in Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago and New York might stop using its product. Money was found so as to provide that when a Negro moves up the job seniority ladder, with say thirty years of seniority, and stays there for about six months, or whatever the time might be, and then there is a cutback in employment, the white man goes down, but the latter is guaranteed for a considerable time the retention of his former rate of pay. This was an adaption of the time-honored procedure developed in collective bargaining of a "red penciling" rate, and allowing the affected individual to hold it even if he is reduced to a lower rated job.

A relatively easy assignment I had was consulting with a bank on a greater integration of its work force. There had been a tremendous push on the part of a number of Negro community groups for more jobs for Negroes on a straight headcount basis. The matter was finally resolved by a promise on the part of the bank to make a positive and realistic effort to hire qualified Negroes for job openings as they would occur.

On matters like this, I have observed that Negro civil rights groups have been relatively conservative. They normally do not suggest pushing white workers out of jobs. Generally, they ask that when there are additions to the work force, or when a white incumbent dies, quits, or gets promoted, a realistic and effective procedure be established whereby a qualified Negro will be given serious consideration.

Other civil rights employment related disputes in which I have been involved have related to building trades employment. I pretty well "struck out" in Cleveland, but in Detroit, stand-by machinery has been established whereby, at the very least, an objective look can be taken at minority group hiring procedures through a formal hearing-mediation procedure.

To sum up, I have found similarities between conflict situations relating to collective bargaining in the thirties and civil rights problems when the area of differences has been both economic and narrow. The old procedures are not particularly susceptible to transfer when broad philosophical issues are involved.

MEANS AND ORGANIZATION IN THE TWO PERIODS--DISCUSSION

Tyler: This is not in rebuttal but I am always fearful that a major point
goes lost in this kind of a discussion. We speak of the Negro community, we
speak of the labor movement, but there is no such thing as the Negro
community, and there is no such thing as the labor movement. When you
finally get down to the resolution of conflict in unions, you don t have to
deal with the labor movement. If you had to you would never resolve the
conflict. You deal with a particular institution. In most cases, in the
final analysis, you end up with the shop steward, and by the time this thing
gets to third-step grievance it is a very narrow business. So, when
Ron Haughton arrives on the scene with all of his expertise and says that he
is going to narrow the focus, it has already been narrowed, because
structurally the issue could only arise in a very, very narrow way.

Then when you bring a sophisticated intelligence to play upon it, you
narrow it further. You knock out this guy's personality and that guy's
personality, and this little insult that they tossed out in the course of the
conversation and finally you boil it down to cost, and you split the
difference. That is because it has already been institutionalized, and while
we speak of the labor movement, which is the way that intellectuals like to
talk, the truth of the matter is that when it comes to the operational
aspect of the things, it isn't the labor movement at all, it is an institution.

We speak of the American Negro. Well, I have been very close to it, not
as close as others--I am by complexion handicapped--but there is no Negro
community. In spite of the ghetto, there is no Negro community; and you
would think that there would be. There are ethnic differences within a Negro
community, there are vast cultural differences within a Negro community,
geographic differences, and the economic differences are really quite
unbelievable within the Negro community.

There is a Negro bourgeois. That Negro bourgeoisie wants the ghetto; it
lives on the ghetto. And I would say that no small part of the resentment of
the present moment of militance within the civil rights movement arises from
the fact that after all the promises and after all the demonstrations, this
talented tenth may have doubled its income within two years, but the
neglected 30 percent, I mean the totally neglected 30 percent, still wallows in
the same misery that it has suffered in for we don't know how long.

So this is a differentiated community as the labor community is a
differentiated community; and once it is a differentiated community, it only
finds realistic, tangible, concrete solutions in terms of differentiated
institutions.

This does not mean that a total Negro community, in the same way that we
have a total labor movement, cannot move on the political level. When it
comes to political action, there the labor movement is something of a
movement. Most of the unions can agree on whom they would like to have as
president of the United States, what piece of generalized legislation they
would back, and on who the Congressional candidate may be. There the
movement acts a movement, but this is at the political level. And I think
that you have to differentiate between the two.

When Norman is speaking about the need for political action, there the Negro community can more or less act as a group, although there is a problem with the Negro bourgeoisie and they are going to be difficult to move into one of these movements. They are not for integration, they are against it and they have good reason to be against it.

And then you have the other end of the community, which is apathetic beyond all belief and for reasons that we all understand. Two hundred years of slavery leaves a mark on people. If you are out, you are out, and their self-image is "We are out." That group is hard to organize, but there is a separate level of action which is the neighborhood, the apartment house, the Liggett and Myers plant where you want to upgrade and get seniority for Negroes. It is a differentiated community, and the solutions have to be in specifics, and it is not possible to arrive at those specific solutions by a generalized shout of maltreatment. They have to go in and solve it specifically in narrow focus.

Hill: To implify something that Gus said, one of the things that it is very clear tactically and that explains some of the tremendous confusion that goes on today even among the leadership in the Negro community, is the very fact that there are these class lines economically. As I mentioned earlier, public accommodations could be a unifying factor.

Even these goals which I mentioned, which those people who are leaders would sign and endorse as goals, are not really goals of all Negroes to the same degree. I am sure that if you talk about the economic needs and what is a meaningful economic program, there would be tremendous differences between Negro workers and the Negro middle class. It is precisely because of this reason that I think that you will not see a unified community. And the very class that needs the most in terms of economic change is therefore most desperately in need of an organization vehicle, while the Negro middle class does have some organizational vehicles right now. That is the kind of situation that we face.

Haughton: I stand corrected on using the labels "labor movement" and "Negro community." I am very well aware of these class lines in the Negro community to which Mr. Hill just referred. I have talked to Negroes of different classes and I think that I know of what he speaks. I would hold to my original point, though, that there is a white community, and there I think that this basic fear of face cuts across the class lines perhaps more, and I cannot document this, than a consciousness of race cuts across class lines in a group of Negroes. You could unify a group of whites on a housing situation, as a white community right across class lines from top to bottom, while it may be that a group of Negroes of various classes might splinter and cut each other off.

Comment: I was not too old to work for the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities, nor too young to be one of the first employees of the CIO headquarters. I have been extremely interested in the parallels of these two movements. One of them is the tremendous speed of development of a mass movement. We have lived through this recently in connection with the civil rights movement. Those of you who are younger than some of us may not realize how much of this was true of the union movement.

Some of the books that have been written about the development of steel or auto unions somehow don't quite give this feeling of sweep, because there were a hundred days in the fall and winter of 1936 to 1937 that were as significant as the first hundred days of the Roosevelt administration, because it was precisely one-hundred days from the re-election of Roosevelt in 1936 until the General Motors agreement in February of 1937. That was the period of a tremendous breakthrough when the first of the really giant corporations was forced to recognize unionism in a mass production industry. The U. S. Steel agreement was signed just a couple weeks later without a strike.

Those of us who were working in the CIO headquarters were witnesses or participants in the tremendous rise of unions, we were swamped with petitions for charters. The same is true, incidentally, for the AFL because the workers who for some reason didn't want to go into the CIO unions were chartered by or became members of the AFL. So the method or pace of this kind of social movement is not one of even development--it goes in stages.

I think there may be lessons also from that earlier experience as to the period that we are now going through. It is a little risky to draw comparisons, but labor's success in the election of 1936, which then led to the breakthrough in organization to which I have just referred, was followed by the kind of impasse in the country which I am afraid that we may be getting into now, a period when you simply could not get new legislation through.

There was also a period of a few years when there was very bitter fighting among the unions themselves. The AFL and the CIO were not on speaking terms in many places, except to call each other names or to accuse each other of strikebreaking. It is not surprising if the new civil rights movement encounters similar difficulties.

There were also severe setbacks for the industrial union movement that may have been forgotten. Just after these tremendous victories there was a failure in the little steel strike which resulted in the defeat of unionism in the next three largest companies for a substantial period of time. There are certainly many reasons why Negroes should be highly dissatisfied with the slowness of progress, but it may be that this is an inevitable part of the development of a social movement. You have a period of rapid development, then a period of setback.

There is another point that I would like to make. John L. Lewis, as head of the CIO, deliberately invited in people who were linked with the Communists to help lead various unions. He turned to the radicals, not just to the Communists, to get the experienced leadership that he felt he needed, and he thought he could control them. He found that it was very difficult to control them. I think that there is a lesson to be learned here. I am not implying anything about the present situation, because I don't know what is going on, but the idea that you can necessarily use the experience of some of these young people and still keep them under control is one of the lessons history teaches one to regard extremely carefully.

Hill: In contrast to the labor movement and the CIO in its early days, one of the problems that the civil rights movement faces today is that there is no radical movement of the same consequence or permanence whereby the new leaders might make the decision to involve themselves in a continuing cause. That presents a different context in which the civil rights movement operates.

The people who were involved in the sit-ins in the early 60's were in many ways the most upwardly mobile among Negroes. Their very thrust was that which allowed them to participate in the sit-ins. Now what has happened to them? Some of them, because they didn't understand the relationship of the race and class factors, became quickly disoriented when the problem became more complex and are now very confused or have left a movement which couldn't sustain them because it was not self-financing and have gone into a lot of other posts, and they have become The Visible Negro in a lot of posts now.

Question: I want to address my question to Gus Tyler. From the comments made here today, collective bargaining is coming out smelling like a rose, yet in the books written today, quite the opposite point is made. Do you want to comment on this?

Tyler: I don't think that collective bargaining per se needs any kind of a defense any more than the term politics needs a defense. It is an area of conflict. Some unions bargain well and some unions bargain badly. Some unions ask for the impossible, and some unions fix every bargaining session before they even get started and I think that there is a certain naivete in saying that collective bargaining in the 1960's is dead or that it is great. It has to be an ongoing process. It will only be dead when human beings are dead.

Comment: You frequently see pictures of how Negroes have succeeded in industry-- always a picture of the boss sitting at his desk with a Negro standing at his shoulders, but never with the Negro sitting at the boss's desk. There are a number of unions which would like to have another twenty Negroes in their membership, but not two hundred. They don't want to have enough Negroes in their union to be able to elect a business representative, certainly not a president of the local. There are many managements who would like to have a Negro in their personnel department, but they don't want him to be vice-president or president. But I think that when we are talking about goals, we are not talking about just getting a few members in, we are talking about positions of power.

Comment: Ron Haughton was talking about his very useful participation in the Liggett and Myers and I hasten to add that if we could get something like his settlement, widespread throughout the South, it would take a good bit of the sting out of some of these issues in a hurry. Unfortunately, we cannot get that kind of a settlement and we have a very severe conflict between whites who have jobs and job rights, and Negroes who either should have had them and don't, or who never had them and want them. There are people in that situation who really do want white jobs and not only want them because they think that they deserve them, but want them punitively, in the sense that they want to do bad to people who have done bad to them. Along with the fact that there is a fairly militant minority who would be willing to penalize whites, there are, at least in the South, white liberals, who are non-thinking and who are also non-union, who will join this kind of demand.

It seems to me that this is a very unfortunate thing to happen, North South or anywhere else, that either force, Negro or white, and certainly both forces together, should pick the wrong guy to be the buck, and that is the poor Southern white who is trying to protect himself now but who is not nearly so responsible for the situation he is in as many others.

The demands on one side and the resistance on the other suggest the kind of thing that Bob Green was trying to tell us this morning, which is, that it is not just tokenism any more, it is not just massive tokenism, and it is not just integration, but we are also talking about the radication of racism from American society.

This leads to some of the nebulousness of the civil rights organization, in terms of goals and aims. It also ties in with Norm Hill's discussion of going to coalition. It is at this point that you really do get a kind of parallel structure between labor and civil rights interests. At least on one side you have a kind of structure, and on the other side you essentially do not have a structure. Although Norm Hill was laying out the kind of program which I would personally endorse, nevertheless it brings us back to where Norm left us, as to whether or not the labor movement has a responsibility as an ongoing organization, as a representative body, to explore how it can effectively deal with what is after all a very amorphous and in some cases a very disorganized civil rights movement.

Comment: I would like to comment on Gus Tyler's analysis of the differences between the labor movement and the civil rights movement. He pointed out that there was quite a difference in structural elements. I think there is a portion of the civil rights movement that is beginning to grow in the various inner cities around our country that is emulating somewhat the kinds of the things that the union movement has been utilizing in the past. And this is where the civil rights people are attempting to organize on a community basis on the Alinsky style.

In the points that Tyler mentioned as differences, I would like to point out some of the similarities. One of the things that this type of organization is trying to develop is the type of jurisdiction over neighborhoods, just as the labor movement is always working jurisdiction over plants. The other thing that these organizations try to accomplish--their main goal really--is to build an organization by servicing the personal needs, which is also an element of the labor movement.

Although they initially get money from the outside, these organizations are struggling to become self-financing, self-sustaining institutions. And these organizations do the same thing that the union does in the life of an agreement, in resolving grievances and negotiating. The kind of thing that Hill has been working on is the community union, where the attempt is being made to use people with experience in labor organizing to aid these localities in developing this organization. And here the labor movement and the civil rights movement come together.

Kahn: I was struck this morning when someone made the observation that he had been one of the most enthusiastic proponents of a labor party for many, many years. Apparently out of this fruitless enthusiasm, he was saying to the

civil rights movement, beware of a third party. The point that I want to make is one that I was reminded of by that observation.

At any time within any cultural movement you are going to find a wide range of tactics, strategies, and programs that support the different types of ideological framework all in existance simultaneously within the movement. I would like to suggest that the tactics that eventually turn out to be successful are not those dreamed up by someone in some garrett but the ones which really fit the needs of the times.

The people who have been advocates of and who have been involved with supporting the kinds of tactics which turn out at some given point to meet the needs of the times are the ones who tend, initially, to assume the leadership. But as the times change and the tactics change, either people have to change or the old, militant, vigorous fighter has to give way to the administrator.

I do believe that what we have been hearing today demonstrates that a wide variety of tactics are going to be needed at a wide variety of levels to deal with a wide variety of objectives which relate to the civil rights program. It may turn out that there are uses for third parties in some situations. They could be local third parties. There may be need for fellows like Ron Haughton to get into some situations with a very narrow and skillful approach to make some order out of dissention. I think that we have to be catholic in our approach.

PUBLIC REACTION TO THE STRUGGLE   Paper I

NATHAN P. FEINSINGER
University of Wisconsin

Research in human relations is a most fascinating occupation. Most of us who apply for grants do not work out a detailed program until after we have the grant in hand. We are prepared to tailor our program to the nature and size of the grant. For example, I am told of a discussion over the phone between the Ford Foundation and a Law School Dean which went as follows:

Fordman: What kind of research are you going to do?
Dean: That depends--big grant, big research; little grant,
          little research.

My thesis is simply that the use of force as a determinant of disputes of all kinds is out. The emerging nations are saying, "Please, Mr. White Man, give us back our burden. We'd like to carry it ourselves." That being the case, we have to develop another approach to the resolution of the problems which will still be there. That approach is mediation. For the purpose of this discussion I shall use the concept of mediation to cover all voluntary methods of settlement--including voluntary arbitration. The question is whether we can develop teachable and workable techniques which can be used by people, or for people, who need this sort of help. This objective is one main reason for the establishment of the Center for Teaching and Research in dispute Settlement, hereafter called: The Center.

The Center is presently hitched to the Law School, first, because it makes for easier administration, second, because mediation is in a sense another method of settling disputes to be placed alongside of a law suit, voluntary arbitration, and the like. Right now, many if not most lawyers are suspicious of mediation because they regard it as cutting into their practice, though some, including myself, think the opposite.

The concept of mediation invites experimentation as indicated by the different approaches taken in Wisconsin and Michigan to the problem of strikes in public employment. The Michigan "All-public Commission" headed by Professor Russell Smith, came out with the forthright proposition that strikes by policemen and firemen should be outlawed and their disputes with public employers be subjected to arbitration with a review after three years. If compulsory arbitration does not work, it is very difficult to switch to voluntary arbitration. By contrast, if voluntary arbitration does not work, it is relatively simple to go to compulsory arbitration.

In my opinion "agreed legislation" provides the best assurance of industrial peace. Compulsory arbitration, even a little bit, provides a dangerous precedent. In a free society, sanctions and penalties do not work with the American worker. But if he should agree, through his union, to a procedure which involves a <u>voluntary</u> no-strike agreement, for a fair consideration, he would have a stake in making it work.

The techniques of mediation should be particularly useful in the settlement of civil rights disputes as a substitute for "demonstrations." Civil rights leaders, however, are suspicious of mediation, and understandably so for various reasons. For example, counter demonstrations, as a rule, greatly outnumber the demonstrators and may provide the spark for a riot. Yet it is seldom that anyone--newspapers, police, et cetera--take account of the counter demonstrators. Again, civil rights leaders regard mediation, at least open- or on-top-of-the-table mediation, as a compromise of their "God-given" or constitutionally protected human rights. What is needed to offset this feeling is a better understanding by those leaders of how to use the mediation process to their advantage. The Wisconsin Mediation Center is now seeking to put together a program designed in part to meet this and other needs. We intend to invite members of the militant Milwaukee chapter of the Youth Group of the N.A.A.C.P., together with their equally militant "advisor," Father Groppi, to spend a week or so in Madison as guests of the Center to discuss the whole problem, including adjustments which might be made in the normal process of mediation to meet the particular problems of the civil rights movements.

Finally, as part of the Center program, we intend to examine certain basic problems including:

1. What are the ingredients of successful mediation?

2. Can a mediator be trained?

3. If so, what is the best background for such training?

4. Can successful mediation techniques in one field, for example, labor management disputes, be transferred to other areas of dispute including civil rights and international affairs?

This is enough, I think, to put to you this morning. Thank you.

PUBLIC REACTION TO THE STRUGGLE   Paper II

HERBERT R. NORTHRUP
University of Pennsylvania

Twenty-seven years ago to this day (May 6, 1940), I obtained leave from my studies at Harvard to report for work at the Chrysler Building in New York City. There, Gunnar Myrdal had assembled a staff to undertake "The Negro in America" survey sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. From this early research came my study of the racial policies of American unions.[1] Now my colleagues at the Wharton School, together with several at other institutions, are deeply involved in a three year industry by industry analysis of the racial policies of American industry, sponsored by a grant from The Ford Foundation.

In the quarter century between these two projects, much has been accomplished and much has been learned. Yet the civil rights issue remains the number one social problem in America today. Basic to this issue is the right and ability of citizens to earn a livelihood. Negroes, our largest minority, continue to represent a disproportionate share of unemployment, and are concentrated disproportionately in the unskilled and lower paying jobs where employed. Other civil rights issues would undoubtedly not disappear if minority group employment problems were solved to the same extent as those of the white majority have been, but it is believed that the opening of jobs on a truly fair and equal basis would be the most significant step toward eliminating racial inequities. A job with dignity and income stabilizes the family, permits the acquisition of decent housing, and enables a person otherwise to fend for himself even if he is often socially unacceptable to others, or encounters invidious rebuffs.

Considerable detail concerning the Negro in the labor market is now available. Several studies have been made of union and government policies toward discrimination in employment. A number of case studies of particular employer racial employment policies are also available. But no one has ever analyzed employer policies in an attempt to determine their rationale. Yet, employer policies will largely be the determining factor in the course of minority group employment, even though union and government policies will interact with and affect such employer policies.

If economic conditions of minority groups are to be improved, we must know why some industries are more hospitable to minority group employment than are others, and why some companies within the same industry have vastly different racial employment policies. What are the economic, institutional, and behavioral factors determining these policies? If these questions are capable of constructive analysis--as I believe that they are--then it can be determined in what types of industries and companies the greatest potential for Negro employment exists, and in what types the most significant barriers to such employment are found. These findings, combined with labor market analysis and trends and with business and job forecasting would permit a

[1]Herbert R. Northrup, Organized Labor and the Negro (New York: Harper and Row, 1944).

more rational attack on discrimination in employment in terms of potential
results for effort expended. They should also materially improve vocational
guidance, the direction of training and development at all levels, and the
untilization of legal means to overcome discrimination.

Some Hypotheses to be Tested

     The research design is not, of course, complete, for it is expected
that a number of significant aspects or variables will be uncovered as the
research proceeds. Nevertheless, the varying racial employment policies of
American industry have been a subject of my observation, study, and practice
for more than twenty years. During this period, I have developed several
basic hypotheses which require testing, but which appear on the basis of
limited data and observation to be worth careful investigation. Other hypo-
theses will, of course, be developed and tested, but the following include
those which at this stage appear quite promising. No atempt has been made
to arrange these hypotheses in an order of importance. Moreover, some hypo-
theses are more clearly stated than others, precisely because they are now
in a more advanced state than others in their development and understanding.

(1) The relation of racial employment policies and consumer market ori-
     entation. Are companies that produce products directly for the con-
     sumer market more likely to pursue a more vigorous employment inte-
     gration policy than those which make goods for other producers?
     Would, for example, the racial difficulties in Birmingham and Boga-
     lusa have been at least arrested if consumer goods industries had
     been the dominant employer here? There are many facets to such a
     question, with the answer not at all clear; yet, areas in which pre-
     dominately consumer goods manufacturers are operating do not seem to
     have been "Bogalusas" or "Birminghams." Nor did a consumer goods
     company announce that a plant would be built in Selma when that
     troubled town was a household word.

(2) The nature of the work. Historically, Negroes in industry have
     been confined to unskilled and dirty, unpleasant, or backbreak-
     ing jobs. Industries which have traditionally needed such labor
     have employed large numbers of minority groups. Does this fix
     the status of the minority group and "disqualify" him in the eyes
     of the employer for better jobs in such industries? This ques-
     tion takes on added significance in view of the heavy replacement
     of unskilled labor by mechanical devices and the relative decline
     in demand for unskilled labor since World War II. Perhaps indus-
     tries and companies which traditionally employed Negro labor in
     traditional jobs will tend to be more discriminating employers of
     the future (or even the present). Or will the presence of Negroes
     on the roles enable them to advance more easily to better jobs?
     Both hypotheses may have some validity in different circumstances.

(3) The time and nature of the industry's development. The tradi-
     tional white industry of the South is cotton textiles which
     developed there during post-Civil War years in part as an

economic restoration mechanism and a source of employment for poor whites. Negroes were excluded or confined to yard or janitorial work. It set the pattern for most new Southern industries prior to World War II.

In contrast, the pre-Civil War developed tobacco industry employed Negroes since its inception. But cigarette production or other new manufacturing was worked on by whites only. Instead of exclusion, a racial-occupational segregation pattern developed which remained until recent market and government pressures forced token integration.

Bituminous coal mining used Negroes as strike-breakers and a labor source after World War I ended immigration; but Negroes have been excluded from anthracite mining which reached maturity and was unionized before Negroes were brought into Northern industry during World War I.

In 1942, a leading utility executive advised me that Negroes were not qualified to operate trolley cars; it was difficult to say that about Negroes as bus drivers when the Negro applicant drove up in a car.

When an industry began may determine _how_ its policies become institutionalized.

(4) Closely allied with the previous hypothesis is _the nature of union organization_. In general--although not always--older industries like railroads, printing, and building construction, are ones unionized on a craft basis with its concomitant job scarcity and anti-minority group bias. A community of feeling between craftsmen and employers on racial employment matters exists in such industries. The interaction tends to strengthen discrimination. Moreover, the fragmentation of unions adds additional barriers which must be overcome if existing discriminatory patterns are to be modified. Previously developed hypotheses concerning the impact of unions need careful re-examination to determine whether unions, by institutionalizing the _status quo_, tend to perpetuate discrimination.

(5) _Automation impacts_. That technological development has often hit hard at Negro employment is obvious to observers of the labor market. The concentration of Negroes in unskilled and service work makes them especially susceptible to replacement by machines; and their inferior educational background poses impediments when opportunities to operate new equipment are available. Of course, there are opposite experiences as the bus-trolley example indicates. But the relatively small ratio of Negroes in skilled jobs compared to unskilled, and their lack of background and training to operate complicated equipment continue as major problems.

When technological development moves rapidly, the type of union

organization or its attitude toward Negroes may not be signi-
ficant factors. Negro employment has been as hard and dispropor-
tionately hit in the bituminous coal industry, where the union
welcomed their membership, as in railroads where union racial
discrimination has historically been most virulen. In both
industries, a combination of substitute industry competition
and technological change has driven employment down precipi-
tously--and Negro employment down at an even faster rate.

(6) The concern of the industry or, more likely, the company with
its image is significant. This involves more than consumer
orientation. For example, it is possible to contrast companies
in the business machine field and discover wide variation in
interest in minority group employment. This observation may
also be made with respect to other industries. Executive interest
in projecting a certain image of the company is probably a signifi-
cant variable in racial employment policy.

(7) Historically, industry has followed the mores of the community.
The development of industry in North v. South, in heavily minor-
ity group populated v. light minority group populated areas, etc.,
may provide the basis for quite different racial employment
policies. But when companies have expanded into new regions,
most followed the community patterns where they located. A few
significant ones adhered to what they were accustomed in their
initial location. No consistent reason for this variation has
been found except in the convictions of the management or its
consumer market orientation. Here all the hypotheses will need
to be examined to find if a consistent pattern is present.

(8) An interesting development in shaping company racial policies in
recent years was the Southern school crisis over integration.
Nationally-based companies, and local banks and financial institu-
tions all found that they could not stav "neutral." This forced an
introspective look at their own policies on the part of these com-
panies. Later of course, general civil rights agitation further moved
companies toward more liberal policies. The impact of these factors,
extraneous to industry's direct employment function, need to be examined
carefully.

(9) Over the years I have observed that companies headed by indivi-
duals of minority ethnic stock or by those whose origin was some-
what outside the background from which most managers have developed,
have initiated programs quite sympathetic to expanded minority
group employment. To the extent that such information can be
obtained, it will be tested empirically.

(10) The service industries offer a fertile field for examination
because some have been traditionally Negro, or minority group,
some traditionally white, some segregated by establishment, some
segregated by job (waiters v. busboys), and some mixed. No hypo-
thesis has yet been found to explain these patterns to my satis-
faction, but in view of the expansion of this sector of the economy
it is planned to investigate it thoroughly.

(11) The impact of government on employer policies is, of course, a
       significant study in itself, but it must be dealt with in a study
       of employer policies. This involves not only procurement and fair
       employment commission activity, but also general standards setting
       government employment. The hypothesis is that the closer the com-
       pany is to government supervision, the more it must follow govern-
       ment standards. Yet, a careful examination of the facts will demon-
       strate that this hypothesis is far too simple. The automobile in-
       dustry, which sells primarily to the public, has a far higher
       percentage of Negroes than does the aerospace industry, which has
       the government as its principal, or in many cases, sole customer.
       Electric and gas utilities and the Bell System are both utilities
       regulated primarily by state public service commissions, but in
       most areas the Bell Company's policies are significantly more
       liberal than those of the other utilities. Airlines, maritime
       employers, truckers and railroads also do not demonstrate too
       similar policies despite similar governmental relations; and there
       are other examples. Why these variations occur is obviously
       worth careful study.

Concluding Remarks

       There are, as previously noted, additional hypotheses, but these ele-
ven appear now to be the most significant and the most likely to yield pro-
ductive findings in the broadly based research now under way. I believe
also that these hypotheses are helpful in explaining industry's public reac-
tion to civil rights developments. It will be recalled that the passage of
civil rights legislation evoked little bitterness or emotion from industry.
Many companies reacted with affirmative action, or under the aegis of Plans
for Progress or of what is now the Office of Contract Compliance, had al-
ready taken such action. Some, of course, took a wait and see attitude, and
a few have been openly hostile. Some employers now have become quite criti-
cal of governmental action in this area, believing that the government agen-
cies are excessively complaint-oriented and are staffed by bureaucratic and
union-oriented personnel not sympathetic with industry's problems.[2] A few
employers have been stung by militant Negro organizations demanding signed
contracts, exclusive representation rights, or what is, in effect, discrimi-
nation in favor of Negroes. And such employers are often even more chagrined
to find church groups and well-intentioned people in general supporting the
militant civil rights associates, often regardless of facts, legality, con-
sistency, or even knowledge of the real basis of the dispute.

       Yet, the civil rights issue remains to industry relatively noncontrover-
sial in the sense that the stated objectives of both law and agitation are
morally sound and consistent with industry's need to employ persons on the
basis of merit. The tight labor market has greatly aided the path of civil
rights, and provided additional economic incentive for employers to sponsor
or do vestibule training, to accept dropouts and illiterates, and otherwise
to engage in activities designed to fit persons to be trained and to become

       [2]For a statement on this point, see Joseph F. Cunningham, "The EEOC--
Business Asks for a New Deal," Labor Law Journal Vol XVIII (March 1967),
pp. 131-136.

acclimated to the requirements of industrial discipline and its way of life.

On the other hand, the civil rights movement does remain controversial in areas where merit employment has obviously not existed and where management or union obstacles still bar substantial change. There are also a number of basic disagreements over such maters as testing, or in a number of cases over the definition of merit or how rapidly redress to merit employment may be a-chieved.

Reactions to civil rights developments have also varied significantly among industries, and of course, among companies within industry, as our hypotheses would like us to expect. We are, of course, not sufficiently well along in our research to permit generalizations on this score. Thus far, however, we have found no reason to discard our basic hypotheses as either incorrect or incomplete. That they may require refining or expanding is, of course, quite likely. That industry's reaction to civil rights legis-lation is quite different from its reaction to the Wagner Act is , however, already obvious. Whether this reaction will continue favorable will, of course, depend on industry's assessment to the reasonableness of civil rights law administration--and here again, the reaction will, I believe, vary by industry and company in the light of the already stated hypotheses.

PUBLIC REACTION TO THE STRUGGLE   Paper III

ROBERT B. McKERSIE
University of Chicago

At the outset, I must confess to a certain unease about several aspects
of this meeting. For one thing I have discovered that I am a minority on the
platform--I appear to be the only speaker not laboring under a Ford Foundation
grant.

Secondly, I feel a certain unease about the "unreality" of this session.
The point was made in a different way yesterday by a member of the audience
who commented: "The participants at these meetings are not a representative
cross section--there are just too many pale faces here." It is also unrealistic,
as well as presumptious, to draw too close an analogy between the civil rights
and labor movements. Many of us have received a hostile reaction from the
civil movement when we have attempted to apply the ideas and concepts of the
labor movement. It is similar to the child who reacts against the father
when he says, "Son, when I was your age, I remember doing so and so." Being
told that their experiences are similar to the experiences of the labor
movement is a diminution of their own vital and somewhat unique situation.

Thirdly, I feel some unease about what Professor Boulding described last
night as the ideal conditions for a classic conflict situation, namely, two
parties, friendly in all respects, but holding differing images about a given
outcome. I refer to the Chairman's expectation that I will limit myself to
15 minutes and my desire to talk for at least 30 minutes.

Originally I had intended to focus my attention on the maturation
sequence through which all social movements appear to pass--starting with
inception, passing on to recognition, and finally reaching stabilization
(with the eventual possibility of disintegration). But these past two
days have produced considerable material on this subject and I have decided
to deemphasize the analytics and to spend more time discussing several topics
of contemporary importance.

What I would like to concentrate on is an exploration of the question as
to why the civil rights movement has not been able to pass beyond the phase
of merely gaining recognition. Earlier Ray Marshall pointed to the difficulty
that the civil rights movement has experienced in regularizing a relationship
and in developing a framework for handling the sharing of rights and the
making of joint decisions. A good example of this is what happened last
summer in Chicago. After many demonstrations the city Fathers, many of whom
were businessmen, came together with the civil rights movement and signed an
historic agreement on housing. While recognition was present, a relationship
has not developed because the agreement has been administered by the Real
Estate Board, by individual realtors, by the Chicago Commission on Human
Relations, and by the Building Code Department of the City of Chicago. For
its part the civil rights movement has retired from the scene--either because
it has other targets or because it does not have a way of remaining engaged.
Consequently, it is not surprising that now (Spring 1967) the civil rights
movement is attacking the pact for not having produced any significant results.

One clear reason why the civil rights movement remains on the outside and
has not become a partner in the process of change is that once the civil
rights movement has focused attention on a problem, the initiative quickly
passes to government and business officials. Quite significantly the AFL
learned early in its career not to depend upon the support of government,
but to shape its own relationships and to win its objectives directly. Perhaps
the civil rights movement is learning the same lesson. Not that the
government cannot solve social problems; it is just not in a position to
strengthen the institutions of the Ghetto.

A further difficulty is that the civil rights movement has been unable to
develop the massive participation or critical mass that is needed for a
movement. During last summer's marches in Chicago no more than approximately
1,000 Negroes participated, and yet Martin Luther King and considerable
publicity were involved. The general lack of involvement can be explained by
several factors. Many Negroes are afraid; e.g., they live in public housing
units and they fear reprisal. Others may be apathetic. Some may hold a time
perspective that does not relate action now to benefits in the future, what
psychologists would refer to it as the inability to defer gratification.
Low income, low class people tend to be interested in the now, and marches
and agitation for change that will be very slow in coming may not be too
appealing.

It is also true that some of the direct action programs have not
emphasized the top priority needs of people in the Negro Ghetto. For
example, desegregating public accommodations is not a high priority item in
the surveys that have been done amongst Negroes, or is housing for that matter.
Jobs come at the top of the list, but yet the movement has not always
focused on this objective.

But even with a heavy emphasis on jobs, the story may not be too different
if people realize that the big gains are being provided by the establishment.
For example, Operation Breadbasket recently announced that in its first year
of operation it had created approximately 1,000 jobs. On the other hand, the
Merit Employment Committee of the Chicago Association of Commerce and
Industry also recently announced that in its first year of operation an
additional 14,000 Negroes had been hired by the 200 firms that filed reports.
(The same firms added approximately 16,000 whites.)

In passing, attention should be given to two exceptions to the
generalization that it has been difficult for the civil rights movement to
fashion relationships. One is the tenant union movement. In Chicago the IUD
has been very active in translating union organizing tools into the tenant-
landlord arena. In a number of instances agreements have been signed between
the people who live in these housing units and the owners. One contract
covers fifty units on the west side of Chicago. This union holds monthly
grievance meetings at which stewards from the different buildings sit down
with the owner. If there is a dispute about the maintenance of the building,
and the parties cannot agree, then the rental monies are given to a third
party and under certain circumstances he may even rehabilitate the building.
In one such instance this has created some tension between the union movement
and the civil rights movement, because in maintaining the building under the
contract, non-union labor has been used. In fact the building is being
maintained for less than the owner could have done it himself.

Despite all of these impressive gains by the tenant union movement, many problems remain. For one thing the momentum of the operation has been generated primarily by the staff, by the intellectuals. Secondly, the stewards have experienced considerable difficulty in collecting dues from the tenants even though they have been asking for only 50¢ per month. (Both high mobility of the tenants and a limited comprehension of the value of social organization have contributed to this difficulty). It is also true that while the union can solve heat and garbage problems, it cannot rehabilitate the building, given the economics of the situation. Some profiteering may be involved in slum housing, but not a great deal.

A second exception is Operation Breadbasket which has become the most dynamic part of the civil rights movement in Chicago. The idea started in Philadelphia, where a group of ministers used the power of the pulpit to focus attention on the employment policies of various companies. Since the boycotts were organized against consumer product companies, which as Herb Northrup has suggested are quite sensitive to public relations, the program was very successful in expanding job opportunities for Negroes. In Chicago the program has taken a new turn--the boycott is directed against retail stores to induce them to increase shelf space for products produced by Negro companies as well as to hire more Negroes.

The whole emphasis is on developing an economic structure within the Negro community based on mutual dependence. For example, the twenty or thirty Negro businessmen who produce such products as wax, bleach, milk, and ice cream have been asked to use Negro construction companies when they expand their facilities. These same businessmen use the Negro churches to display their products and to create consumer acceptance; and in turn the businessmen help these ministers pay off their mortgages by making contributions. Similarly, the individuals who have gotten jobs at the retail chains as a result of Breadbasket have been asked to organize consumer groups that will purchase Negro products.

I must confess that when I attend Breadbasket meetings (at the Graduate School of Business several of us have been running seminars for the businessmen who have been experiencing growth pains), I am puzzled by several issues. When the Breadbasket leadership says, "All right, you fellows have got to contribute some of your profits that you are making on this expanded business," I say, "That doesn't seem right." But the analogy is clearly one of union dues. Similarly, when they say, "You fellows, who have gotten jobs in the supermarkets, have got to buy these Breadbasket products," the analogy is one of the union label.

At this point I would like to return to my original theme and say a few words about how the two movements have evolved, particularly with respect to the attitude of the public and the redress of grievances. The following chart summarizes the main distinctions.

	Gaining Recognition	Establishing Relationship	Maintaining Momentum
Attitude of the Public	Neutrality or Hostility	Support	Control of Abuses
Redress of Grievances	Power Tactics	Due Process	Bureaucratic Procedures

First, how does the attitude of the public change and what sense we can make of it? The attitude of the public during the early days of any movement is one of aloofness or opposition. The public assumed that the Negro problem would solve itself and that no civil rights movement was necessary. One manifestation of this point of view was the advice to remove racial identification from employment applications.

During the inception stage many critics also point out that a movement really cannot change the allocation of resources. They ask "How can a power group buck the free market?" Certainly, there is a limit to how far the civil rights movement can go. And it is true that the tenant union movement cannot turn slums into palaces, because the money is not there; just as it is clear that competition places a limit on how far a union can go in demanding higher wages. But the point that is usually missed in this kind of commentary is that a movement exerts considerable influence on the behavior of the participants. For example, the tenant union movement has stimulated its members to take better care of the buildings.

In the second phase, the posture of the public turns to approval and we have evidence of this in the legislative area: the National Labor Relations Act and the Civil Rights Act.

The third phase certainly has been reached by the labor movement and possibly by the civil rights movement. While I do not want to talk about "backlash," I do want to talk about an increased realism that many companies are expressing about hiring people from the Ghetto. Recently, we have been interviewing employment managers of several Chicago firms that have been hiring Negroes in large numbers. Many of them have commented as follows: "We are having all sorts of problems with absenteeism, turnover, garnishment and the like; and we can no longer say unequivocally that it is good business to hire the Negro." These companies are baffled and discouraged. "We give good wages, dependable employment and people don't stay. We just can't seem to solve the cultural problem."

Considerable research is required on the question of what makes it possible for one person to make this transition and become, so to speak, a middle class individual with aspirations to advance; and what induces another person to remain in the submerged society and retain a different outlook of "gratification now" and perhaps even alienation from the whole concept of work. Similarly, considerable attention needs to be given to the question of how industry can use these people and at the same time get the job done. Very few companies have experimented with changes in their standard employment arrangements in order to accommodate the hard core element in our society.

The redress of grievances also changes throughout the maturation sequence. In this connection I would like to make one quick point. When we seem to be moving to in the civil rights arena is an approach that has not proven completely adequate for employment relations in the public employment arena, namely, an emphasis on the "commission" approach. While in many instances the commission approach has been an adequate solution, it has not been a complete solution in terms of the fact that problems get settled at the top and solutions take a long time to emerge. A collective bargaining relationship does not develop--instead a complex set of regulations guides the resolution of complaints. Perhaps, we have something to learn from the public employment field about the importance of participation and this brings us back to the first point: the importance of developing a relationship between emerging movements and the established power wielders of the society.

DISCUSSION

PUBLIC REACTION TO THE STRUGGLE

Comment: I was interested to hear Professor Northrup allude to the Eastman
Kodak situation, which I think is an appropriate example to cite. Maybe it
does illuminate some new, unfolding demensions in the civil rights movement.
They hypothesis that you offered, if I understood it correctly, was that
because of the company's lack of experience in dealing with a union, it may
have stumbled into signing an agreement with an organization whose
credentials of representing anybody were questionable. I think that whether
they represented anybody or not is hard to tell, because the agreement was
never implemented and so it was hard to tell how many job applicants they
could have produced. The only evidence that we have is that the civil rights
group was able to turn out just about the same number of people at the
stockholders meeting, as Eastman Kodak was able to themselves.

     But I would offer another hypothesis suggested by this example. That if
there is Eastman Kodak Company in Rochester that lacks the experience of
dealing with worker organizations, there is also the Xerox Company, which
does have a union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. It is the second largest
employer in Rochester. Two years ago they entered into the same agreement
with this same organization. It has been in effect for two years and Xerox
has announced that it has been highly successful, and it plans to enlarge it.
Perhaps the hypothesis that is suggested here is that a company with a
personnel policy designed originally in part to keep the union organization
out and as a result to keep personnel practices and policies as exclusive
company perogatives, is less skilled in responding to this kind of commitment
than a company that is accustomed to dealing, on a day to day basis, with an
outside organization on the question of jobs. Thus, we have Kodak with no
substantial union experience, taking what was a fairly innocuous agreement
and construing it as an intolerable burden on the company, and Xerox, which
is accustomed to dealing with a union, accepting this agreement and using it
for beneficial public relations, and finding it from their point of view not
only tolerable but in many respects beneficial.

Northrup: I would be a little slow as a social scientist to jump to the
conclusion that Xerox has solved its problem. A great many problems in life
are solved by growth. Xerox is growing at a much faster rate, employment-wise
and everything else. There are a lot of variables here. To jump to easy
comparitive analogies like this is questionable, but from my own industrial
relations experience I would say quite frankly I would not have signed that
agreement. Believe me, I do not go around signing agreements lightly, and I
do not think that any one who has the experience of handling labor relations
for a company would disagree with me.

Question: Talking again to Dr. Northrup, it would seem to me that most of the
hypotheses that you have elaborated relate, at least primarily, to
nondescrimination, not to affirmative action in the sense of commitments to
delivering hundreds and some cases thousands of jobs for Negroes. I would
add another hypothesis. In most of these situations, to the degree that
anything happened one of the factors that was always present was a person in
power who won the dispute. It was almost a personal advantage sort of thing.
It seems to me that the difference between Xerox and Kodak may be at this

point. Contracting for employment may be the motivation, but isn't it true
that until you get someone in high position to the point where he wants to do
it, it does not happen?

Northrup: The Xerox point may be somewhat attributable to the background of
the Xerox management, which I very definitely alluded to as one of my points,
and I think that this may well be. Certainly you have people in their
management who did not come up the usual way. They aren't members of the
majority group. Second, no management policy of major constructiveness gets
done unless there is a guy at the top who wants it done. This may be a
slight exageration. The right guy in the low spot can sabotage the president's
job very effectively, or can go beyond him. At Eastman there was some
question about the individual going beyond company policy. But I think you
can say as a truism that management policy on anything, civil rights not
excepted, starts at the top, and when the boss is committed to something this
is a lever which you cannot do without. There is nothing about the civil
rights movement which antagonizes most management people, they see nothing
wrong with it as such. You find more that the pulling and balking is several
levels down.

     This has been my experience right along the line. For example, I get
material very easily from top management, but if I don't get to the top
management first it is much harder.

Question: My question is to Professor Feinsinger. I was intrigued with your
discussion of the use of the injunctive process in labor disputes, and the
possible use of the injunctive process in civil right disputes. I wonder if
out of your vast experience you can describe the role of law and lawyers in
the development of the labor movement and the apparent indifference of civil
rights organizations to existing law and the utilization of legal machinery
or legal talents.

Feinsinger: That is a pretty big order. I think from my own experience that
lawyers are distrusted by the inner core of the Youth Council for example,
just as they are distrusted in many segments of the labor movement. The IBEW
had a rule for some years that no lawyer could sit in on a collective
bargaining conference.

     In any case, take this function of mediation. The lawyers now have to
know something about mediation, at least if they are going to practice in
those courts where the pre-trial conference is regarded as a mediation
procedure. The judges themselves, as you know, are split right down the
middle on this question. To some judges, mediation is anathema, and all that
you use this pre-trial conference for is to narrow the issues and get the
show on the road. Other judges regard it as their function to settle the
dispute if possible. The way that they handle the lawyers is very simple.
They say to the lawyer, "Let's look at this thing from a detached point of
view"(and that is a bad sign for the lawyer). And the lawyer might say (to
himself of course), "Oh, that old son of a bitch," but to the judge, "Of
course, your honor." The lawyers have opposed a lot of things on the basis
of principle--and that it takes money out of their pockets.

Comment: Professor Northrup, you referred to the role of the government and the attitude of the employer towards going along with the federal program for equal opportunity. You didn't, I believe, point out that in the early days of the National Labor Relations Board it had legal authority to make orders and hold elections. In recent years the President's Committee and the EOC have not had comparable powers, and this makes a considerable difference.

Northrup: It is true that the EOC has no power to handle complaints directly like the NLRB. It does have a powerful public relations leverage which has been fairly successful. But the Office of Contract Compliance, which was the new name for the President's Committee, has tremendous leverage and to my certain and complete knowledge, is using that leverage.

This leverage is tremendously powerful because it not only denies a paper company, for example, the right to sell its products to the government, but it tells General Motors that it can't package what GM sells to the government in boxes made by this paper company. This adds up to an awful lot of leverage.

Now the problem is that this Committee has no leverage at all against the labor movement, and I would predict in certain industries not too long from now there will be a fundamental clash between segments of the labor movement and the people in the president's office of contract compliance.

Mark Kahn: I'd like to ask Professor McKersie to elaborate somewhat more on the possible maturation of the civil rights movement from this standpoint. You referred to Operation Breadbasket, which I think that we would all agree is a very useful experience for the participants and which may accomplish some desirable short-run economic objectives, but which, it seems to me at least, is only a limited short-run type of activity and one which is probably practical only in selected situations.

Similarly, you referred to the community unions where tenants organized a deal with landlords. I once participated in such an experience, although it had nothing to do with racial problems, and I found it very stimulating and exciting to bring a landlord to heel, and I think that helped me mature. But our immediate objectives having been accomplished, our informal union disintegrated and I have had no further experience with this activity.

What I am really raising is this: can you develop a mature movement out of such disparate, ad hoc activities, designed to accomplish a wide variety of immediate objectives, which in the particular cases are likely to disintegrate when those objectives have been achieved? I am very skeptical, and I would like to hear your views on this.

McKersie: Well I think for the forseeable future, which for many people may be the long-run in terms of their own individual lives, these kinds of immediate gains are going to carry them as far as they can see and as far as the movement will proceed during their lifetime.

There has been a separateness to Breadbasket and in a sense, a self-defeating quality of trying to become self-sufficient. It is admittedly a very troublesome issue. But some of the research that people at the University of Chicago have done suggests that where you have a large enough Negro

community, which means either you have a large community to begin with or you
have a high percentage of Negroes in that community, you get more representation
in the professions because they have this ability to serve their own community
in comparison with communities where there is more integration but it is not
fashionable for the Negro doctor to serve the white patient. For a good period
of time, one could argue that they will be getting quite a bit of mileage and
quite a bit of gain out of developing this economic base within a Negro
community.

One of the things that they have been wrestling with and realizing as
they look back over the last five or six years is that where they have fought
for just integration, they really haven't been fighting for the things that
are closest to the Negroes. That is why the tenant-union movement which works
with the housing they have now, and doesn't make any bones about whether they
want to go out to Cicero or not, is in a sense closer to their needs and more
likely to get their participation.

I know that I am not answering your question directly, and I may be
dodging it by saying that they have got enough work right now, and for most
of them they just see this as the task at hand. I think it is true that the
tenant situation is or may be less permanent if some things can change, maybe
if only the city of Chicago is better about enforcing the ordinances, or if
new arrangements can be found by which people can begin to own their homes.
The tenant union movement may not be a way of life. But I think that Bread-
basket, as these people see it, will be a way of life for a long time.

And what they are beginning to do with the movement is to get all of the
disparate ends of the Negro community back in to a community. Most of what
Jesse Jackson calls "the big niggers" of Chicago, the people who run Ebony
and who run the big Negro companies--the insurance companies, and the hair
products companies--are coming back in and they are making contributions to
the Negro banks that are making loans to the businessmen. This is a long
process of getting these fellows to divert some of their resources away
from the white structure into the Negro structure, so that from their vantage
point, that means ten or fifteen years of developing this economic base
before they can even begin to think about somehow integrating with the larger
society.

Mark Kahn: Do you see the Breadbasket type of thing emerging in all of the
major urban centers of the country in a similar fashion, or do you think that
it is something that is unique to Chicago?

McKersie: This is part of their plan. They have been trying to set up
arrangements here in Detroit. Jesse Jackson has been to Detroit, and he can't
understand why there aren't Negro banks here and Negro businesses. If they
aren't developed here, he is going to start sending products in from Chicago,
and this is going to spread across the North. The thing that limits this is
how far they can go in terms of what the market will allow. If they are
dealing amongst themselves, mostly low income people, and developing only
self-sufficiency, they may fall further and further behind. With some of the
Negro producers, the best thing they could do would be to sell their products
in all of the stores in Chicago, not just emphasizing "Made by Negroes" and
selling in Negro stores. That may develop the community and develop a

relationship, but it is going to really hurt them economically. It is quite possible that some of these businessmen will see their self-interest in terms of the larger society and not stay within the union, so to speak. That is going to be the kind of pressure that is going to be on them.

Question: Professor Feinsinger, you mentioned the reluctance of the Negro to compromise because he believes that he has fundamental Constitutional rights involved. But by historical analogy, during the 1930's the trade union movement felt not only that the union agreements but also the NLRA, the related Railway Labor Act, and the NRA were only statutory statements intended to transform into industrial terms the Constitutional guarantees, particularly of the First Amendment. Were we not, as trade unionists, with respect to those Constitutional rights, in the same position and under the same necessity of compromising as what is called the civil rights movement today?

Feinsinger: I agree. I would like to add that the concept that collective bargaining as the U.S. knows it today means the kind of bargaining that the labor movement developed prior to the Wagner Act is for the birds. A situation in which you have no legal right to compel the employer to bargain is totally different from the situation beginning in 1935 when you got a statute that says he must.

Question: Mr. McKersie, it seems to me that the Negro community in the long run was unsatisfied in the field of education with the separate but equal notion. What you are getting in the Chicago Breadbasket operation is essentially a separate but prosperous idea, and this doesn't seem to me likely to satisfy even the Negro community in the long-run.

McKersie: As a preface, I think that we ought to try and put it in better perspective. It is very difficult and dangerous to generalize about the Negro community. I made the point with respect to the tenant union movement that many of these people are not involved in the demonstrations. They are just leading their own quiet lives. Many of them have their own form of backlash. They are just sick and tired of all this discussion about civil rights and racism, etc. They just want to li e like quiet Americans.

When we talk about the Negro community, are we talking about these people who live in Garfield Park and East Lawndale where the tenant union movements have developed, the really low income, low class people, or are we talking about the middle class Negroes some of whom have come back to Breadbasket but many of whom are very interested in becoming a part of the larger society, and that is their whole aspiration, to strive to become a part of it. It is very difficult to make generalizations about the Negro community, particularly for one who is out of the Anglo-Saxon community.

When you describe Breadbasket's objective as "separate but prosperous", I think that is a good way of characterizing what they want. I think the long-run objective of developing this community is to gain some political power so that they can begin to bargain with the larger society. The short-run strategy is, I think, one of separate, even if not prosperous, and perhaps even deprived in a sense. But they are committed, some of these people, to the development of this community.

Question: The usual view of people in the hard core areas who are jobless or
who have low paying jobs is that they harbor hostility toward the labor move-
ment generally.   I wonder if the participation of unionists in Chicago in the
civil rights area has created any change in how the low income population view
the labor movement.

McKersie: Well I don't know, I haven't talked to enough Negroes, but as you
suggest the UAW and the IUD have been very much involved in the development of
these community unions and have been using all of their knowledge and skills
and running seminars for the stewards from the housing project and I am sure
that that has brought about a better view on the part of the low income Negro
towards trade unions.

     Within Breadbasket, there has been more conflict aroused than any kind
of rapprochement because they are pushing up against the scavangers, against
the construction companies, and these Negro contractors are by and large non-
union. You can begin to see the kind of conflict that is down the road with
the vested interests in Chicago.

     On that side of the civil rights movement, I don't think that there is
any improvement, there might even be a deterioration. In fact the comment
has been made, that we are coming up very soon with a real confrontation with
the labor movement in Chicago. With respect to the IUD and the UAW it is an
interesting question what Martin Luther King's advocacy of the peace effort
will do to the working accord between the trade union movement and the civil
rights movement in Chicago. You know, just how far will the trade union move-
ment go in joint projects with a civil rights movement that is becoming more
and more identified as a peace movement?

Question: I'd like to make a short observation, and have Professor Northrup
comment on it. It has to do with the Gunnar Myrdal hypothesis, the one he
formulated back in the 40's, having to do with "cumulative causation". Most
of the people here have been talking about changing race relations in the
U.S. basically by changing the employment picture. Myrdal, writing back in
the 40's, talked about two essential considerations, the socio-economic
status of the Negro and white prejudice. To the extent that you change the
status of the Negro, you reduce white prejudice. If you change his job
status, the stereotypes that the white has for the Negro in terms of the
job that he holds or the things that he can buy tend to change. If you change
his level of education, those stereotypes that the whites have of the Negro
change and so he therefore becomes more acceptable. If you change his job
and he therefore has more money, he can buy a better house, and so therefore
the white man's stereotyped conception of the kind of housing that the Negro
wants changes, and so on down the line.

     Myrdal saw the two variables, the socio-economic status of the Negro and
the white prejudice, as being very closely related. He talked about them in
terms of being in a rolling equilibrium. He talked about cumulative causation.
It wasn't simply a matter of jobs per se, there were many things operating
together, with one thing affecting another. I would like Professor Northrup
to comment on what he thinks of Myrdal's hypothesis today and what he might
think about other theoretical frameworks.

Northrup: I think, from my own experience of course, you run to almost a
series of equilibria. The only Negroes that my family knew were servants and
they thought of the Negro as a servant. I went to school with Ralph Bunche
so I had a little different perception. I think that we progress in ways
like that.

In industry our experience in integration is that there is always more
hostility before the first Negro gets into the organization than after.
This is the fear of change that is in a great many people and that is worse
in people lower down in the strata, I think.

But I think it is a mistake to assume that you solve all problems by
employment. My point is less than that; my point is that you create in the
minority the capacity to solve their problem by affording them the opportunity
for good jobs and that the rebuffs can be withstood to a much greater extent
when the man has a good job.

I do not think that prejudice will disappear even if we had completely
fair employment by anybody's definition. I am running into a new problem
in industrial race relations and that is reversed prejudice in plants. I
know plants now where it is impossible for a white man to hold a job. He gets
jostled out of his job or socially ostracized out of his job by the Negro
majority.

I am not convinced that prejudice will disappear from view, but I am
convinced that as individuals in a society we can better take it if we approach
it through fair employment and reduce it to a relatively more insignificant
social problem.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIETY AND ECONOMY   Paper I

WILLIAM G. CAPLES
Inland Steel Company

     Henry David Thoreau said that "All perception of truth is the perception
of an analogy." Analogy, however, carries with it the dangers of obscuring
essential differences. The alienated unemployed excluded black-skinned man
of the sixty's is not the same as the white frequently Anglo-Saxon member of
the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee of the thirty's. Furthermore, even
if the drive towards labor union organization is to be compared with the Ne-
gro civil rights protest, it may not be certain that the two most opposite
periods are 1930-39 and 1960-69, or that the happenings of 1937 which were
crucial to the history of the C.I.O. best parallel the happenings of 1966-67.
A. Philip Randolph, for example, likens the civil rights revolution not to
the period after the passage of the National Labor Relations Act but to the
period a half to three-quarters of a century earlier. "Labor had its revolu-
tion, too, beginning around the middle of the 19th Century.... You had the
Haymarket Riot in 1866. You had the Homestead Strike in 1892. Then you had
the Great Railroad Strike in 1877; the whole nation was in the grip of that
strike. Then you had the Ludlow Massacre in 1913 and 1914...."[1] The focus
of Mr. Randolph's analogy was the violence attendant upon the two revolutions
he was comparing. A good case can be made for the proposition, however, that
while violence was a central fact of the earlier labor strife, it was essen-
tially an ineffective working out of the frustrations of a defeated revolution.
On the other hand, violence has been a moderately used measured instrument
in both the period of the thirty's and the period of the sixty's and in both
these later instances attended not by defeat but by a significant measure of
success.

     The analogy that has been developed here at these meetings over the past
two days thus has indeed a valid sound. We have heard about the problems of
the two periods, their possible parallels and their dissimilarities; the
means used and the types of organization created to achieve these means; and
the public reaction in both cases to the struggle. Now we are assembled to
examine the significance of this struggle and its consequence for society and
for the economy. What does the drive toward political, economic and educa-
tional enfranchisement of the Negro mean to society in the sixty's? What did
the rise of the C. I. O. mean to society in the thirty's? Both struggles have
brought about permanent changes in government, in business and industry, in
our private lives and in our values and perceptions in the world about us.
So enormous have these changes been, a brief session such as this afternoon's
can only provide a gloss to a footnote to this comparative history.

     "The New Deal, of which the labor revolution of the thirty's was a part,
was a typical American reaction to the catastrophe of the 1929 Depression--
pragmatic, non-philosophical, experimental. But it was a great crystalliza-
tion, a 'social revolution' in keeping with the magnitude of the problems with

---

[1]A. Philip Randolph, "Todays' Civil Rights Revolution," Industrial Union
Department, A.F.L.-C.I.O., Publication No. 57, p. 12.

which it had to deal."[2]

The civil rights revolution of the sixty's, like the labor organization movement of the thirty's, was part of a reaction, in this case to World War II. Like the labor revolution it was pragmatic and experimental. Unlike the previous revolution, however, it seems fair to add that the Negro protest movement of the sixty's, far from being non-philosophical was significantly dependent upon a clearly conceived philosophy of non-violent action conducive to the winning of democratic rights. The Negro social revolution of the sixty's was also a great crystallization of the American dream--an attempt to resolve the American dilemma of the practice of injustice within a polity of democracy. Before considering parallels in the significance of the two revolutions, it is worthwhile to obtain a perspective by identifying the major areas in which change was sought and sometimes achieved. Six such areas may be identified: (1) employment and working conditions; (2) education; (3) housing; (4) public accommodations; (5) politics and, (6) the application of the law. All six are arenas for the civil rights revolution of the sixty's. Only employment, politics, and to some extent the application of the law, were significant arenas for the labor revolution of the thirty's.

Following in outline form are some of the main parallels in the significance of these two struggles for society and the economy:

(1)   The inspiration of a newly won sense of independence among workers
      of the thirty's and among Negroes in the sixty's was a salient
      characteristic of both revolutions. An observation of Meyer Bern-
      stein's about the steel industry organizing campaign could be
      used almost verbatim to apply to the Southern Negro vote registra-
      tion drives. "It was hard work...it was a crusade without cru-
      saders; it meant combing towns which were completely dominated by
      the employer; it meant breaking down a resistance born of fear;
      it meant trying to convince people that they could be free...."[3]

(2)   Limited utility of legal processes in the attainment of goals
      led in both the thirty's and sixty's to the use of demonstra-
      tions, sit-ins, and strikes with accompanying violence and social
      disruption. In both situations, local communities played an orga-
      nized role in thwarting or attmpting to thwart the intent of na-
      tional law.

      For example, the LaFollette Committee commented on the Little
      Steel Strike, "The bloodshed, bitterness and economic disor-
      ganization of communities resulting from the Little Steel Strike
      might easily have been avoided had the companies conformed to

---

[2]M. Derber and E. Young (eds.) Labor and the New Deal. Chapter IV, "The Significance of the Wagner Act," by R. W. Fleming, and Chapter VI, "Organized Labor and Protective Labor Legislation," by E. Brandeis. University of Wisconsin Press, 1957, p. vii.

[3]W. Galenson, The C.I.O. Challenge to the A.F.L. Harvard University Press, 1960, p. 91.

the laws of the United States, instead of ranging their combined
economic strength and prestige and influence of their employer
associations in opposition to collective bargaining. Their de-
termination to flout the law and their efforts, through a careful
campaign of propaganda, to assist them, must be condemned as dan-
gerous to lawful government."[4]

Such confrontations were frequent in the sixty's. Equally dangerous
to lawful government, for example, was Governor Faubus' ordering out
of the National Guard to prevent Negro students from entering Central
High School, or the breaking up of the first march at Selma.[5]

(3) As a concomitant of sympathy for the appellant group, civil diso-
     bedience is accepted by the public both in the labor movement of
     the thirty's and the Negro protest of the sixty's.

     For example, "...they /the sit-ins/ were tolerated in 1937 and
     even received substantial public support, mainly because large
     segments of American industry refused to accept collective bargain-
     ing. Trade unions were the underdogs and they were widely repre-
     sented as merely attempting to secure in practice the rights that
     Congress had bestowed on them as a matter of law."[6]

     A similar treatment has been afforded the sit-ins, the wade-ins,
     and marchers of the Negro protest movement. McKersie comments,
     "when it /the objective/ is held in high regard, the public is more
     likely to tolerate extreme means. However, disobedience has not
     been repressed as frequently in the North as in the South since
     there is wider support in the North for equal opportunity."[7]

(4) Concomitant with public acceptance of civil disobedience has been its
     legitimation by authorities.

     As McKersie suggests, "where a minority's grievance is sharp and
     deep, the public may sanction direct action as a way of enabling
     the minority to express its displeasure and perhaps to achieve re-
     dress. To those in authority, the specter of future trouble be-
     comes an important consideration."[8]

     It was present in the thinking of the Supreme Court in declaring

---

[4]W. Galenson, op. cit., p. 109.

[5]N. R. Peerce, J. G. Phillips and V. Velsey, "Revolution in Civil Rights,"
Congressional Quarterly Service, 1965, pp. 6-8.

[6]W. Galenson, op. cit., pp. 146-147.

[7]R. B. McKersie, "The Civil Rights Movement and Employment," Industrial
Relations, May, 1964, p. 10.

[8]R. B.McKersie, op. cit., p. 11.

the National Labor Relations Act constitutional...

> "Experience has abundantly demonstrated that the recogni-
> tion of the right of employees to self-organization...is
> often an essential condition of industrial peace. Refusal
> to confer and negotiate has been one of the most prolific
> causes of strife."[9]

It was also an extremely important factor in inducing authorities
to expand employment and other opportunities for Negroes. For es-
ample, Mayor Daley's summit meeting on housing was responsive to
the threat of continued marches and demonstrations.

(5) The effect on management of both the labor protest of the thirty's
     and the Negro protest of the sixty's has been to sharply curtail
     managerial prerogatives. Galenson summarized the effects of the
     labor protest as follows: "...this era constituted an episode in
     the transition from one system of industrial relations to another;
     it hastened the replacement of untrammeled management prerogative
     in the disposition of labor by a system under which trade unions,
     as representatives of the workers, were to share in this function.
     It was perhaps inevitable that so violent a wrench with the past
     should have provoked management attitudes sharply antithetical to
     the new national labor policy. But by the same token, it is not
     suprising that industrial workers, having broken through on the
     legislative front, shall seek to implement their hard-won rights
     with whatever weapons were at hand, regardless of the law."[10]

     And McKersie compares this effect on management with the effect of
     the civil rights movement: "The civil rights movement has forced
     management to recognize the factor of race in the same way that the
     labor movement forced management to recognize seniority. Recruit-
     ment and selection policies have been significantly affected.
     Management can no longer confine itself to hiring only those who
     apply for work; management is compelled to search for Negro candi-
     dates. Management can no longer limit itself to selecting the
     most qualified; management now finds itself obligated to helping
     disadvantaged Negroes qualify for employment."[11]

(6) Both the labor protest of the thirty's and the Negro protest of
     the sixty's have had the probable effect of raising earnings al-
     though the role of many other factors, and in particular swings in
     the business cycle, in both periods makes it difficult to document
     the extent to which these protests were influential in the wage
     area.

---

[9]NLRB vs. Jones & Laughlin (1937), 301, U.S. 1

[10]W. Galenson, op. cit., p. 147.

[11]R. B. McKersie, op. cit., p. 21.

It should be noted that wage bargaining was not a central focus
of the new unionism of the thirty's; it was far overshadowed by the
tactical developments involved in seeking recognition and establishing
bargaining relationships. As a matter of fact, the largest short-
run increase in the thirty's was between 1933 and 1935, probably
stimulated at least in part by a desire to stave off labor orga-
nization. It may be noted, however, that hourly earnings in manu-
facturing increase as follows: 43.2¢ in 1933; 56.7¢ in 1935; 64.8¢
in 1937.[12]

Non-whites are the principal beneficiaries of the social revolution
of the sixty's. A key objective of that revolution for the Negro
is employment opportunity. Negroes have, over the past several
years, in fact gained entrance into companies and industries for-
merly closed to them. Significant numbers of them have been up-
graded. However, for non-whites as a whole the gains accruing so
far have apparently been either minimal or obscured by other fac-
tors. It is the case that the median non-white family income in-
creased $3233 in 1960 to $3971 in 1965. At the same time, however,
the median income for white families increased from $5835 to $7170
in almost exactly the same proportion as non-white family income.
The result was that non-white family income remained at a level of
55% of that of white family income. As a matter of fact, this ratio
has fluctuated within a very narrow range (from 51% to 57%) at least
since World War II.

(7) Both the civil rights revolution of the sixty's and the labor revo-
     lution of the thirty's was characterized by the evolution of new
     voluntary action organizations within the framework of existing
     organizations.

     During the thirty's, the Committee for Industrial Organization grew
     and emerged from within the A.F.L. to fight for the principle of
     industrial unionism in the face of a lack of progress in organizing
     by its trades-oriented parent. During the 1960's in the Negro
     protest movement, recently organized or newly energized activist
     groups took the leadership away from the older established Negro
     protest groups. The National Urban League (1910) stood essen-
     tailly for progress by conciliation and persuasion. The N.A.A.C.P.
     (1909) founded its program on legal and legislative action. The
     new activist groups included the Congress of Racial Equality (1941),
     the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (1957) and the Student
     Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (1960). The programs of these
     three organizations are based on demonstrations, boycotts, and
     sit-ins which C. O. R. E. pioneered in the 1940's.

(8) A salient characteristic for both periods was the growth of poli-
     tical participation through legislation. Both the labor movement
     and the Negro protest movement have been appellants before the
     national administration seeking legislation to protect their in-
     terests and expand their rights. A major response, one which has

[12]M. Derber and E. Young, op. cit., p. 359.

provided the legal basis for advance in both periods, has been
from the federal legislators. It is probably enough to enumerate
the acts involved--in the 1930's the N.I.R.A. (Section 7a), the
National Labor Relations Act, the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts
Act and the Fair Labor Standards Act; in the 1960's, the Civil
Rights Acts of 1957, 1960 and 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of
1965. The consequence both in the sixty's and the thirty's of
reliance on legislative enactments to achieve their ends was the
increasing politicizing of the movements involved. Discarding the
A.F.L.'s traditional posture of political aloofness, the C.I.O was
from the beginning deeply involved in politics. Negro protest
groups have made political action a central part of their agenda.
In both cases, new political power centers have emerged that have
significantly affected alignment within both major political
parties.

Though their strategies differ, the goal of both the Negro pro-
test movement and the labor union movement has been social and
economic self-help, and in the case of the civil rights groups
self-help within a framework of equal opportunity. But, as Laue
points out, social and economic self-help is only possible within
representative political institutions.[13]

Other Sources:

Marshall, R., Ethnic and Economic Minorities: Union's Future or Unrecruit-
    able?" The Annals of Political and Social Science, November, 1963,
    pp. 63-73.

Marshall, R., The Negro and Organized Labor. John Wiley & Sons, 1965.

Myrdal, G., An American Dilemma (20th Anniversary Edition). Harper & Row,
    1962.

Ross, P., "The Role of Government in Union Growth," The Annals of the Ameri-
    can Academy of Political and Social Science, November, 1963, pp. 74-85.

Stein, E., "The Dilemma of Union Democracy," The Annals of the American Aca-
    demy of Political and Social Science, November, 1963, pp. 46-54.

Walton, R. E. and R. B. McKersie, A Behavioral Theory of Labor Negotiations,
    Chapter IX, "Social Negotiation Cases." McGraw-Hill, 1965.

---

[13]A. M. Rose, (ed.), "The Negro Protest," The Annals of the American
Academy of Political and Social Science, January, 1965 (whole issue).

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIETY AND ECONOMY   Paper II

LAWRENCE N. SPITZ
Community Progress, Inc.

While Bill Caples was speaking, I found myself agreeing with his words
of caution regarding comparisons and similarities between the Civil Rights
struggle of the 1960's and the labor movement's struggles of the 1930's.
There are many similarities that can be pointed to, but in truth they carry
no great significance. It is also true that there is a tendency, because of
the passage of time, to think in terms of the harshness of today's Civil
Rights activities and to diminish the harshness of the activities of the 1930's
involving labor's struggles. The 1930's were harsh and grim days; the passage
of time has merely dimmed the memory. Despite common elements that existed in
both periods under discussion--harshness and grimness--the periods and the pro-
blems are most dissimilar. Hence, I suspect that comparisons and the point-
ing out of similarities could actually end at this point--acknowledging that
these were grim and harsh days.

It is true that some of the remedial techniques applied in the 1930's
might well be applied with good effect to the problems of the 1960's. For ex-
ample, the utilization of mediation for urban problems as susggested by Mr.
Feinsinger. His references to mediation and the discussion that followed were
reminiscent of the discussions that often took place at local union meetings--
(it hasn't been so long since I attended such meetings)--and this discussion
sounded very much like a meeting of a local union. Surely, there is much mer-
it in adapting many of the techniques of the past to the problems of today.

Despite the fact that there is validity in attempting to adapt remedial
techniques of the past and despite the fact that the Civil Rights movement
has utilized many of the protest techniques of the 1930 labor movement strug-
gle--it is misleading to rely upon such similarities. Bill Caples and other
speakers have referred to some of the similarities that prevail. I would like
to rapidly list what I view to be the most significant similarities between
the 1930 labor movement struggle and the 1960 Civil Rights struggle.

There is the employment of the sit-down strike technique; the use of
picket lines; mass meetings and the development of coalitions. Many of the
coalitions developed by the Civil Rights movement have been temporary and ten-
uous. In addition to the foregoing, there is use of children as symbols of
protest. In addition to this a deep feeling prevailed both in the labor move-
ment in the 1930's and in the Civil Rights movement of the 1960's that society
was generally hostile toward and arrayed against "the movement." In the 1930's
there was the Liberty League and its extremely conservative response to the
trade union movement. In the 1960's, there is the John Birch Society. The
union man in the 1930's contended with some justification that the power struc-
ture of society (represented by the National Guard, local police, private
armed guards and the courts) was bent on the destruction of labor unions. Mi-
nority group representatives today make the same contention. They bitterly
denounce the power structure and "the establishment."

This leads to one common element that prevailed in both periods which I
think has to be surveyed a bit more. I refer to the question of hostility and
hatred. There was hostility and hatred in the 1930's against the anti-union
employer. There is hostility and hatred today on the part of the Civil Rights
movement adherents against those who oppose the movement. And yet, they are
not one and the same. Perhaps it is a matter of degree if not of kind. The
hatred toward the employer who refused to recognize the union in the 1930's
was not as deep as the hatred manifested today. It was a hostility and hatred
that greatly diminished when a contract was signed. In the main, it was dis-
pelled and replaced by jubilation. This process took place rather rapidly.
One doesn't find that existing today. There can be a success for the Civil
Rights movement and yet it is not attended by the substitution of jubilation
for hatred. Instead the success is taken matter of factly--is not even viewed
as a success and sometimes not even viewed as a step forward. Frequently it
is merely accepted and the bitterness and the deep degree of hatred continue
unabated.

Thus we find a seemingly common element in both periods--hatred. It is
a deceptive similarity for this hatred of today is different. It pervades not
merely the ranks of the hard-core unemployed Negro--but it is to be found in
virtually every segment of Negro life. It enshrouds the poorest of minority
groups as well as those who "have it made"--those who are able to and permit-
ted to enter into our society with comparative ease--to buy expensive cars and
to live in good circumstances. Despite this, their hatred is also deep. It
is a bond of commonality between all segments of a minority group and it is
an extremely difficult thing with which to cope. More than any one factor
this hatred will play a greater role in shaping the Civil Rights movement in
the immediate future.

This leads me to another common element, namely, the acceptance or the
rejection of leadership. During the 1930's there was fragmentation in the
ranks of labor. William Green was referred to sarcastically by John L. Lewis
as the "old lady from New Orleans." Less delicately, the rank and file in
the newly established CIO unions referred to him as a "sell-out artist." He
was attacked, demeaned, rejected by them. In the new unions leadership was
oftentimes a precarious thing. Changes took place frequently--settlements of
strikes were frequently rejected by the rank and file. There was a high de-
gree of suspicion of leadership. The same prevails today, but it is much
more widespread. Today in the ranks of minority groups there is very little
willingness to accept leadership, except perhaps on a momentary basis. Even
the most militant leaders are looked upon with askance and are unable to reach
large segments of Negroes who are in the lower economic brackets. No one
touches them--they are completely cynical and unmoved. This cynicism corrodes
inwardly, makes it impossible for the acceptance of leadership in good faith,
and this in many respects is the sadness of the times.

In addition to this, a mere running the gamut of similarities in a seem-
ingly objective fashion ignores the very real aspect of impact on our society.
The effects of certain techniques of protest utilized both in the 1930's and
the 1960's are vastly dissimilar. I would like to touch upon a few of them.

In treating with the impact and the effect of certain protest activities,
one must deal not only with those effects that are visible now, but also with

those effects that will become evident in the immediate future. For example, as a result of some of the protest activities of the Civil Rights movement there has been a widening of opportunities for jobs for minority group members. Despite this, deep hatred and frustration remain. This is attributable to the fact that not enough jobs have become available nor have the jobs, in the main, been the most desirable type. Further, there is much merit to the argument that obtaining a job and opening job opportunities doesn't solve the problem. It is a crucial first step, but I firmly believe that supportive services are necessary and must be made available in a wide-spread fashion. Thus the concept of not only taking people out of poverty but taking the poverty out of people is a valid one. Another effect flowing from activities of the Civil Rights movement has been to drastically change the concept of social work. Whether some social workers realize it or not, the Civil Rights movement has practically destroyed their traditional approach to social work. It is not an uncommon experience to talk to people in the Civil Rights movement or to talk to their intellectual allies and be told that social workers merely had a vested interest in seeing to it that the poor remain poor. Thus, the social worker finds himself beleaguered, rejected and frequently supplanted by the community actionist. And perhaps that isn't too bad after all. The pendulum ultimately will settle down somewhere in the middle and we will find ourselves utilizing people from the poor neighborhoods--people who never before were utilized in supplying supportive social services--people who never before were utilized in relating their experiences to other people in target neighborhoods; people who in the past were mute and today have found voice; people, who because of their involvement, can and do contribute toward the lessening of the feeling of alienation on the part of others and aiding in making others feel that they have a stake in their community.

There is another by-product of the activities of the Civil Rights movement. I refer to the general effect upon the entire community. The community is now in ferment. Oftentimes this ferment has no real direction. It frequently expresses itself in terms of the poor saying, "we want to make the decisions that affect us." Whether the decisions are clear or fuzzy, good or bad, is of no import. The important thing is the demand to be able to have a say in how they are going to live, where they are going to live, and that they will brook no interference from the rest of the community in making such determinations.

And so we have a present day legacy. We have intense hostility and hatred. When an opportunity presents itself for people in the poor neighborhoods to participate in a meaningful way in changing their lives, this hatred may momentarily be set to one side, but it is not forgotten. It remains latent and has a potential for either constructive or destructive purposes.

There are other effects that are immediately discernible. The term "power structure" has become a popular one. The power structure is attacked by the poor and the prime targets are invariably the politicians. The timid politician seeks to ignore the problems hoping that they will go away, or he lashes out blindly at those who have, in his mind, created the problem. Thus you have one segment of the population (the poor) due to its insecurity, due to its poverty, and because of a reservoir of hostility and hatred built up over the years, lashing out blindly; and you have the other segment--in this case, the timid politician--insecure, ignorant of the problem, desperately

lashing back and oftentimes, blindly.

There are other effects that are quite evident. The growing hostility
among minority group members toward the labor movement and the defensiveness
of the labor movement to this. I think the comments made by Emil Mazey yester-
day were unwitting acknowledgment of this. He feels that the labor movement
is being maligned. His memory recalls the years when the labor movement was
in fact the sole voice speaking in terms of civil liberties and civil rights.
And I suspect bitterly, he and others like him feel that as a reward, the
labor movement is now the target of hostility and is being criticized. And
yet, there is some basis and validity to this criticism for there are impor-
tant segments of the labor movement that have been insensitive to the problems
of the minority groups and to the hatred that prevails.

These are some of the more noticeable and immediate effects. I suspect
that some of the long range effects--those that will manifest themselves
within the next ten year period--are going to be most interesting to contem-
plate. If there is a note of pessimism in my voice it is because the facts
do not call for optimism. I do not think that we will have a steady rate of
progress. Progress comes in spurts. There will be no solidly organized,
stabilized, Civil Rights groups. There will be no stable coalitions. There
will be no stable instrumentality through which agreements with Kodak can be
reached, even if the Kodak Company had an inclination to enter into an agree-
ment. The Civil Rights movement will continue as a fragmented movement. A
variety of activities and programs will spring up. There will be operations
such as Operation Breadbasket, agreements with a specific company to employ
large numbers of hard-core minority group members, etc. Activities of this
sort will appear and within a few months lose their momentum. There will be
a constant process of probing and thrusting--there will be dislocation and
there will be discord. There will be gains made but oftentimes these gains
will not be clearly measurable. It must be borne in mind that we here today
are struggling to find some way with which to measure that which has happened.
It is therefore not surprising that the people who are on the lowest rung of
the economic ladder in this country--the poor and dispossesssed Negro and the
Spanish speaking minorities--have even greater difficulty in determining what
gains have been made. They are pragmatic and cynical. It is going to take
vast measurable change to bring about any dispelling of the existing hostili-
ty and hatred. I am, therefore, rather gloomy. I can see struggles for poli-
tical power. There will be the acquiring of political power, as was suggested
here, but this, too, will not provide an adequate answer. It must be borne
in mind that the labor movement sought and obtained a degree of political in-
fluence and power. This provided some relief but certainly did not fully re-
solve the problems. To the chagrin of many labor people, they found that
merely electing people from their ranks to public office did not necessarily
mean that they had staunch allies to their cause. And when there will be
some increased measure of political power obtained by the adherents to the
Civil Rights movement, they too, will discover this process of defection. Thus
the answer to these complex problems does not and will not come as the result
of any single so-called clear-cut approach. Nor will there be any single or-
ganization, or amalgamation of organizations, that will treat in an orderly
and clear-cut fashion with the problems of today and tomorrow.

These problems spill over into the area of poverty. They affect attitudes

in our society and they raise the question of how much "push" a society can withstand at a given moment. It is a brutal process and it is going to provide some brutal scenes. Because of this I am not overly optimistic.

Undoubtedly there will be advances made. But these advances will not be as tangible and as discernible as the economic gains that resulted from the activities of the labor movement in the 1930's.

And whereas I have struck a number of pessimistic notes, I do have some reason for optimism. If the Civil Rights movement will not lend itself (and I firmly believe this to be true) to a formalization of structure and to a formal pattern of approach, a degree of turmoil and chaos will result. This in turn will develop further resistance from certain elements in our society; that is the smug and less sensitive elements in our society. At the same time there is a value to all this; the value being this. Whenever anything becomes structuralized in a formal sense it develops hardening of the arteries. Perhaps I am committing heresy when I say that this has happened in the labor mevement, and perhaps it will unwittingly not happen to the Civil Rights movement because the Civil Rights movement will resist formal structure and will not lend itself to a clear-cut formal method of operation. It will not and it cannot follow a blue-print. Thus it will in large measure avoid the hardening of arteries concept that has plagued practically every organization, including labor and mangement entities.

So on the one hand, the resistance of the Civil Rights movement toward any formal structuralization and any adoption of a formal pattern of approach is a cause for concern. On the other hand, it stands out as a beacon of hope. It will enable, in fact compel, the Civil Rights movement to be constantly innovative, to be changing, to be thrusting and to maintain some degree of momentum--greater in some periods than in others. It will enable the Civil Rights movement to be selective in determining which are the most important areas requiring thrust and which are the most important problems that are crying for immediate answers. I suspect that if the Civil Rights movement had a formalized structure, or was capable of developing such a structure, this would not always be possible. Stated differently, the Civil Rights movement, because of its resistance to formal structure and because of its resistance toward amalgamation of forces in a formal structural sense, will be fairly well equipped to cope not only with the complex problems of the present but the even more complex problems of the immediate future. Its flexibility will aid it in coping with the coming serious economic dislocations that will take place. The Civil Rights movement is going to enter a period and operate in a society where people will be vying more stringently for jobs than ever before. Jobs will be limited and men will no longer be competing aginst machines in a manner similar to that of the past, but will be confronted with the much more difficult prospect of just not being needed. Thus, with jobs in short supply there will be an intensity of competition between the unemployed Negro and the unemployed white. This will grow--it will not diminish. It will cause serious dislocation and it will tax the Civil Rights movement as it seeks answers to some very vexing problems.

Undoubtedly this free wheeling type of non-structuralized Civil Rights movement will cause dislocation and will strike discordant notes in our society. Despite this, it will continue to be more responsive to the needs of

the people than if it were an amalgamated and formally structuralized group.
It may well retain a sensitivity to the needs of people that has not been de-
monstrated by more highly structured groups that have preceded it.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIETY AND ECONOMY   Paper III

JOHN R. COLEMAN
Ford Foundation

Let me just make five rapid points on some parallels between the race conflict and the industrial conflict.

First, from both conflicts we have learned how very hard the process of revolution or rapid evolution is. There are parallels anywhere and everywhere to illustrate the inability of most people who are in power to hear new messages coming up from below. A few people here and there seem to hear these messages, move, and, in the process, court instantaneous disapproval in their own circle. But larger numbers of people don't hear; they remain unhearing and immovable until the force reaching them from below is so powerful that there has to be a reaction. That point then comes so late as to make it inevitable that the response be poorly thought out in its details.

Industry today is moving dramatically in some places in response to the race crisis. There is a good enough story to be told there, loud and long. But industry is moving scarcely at all in other places. Ironically, sometimes those who hear least from below are those who themselves came up from below; experience, far from being broadening, has narrowed them along the way. Here, in modern dress, is the story of the 1930's when the "self-made" men in industry couldn't understand what it was that the union people were talking about. Their answer to every thrust of unionism was, "I made it without organizational help or protection; you can do the same thing." And so it is in the field of the civil rights movement. Those who made it cannot hear a new generation of men seeking something better than what they now know. Some of those men who cried out "We want to be heard and understood" in the 1930's are among those today who can't hear the cry from new people who also want to be heard. The labor unions are a particularly striking case in point. Defenses used by some union people who have not moved in the racial crisis sound identical with those of management in the 1930's. "We have already done more than others; we are already moving faster than other groups." But the civil rights leaders at low levels and at high levels read the times very differently. They know that, with few exceptions here and there, union leaders have done too little to respond to new times. They look at the unions and they are reminded of the classic statement about the Daughters of the American Revolution. Having had their revolution they don't want another one.

The second point is how difficult it is to hear this message from below. Even if a man wants to hear it, it is hard to get it. On the surface it is clear and compelling. It says, "We want to run our lives; don't tell us what is good for us; cut us in on the important decision making; above all, we want to be represented." Those sentiments produced the recent emphasis in this country on the so-called "maximum feasible participation of the poor." But turning representation into reality is difficult business. Who did speak for labor in the 1930's? Who speaks for the Negro in the 1960's? If that question doesn't bother us, let's ask who speaks for the Mexican American in this country?

The world of labor-management relations becomes more and more institu-
tionalized. Yet even there wildcat strike occurs, and that wildcat strike
often says, "The union doesn't speak for us." In contrast with Mr. Spitz,
I predict that we are also going to get an institutionalized world of Negro-
white relations. We are moving past those who have been the most prominent
leaders. We gobble up civil rights leaders at a ferocious rate comparable
only to the rate at which we gobble up politicians (or college presidents,
both from within and without the ranks of the IRRA). In moving past the
obvious leaders, we come to the first wave of the indigenous leaders and say,
"They must speak for the Negro." But they too do not last long. "Indigenuity"
turns out to be a highly perishable quality and then we go on to others. So
we rush on to a new wave of spokesmen and hail them as the new and true leaders
of the ghetto. Some day soon we will hear it said that Stokeley Carmichael
is a "Tom." The words, "We weren't represented," echo back and forth in
poverty programs. What they seem to mean is that "I wasn't there." It is
inevitable that it should be so, for democratic ideas have a contagion about
them. Not for everybody, of course, but for enough people to keep the problem
lively and pressing for all of the remaining years of our lives.

The third point is a contrast between industrial and racial conflict.
It is that today's racial prejudices run much deeper than yesterday's anti-
labor prejudices ran. The prejudice of the white towards the Negro is deeper,
more pervasive, and--a value judgement--more destructive to the persons who
hole the prejudice than was any part of the anti-labor prejudice of the thirties.
The current problem is much more than one of tampering with a few attitudes
here and there. We are nowhere near the fringe of this problem yet. It
speaks to a whole range of thought patterns, of fears and of stereotypes.
Even where communication seems best between whites and Negroes, the gap is
still wide. To seek out a test case, come to New York for awhile, and try
to talk rationally, calmly, and understandingly about the Adam Clayton Powell
case. It can scarcely be done, for the Powell case is a modern day litmus
paper that tells at once where you stand on basic race issues. If it is hard
for white and Negro friends to talk across race lines today, how much more
difficult must it be for those whites and Negroes who scarcely know anyone
outside of their own race to sense any part of the problem around us. This
communication gap is not getting smaller, and it is unlikely to be removed
around a bargaining table because the issues go too deep. Because the
chances of closing that gap rapidly are so slight, we can expect years of
turmoil and of misunderstanding ahead. But it is either that turmoil, that
misunderstanding, and our efforts to work our way out of them slowly--or it is
the fire this time.

The fourth point is how troublesome some of the solutions to the conflict
of the 1930's turn out to be in facing the conflict of the 1960's. Some of
the devices developed by labor and management in the 1930's now prove awkward
as we face new problems. We have inherited rigidities in the seniority system,
in the wage structure, and in job entrance requirements that prove formidable
barriers in getting more job opportunities for Negroes and Mexican-Americans.
Some of the rigidities are yielding; where unions and companies have worked
hard at the job with personal courage on the part of many individuals on both
sides. But a lot of those rigidities haven't yielded in the least, and the
conflict is made more complicated.

In industry this offers a new professional challenge to personnel people. By and large, the last decade was not an exciting decade for personnel people; while exciting things happened in the finance field, in the marketing field, and in the production field, the personnel field changed little in the 50's or early 60's. But now personnel officials have as big a challenge as any of their management colleagues will ever be likely to face. Theirs is the job of reexamining a whole host of entrance requirements, for example. Data that will soon be out, from a study at New York University conducted by Dr. James Kirkpatrick and his associates, will document the fact of bias built into pre-employment tests. Further, the high school diploma requirement needs to be looked at again. The practice of requiring a man to have a clean record with the law before he can be considered for employment needs to be looked at again. And to the unions there is also a challenge: the challenge of looking again at such old and dearly beloved solutions as the strict seniority system for rationing job opportunities. For, unless we look again at all of the job practices built up in an earlier day, we will make too little progress in making the promise of equal access to jobs into a reality.

And the final point has the ring of a sermon--but then, as last speaker on this program, I speak closest to Sunday morning. This point is just to note how much the times say both about the cunning and the cruelty of man and about the capacity of man to act humanely when there is an incentive to do so. You have to go into the Mississippi Delta for a period of time to understand how really cunning the white man is and how ingenious he has been at closing off every single door that poor Negroes tied to open in that area. Parallels to the tactics of employers in the 1930's and some of the counter-vailing ones used by unions are too easy to make. Maybe more important, though, than the cunning and cruelty of the few is the mass of insensitivity beyond those few. The number of us who have just been able to write off all of the recent events as excesses of the few is a source for alarm.

But at the same time, even though this struggle gives scant basis for easy optimism, there are key events and key figures in the struggle of both periods showing man at his best. They are part of the struggle to make men, all men, freer and abler to walk in full dignity.

DISCUSSION

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

Spitz: When you speak to people in the depressed Negro areas, you find this image they have acquired of being a discordant note is precisely what they want. They would prefer some other type of image emerging, but this image of being a troublemaker is a hell of a lot more manly than the one that they "enjoyed" before. So you find that in the process of breaking the old image, which we say is good, unfortunately there are too many people in our society who use the newly emerging image as another means of bolstering their prejudice.

Caples: But one of the things is that white people over react. We are using analogies here today, and I'll give you one I used unsuccessfully when Stokeley Carmichael got talking about black power. I have a lot of white friends who do not seek as I do and I have said to them, you know, George Lincoln Rockwell gets out and makes all kinds of absurd statements, but you say he's white, and he's a nut, and it doesn't disturb you any. But Carmichael gets up and makes statements, often as ridiculous as Rockwells', and because he is a Negro he scares you to death. What is the difference? I don't know how many people follow Carmichael--it is not many--but because he is a Negro and says something you are terrified.

One great advantage from the management standpoint is that the problem of getting the Negro into the mainstream of business is just as much the unions' as it is ours. We have had considerable dialogue between the managements and the unions in connection with this. For instance, you have built-in seniority systems, as has been said. You also have the fact that you have lower educational levels except in the very recent hires of most of your Negro employees.

I will give you a statistic that bothers me, but I am going to do something about it. We have 7,922 people in a steel mill who have had eight years of education, at least in the sense that they went to school eight years and sat. So we have approximately 8,000 people who have never been educated beyond the eighth grade. We are coming in with more and more sophisticated machinery, more and more sophisticated control devices, bigger and bigger investment in these, and we have to find a way to get the educational skills of these people up to the point where they can handle the sophisticated machinery.

That is our problem. The union's problem is that these people want to progress and they don't care whether they are white or Negro, they all want to progress as fast as they can. So what we are trying to do jointly is to find a method, assuming that the formal school system has failed these people, to upgrade their educational skills, to get their industrial training skills up.

The other thing is that many of the unions--and of course, the Steelworkers, the UAW, the IUE--have been very active in trying to transplant in the communities what we have worked out fairly well in the mills. I don't think you will every entirely get rid of prejudice, but I do believe that in the steel mills we, the unions and management, have done a good job of

getting a society that runs with as little prejudice as you can hope to have now. The unions have been cooperative and we have cooperated with them in trying to bring this out into the communities. The hard cold fact is that ultimately our success or failure depends on how well or how badly we do this, because as you know the American workman is no fool and he is going to come to those communities where he thinks that he is better treated.

Spitz: From the point of view of the steel workers and the steel industry, I can say that at the present time there are certain subcommittees that are really not negotiating one with another but jointly trying to find some answers to some problems. Recently there was a tour of the steel mills in the Chicago area which was taken by top level management and top level representatives of the steelworkers union. (I might add that I think that it was the first time in many years that some of them had been inside the steel plant.) These subcommittees are addressing themselves to problems such as the apprenticeship practices and programs, training, and testing practices. It is interesting to me, now that I am half in and half out, to watch them struggle with this problem.

On one side is management's lament, with a considerable amount of validity behind it, that they are bringing in more sophisticated machinery, and this tour of the Chicago mill was intended to show both the management representatives and the union representatives the type of equipment that is being installed. The union is retreating from its position of complete and total opposition to training or screening of any sort of people and insistance on advancement made on a pure seniority basis, and yet there are very serious reservations. What were set up as separate committees to treat with apprenticeship want also to treat with training, or with testing, or with new job classifications resulting from new technology. These meetings become very humorous because sometimes when a representative of management or the union makes a comment, the individual who came with very rigid instructions from his superiors says, "Now wait a minute, that is not our scope, that belongs to the training committee." There has been a tremendous spill-over, and there has to be, and I suspect that before we get through these four committees are going to be meeting jointly.

Question: I would like to ask about that group of Negroes who are probably the most militant, who seem to be saying, "We are, in this society, dead in every way but one and that is physically. We have almost nothing to lose." What kind of outlet is there for this group who tends to be in many ways very bright and very articulate but not very well suited for the environment in which they are living?

Caples: One of the things your question suggests, which many whites don't seem to realize, is that we have to create a value system that is acceptable to these people. When they say they haven't got anything to lose, they are being fairly accurate. We don't give them a chance to get anything that is worth losing. What we have done is try to take a value system acceptable to us and say to these people, "This should be acceptable to you." Yet we don't give them any opportunity to get all of the things that come to the whites who have accepted the value system.

Spitz: There are a certain number of people in the Negro community as in any
other community who will respond to despair.   There also will be the demagogue,
and he is to be heard from in increasing numbers.   But it seems to me that
short of trying to impose the values that exist or have been accepted by the
comfortable middle class white society, the only answer to that question which
you pose must flow from a genuine sense of participation and involvement.   You
must remember that what you are referring to is a type of survival technique.
And the survival techniques can be effectively channeled only if there is
available to people in neighborhoods of this sort a genuine sense of
participation and involvement.   They will not accept involvement under the
guise of planning; they want involvement that is full-blown, including
decision making.   "If there are going to be errors made," their position is,
I think rightly so, "let us make our own errors.   You made yours."   They are
extremely sensitive to this and attuned to it.

Comment: One point in similarities or contrasts is the recent development in
draft refusals, such as by Cassius Clay.   This is a force, I think, that has
to be reckoned with.

Comment: We did touch on that lightly when Bob Green made the flat assertion
that he thought that this was a policy that the Negro should follow.   This, I
suppose, is a further example of the difference in sets of values.   Most of
us here subscribe to the dominant set of values: we pay our taxes, we
respond to the draft, and so on, but here you have some leaders of Negro
groups advocating what amounts to a form of massive civil disobedience.   I
think it will bring a hardening of the situation.

Comment: There has been a lot of talk of pessimism.   I wonder if we can
pinpoint the extent to which this is simply a difference in time perspective.
Most of us are dissatisfied with the overtures that have been made to Negroes
after the Emancipation Proclamation over the past 100 years.   At the same
time, there has been an acceleration of progress in the last ten or fifteen
years, accompanied by a white backlash which may mean a rapid deceleration of
progress in the next few years.

        In the thirty years since 1937, the labor union has made great progress.
What is the situation going to look like in the next thirty years for the
civil rights movement?   Will we survive these next few years of turmoil, and
if so, what will be the status of the Negro, what rights will he have that
he doesn't have now, what status will he have that he doesn't have now?

Spitz: I think that that question should have come up at the beginning of the
session, because it certainly would take two days to discuss it.   How can one
speculate on the status of the Negro and avoid discussing or speculating what
will happen to our economy, what will happen to our political structure, what
adverse effects may flow from the onrush of new technology, and so forth?
Certainly, they are all interwoven.   I do not think that despite the
separatist tendencies on the part of some Negroes that they are going to be
able to avoid the impact on what happens in the other segments of society.

Question: What, if any, is the relationship to the civil rights movement of
the younger and very rapidly expanding population group, many of whom have
the same kinds of frustrations and aspirations but who haven't yet identified

or coalesced with the Negro community as much as it might have? Within the
next ten years, we will have a very substantial part of the population that is
going to be under 35 years old, and that is going to be a powerful force.
But I think that we will still tend to feel resistances from the establishment
and the power structure to use these two badly overused terms. Do you see any
possibility of a more substantial coalescense of the Negro community with this
age group that is coming into a dominant position?

Coleman: Surely with them too there is this issue about the total values of
this society and whether or not they are willing to accept these values. This
is a real enough issue. You may have seen the dramatic expression of it just
the other day in a very interesting article in The New York Times on the
Hippies, which among other things was trying to figure out why the Hippies are
so uninterested in civil rights. Their answer was, "Why should we be
interested in helping Negroes get into that rotten society?" Whether there
is an alliance here or not, I don't know. I see no reason, on the surface, to
assume that there will be an alliance, because the disaffections are perhaps
quite different. They can coalesce around unhappiness, but I doubt if that is
enough to produce a significant force.

BOSTON CHAPTER
J. David Fine, President
James J. McCurdy, Vice President
Leslie E. Woods, Secretary-Treasurer

BUFFALO STUDENT CHAPTER (1966-1967)
Tom Heyns, President
Joseph Leone, Vice President
David English, Secretary
Chuck Cascio, Treasurer
David B. Lipsky, Faculty Advisor

CENTRAL OHIO CHAPTER
Rankin M. Gibson, President
Harry E. Mayfield, Vice President
Robert C. Miljus, Secretary-Treasurer

CHICAGO CHAPTER
Michael Eisner, President
Woodrow Linn, Treasurer
Miss Judy Jackson, Secretary

DETROIT AREA CHAPTER
Donald M. Irwin, President
Nat Weinberg, Vice President
David Miller, Secretary
George Gullen, Treasurer

GEORGIA CHAPTER (1966-1967)
Mack A. Moore, President
Wayne Anderson, Vice President
Ben Curry, Secretary-Treasurer

HAWAII CHAPTER
Bert T. Kobayashi, President
Edwin K. Hastings, Vice President
Jack C. Reynolds, Vice President
Bernard W. Stern, Secretary
Edward McMahon, Treasurer

IOWA CHAPTER
Donald L. Fimmen, President
Hazel Blackhawk, Vice President
Edgar Czarnecki, Secretary
James Socknat, Treasurer

MICHIGAN STATE CHAPTER (1966-1967)
Thomas A. Fox, Jr. President
Gustave Lippman, Vice President
Michael E. Borus, Secretary-Treasurer

MONTREAL CHAPTER
Wes Peacock, President
Leo Roback, Vice President
Bernard Brody, Secretary-Treasurer

NEW YORK CHAPTER
Alfred H. Brent, President
Douglas Soutar, Vice President
Irving Halevy, Secretary-Treasurer

NORTH TEXAS CHAPTER
Gene Freeland, President
Helmut Wolff, Vice President
Elvis Stephens, Secretary-Treasurer

PARIS CHAPTER (1966-1967)
Yves Delamotte, President
Charles Stewart, Vice President

PHILADELPHIA CHAPTER
Walter Gershenfeld, President
Peter D. Walther, Vice President
Bernard Ingster, Secretary
Albert Noren, Treasurer

SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA CHAPTER
Roy O. Hoffman, President
John E. Cantwell, Vice President
Ronald T. Weakley, Secretary
James R. Lucas, Treasurer

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA CHAPTER
Irving Bernstein, President
Archie Kleingartner, Vice President
Jerilou Hollis, Secretary
Gerry L. Fellman, Treasurer

TENNESSEE CHAPTER (1966-1967)
R. F. Bertram, President
Paul Christopher, Vice President
Thomas E. Gressler, Secretary
Robert E. Lee, Treasurer

WASHINGTON, D. C. CHAPTER
Woodrow Ginsburg, President
Curtis C. Aller, Vice President
Mrs. Beatrice M. Burgoon, Secretary
Robert Volger, Treasurer

WESTERN NEW YORK CHAPTER
Samuel H. Sackman, President
Lawrence L. Korn, President-elect
Thomas A. Tierney, Secretary
Nelson Duerr, Treasurer

WISCONSIN CHAPTER
Edwin Kehl, President
Glen Cain, Vice President
Donald Morrison, Vice President
Chester Niles, Vice President
John Schmitt, Vice President
Jeff Tener, Secretary
Herbert Heneman, Treasurer

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS RESEARCH ASSOCIATION
SOCIAL SCIENCE BUILDING
MADISON, WISCONSIN 53706

Return Requested