

After the GM Elections: the Next Move is Up to the CIO

United Organization Needed for Acceptable Pact

By S. MEFFAN

Detroit, Mich. NOW that the tumult and the shouting surrounding the General Motors elections has died down somewhat, it should be possible to examine the situation in the auto union more calmly and accurately than has been possible for quite some time.

WHAT THE VOTE SHOWED

First, and very significant in the auto situation, was the absence of the "Blitzkrieg" atmosphere so apparent in the Briggs and Chrysler votes. In spite of the "sweep" of the C.I.O. with regard to the number of plants won, the fact remains that out of 136,000 eligible voters, 50,000 have shown by one method or another that they do not desire the C.I.O. as their bargaining agent—26,000 by voting for the A. F. of L., 14,000 by voting for neither, and about 10,000 still working in the plants who did not trouble to vote at all.

That the C.I.O. is dimly aware that this is not an easy problem is becoming apparent. While isolated instances of strong-arming the workers into the U.A.W.-C.I.O. have been noticed, some reasonable feelers have been put out in some localities. However, the attitude of the average defeated A. F. of L.

Socialism Needs Its Renewal in Internationalism

clearly that the socialist conquest of power was the only possible way of preventing the fascist threat and the danger of war—and, at that time, the conquest of power was possible. But we came up against a party leadership that sought to fight against fascism with the weapon of war. The results of this policy are today to be seen not only by our expulsion from the party, and in the temporary weakening of the labor movement, but in the fact that today we are at war.

key-man is something like this: "The C.I.O. has honestly won sole bargaining rights, and I will not hinder the exercise of those rights. However, I will not pay an exorbitant initiation fee for reentry into the C.I.O. as a punishment for my past actions, which include voting as I please. In fact, I may not even join the outfit unless they get a better contract for G.M. workers than they did for the Chrysler boys. And they'd better revoke the suspensions they hung on some of our boys during the split." Whether these sentiments are right or wrong, it is certain that A. F. of L. men are far from demoralized, and that the next move is up to the C.I.O.

In relation to General Motors, the C.I.O. also is in a very tough spot, twice as tough a spot as they were in when facing Chrysler. And their results on that occasion were certainly not inspiring. Now they face the corporation at the tail-end of a production season, with a set of demands drawn up on a factional basis, and impossible of achievement in the immediate future. The major demand, 30 hours a week with 40 hours pay, is fine, but would need a unified labor movement, if not a revolution, to obtain.

Whether the leaders will be able to steer a skillful course and avoid a direct clash with G.M. at this season of the year is problematical. Undoubtedly, a successful tool-and-die strike could be called with ease this Summer (there is a shortage of skilled labor), but whether the production workers in the C.I.O. would stand for this is debatable, and if such were threatened, an offer of the same contract as Chrysler has would put the C.I.O. right on the spot.

YCAW Comes to Fore in Student Peace Strikes

Stalinist ASU Rapidly Losing Influence

By LEO BUDD

RALLYING to the call issued by the Youth Committee Against War, over a million high-school and college students participated in the annual student strike against war on Friday, April 19, at 11 A. M.

Led by the Y.C.A.W. and its affiliates on the campus, the youth of the nation once more voiced the conviction that "America must keep out of war!" "Starve the war—Feed America!", they shouted and captured the attention of the country by colorful and impressive strikes.

Form New Party After Split of Trotskyist SWP

Dressmakers Local 89 Holds Installation

By ALBERT EASTON

THE installation of the newly-elected administration of Local 89, Italian Dressmakers Union I.L.G.W.U., on Saturday, April 27, should set an example for other labor organizations. A colorful, impressive and joyous program of music and dramatic sketches and brief speeches was presented at the Windsor Theatre by members of Local 89 and the I.L.G.W.U. generally.

YCAW Leads Movement

The Y.C.A.W., long a leading factor, was firmly established as the only bona-fide youth anti-war movement in America as its program was adopted by student councils, peace organizations and sundry campus groups throughout the country who had no definite peace program of their own. In the short history of the Y.C.A.W., never had there been such eager reception of its program for youth's role of keeping America out of war as in the programs of the various campus strikes this year.

AN ESTABLISHED INSTITUTION

That the strike has become an established and recognized vehicle of student protest is evidenced by the amazing fact that classes were officially suspended in major universities to permit the students to attend the strike. I still recall the time that missing the 11 o'clock class was a sure way of getting a "C" or a "D" in the course.

What Labor Contributes

By CHARLES STELZLE

"BEFORE business can absorb the jobless, employers must have the money to 'create' new jobs," it is said by employers of labor, and just now it is being repeated by certain politicians. But it should not be forgotten that workers themselves would be making a most valuable financial contribution in such a transaction.

We are informed that for each worker employed, the steel industry must furnish \$11,000; the manufacturing industries must furnish \$8,000; and the ordinary business must put up \$4,000. But each worker as he enters industry represents an approximate outlay of \$10,000 by the parents of the worker, the state, and other public institutions. Thus, the average worker comes into the plant as the equivalent of a \$10,000 machine, and he usually more than matches what the investor is asked to spend in order to "create" a job for him.

Furthermore, the worker must spend most of his wages to pay for his personal "upkeep" and "repairs." He provides his own food, clothing, and housing, and he is responsible for keeping up his health, so that he may continue to be a good producer. A very small percentage of his wages is spent for his cultural life and for his "leisure activities," altho, it should be said, these also add to his value as a worker. If he should drop out of the plant for any reason, another worker, of equal or even greater value, may be secured upon the same terms. Upon this basis, the approximately 40,000,000 wage-earners in the United States to whom this would apply, have a value of \$400,000,000,000. According to latest reports, this equals the wealth of the United States as ordinarily calculated.

What ever may be said regarding what others have paid to help support the public institutions which had a part in the preparation of the American worker, all of the arguments fall when they are applied to the millions of foreign-born workers in industry who came to this country full-fledged, ready for a job. They were prepared at the expense of the countries from which they came. This is particularly true of the so-called "refugees," large numbers of whom are technically trained men and women.

It is reported with great concern that the fifteen largest banks in New York City are "waging a losing fight" because 42% of their cash assets, amounting to something over \$7,000,000,000 are "idle." If 10,000,000 workers in this country are unemployed, they represent an "idle" cash value of \$100,000,000,000, and many of these, too, are "waging a losing fight." The biggest problem facing America today is how to put the "idle workers" and the "idle money" to work, so that they may both win their fight. But don't let us forget that all real wealth is simply stored-up labor.

Form New Party After Split of Trotskyist SWP

THE formation of the Workers Party, with headquarters in New York City, was announced last week by Max Shachtman, an outstanding leader of the new organization.

The new party is the result of a split in the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyists), which took place recently, resulting in a series of expulsions. The Cannon faction of the Socialist Workers Party, which is supported by Trotsky, expelled many of the top leaders of the party, almost half the membership, and an overwhelming majority of the youth group, Shachtman charged.

Along with Shachtman, the leaders of the new party are Martin Abern, James Burnham, B. J. Widick, Nathan Gould and J. R. Robinson. "We have been expelled by the Cannon faction, bureaucratically and without trial," Shachtman stated, "because we fought against a theory of 'defense of the Soviet Union' which meant in practise giving support to one of the two imperialist war camps. We want it clearly understood that we continue to hold Leon Trotsky in the highest personal regard as a great world revolutionist. But we cannot follow him in his tragically mistaken policy of supporting the Berlin-Moscow Axis in the present war."

The formation of the Workers Party came as the climax of a sharp political struggle inside the Socialist Workers Party over the question of the Red Army invasions of Poland and Finland, and in general of Russia's participation in one of the warring camps.

The group supporting the Red Army was led by Leon Trotsky himself, who, altho he condemned the invasions as "shameful" and "criminal," called on American workers to aid and support the Red Army on the grounds that it was defending the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

The opposition group, now the Workers Party, insisted that Trotsky's position of condemning the invasion and supporting the Red Army was contradictory. It also contended that it was not a question of an imperialist attack on the Soviet Union, but of a joint Hitler-Stalin campaign of imperialist aggression.

"In actual practice," commented Max Shachtman, "Trotsky and his followers in the Socialist Workers Party, despite their well-known and genuine opposition to Stalinism, are supporting one imperialist camp, that of the Rome-Berlin-Moscow Axis, against the other imperialist camp in this war, the camp of the so-called 'democracies.'"

Despite the great prestige of Trotsky, his supporters retained control of the Socialist Workers Party only by a slim majority, Shachtman stated. The opposition group numbers 40% of the party proper and 80% of the youth organization, and it has a majority of the active members of the Executive Committee of the Fourth International, he added.

The Workers Party is continuing the publication of the New Internationalist and it will begin publication shortly of a new weekly paper called Labor Action. Shachtman described these papers as "the only serious revolutionary anti-war press in the country."

"For our part," Shachtman stated, "we were willing to remain in the Socialist Workers Party on condition that we received certain minimum guarantees that we could reach the American working class with our views. We were denied these guarantees and subjected to a campaign of slander and falsification. When

Negro Needs Labor as An Ally in Struggle

Unity Against War is Urged by Crosswaith

By FRANK CROSSWAITH

(We publish below the address delivered by Frank Crosswaith at the symposium, "The Negro and the Present War," held recently in Harlem under the auspices of the I.L.L.A.—Editor.)

WHAT should be the attitude of the Negro in the present war? What it will be, I don't know, altho I should know by recalling the last war.

I was old enough in the last war to be conscripted. I was old enough to be chased off street corners in this neighborhood for talking peace. I was old enough to say that that war was not for the purpose for which it was stated, but that it had an economic basis, an economic motif, if you please.

NEGROES SHOULD OPPOSE WAR

If I were called upon to answer the question, "What should be the attitude of the Negro in the present war," I would answer without a moment's hesitation that the attitude of the Negro to this war should be one of utter opposition, not simply as a Negro but as an integral part of the laboring masses of the United States.

Working men have nothing to gain in any war.

I am inclined to think that the Negro in America needs to do some serious overhauling of his present life as well as of his past life. What do I mean? For instance, the Negro in the United States should learn a lesson from the Irish in their struggle for the freedom of Ireland. One of the things which has impressed me greatly about Ireland and her successful fight for freedom has been the part played in the struggle for Irish liberation by the Irishmen here in the United States. I will assert, without fear of successful contradiction, that Ireland's freedom was won largely by the unity, the strength, and the resourcefulness of Irishmen in the United States.

The same thing is true of the struggle of the Jews for a homeland. It wasn't won by the Jewish people who were domiciled in Jerusalem. It was won largely by the resources and the pressure of the Jewish people in Britain and elsewhere.

I cite to you these two cases because the lesson for us Negroes to learn is to stop permitting ourselves to be divided from our brothers in Georgia as well as from our brothers on the banks of the Nile. Why? Because if we look over our situation, we are a hopeless minority. No Negro outside of an insane asylum would say that the Negro, even if he became united in the United States, would generate enough power and strength by ourselves to right all of the wrongs that follow us from our birth to our death in this country. We couldn't do it because we are such a hopeless minority. Finding ourselves in this position of a hopeless minority, what are we to do? It is the essence of intelligence on the part of any man or group finding himself in a minority to get allies!

How are you going to test your allies? There is only one test, and that one test is the common test of self-interest. Find somebody from the majority whose interest is like yours. He may not look like you when you look in the mirror. He might be different from you in color and a lot of things, but if he has one important interest tied up with yours, you can trust him because in fighting to promote his own interests, whether he likes you or he hates you, he has got to promote yours.

The Negro in America belongs to the working class, and until we recognize that fact and act upon it, we will be wasting a lot of time throwing bouquets at the Kremlin or throwing bouquets at Buckingham Palace or throwing them even at Washington, D. C. Until we recognize our common interest with the working people of the United States first, and with the working people

of the world secondly, we will continue to waste time. It is true that here in the United States the plight of the Negro is pretty sordid. I know it. I know what it is. I don't have to read about it.

AN ENLIGHTENING EXPERIENCE

I was in Atlanta, Georgia, not very long ago, the first time in my life. I had always been very reluctant to go into Georgia because once you remember they referred to me as one of the most "dangerous niggers" in the United States. But my union, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, sent me to Atlanta, because the Negroes were beginning to leave the farms and the cotton fields in Georgia and to find a place in the garment factories, and we wanted them organized. I had a remarkable experience there.

You know there are some laws—that colored people and whites are not supposed to be together, and so on. And, in this particular factory, the employer "believed" in the Negro—he was a great fellow—and he employed humble Negroes. Of course, I don't have to tell you that the wages were much below the union scale, the hours were longer, but he just loved the Negroes!

So I went down there, and we set up a labor organization. On the day we were to present the charter to this Negro local, with a Negro president and a Negro secretary, I insisted that members of the Joint Board be present. They are native Georgians, and I felt they should be present when I made the speech and presented these black brothers and sisters with a charter from my international union. I also thought that, for the sake of posterity, it would be good for a photographer to be there at the same time, and so we had a white photographer whom we engaged when we invited the Joint Board to be present on a Sunday.

Well, only three members of the Joint Board showed up, and the photographer took three pictures, not one of which ever came out. It was the fault of the camera, you know. They just didn't come out. But it so happens that in our union we have what is called a Joint Board, and every local has to have representatives on the Joint Board, and here comes this Negro local, the president of the union in Georgia, who was a woman, was the head of the women's division of the Ku Klux Klan in Georgia. This is interesting. It is important. That woman who led the women's auxiliary of the Ku Klux Klan in Georgia refused to participate in the Joint Board with Negro workers.

Well, my union is a pretty good union, and we decided then that they would have to have the Joint Board meeting; these colored people had been duly elected, and they had to sit. This member of the Ku Klux Klan, if she felt she couldn't participate, she would have to leave, and leave her membership card in the union, and the position she had as

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Marxism Probed In Stimulating Symposium

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their closing remarks. The proceedings lasted over four hours and did not conclude until one o'clock in the morning; yet such was the intense interest of the audience that practically all present remained to a late hour, most of them until the very end.

Those who attended the symposium, representing virtually every section of the city's radical and socialist movement, were unanimous in their enthusiasm. Every one realized the great significance of the fact that such a discussion could be held at this time in so free, undogmatic and critical an atmosphere. There was high praise, too, for the serious thought, penetration and insight manifested in the addresses of the participants. All in all, the symposium undoubtedly represented an important landmark in the process of socialist self-criticism that is beginning to get under way.

(The addresses delivered by the participants in the April 26 symposium will be published in full in early issues of this paper.—Editor.)

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