

# Expropriate War Industries, Run Them Under Workers' Control

## Time to Kick Out War Profiteers!

### An Editorial

During his anti-labor speech on Army Day last Saturday, OPM Director Knudsen mentioned two true facts which every worker should know and understand.

1. "We are all in the Army now... The technical progress of making war," said Mr. Knudsen, "has advanced to such a stage that ONE MAN in the field requires the backing of TEN MEN at home."

That means that ten out of eleven men in the "national defense" forces are working under the dictates of Eugene Grace, Henry Ford, Max W. Babb of Allis-Chalmers and others of the same stripe.

It means that "national defense" is at the mercy of the Fords and the Graces, men addicted to the most autocratic rule—except as their arbitrary power is limited by the successful growth of the trade unions in their factories.

And for what do the Graces and Fords use their power? To wring the maximum amount of blood-money out of creating instruments of death. From the first trickle of war orders in 1940, 230 corporations increased their "earnings" for that year 70.77 per cent over 1939, the April 6 New York *Times* reports. The twelve leading steel companies in 1940 more than doubled the profits they had made in 1939. Aviation companies tripled, quadrupled and quintupled their previous profits. What these war profits of 1940 mean was demonstrated recently by a CIO analysis: General Motors netted a profit of \$977 per employee; American Telegraph and Telephone, \$528 per employee; U. S. Steel, \$420 per employee; DuPont, \$2,200 per employee; General Electric \$826 per employee; Standard Oil of New Jersey, \$2,000 per employee.

By their autocratic rule over ten out of eleven men in the "national defense" forces, the Graces and Fords really control the destiny of the nation and dictate whether we shall live or die. It is to their interest that there be war booms and wars. Out of our mangled bodies they coin new and greater profits.

2. "During the last seven months," said Mr. Knudsen, "we have actually started and more than 60 per cent completed new factories at a cost of over two billion dollars, of which a billion dollars and a half was furnished by the government and the balance privately financed."

That means that the government paid 75 per cent of the cost of expanding the empires of the Graces and Fords. They get not only war profits but also new factories for nothing!

After all this Mr. Knudsen, in attacking strikes, has the gall to say: "I am getting all out of patience with all this talk, about money. This is no time to ask for quotations on the defense of the United States... This job can't be handled with money. It must be handled with our hearts." That \$977 per employee that Knudsen's General Motors netted in profits in 1940 was just incidental to a labor of love!

Yes, after all this the Knudsen's and Stimson's and the rest of the bosses and their political agents in Washington, have the effrontery to propose to "settle" strikes by cracking down on the unions. None of these gentlemen even breathe a suggestion of cracking down on the Graces and Fords.

Secretary of War Stimson, Senator Connally and others have proposed what they call "the government taking over" struck plants like Allis-Chalmers. In reality they are proposing nothing but a strikebreaking scheme. The war profiteers wouldn't suffer a bit. The government would pay the bosses handsomely for the use of their plants, expand the plants at government expense and eventually turn them back to their owners. The workers, on the other hand, are not only not promised a settlement or recognition of their union when the government takes over, but Secretary Stimson and Senator Connally don't even promise to reinstate the workers in their jobs!

But, as John L. Lewis has put it: "The time is not here yet, and methinks it will not come in America, when an act of Congress may be passed that will make indentured servants out of 45,000,000 American workers." Law or no law, the workers will strike against bosses who are renamed "government representatives" just as they strike against the unclothed bosses.

In full confidence we say to the bosses and their political agents: You cannot fool or scare the workers. You cannot use the smokescreen of "national defense" to cover up the war profiteers. You can't hide from the workers the fact that "national defense" is being used by Big Business to make millionaires out of millionaires and to try to crush the trade unions.

Do you really want to leave money out of it, as Knudsen pretends? Do you really want uninterrupted production?

Then let the government take away the war industries from the Henry Fords, Eugene Graces and Max Babbs, but let the workers take full charge of the expropriated plants.

Democratically-elected factory committees, will run those plants as they should be run. Out of the workers, freed from the dead hand of the oppressive bosses, will come creative energies such as this continent has never seen.

There are more than enough specialists, sincerely devoted to the people, to serve as consultants to these factory committees. The best of the accountants, statisticians, engineers, scientists, would prefer to work under such factory committees rather than to serve the brutal and ignorant bosses who have hitherto bought their brains. For the workers, having no interest in profits and throttling new inventions, will really give free scope to science and technique, which have been thwarted by the crises and profit-seeking of the capitalist system.

With magnificent courage the workers have stood by their demands and backed them up with heroic strikes. Now it is necessary, while continuing these strikes, to do more: to give a positive answer to the strikebreaking threats of the bosses and their political agents. An answer which will show the workers are not only defenders of their rights but the rightful leaders of the nation. An answer which will not only guarantee uninterrupted production, but which will take away from the Graces and Fords the control of the country's war production!

Expropriate the war industries and operate them under workers' control.

# THE MILITANT

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## FORD IS SHUT DOWN AT LAST

### On The War Fronts

## Hitler Forced To Open New Front

**Balkan Campaign May Cost Hitler Dearly; Stalin Will Not Fight For Jugoslav Ally**

By GEORGE STERN

Hitler last week unleashed his military might on two more European nations.

Yugoslavia's resistance to Hitler was determined in part by the lessons of Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria. These countries capitulated without a struggle to the Nazis in order to keep out of the war. All they accomplished was to be occupied by the Nazi army and to become part of the provinces of the Nazi Reich.

The lively nationalist traditions of the Serbian officer caste and middle class and the warrior traditions of the Montenegrin peasantry proved fertile soil for British encouragement. The decision was taken to resist.

If Hitler can complete the Balkan campaign in a matter of weeks with a minimum of cost to his military machine and a minimum of disruption in the Balkans, generally, he may still be in a position to complete his postponed schedule for an assault on the British Isles.

#### DANGER TO HITLER

Should the campaign stretch out over a longer period, however, it can mean his ultimate defeat in effect. The concentration of Nazi power in the Balkans until the fall or winter can conceivably give Britain the respite it needs to allow time for the American war machine to gear into action.

In any case, however, the Balkan campaign may cost him dearly. The Balkans are still the principal granary for the Reich. That is why Hitler tried by every means to assure his conquest of the Southeastern nations without resort to military force.

There is, further, the plight of Italy. Mussolini has some 300,000 men bottled up in Albania. Unless Hitler can complete the conquest of Greece and Yugoslavia with unimaginable speed and decisively defeat the British expeditionary force already on Greek soil, these Italian forces are doomed to another debacle.

So long, however, as Hitler can feel assured of eventual Balkan victory, fresh defeats for his Italian ally are not overly serious for him.

The other principal elements in the new Balkan war are Turkey and the USSR. Turkey is still sit-

tting tight. It has become apparent in the successive stages of the war that Turkey does not have enough confidence in its military strength to venture an offensive policy. But a policy of waiting means eventual envelopment by Hitler.

#### STALIN'S ROLE CLEAR

In the new Balkan situation, the USSR has taken a further step along the line already suggested by its recent moves. When Bulgaria was occupied, Moscow sent a feeble note of protest to Sofia. Two weeks ago the USSR and Turkey issued a new declaration of friendship and understanding which was interpreted as a Soviet pledge to extend friendly help to Turkey in case it is attacked. Now, a few hours before the Nazi invasion of Yugoslavia, a pact of friendship and non-aggression between the USSR and Yugoslavia was signed.

These moves do not indicate any breach in Nazi-Soviet relations but they definitely do represent further worsening of those relations.

Stalin has felt compelled at each stage of Nazi Balkan penetration to make some move which would impede Nazi advances without, however, embroiling the Soviet Union in the war.

Stalin's policy will not, if he can help it, expose him to the feared Nazi attack. He will continue, however, to do everything he dares to impede and make more costly Hitler's steady advance toward complete domination of Europe and toward eventual invasion of the Soviet Union.

Once more those who hope Stalin will take up arms against Hitler are doomed to disappointment. Stalin's policy remains one of fearful defense. He seeks ways of warding off blows, not of dealing them.

(See editorial, "Stalin's Latest Pact," page 6.)

### How Union Officials Are Used To Cover Up Gov't Strikebreaking

Not a single capitalist spokesman or newspaper has attempted to answer on its merits John L. Lewis' criticism of the National Mediation Board.

The "cleverest" of the boss papers, the New York Post, ducked Lewis' specific criticism with the help of this formula: "If they—Philip Murray and Thomas Kennedy—have taken their places on the National Mediation Board with good will, and believe in mediation, have they not been wickedly insulted by Mr. Lewis, who has recklessly bracketed them with strike 'busters'?" (New York Post, April 4.)

Thus the Post, instead of answering Lewis' indictment, hides behind the backs of Murray and Kennedy. The backs of Murray and Kennedy are broad, indeed. Not only the Post, but all the employers' and "public" representatives on the Mediation Board are hiding behind them.

That, in fact, is why the bosses and their political agents wanted Murray and Kennedy on the board — as fig-leaves to cover up the anti-labor acts of the board.

And that's why every unionist should demand the withdrawal of all union officials from the board, and from all government posts.

### They Provided The Gas



This striking cartoon, published in the weekly organ of the CIO, the April 7 CIO NEWS, shows the two government strikebreakers, Knox and Knudsen, providing the fuel for the armored car used against the Allis-Chalmers strikers. But the union won anyway!

## Ford Workers Show Hank Their Power

**Bold And Confident, Workers Stand Firm; Not So The Leaders**

Story on strategy used to shut down the River Rouge appears on page 4—full page.

DETROIT, April 8—The great Ford strike, now in its seventh day, continues with all production completely shut down.

This strike, aimed against the symbol of the open shop, against the "old American way" in industry, is symbolic of what American workers understand by a fight for democracy, and what they feel is worth fighting for.

Those outside this area, who are reading about the strike in the daily press and hear about it on the radio, receive a warped picture of the actual state of affairs. They hear the venomous statements of the paid company henchmen, read the slanders and lies of the newspaper columnists, get a picture of the army of government mediators and their barrage of governmental pressure upon the Ford workers.

They imagine, from all this, that the Ford workers must be overcome by the sheer weight of the pressure brought to bear from all sides.

But the workers of Detroit are in a different world. They dwell apart from the venal columnists and the babbling flunkies on the radio newscasts.

The men on the Ford picket lines are cheerful, optimistic and above all determined.

The Ford workers know only the justice of their case. They are oblivious of all the high-pressure attempts to demoralize and defeat them. They are swimming in a sea of solidarity, and are insulated by the sheer massiveness of their strength from the pricks and jabs of their enemies.

The strike leadership, unfortunately, does not lie in the hands of a broad and representative strike committee. It is in the hands of a few top figures such as Michael Widman, Jr., director of the CIO drive, R. J. Thomas, UAW President, George F. Ades, Secretary-Treasurer of the UAW, Alan Haywood, CIO organization director, and one or two other individuals. This leadership has a psychology different from the militant and confident ranks.

**UNINSPIRING PUBLICITY**

In greatest contrast to the spirit and strength of the ranks is the publicity department. There is an ample volume of publicity pouring out of the strike headquarters, but in its content the publicity represents the most backward sector of the strike. The union radio talks are a repeated blather about the patriotism of the Ford workers, about the refusal of the Ford company to put out Rolls Royce engines for Britain, for which the strike leaders had volunteered to send in workers.

Repeatedly, day after day these talks reiterate the same (Continued on Page 3)

## Big Loophole Made In Excess Profits Tax Law

**Congress Quietly Adopts Amendments To Tax Law To Relieve "War Baby" Industries From Paying Hundreds Of Millions**

Recent amendments to the Excess Profits Tax Act have demonstrated the hypocrisy of the Roosevelt administration's loud talk about taking the profits out of war and "equal sacrifice" for capital and labor.

Under the guise of taking care of certain "hardship cases" involving an "unjust" application of the Excess Profits Tax to small concerns, Congress on March 7 quietly passed certain amendments which will save tens of millions of dollars in taxes for the major corporations. Expert estimates place the tax reductions for the big corporations in general, under the amended law, at no less than \$150,000,000 annually.

The neat little device for keeping the profits in war, is contained in a trick little clause.

This — clause (f) section 713 of the amended law — permits corporations to figure the base profits, on the excess of which excess profits taxes must be paid, by a new method favorable to the "war babies" industries. The old method required averaging the profits for the four years 1936 to 1939.

The new method permits a corporation to name as its "regular" profits, the highest single annual profit of any year in that period.

Thus, if the average annual profit over the four years has been \$1,000,000, but the highest single year's profit has been \$1,500,000, excess profits taxes are now levied on the excess over the \$1,500,000, rather than on the excess over \$1,000,000 required under the old law. \$500,000 more goes untouched by taxes into the corporation's till.

Even in its original form, the 1940 Excess Profits Tax Act was

so complicated that no ordinary worker could make heads or tails for 1940.

The new amendments are even more complicated. But the big corporations have figured their meaning out to the extent of a huge reduction in taxes, rather than the increase in taxes which the entire law was supposed to effect.

These new amendments were put through Congress in record time. There was practically no newspaper publicity on the changes made in the old law. There were no Congressional hearings or debates. It was all done with apparently calculated secrecy.

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Farrell Dobbs To Speak On The Latest Strikes

Farrell Dobbs, National Labor Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, will report and analyze the Ford and other strikes, upon his return from Detroit.

Dobbs' lecture, "The Great Strike Wave," will be given Wednesday, April 16, at 8:30 P.M. at a special session of the Marxist School, Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th Street, New York City.

Bring your shopmates to hear Comrade Dobbs!

## Four IBEW Men Framed In Queens Strike Trial

Jury Of Businessmen Openly Show Bias As They Convict Local 3 Strike Leaders

By the Queens Correspondent

QUEENS, New York City, April 5—Four of the 16 members of Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers on trial for striking against the Triangle Conduit Cable Co. last August were convicted yesterday in one of the rawest deals handed out by capitalist justice.

The four were Harry Van Arsdale, Jr., Business Manager of Local 3, Charles Mangano, a shop steward, Robert Readé, and Rudolf Jaklitsch.

As reported in the March 30 issue of THE MILITANT, the trial, which grew out of attacks by police and strikebreakers on the picket lines of Local 3, had all the earmarks of a frameup. The testimony of the last two weeks should have removed the last lingering doubt from any fair-minded person's mind.

To this correspondent the frameup was so obvious that he thought there wasn't a chance of convicting the union men. But the business men who constituted the jury were influenced by other considerations than fairness.

In their eagerness to convict the strikers, they found them guilty of charges that did not even appear in the indictment and after freeing one defendant found him guilty!

**PROSECUTION LIES**

As the trial proceeded during the past 2 weeks, state's witnesses accused Van Arsdale and Fred Hansen of inciting the strikers to riot by their speeches at a union meeting. However, Thomas J. Lyons, head of the State Federation of Labor, informed the court that this was a physical impossibility, since both defendants were attending the State AFL convention at the time they were supposed to have addressed the meeting.

Another defendant, McAlin, proved the prosecution to be lying again in its accusation that he had instigated the men to utilize "rocks and stones" if necessary. McAlin was nowhere near the plant at the time the strikebreakers and police attacked the picket line. He was attending a meeting of the National Labor Relations Board.

The role of the strikebreakers was brought out clearly by Louis Waldman, attorney for Local 3, when he showed that the "riot" charges were part and parcel of the company's plan to break the strike.

**A PAID FINK**

Waldman cited the case of William J. Flynn, whom the prosecution had not hauled up on trial. Before the strike, Flynn was a shop foreman at the Triangle outfit. He cultivated his leadership among the men and became a member of the Negotiations Committee. When the strike vote was taken at the meeting where the prosecution contends violence and rioting was incited, Flynn was Chairman. After Triangle had been shut down because of the picket lines, Flynn was in charge of picketing. Then like a bolt from the blue, Flynn became a scab inside the Triangle plant. "If this isn't the role of a fink," demanded Waldman, "and a paid one, what is?"

Through the rôle of Flynn as a witness against the strikers the four for sentence on April 15.

## The MARXIST SCHOOL

Lectures for Sessions—Week of April 14th

### MONDAY

7:10 to 8:40 p.m. by William M. Wardé

The Second American Revolution: The Role of the Industrial Workers during the Civil War.

8:50 to 10:20 p.m. by Lydia Beidel

The American Federation of Labor: Its Founding and Development.

### WEDNESDAY

7:10 to 8:40 p.m. by Jack Weber

Italian and German Fascism and the War.

Special lecture to start at 8:50 p.m.

### Labor's Challenge to Capital

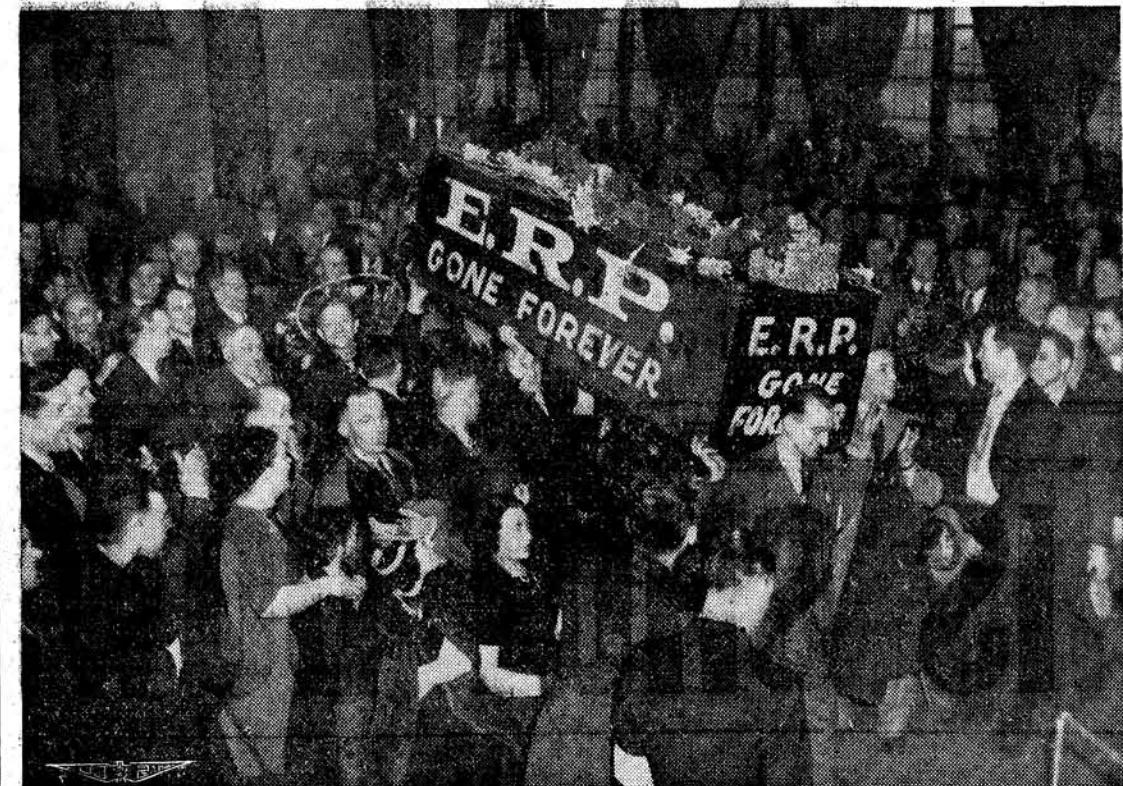
By FARRELL DOBBS

A Marxist analysis of the wave of strikes now sweeping the country.

### IRVING PLAZA

Irving Place and 16th St.

## The Corpse Of Company Unionism



Bearing a coffin containing the "corpse" of the Employees Representation Plan, Bethlehem Steel's company union, jubilant members of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (CIO) are shown celebrating at their victory meeting after their two-day strike at Bethlehem's big Cambria works in Johnstown, Pennsylvania.

## Government Intent On Deporting Bridges, Hearing Makes Clear

**Deportation Would Be Blow Against The Whole Labor Movement; Government's Chief Witnesses Are Renegades From Stalinism**

SAN FRANCISCO, April 6—The War Deal is now working in dead earnest to deport Harry Bridges.

A contrast between the present hearings and those conducted two years ago shows that the gloves are off:

In the first hearing—July 10 to Sept. 13, 1939—the government to comply with the statutes of the then prevailing immigration laws, had to prove Bridges a member of the Communist Party at the time the warrant for his deportation was served upon him in 1938.

The present hearing is governed by the Alien Registration Act of 1940, which forbids aliens to cooperate in any way with "subversive" movements. All the government need prove is that Bridges was at any time since he entered the U. S. connected with a so-called subversive organization.

It intends to show that he held membership in the I.W.W., Marine Workers Industrial Union and Communist Party.

**THEY ADD A VICTIM!**

To make up for their slip-up on McAlin, the foreman announced that they had decided that Robert Readé, whom they had acquitted when they first filed out of the jury room, was now declared guilty of "third-degree assault" on James McCloskey, a strikebreaker.

When Waldman protested that in the case of Van Arsdale the jury had found him guilty of "inciting to riot" whereas there was no such charge against him in the indictment, the foreman hastily changed the finding of the jury to guilty of "rioting." This despite the testimony proving that Van Arsdale was attending a picnic in New Jersey at the time of the scuffle with strikebreakers and police!

Waldman moved that the court set aside the verdict on the ground that the first count was deficient and the second changed. But Judge Bailey decided in favor of the Triangle Company. Waldman declared that the whole action of the jury was reversible and that he would take an appeal. Judge Bailey remanded the four for sentence on April 15.

**GRACE CARLSON IN 37th CITY OF HER TOUR**

By GRACE CARLSON

FARGO, N. D., April 7.—The 37th and last city of the tour! It was very gratifying to be able to report to the Fargo workers at last night's house meeting that the tour had been eminently successful.

It was also gratifying to learn from them of the progress which has been made in this city, once the center of reaction of the area, since the great strikes of 1934 and 1935.

Most gratifying of all were the plans laid for a public meeting to be held here under the auspices of the Socialist Workers Party within the next few weeks.

The public meeting held at Plentywood, Montana, on April 4, brought out 118 workers and farmers. A vast majority of those present were dispossessed farmers who are now on relief or WPA. It was very easy for them to understand that Wallace's AAA and Roosevelt's so-called Social Security programs had not ended the system of "want amidst plenty."

Many of these proletarianized farmers accept the revolutionary program as the only solution to their problems. Some of them have been members of the Communist Party in the past, but have broken away or been expelled because of "deviations from the line."

The Trotskyist press has played an important role in all this. A great deal of credit must be given to those Plentywood comrades who have been so loyal and self-sacrificing in spreading the ideas of Trotskyism through the distribution of our press and literature.

The government attacks Bridges because he is most vulnerable.

## Militant Salesmen Again Attacked By Stalinist Goons

NEW YORK CITY, April 5.—Orders to use physical violence against Trotskyists appear to have been handed down to members of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League. Last week we reported that Art Walker, while distributing THE MILITANT at Manhattan Center, was beaten by Stalinists, suffering a blackened eye. Last night John Pollack and Ole Swanson while distributing THE MILITANT at the IWO Center at 331 Rockaway Avenue in Brooklyn, were also attacked.

A few minutes after their distribution a girl came out of the meeting and ordered them to leave. They declined on the grounds that it was their democratic right to distribute political literature on the public streets.

Within five minutes seven YCLers attacked Comrades Pollack and Swanson, tearing away their literature.

## Army 'Explains' Camp Blanding Attack On Negro

**Story In THE MILITANT Impels Official "Investigation" Of Fate Of Negro Victim**

At the request of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the War Department has conducted an investigation of the story in THE MILITANT of February 1, 1941, reporting a murderous assault on a Negro laborer by a gang of white at the army camp Blanding, Florida.

The MILITANT's detailed account of the horrible assault also told of the generally miserable conditions under which the Negro in the army camps is "kept in his place" by Jim Crow rules and segregation if he is a soldier, and by being given the most menial jobs to do if he is a laborer in the camps during construction. The story was reprinted in several Negro publications.

The general publicity, as well as the pressure from the NAACP, led the War Department to agree to investigate the case. It goes without saying that the whole investigation was confined to one point only: the finding of the corpse.

### WAR DEPT LETTER

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## City Hall No Friend Of Newark's Negroes

### Both Political Machines Responsible For Jim Crow Practices In City Departments

By GEORGE BREITMAN

(Socialist Workers Party Candidate for City Commission) Newark's 45,000 colored people represent one-tenth of the city's population. In every sense, they are the most exploited and oppressed people in the city.

They are locked out of most of the big industries, forced to serve as janitors or porters or as domestic workers. Only in some of the steel and allied factories are they hired, and then almost exclusively as laborers, doing the heavy and dirty work.

The big corporation, Public Service, which milks the public out of millions each year, refuses to hire them except in menial jobs such as cleaning toilets or digging ditches.

The Brewster Aircraft plant of Port Newark, invited here by the City Commission under very favorable tax and rent terms, refuses to hire a single colored laborer. Prudential Insurance company, one of the biggest in the world, which gets millions from its colored clients, will not hire any.

Consequently, a large part of the colored people are forced onto the relief rolls, or, if they are a little more lucky, onto WPA jobs, at standards which make it practically impossible for them to bring their families up under healthy conditions. This explains why the "flu and pneumonia epidemics each year start sooner and are more malignant in the colored neighborhoods than elsewhere.

#### CITY HALL NO BETTER

The overwhelming majority of the city departments, although they are supposed to be conducted under civil service, maneuver to have only one or two, or no colored employees at all.

The City Hospital refuses to employ a single Negro doctor or nurse, although many are eligible and one fourth of the hospital's patients are colored.

Thus the City Commission itself, including the representatives of the Ellenberg-Franklin and the Byrne-Clee factions, help to propagate the theory of "white superiority," and furnish the employers with an example of job Jim Crowism which the bosses are only too glad to point to and follow.

#### HOUSING PROBLEM CRITICAL

A survey of housing in Newark's Third Ward three years ago brought to light a few of the facts on housing in those neighborhoods to which the colored workers have been segregated and from which it is so hard for them to escape.

Out of 2,010 homes that were inspected, it was found that 1,874 showed violations of the sanitary code. In addition, about 300 were declared to be " unfit for use," about 800 were said to "need major repairs," and close to 800 others were in need of "minor repairs."

And yet the Department of

meet with or negotiate with the union.

The Ford company sent only minor officials and service department men to represent the corporation in meetings with the state and Federal mediators. Harry Bennett confined himself to hurling wild charges of a plot "to take over the Ford factory, destroy the plant and wreck the government."

#### DEMANDS WATERED DOWN

On Friday, out of a clear sky, the union leaders issued a statement in the form of a letter to Governor Van Waggoner and Federal Mediator Dewey, outlining a new set of union proposals.

These consisted of: Recognition of the union for its members in the Rouge plant; that the company establish standards of wages and seniority, and handing of grievances, which are part of the union's agreements with General Motors and Chrysler; the details of the agreement to be worked out in joint conference within a week. Then this:

"Upon acceptance of the above points, operations in the plant to be resumed with reinstatement of all strikers and all workers discharged."

The new set of demands were obviously a step backward from the original demands and reduced the stake for which the men on the picket line were fighting.

The Ford officialdom adopted the old Judge Gary formula of sitting tight. They refused to

## Martyrs Of The Working Class



Scene outside the Harlan Hospital, Harlan, Kentucky, where striking members of the United Mine Workers (CIO) are gathered as four dead and five wounded union brothers are being brought in after being machine-gunned from ambush by mine guards and Bloody Harlan officials at the Crumme Creek Mine. Thus four more names are added to the long roll of martyrs whose sacrifices have helped build the UMW union in the United States.

## Miners' Strike Wins \$7 Day Wage Demand

### Speedy Victory Comes When Miners Refuse To Go Back To Work Without A Contract

The 400,000 striking soft coal miners of the eight-state Appalachian region appear to be headed toward a major victory. This was indicated in the announcement, Sunday, that the Northern operators, employing at least 65 per cent of the miners, have agreed to sign a contract granting the demands of the United Mine Workers (CIO) for a general dollar a day wage increase and paid vacations.

The strike began on April 2 in defiance of an attempt at last minute intervention by Roosevelt, who tried to induce the miners to continue work against their traditional policy of refusing to enter the mines without a union contract. The old contract expired March 31.

Outstanding feature of the strike was the blunt refusal of the miners, headed by UMW president, John L. Lewis, to accept the strikebreaking method of Roosevelt's new Mediation Board to continue work without a contract.

Underlining this position, Lewis declared in his April 2nd speech before the Tri-District Anthracite Miners' Convention in New York City:

"We are not going to follow this new formula that seems

to have been discovered by the Mediation Board in Washington when they wire strikers to go back to work and bust their strike and then come to Washington and mediate for the remnants of it. The United Mine Workers of America do not mediate that way, and this present stoppage will not be settled that way."

The gains already known to be won have confirmed the soundness of the UMW position on the Mediation Board. Within less than a week, this strike has won improved wages and conditions which unquestionably would have been delayed for months or lost altogether had the miners yielded to Roosevelt's and the bosses' pressure and continued to work while the questions of their contract was left in the hands of the employer-dominated Mediation Board.

For the first time in the history of American coal mine labor, the miners have won paid vacations. The Northern operators, it is reported, have agreed to grant the miners one week's vacation with pay.

Because of the iron-bound solidarity of the miners, the strike has been completely effective. The coal operators and government

### The Miners Helped

The New York Times, April 6, in an effort to play down the victory of the soft coal miners strike, starts its story on the strike settlement as follows:

"Yielding to pressure from the Federal Government, representatives of 65 per cent of the nation's soft-coal producers agreed yesterday to sign a new contract with the United Mine Workers tomorrow."

The gains already known to be won have confirmed the soundness of the UMW position on the Mediation Board. Within less than a week, this strike has won improved wages and conditions which unquestionably would have been delayed for months or lost altogether had the miners yielded to Roosevelt's and the bosses' pressure and continued to work while the questions of their contract was left in the hands of the employer-dominated Mediation Board.

For the first time in the history of American coal mine labor, the miners have won paid vacations. The Northern operators, it is reported, have agreed to grant the miners one week's vacation with pay.

Because of the iron-bound solidarity of the miners, the strike has been completely effective. The coal operators and government

have not dared to attempt to open the mines with strikebreakers and armed force.

Only in "Bloody" Harlan County, Kentucky, where murderous violence against the miners is traditional, was there any open acts of violence against the strikers. There four miner pickets were murdered, and five others seriously wounded, when they were machine-gunned from ambush by company guards at the Crumme Creek mine.

## Transport Union Fights Strikebreaking Bill

### La Guardia Sponsored The Bill, As Part Of His Vicious Drive To Destroy The Union On The City's Subway Systems

Acting at the direct instigation of Mayor La Guardia, the New York state legislature on April 2 passed what the New York Times (April 4) frankly called "The Wicks Anti-Transport Workers Union Bill." This bill is designed to help break the impending June strike of 27,000 TWU-CIO workers on New York City's municipally owned subway systems.

State Assemblyman Zimmer recorded the sole opposition to the measure. He is a representative of the American Labor Party. The bill was introduced and steam-rollered in such unholly haste, without debate that Zimmer didn't know what was happening.

As soon as he had time to collect his wits and study the bill, he publicly denounced the bill as a strikebreaking measure.

The bill has not yet become law, is a vigorous protest from the TWU and other labor organizations has compelled Governor Lehman to withhold his signature from the bill until a public hearing has been held on it in Albany, April 14.

#### THE BILL'S PROVISIONS

The bill amends the present state railroad "anti-sabotage" law to make it an offense subject to life to 25 years imprisonment for workers on bus, trolley and subway lines to leave "unattended" any car, bus, or other transit facility or equipment given into his possession or care as an officer, employee or agent of any such privately or publicly owned or operated railroad, street railroad or bus system."

Among other offenses made punishable as felonies are: throwing stones or other missiles in the vicinity of a transit line or cutting off motive power (in the power houses).

"Yielding to pressure from the Federal Government, representatives of 65 per cent of the nation's soft-coal producers agreed yesterday to sign a new contract with the United Mine Workers tomorrow."

The gains already known to be won have confirmed the soundness of the UMW position on the Mediation Board. Within less than a week, this strike has won improved wages and conditions which unquestionably would have been delayed for months or lost altogether had the miners yielded to Roosevelt's and the bosses' pressure and continued to work while the questions of their contract was left in the hands of the employer-dominated Mediation Board.

We respectfully submit to the Times that perhaps the solid strike of 400,000 bituminous miners "also" had a "little" bit to do with bringing the operators to terms!

LA GUARDIA'S BILL

The New York Times, April 4, said:

"It can be said now that the bill was sent here by the La Guardia administration and passed at its request. The immediate motive was to meet a fear of the Mayor that in the event of a June strike union members would leave buses on the streets of the city, tying up traffic, and would leave subway passengers similarly stranded."

In the recent 11-day bus strike covering 90 per cent of the city's bus transport, no buses were abandoned in the middle of a run, and

there was not a single act of violence. Such violence as might occur during any future tie-up would result from an attempt to operate the subway with strikebreakers. The La Guardia-sponsored Wicks bill means that the city administration is preparing to use strikebreakers.

The provisions of the Wicks bill can be interpreted by willing judges to mean the prohibition of any subway strike as "sabotage." The bill would also facilitate use of strikebreakers, since it provides savage prison sentences against strikers who defend themselves against strikebreakers, while the strikebreakers cannot be prosecuted under this bill for violent acts.

Passage of the Wicks bill coincides with a growing strikebreaking barrage against the TWU by the daily boss press of the city. The papers now carry daily smear stories against the union and editorials calculated to arouse hostility of the more susceptible sections of the public against the union.

Hearst's yellow tabloid, the *Daily Mirror*, is running a series of full-page articles attacking the TWU. This frenzied anti-labor press campaign is a faint hint of what can be expected if a subway strike is actually called.

The showdown between the TWU and the La Guardia administration over the subway issue has been developing for more than two years. At the time of the unification of the subway lines under city ownership in June, 1940, La Guardia attempted to repudiate the existing closed shop union contracts on the BMT and IRT lines which the 27,000 organized subway workers had won from the private utilities corporations.

All workers on the city-owned lines were transferred to civil service status by a state bill sponsored by the same state senator, Arthur Wicks, who formally introduced the latest "anti-sabotage" bill. La Guardia then asserted that this civil service status did not permit the city to recognize the closed shop on the transit system.

Strong pressure from the union

with a head-on back-to-work attack.

**THERE IS MUCH MORE DANGER OF THE FORD STRIKERS BEING TRICKED OUT OF THEIR GAINS THAN IN BEING WHIPPED.**

To give the greatest amount of morale to the strike, and to provide the leadership with a transmission belt into the heart of the ranks, many locals are demanding that a broad strike committee of Ford strikers be set up to meet and set policy from day to day. They are also demanding that the union stand absolutely pat on the original minimum demands, and that this strike continue until Ford signs his name on a written contract.

The CIO called a mass meeting of Ford strikers at the state fair grounds Friday night. In spite of a heavy downpour of rain, some 20,000 Ford workers thronged the huge Coliseum.

The AFL foolishly attempted to do likewise with a meeting Saturday, and drew an audience of from 300 to 500 people at most, mostly Ford Service men.

Through these meetings the voice of the Ford workers must make itself heard loud and clear, so that the spirit and the wishes of the men on the picket lines make themselves felt at the conference table and the deepest wish of the men is fulfilled: that the great Ford strike continue solid and strong until senile old Hank comes out of hiding and puts his signature on a signed contract with the UAW-CIO.

In addition, serious efforts should be made by the TWU to gain the active backing of the AFL workers and union locals, such as the teamsters, ladies garment workers, longshoremen, etc. The rank-and-file of these unions are militant and progressive. Given an adequate understanding of the TWU's position, the city's AFL workers will undoubtedly give the subway workers their full backing.

## Ford's Empire Is Shut Down At Last

(Continued from Page 1)

uninspiring and worthless trash, the aim of which is to show that the Ford workers went on strike in order to make a good patriot and friend of England out of Henry Ford.

This useless stuff is all the work of the ex-Norman Thomas who have monopolized the publicity department from the first day of the strike. All this so-called publicity meets with a complete lack of interest on the part of the Ford workers, other auto workers in the vicinity and just about everyone else in Detroit.

As soon as the strike was officially called a set of demands was presented publicly to the company, outlining the chief points for which the strike was being fought. These were: bargaining rights, the establishment of a shop steward system; full seniority rights; the abolition of the spy system and the service department, a ten cent hourly wage increase, and the reinstatement of all fired workers.

For the first two days of the strike, however, all union publicity on these demands was couched in very vague terms; it was impossible to determine whether the union demanded a signed contract embodying the demands, or merely an oral agreement.

The Ford officialdom adopted the old Judge Gary formula of sitting tight. They refused to

meet with or negotiate with the union.

The Ford company sent only minor officials and service department men to represent the corporation in meetings with the state and Federal mediators. Harry Bennett confined himself to hurling wild charges of a plot "to take over the Ford factory, destroy the plant and wreck the government."

#### DEMANDS WATERED DOWN

On Friday, out of a clear sky, the union leaders issued a statement in the form of a letter to Governor Van Waggoner and Federal Mediator Dewey, outlining a new set of union proposals.

These consisted of: Recognition of the union for its members in the Rouge plant; that the company establish standards of wages and seniority, and handing of grievances, which are part of the union's agreements with General Motors and Chrysler; the details of the agreement to be worked out in joint conference within a week. Then this:

"Upon acceptance of the above points, operations in the plant to be resumed with reinstatement of all strikers and all workers discharged."

The new set of demands were obviously a step backward from the original demands and reduced the stake for which the men on the picket line were fighting.

The last to straddle the fence between Ford and the labor movement, were soon so alarmed at the size and strength of the strike movement that they were forced to back down. The Detroit edition of the Pittsburgh Courier, anti-union and pro Ford all during the Ford drive of the CIO, lost its grip on the public opinion of the Negro community of Detroit.

The doctors and lawyers among the Negroes called a meeting under the auspices of the Plymouth Junior League, the NAACP and the leading Negro churches. The overwhelming majority of the audience, comprised of workers, howled down Albert Cleage, of the Plymouth Junior League, when he tried to throw the blame for the situation on the CIO. That meeting revealed the cleavage between the masses of Negro workers and the petty bourgeois elements of the race.

Emil Mazey, recently defeated President of the Briggs Local in Detroit, has been placed in charge of the Negro Division of the Ford drive. Special Negro literature is being distributed throughout the Negro districts of the city, pointing out the need for solidarity of all races in the struggle for jobs, decent wages and working conditions.

Harry Bennett is attempting to gather a new strikebreaking army together. Utilizing the huge financial resources of the Ford Motor Company, he is trying to arm an army of thugs of sufficient strength for an effective back-to-work movement.

In this nefarious scheme he has

the aid of the American Federation of Labor, which has set up an "Organizing Headquarters." William Green is repeating his scabbing on the General Motors strike, when he wired Governor Frank Murphy at the crucial moment of the negotiations, demanding that the corporation not sign with the UAW-CIO. On Friday he wired Governor Van Waggoner demanding that the rights of his non-existent AFL workers be protected.

Hommer Martin, who was driven out of the labor movement by the auto workers, became a paid agent of Ford, negotiating as representative of the Ford Motor Company with union committees on grievances now suddenly turned up as official head of the AFL's Ford "organizing drive."

#### DETROIT AFL PROTESTS

This brazen act of treachery so incensed the local AFL membership that Frank X. Martel, President of the Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor, was forced to wire Green and every single member of the Executive Council of the AFL to demand that Martin be removed. By Friday Green reluctantly withdrew Martel's credentials, and appointed John Murphy to take the helm of the strikebreaking attempt to smash the picket lines.

# How The Workers Shut Down Ford's River Rouge

## A Simple But Effective Strategy Closed The Plant--And Kept It Closed

DETROIT, Mich., April 7—The immediate incident which precipitated the Ford strike was the discharge of eight union committee men in the rolling mill of the River Rouge plant. At 3 p.m. Tuesday the 6,000 men in the rolling mill stopped work to protest the discharges.

The discharges were a deliberately planned provocation by the Ford management.

In the past two weeks the UAW had won bargaining rights and shop concessions in department after department by means of its militant sit-down strikes. Thousands of Ford workers were daily joining the union.

The Ford system of slavery and naked terror was on the skids. The formerly cocky and bullying service department, Harry Bennett's brass knuckle brigade, was being reduced to helplessness by determined committee men backed by the solid support of their departments. The billion-dollar empire which Ford had kept hermetically sealed from unionism for 38 years, was now crumbling and toppling under the blows of the UAW-CIO.

### FORD CHANGES STRATEGY

The Ford management had originally planned to stall for time indefinitely. But after the events of the last two weeks it felt it could not afford to waste a day if it was going to be able to smash the union.

The NLRB vote was due. That meant that in about 60 days the Ford workers would vote to determine a bargaining agent. Bennett himself conceded the CIO would win. Ford, judging by the rapid growth of the union during the two weeks before the strike, feared that in 60 days the union would be absolutely invincible.

If he waited for a vote, Ford would not only give the CIO time to grow more and more powerful, but would suffer the additional onus of the CIO winning a decisive majority in the vote.

Ford therefore decided on immediate desperate action to wreck the union in a showdown fight. His agents were ordered to provoke a fight. The eight committee men were fired.

### HOW FORD RECKONED

If the UWA would strike, Ford still thought his service department could wipe a strike out in blood. Or if the union didn't fight back against the discharges, then the union was finished.

When the union committee in the rolling mill tried to negotiate the case of the eight men, the company refused to meet with it. The company would meet with no one about anything.

The rolling mill stopped waiting. The showdown fight with Ford was on its way.

Governor Van Waggoner of Michigan immediately called together his state mediation board, and rushed to Detroit in an attempt to settle the fight. James F. Dewey, "ace" mediator of the conciliation service of the Department of Labor, was rushed to Detroit.

Dewey and Van Waggoner



A group of Ford workers, massed at the foot of the stairs leading to one of the over-passes into the River Rouge plant, cheer the news that the Ford Motor Company strike has officially begun. Several of the workers are wearing the famous United Automobile Workers (CIO) caps.

### THE TACTIC OF '37

Meanwhile the union men in the River Rouge plant took hold of the situation and showed what the workers can do when the decisions are left up to them. The strike spread through the departments like a prairie fire.

The UAW workers used the tactic so skillfully applied in the 1937 sit-down strikes. They began in the best organized key department, where there was the largest number of trained and loyal union men. Gathered together and semi-armed with clubs of various kinds, they marched through the huge plants and gathered support, closing down department after department.

The best organized departments were shut down first, and as the army of union men grew bigger and more powerful, when they were at full strength, they marched into the tool room, where some backward and timid workers were located. Here the union army forced the scabs and stoopdoves to leave, and the department was shut down.

### ALL WHEELS STOP!

Those who marched out of the plants, upon learning that there were still some departments running, marched right back in and spread the word and, incidentally, took care of any company agents who were trying to stop the walkout by strong-arm methods.

In a few hours, this effective tactic had shut down the River Rouge plant as tight as a drum.

The killing pace of the production line had been slowed to a dead stop. The murderous speed-up was ceased. The whip-hand of Harry Bennett was now feeble and powerless, and the fortress of fear and intimidation was humbled. The great myth of Ford's invincibility was washed away in the great sea of union solidarity.

Bennett now began howling for "state, troopers to clear the illegally seized plants."

Wednesday 12:15 A.M., fully nine hours after the original disruption in the rolling mill, the

top union officials, unable to get into the plants or meet with the company, confronted with the newspapers playing up the red-scare statements of Harry Bennett and storming about "illegal seizure" of the plants, were finally forced to take action. An official strike was declared at that hour and all workers ordered to leave the plants. Great parades of UAW workers marched out of the River Rouge plant singing "Solidarity."

### FORD'S PLAN

The Ford Service Department, and Ford's equally private army, the Dearborn police, prepared their forces for a bloody settlement.

Harry Bennett confidently put a notice in the papers calling upon workers to report for work in the morning "as usual."

Ford's "service" men got set to smash the union forces in a decisive battle in the morning; it was routine to them . . . they would do in Ford what Girdler had accomplished in Little Steel. They were all set to wipe out the CIO in blood.

### THE MILITARY PROBLEM SOLVED BY THE STRIKERS

But some of the UAW-CIO militants in Detroit had previously studied the difficult military problem presented by the peculiar geographical conditions at the sprawling Rouge plant, and by the presence of a trained army of five thousand service men and they had worked out a strategy to cope with the situation.

Here was their problem:

The Ford plant resembles a fortress-island, surrounded by an ocean of roads. No structures of any kind surround the main portions of the huge

River Rouge factory, all of which lies within Dearborn, Ford-controlled municipality. For over a mile along Miller Road is the plant, and on the other side of the road is the big private parking lot, which is the property of Henry Ford. The situation is similar on the side entrances, Schaefer Road, Dix Road, and Rotunda and Airport Drives.

Half the Ford workers come to work by private autos which are parked in the company parking lot across from Miller Road. Others use the buses and street cars which park directly next to the overpasses on Miller Road so that workers step directly from bus and street car onto the overpasses.

Obviously with 5,000 armed gunmen, prepared and trained for violence, supplemented by the Dearborn city police, and particularly in view of the lack of union preparation and organization for a strike, the union would have to pay a heavy price in wounded, and even in death, to stop the scabs, stoopdoves and the Service Department.

Taking these facts into consideration a strategy was worked out, based on the experiences of the great General Motors strikes and the Toledo battles of previous years in the fight for auto unionism.

Experienced strike leaders knew how to defeat the movement of strikebreakers entering in cars; by the combined use of the greatest militancy and mass picketing, and a blockade of the roads with automobiles. This kind of blockade slows up the cars arriving in the vicinity of the plants, and they are at the mercy of the massed pickets. It scatters the police force, and gives strikers a command of the situation based on superior numbers.

### WITH MILITARY PRECISION!

Such a plan was used at River Rouge.

The moment the Ford workers marched out of the plants, they were told to report to union headquarters. Barricades of automobiles were set up; at Eagle Pass and Wyoming Avenue, commanding entrance to the vicinity from that side; at Miller Road and Airport Drive, at Schaefer Road and at Dix Road. These barricades blocked the main arteries leading into the Ford fortress.

Later the pickets took control even of the drawbridge, owned by the county, thus preventing delivery of supplies by water on the River Rouge.

At each place from 30 to 60 cars were parked bumper to bumper, forming an impassable barricade, and supported by throngs of hundreds and thousands of pickets.

### FORD'S PLAN RUINED

As 6 A.M. Wednesday approached, the hour the morning shift reports for work, the service men were waiting at the gates of the plant in full force, ready for action, and bristling with arms.

They waited and waited, but nobody came.

Nobody could get through the barricades to the plant gates.

The Ford Service Department

## Start Eating Those Words, Hank

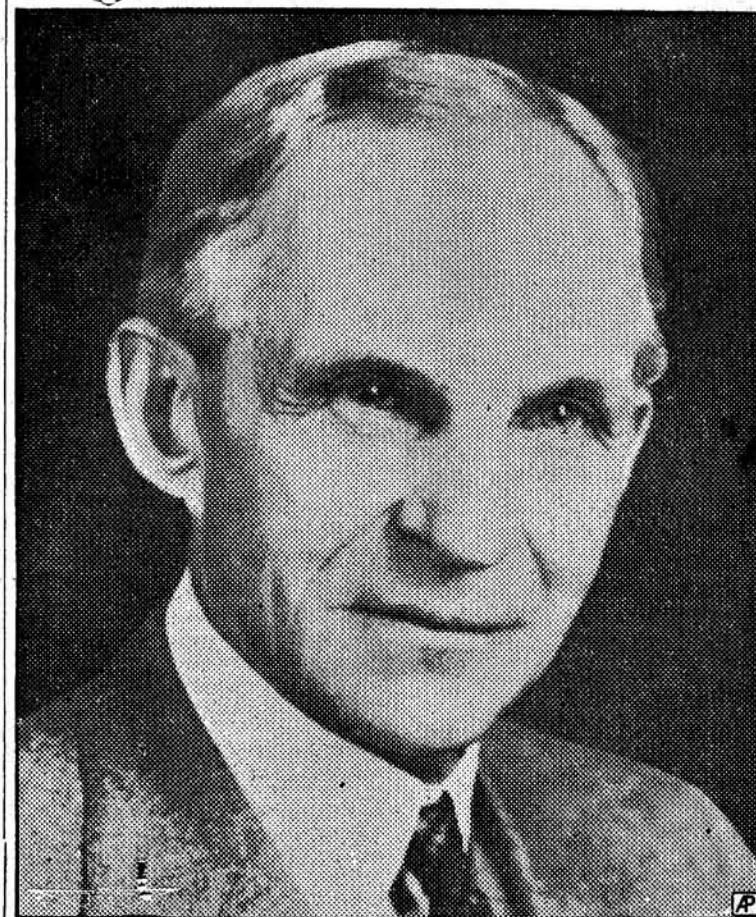
We know old Henry Ford has a lot of worries these days, what with the River Rouge plant shut down by the United Auto Workers (CIO). But we'd like to intrude on his troubled moments just long enough to remind him of his statement to the Associated Press a month ago.

We quote the interview as reported in the NEW YORK TIMES:

"WAYS, Ga., March 8 (AP)—Henry Ford said today that he believed unions were 'losing ground' and that he had no intention of recognizing them as bargaining agencies for employees of the Ford Motor Company."

"We do not intend to submit to any union . . ."

Those are mighty tough words to eat, Hank. We suggest you chew them 60 times before you swallow them.



Henry Ford's greed, cunning and cruelty are visibly stamped on his face, in the expression of his narrow eyes and tight, thin lips. The "Flivver King's" 35-year reign of industrial tyranny is being smashed by the militant strike of UAW-CIO workers who have closed down Ford's huge River Rouge plant for the first time in history.

union button, or passing out a piece of union literature . . . that was "law and order."

But now, when the UAW took over control, kept order, with perfect discipline . . . that was "anarchy."

"Dearborn this morning is the scene of flagrant disregard for all rights of citizens," said Mayor John L. Carey of Dearborn, hollering for troops. What about the bloody beatings of union organizers? → those were the good old days, when "good government" reigned and the mayor said nothing.

### THE GOVERNOR'S DILEMMA

Governor Van Waggoner was in a tough spot. April 7, a few days away, would be election day, with many important state, county and municipal posts at stake. He was afraid of too openly taking strike-breaking action. He moved into the Statler Hotel, and conferred constantly and furiously with Dewey, who had flown to Detroit with instructions to get the Ford workers back to work.

The mediators darted from what company officials they could contact, to the union, and back and forth again.

### "TRUCE" IS CALLED

The UAW had so completely taken control, they were so obviously victorious in striking the plant, that the company agreed to a "truce."

The agreement provided that the union clear the roads of barricades, allowing traffic to resume, while the company agreed not to operate the plant during negotiations. Picket lines of from 50 to 500 men were now stationed at every entrance to the River Rouge plant.

It was an historic sight never to be forgotten by eyewitnesses on that sunny Thursday morning. It was an inspiring and unforgettable thing to see

the huge humbled giant of a plant, and the thousands of laughing, cheering victorious pickets, freed from the tyranny of Ford—the symbol of all the enemies of labor.

An historic sight . . . the long expanse of Miller Road, usually buzzing, now quiet and dead; the Ford plant like a huge monster asleep, not moving a muscle; cars parked right under the no-parking signs as though in mockery of the little pseudo-Fascist administration of Dearborn; some strikers even parking their cars in the private parking lot, Old Hank's private reserve. The whole road with the appearance and the spirit of a Mardi-Gras, a great holiday. Thousands of cars, decorated with streamers and UAW posters and signs, slowly cruising back and forth, loaded with pickets who poke out their heads, and cheer and joke and laugh with the squads of marching pickets at the gates.

### THE SPIRIT OF '37!

At the same time there is a certain grimness in the air . . . picketing goes on despite the fact that Ford has pledged not to reopen the plant while negotiations continue. These Ford workers are smart. They do not trust the word of Ford or Harry Bennett . . . they know it would be kept only if they continue to show and use their organized power.

For the first time since the General Motors strike, huge picket lines appear in auto. Here again is the enthusiasm, the self-confidence, the unmatched courage of 1937.

Here, once again, is a body of tens of thousands of auto workers, unorganized yesterday . . . but already proving that they are going to make some of the best men in the mighty ranks of the United Automobile Workers of America.

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### Report Roosevelt Sending Troops Into Dearborn

Reports that Roosevelt is preparing to send federal troops to Dearborn, Michigan are given credence in the April 7th New York POST story on the Ford Strike.

Maureen McNernan, POST staff correspondent, writes as follows:

"One more thing—the reports of arrangements for bringing U. S. troops here (Dearborn) are partly correct. Some 'stand-by' orders have been given, and the troops could be moved immediately if the present calm should be succeeded by violence."

The Ford Service Department

### MAYOR DEMANDS TROOPS

The Ford fortress was besieged. Dearborn was in the control of the UWA. And the bosses and their political agents began to howl.

When the capitalist police and Ford thugs had beaten up union men in Dearborn for wearing a

**The Negro Struggle**  
By ALBERT PARKER

**Pickens Gets the Booby Prize**

The most disgusting article of the month by any Negro was the one by William Pickens in his column for A.N.P. "Views of the News."

In it Pickens complains that during a recent speech someone in the audience asked a question, trying to discover how he explained the fact that the most outspoken enemies of the Negro people, the Southern Congressmen in Washington, were like himself violently in favor of the passage of the Lend-Lease Bill.

Pickens attempts to dodge the question by poking names and jibes at the person who asked the question. This is easy to do, for it is true, as Pickens says, that because your enemy stands for one thing, you do not necessarily and automatically stand for the opposite.

But still, when your enemy says the same thing as you about something that concerns your fate, it is necessary to stop and think about it and figure out why. Maybe he is wrong in taking that position — and on the other hand, maybe you are.

But Pickens does not do this. Instead, in order to justify his stand, he launches into a defense of the Jim-Crow, poll-tax, lynch-mob loyars who sit in Congress as representatives of the South! He says:

"Without the almost solid South behind our defense movements, the President would never have been able to make any progress with that movement. The southerners are Americans, and it happens to be that they are Americans next to the Negro American himself. The rest of the country is largely European and of other more recent foreign origins . . . The southerners are a much older American, on the whole, than are the whites of the rest of the land."

"When it comes to an international problem, the southern whites and the blacks, if they use their heads instead of their gall bladders, are most apt to agree together. In defense of America the Negro, when he thinks, will be second to nobody, and the whites of Texas and South Carolina will be second to no white people. There is no great room for differences; the southern whites want to keep their national freedom and their rights — even their rights to keep trying to keep the Negro down. And the Negro wants to keep his American rights — his rights to fight like the devil against being kept down. Under Hitler or any foreigner, both of these Americans would lose their good American rights — for the foreigner would keep BOTH of us down — white and black."

What does all this blather of Pickens mean? This garbage about the Southern Negro haters being the best Americans? This bosses' argument about the Northern and Western workers; who hate war, being of "more recent foreign origins," being aliens and so on? This fear that the Southern ruling class that oppresses the Negro people may lose its rights to oppress them? This false posing of the problem that if you are opposed to helping England win the war to control the 450,000,000 colored people now under its heel, you are automatically in favor of having Hitler win it?

It means that Pickens is so bankrupt in his politics and his defense of the war plans of the Roosevelt government that he has to throw overboard everything he has been saying for the last 25 years. There is no other way to account for his defense of the Southern Bourbons and his veiled attacks on the progressive workers in the North. And there is no better example of our contention that you cannot at the same time logically be for the war and against the institutions which the war is intended to preserve. Only those who oppose the war can effectively fight for full equality for the colored people.

In the last six months Pickens has written far more words in defense of the war plans of the government than he has written against the Jim Crow system the government upholds, he has written far more against Hitler than he has written against Bilbo.

And he is the man whom so many people, just a few months ago, were pushing forward to receive the Spingarn medal for having contributed more than any other for the advancement of the Negro people!

In his article, Pickens attempts to deride the person who asked him the question by telling the story that "Booker T. Washington used to tell about the old colored man's politics in 'Reconstruction' days: The old man would go down to the town square, before election times, and lean against the telegraph poles and listen slyly to the talk of the white people, to hear how they intended to vote, and when asked about that interest, he explained it thusly: 'Well, you see, I'm tryin' to find out how I must vote, and when I know how the white folks is goin' to vote, I know that I must vote again it'."

Pickens tells the story, not only to sneer at his questioner, but also to sneer at the old man in the story, who doesn't have his education and his standing as a "leader."

But the old man, in my opinion, had a better grasp of politics, instinctive as it was, in his left foot than Pickens had in his whole body.

\* \* \*

**Help Publish Our Pamphlets!**

We wish to repeat our appeal of last week to readers of THE MILITANT. Our party is preparing to issue three badly-needed pamphlets: the first on "The Negro In The War," by Eugene Varlin; the second on the struggle for jobs in the war industries; the third, a basic and comprehensive work, explaining the program for the real emancipation of the Negro people.

The only thing holding us up is the money. If you want to see thousands of Negro workers receiving and reading this literature that will help to clarify their views and bring them over to the militant struggle for equal rights, you should contribute as much as you can afford — from a quarter to a \$10 bill.

Send all contributions care of Albert Parker, 116 University Pl., New York, N. Y.

# Who Owns The United States?

## A Government Body Describes Monopoly Domination Of Our Lives

By BERNARD FORREST

In April, 1938, Congress established the Temporary National Economic Committee to investigate the concentration of economic power and the nature of America's economic ills. After three years of hearings and investigations, the committee has reported.

Unfortunately, the committee began its work as the New Deal was placed in its grave. Today, with the War Deal triumphant, no one takes the report seriously. Not even the committee's chairman: "... Little attention is likely to be paid for the present to what we may offer" (Senator O'Mahoney's Speech to the Committee, Jan. 15, 1941).

Nevertheless, the hearings uncovered a great number of important facts vindicating the Marxist analysis of contemporary capitalism. The reports and hearings depicted the concentration of American industry into huge monopolies; the centralization of ownership in the hands of a few families, together with the pauperization of large sections of the proletariat.

WEALTH CONCENTRATION DESCRIBED BY COMMITTEE

In 1937, 477,833 corporations reported to the Bureau of Internal Revenue. Of these, the 394 largest corporations owned almost 45% of all corporate assets, although they constituted less than 1/10 of 1% of the total number of reporting corporations.

For manufacturing industries,

the figures are very revealing. "Although central office establishments were only 3.8% of the total in 1937, they employed 51% of all wage earners, paid 55% of the total wage bill, produced 61% of the value of all manufactured products, and accounted for 56% of the total value added by manufacture."

In addition to the above, a Department of Commerce study analyzed a cross-section sample of

1,807 manufactured products. For one-half of the 1,807 products, the leading four manufacturers accounted for 75% or more of the total U. S. output. About a quarter of all the products were found to be extremely concentrated, while low concentration appeared in only about 5% of the cases.

In 1938, 20 companies in the petroleum industry owned eight billion dollars of invested capital, two-thirds of the total capital invested in the industry. Their production was 52% of all crude, their storage 94% of all crude.

They owned 75% of all refinery capacity, and produced 84% of all gasoline. Only 16 companies control 96% of the gasoline pipeline mileage. Fourteen companies control 89% of the total crude oil pipeline mileage in the U. S.

The ownership and control of these pipe-lines are the key to monopoly in the industry.

THE STEEL AND IRON EMPRIES GROW LARGER

Steel and iron ore present the same picture. About 85% of the iron ore supplied for commercial use for the past 30 years has come from the Lake Superior area. U. S. Steel alone owns half

of all the Lake Superior iron ore reserves. In 1937, the two largest companies shipped 64% of all ore from the region (TNEC hearings, Part 18, Page 10425).

The ten largest companies own 88% of the funds invested in the iron and steel industry. U. S. Steel alone has 40% of all the invested capital and produces approximately that proportion of the industry's total output. Next in order is Bethlehem, with 15% of the invested capital and steel production. The other eight companies range in size from 2% to 8% of the total invested capital (Hearings, Part 18, p. 10408).

The copper industry follows suit: In 1935, three companies — Anaconda, Kennecott, and Phelps Dodge — produced 27% of all copper mined in the U. S. In 1937, the same three companies produced 78% of all copper mined (Hearings, Part 25, p. 13394).

The above facts present the situation in four basic industries. Similar conditions exist in the major branches of American economy, excepting agriculture.

SOME FIGURES ON THE BANKING MONOPOLY

The Securities and Exchange Commission, in a statistical release dated March 7, 1941, stated that 377 investment banking firms had participations in underwriting security issues. Five firms underwrote 22.4% of the total number. Five firms managed 52.5% of the total amount of issues.

In a release dated Feb. 21, 1941, in connection with the McKesson and Robbins case, the S.E.C. revealed that 70 accounting firms out of 750 in the U. S. were em-

ployed in flotation of stock and bond issues from July, 1936, to Dec. 1938. Of the 70, four firms acted in 69.79% of the total amounts issued. Likewise, the seven leading firms certified 52.95% of all financial statements filed with the SEC in 1937.

The concentration of control is even more evident from the following: Of the boards in 1937 of the 200 largest non-financial and the 50 largest financial corporations, there were 3,544 directorships, and these posts were held by 2,725 individual directors. There were 83 directors holding four or more directorates.

In 1937 the gross savings of approximately 318,000 non-financial corporations amounted to \$2,869,000,000 and 30% of these gross savings were made by only 210 corporations. The corporations with assets of \$1,000,000 or more, though they constituted less than 5% of all the corporations, laid aside 88% of all the savings made by the entire group.

### SAVE YOUR MONEY IF YOU CAN!

Individual savings are likewise the property of a very small group at the top of the pyramid. In 1936, the bottom third of the nation went into the red to the extent of \$1,207,000,000, and the middle third went into debt for \$252,000,000. The top third, on the other hand, saved \$7,437,000,000. To put this in another way, if the whole population were divided into equal numerical groups of 2,750,000 each, the top 10%, with incomes over \$4,600 saved 86% of the total savings while the second group, with incomes ranging from \$3,100 to \$4,600, saved 12% and the other 2% of savings were accounted for by the remaining 80% of the population.

As a matter of fact, in 1938-39 those with incomes of more than \$5,000 a year, constituting only 3.4% of all consumer units in the country, were able to save more than \$5,000,000,000 or one and one quarter billion in excess of the total savings of the 97.5% who received less than \$5,000 per year (Monograph No. 3, TNEC, pp. 6 and 7).

The government is openly aiding the trend toward concentration. In the period from June 1, 1940, to March 1, 1941, "defense" contracts amounted to \$13,343,000,000. Four states — California, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York — received 38.79% These four states, with two additional states, received 52.69% of contracts. In fact 81.44% of the total went to only 15 states.

The geographical concentration, however, is the least significant aspect of the defense picture. An analysis of the contracts shows an even more amazing economic concentration, for approximately 45% of all contracts were awarded to six closely interrelated corporate groups. Moreover, according to the statement of Chester C. Davis, a member of the National Defense Advisory Commission, to the Conference of Southern Governors in New Orleans on March 15, 1941, 62 companies or interrelated groups received 80% of the total. (Final Report).

### GOVERNMENT SPEEDS UP TREND TO CONCENTRATION

The committee knows what causes the evils of capitalism. Senator O'Mahoney in his January 15 speech stated:

"Our economic ills arise from the fact that in the modern industrial world men do not and cannot own the tools with which they must work. Thus we have seen develop a society composed of persons who, though they are politically free, are economically dependent, persons who are unable to provide themselves with work because the tools of industry can only be produced and owned by large groups or organizations which can control the huge accumulation of capital, the huge plants and the reserves of raw materials which are today essential."

That is a round-about way of admitting that the primary contradiction of capitalism is the private ownership of the social means of production. That contradiction can never be solved under capitalism. To establish the social ownership of the means of production it is necessary that the workers take power and establish their own state.

Only the proletariat can emancipate all the oppressed thru the proletarian revolution. Your leaders like Remez and Ben Gurion are playing power-politics. They should study more carefully the fate of the Russian Revolution to see what happens when the historic interests of the proletariat of the world are sacrificed for an apparent temporary "realistic" gain. You must break with such leaders.

## Histadrut In Its 20th Year In Palestine

By JACK WEBER

Internationalists feel a bond with every group that expresses itself in the accents of labor. Our sympathies go out all the more readily when an oppressed people like the Jews are involved. We have noted with interest that the Palestine organization of Jewish labor, the Histadrut, is now celebrating its twentieth anniversary.

It would seem from the aims of this organization that we speak a common language. Berl Locker writes in *Jewish Frontier*: "The Jewish working class in Palestine, however, is to a very large extent self-made; it has come and continues to come into existence by the purposeful resolve of masses of youth in the Diaspora to change the basic conditions of life of the Jewish people by becoming workers in Palestine... Becoming a worker is for them the fulfillment of a great mission in the history of their people... It is this ideal (of work) which inspires them in the daring attempt to create the nucleus of a new economic and social order in the midst of a world built on the conception of personal advantage as the dominating driving force of economic incentive and success."

Good! Here is the desire for a socialist society based on the labor of all. Counting the families of workers, Histadrut embraces in its membership forty per cent of the Jewish population of Palestine. Thus we deal, not with any small Utopian group on the order of a Brookwood Farm or what-not, but with an authentic mass movement. Here we will not raise any question about its accomplishment; nor even about the possibility of building socialism in one country and that country Palestine.

Our attention is drawn, in common with everybody's world over, by the Second Imperialist War which is affecting Palestine very directly. We note that the Jewish community has hailed with delight the release of the fifty-three youth who had armed themselves for self-defense in spite of the efforts of the British Government to keep them unarmed. Britain now would like the help of these same youth, this time with arms; so it releases them.

Simultaneously, the secretary of Histadrut, Remez, addresses a Jewish unit that is being sent to join Wavell's Army and asks them to remember that they will be "fighting shoulder to shoulder with Britain in the cause of freedom and democracy". Shertok, head of the Jewish Agency tells us that "the issue of the participation of Jews from Diaspora countries in the war effort alongside Britain, has not yet been dropped." That is, the formation of a European Jewish Legion. How does all this jibe with the ideal of Histadrut?

### Britain Is No Friend Of Jewry

We must ask a few questions. Is Churchill interested in Palestine in order to permit Histadrut to build socialism? Is he even faintly interested in a homeland for the Jews? What country can we blame most of all for hindering the development of both Jews and Arabs in Palestine—if not England! You propose to fight for Churchill's democracy; that is for capitalism but, far worse, for an imperialism that refuses any kind of democracy to half the world's people. Is India so far off that you cannot hear its voice demanding freedom from that same democracy you propose to defend?

The youth in Palestine have come from every corner of Europe. They had to flee from the most unbearable conditions, not only in Germany and Austria but in Poland before Hitler took it over and in all the so-called democratic countries. Do you absolve England from having, with all its imperialist policies, maintained these conditions in Europe? Who created post-war Europe in the first instance? Was it Hitler or Lloyd George? And finally as to Hitler himself, who gave him aid? You are far too intelligent not to know that Churchill would as soon support another Hitler in Germany than permit the workers to take power there.

What are the aims of Churchill and of Roosevelt too? Will they set up, if they win, another Poland? Is that what you defend? Of course you will tell us that you don't propose to defend imperialism and its purposes. You want to defend the future of the Jews in Palestine. The trouble is, however, you are not under labor's orders but under Churchill's. Least of all can you defend your future that way! For the future holds in store the sweeping away of all imperialism and with it, all that clings to it.

What you Zionists say to Churchill is virtually: "Churchill, we will put ourselves at the disposal of British imperialism if you will just let us go on with our purposes. You may do as you please with the rest of the world but help us in Palestine." That is the obvious contradiction into which you fall the moment you support, under whatever false guise, British "democracy". That means that you become so absorbed in the single problem of Jewish emancipation that you fail to think through the entire question correctly.

Jewish emancipation and the sweeping away of anti-Semitism which Palestine alone, as you admit, cannot possibly solve, is bound up with the sweeping away of all imperialism, the fascist type and the false-faced democratic which will soon turn its authentic hideous face to the world.

You are correct when you seek salvation in labor. But you must seek it not merely in Jewish labor in Palestine. You must seek it through giving aid and tying the Jewish movement to the world's working class.

Only the proletariat can emancipate all the oppressed thru the proletarian revolution. Your leaders like Remez and Ben Gurion are playing power-politics. They should study more carefully the fate of the Russian Revolution to see what happens when the historic interests of the proletariat of the world are sacrificed for an apparent temporary "realistic" gain. You must break with such leaders.

### URGENTLY NEEDED TO AID A REFUGEE FAMILY

Kitchen Table and Chairs

Other Furniture

Pillows, Linens

Dishes and Dish Towels

Pots and Pans

Knives, Forks, Spoons, etc.

Curtains and Carpeting

Oil Cloth

Clothing for Girl (10 yrs old)

Clothing for Boy (4 yrs old)

If you have any or all of these items which you are able to contribute for the aid of this refugee family, kindly communicate at once with

THE MILITANT

116 University Place

New York City

Now, with the increasing involvement of the Negro in the Pacific which gave the lead to seamen on all coasts by militant picketing and

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## PROGRAM FOR TODAY'S FIGHT

1. No union fig-leaves for government strikebreaking. Demand that trade union officials resign from all posts in the government, including the OPM and the National Mediation Board.

2. Organize the picket lines for all-out militant defense against the thuggery of company hoodlums and government cops.

3. Organize Union Defense Guards to protect the picket lines and union halls and against 'law and order committees,' and all other anti-labor bands.

4. Call an immediate halt to all acts of hostility between the AFL and CIO which serve the bosses' strikebreaking.

5. Demand the unification of the AFL and CIO on the basis of preserving and extending the industrial form of organization.

6. Independent working class political action. Build an Independent Labor Party.

7. Expropriate the war industries and operate them under workers' control.

## Stalin's Latest Pact

The American Stalinist leaders are basking comfortably in the praise which the "democratic" bourgeois press is bestowing upon Stalin for his treaty of "friendship and non-aggression" with Yugoslavia. Class-conscious workers, however, will not join the "democratic" capitalists in that chorus of praise, for the Stalinist policy in question is reactionary to the core.

In every country the Stalinists are shouting for a "peace alliance" with the Soviet Union as the way to salvation for that country. If anyone needed to be convinced that a treaty of alliance with the Soviet Union cannot bring peace to a country, the Yugoslav instance should be sufficient.

The Yugoslav government entered into such a "peace alliance." The ink on the treaty between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union was hardly dry when the German army marched into Yugoslavia and thus demonstrated the helplessness of Stalin's "peace policy."

Previously the Stalinist press had blamed the plight of Bulgaria on the fact that Bulgaria had failed to turn to the Soviet Union. Yugoslavia did turn to the Soviet Union and that didn't save her. The Stalinists accused Bulgaria of extending the war by permitting German occupation. Taking "extending the war" in that same sense, did not Yugoslavia extend the war by forbidding the same kind of occupation? The simple truth is that, whichever way Bulgaria or Yugoslavia turned, they would have been drawn into the war.

It is that simple truth, true also of every other country, which must be understood by every worker. No country and nobody can escape this all-enveloping war. The way out of this war lies not in pacifist illusions but in a clear understanding that in this epoch of universal war and militarism all questions will be solved arms in hand. This war is an imperialist war on both sides. Freedom for this world can come only when the workers take the power into their own hands and then wipe fascism off the face of the earth. Instead of furthering this proletarian military policy, the Stalinist "peace alliance" policy spreads confusion and pacifist illusions.

Furthermore this Stalinist policy obscures and covers over the imperialist character of this war. Having preached the policy of "peace alliances," the Stalinist press, not only in Russia but here has, perforce, praised the "peace alliance" Yugoslav government for its desire to remain at peace. To do so, however, the Stalinist press remains silent about the definite British and American orientation of the Yugoslav government; remains silent about the fact that the struggle of the Yugoslav government against the invasion is not a separate war but is inextricably a part of the larger battle between the two imperialist camps. By the logic of the Stalinist line, the Stalinists must now support this particular sector of the imperialist war as a progressive war—while in Greece the Stalinists are committed to a policy of condemning Greek participation in an imperialist war!

And what will Stalin do to help a peace-loving people? In the treaty he promised to continue a policy of "strictest friendship" toward Yugoslavia in case of an attack by an aggressor. But if the Yugoslavs try to lean on that reed, they will find it weak indeed.

The pact with Yugoslavia, like the note that

Stalin sent to Bulgaria several weeks ago chiding that country for permitting German occupation and the Moscow-Ankara neutrality declaration, indicate Stalin's fear of Hitler and his hope that by these indirect and cautious moves he might help in staying Hitler's hand. These moves in no sense mean that Stalin is preparing to come to grips with Hitler. Today as throughout this period, Stalin seeks at all costs to keep out of the war. His bureaucratic regime has wreaked such havoc on Soviet industry and the Red Army that he fears the test of war above all else. Stalin aims only to save the Soviet bureaucracy and its privileges. He incarnates that bureaucracy and its narrow outlook.

Not from the Kremlin or its foreign apparatus, the Communist International, will come the necessary inspiration and leadership to show the Balkan peoples the way out. The Balkan peoples require the Soviets which Stalin has extirpated in the Soviet Union. The Balkan peoples require the revolutionary internationalism which Stalin has outlawed. The Balkan peoples require the perspective of the Socialist United States of Europe which Stalin works against.

Instead of these, Stalin offers the Balkan peoples "peace alliances" which are not worth the paper on which they are written. Far from hindering Hitler, Stalin's policy only serves everywhere to confuse and disorient the workers who alone can destroy Hitler, Hitlerism and the capitalist system which breeds fascism and war.

## The Ford Strike

The known facts clearly indicate that the Ford strikers are in a position to wrest from old Hank an excellent contract, signed, sealed and delivered to the union, including union recognition, a ten cents an hour blanket wage increase, the shop steward system and other grievance machinery, and the abolition of the Ford spy and "service" department.

Only one thing should determine the nature of the settlement in such a strike: the power of the strikers and their union. That power, as the dramatic but soberly factual stories we publish elsewhere in this issue demonstrate, is definitely sufficient to force Ford to sign a decent contract.

The main danger, as our Detroit correspondents report, comes not from anything Ford can now do, but from the susceptibility of Philip Murray and the other CIO leaders to government pressure in favor of Ford. This danger is heightened by the bureaucratic method by which strike policy is being determined.

There is no broad-based strike committee, directly representing the strikers, and through which the strikers can at every moment indicate their firm determination to win a solid victory. There is grave danger that the Ford strikers will be confronted by a poor settlement negotiated on top without consultation with the strikers. The strikers will then be asked to endorse such a settlement under conditions where, if they don't like the settlement, refusing it will appear as a repudiation of the official strike leadership. In a word, the settlement negotiated at the top will confront the strikers as an accomplished fact.

If a broad strike committee existed, such an eventuality could be avoided. The negotiators, reporting back constantly to the strike committee without whose approval no point would be embodied in the agreement, would arrive at a settlement which the strikers would then not only endorse, but which they really would favor. The difference between a formal endorsement and genuine approval would not exist if there were such direct connections between the strikers and the negotiators.

The Ford strikers need no period of "fatherly" instruction from Philip Murray! They made this strike, they made it successful, they closed the plant and kept it closed, and they know what they want. Murray is able to talk to Harry Bennett thanks only to the power of the Ford strikers. One might have argued before the strike that the fledgling local of the UAW-CIO at Ford needed parental guidance. But this fledgling has grown to be a giant which had the power to shatter the Ford Bastille!

The Ford workers won their spurs for all time a week ago Wednesday—and they should be allowed to be the masters of their fate.

**FDR On 'Cooling Off'**  
Not the least of the privileges of the President of the United States is that he may not be quoted verbatim unless he explicitly permits it. In addition, his secretaries advise the correspondents who attend the White House press conferences how to handle the remarks of the President—advice which is rarely disobeyed.

In the light of these facts, workers can understand the following paragraph in the Associated Press story of the President's press conference last Tuesday, a paragraph buried well down in the story:

"His comments included: that the labor situation is working toward a law providing for cooling-off periods before strikes can be called. Several bills along this line have been introduced in the Senate and House."

This is Roosevelt's cautious way of letting the right people know that he is in favor of this strike-breaking procedure.

# Plan For Federal Sales Tax To Pay For War

Would Follow The Tendency In The States, Where Sales Taxes Are Increasing Enormously, While Taxes On Rich Fall Off

A scheme to place the cost of the war directly on the workers through a federal sales tax is being projected by Big Business agencies and has important administration support in Washington.

mits the statement further, "the greatest opposition to the sales tax comes from the lower economic levels. In those levels the institutes reviewers found the greatest number of persons saying that 'We have too many taxes now,' and that a sales tax would pinch the poor people more than the rich."

### SALES TAXES INCREASE

The move to place the burden of the war on the workers through sales taxes is in line with the tremendous increase of sales taxes in every state during the past ten years.

A report of the Department of Commerce, published in the *New York Times*, April 5, discloses that average per capita taxation in the United States, has increased from \$66 a year in 1932 for all federal, state and local governments, to \$109 in 1940.

The greatest percentage of this increase has been in sales taxes.

### THE TIMES SAYS:

"Overshadowing in absolute volume all other increases in tax yields" was a \$50,000,000 rise in general sales tax collections, the (Department of Commerce) report continued. The total sales tax yield was \$1,647,373,000, an increase of 11.4 per cent over 1939."

The same report reveals that

while the workers have thus had to pay more and more of the total taxes, taxation on property, gifts and inheritances, which mostly affect the wealthy owning class, have declined.

### RICH TAXED LESS

"Whereas 1919 property taxes accounted for 45 per cent of the total state tax collections," says the government report, "in 1940 this tax yielded only a little more than 6 per cent of the total state tax collections . . .

"In almost direct inversion, sales taxes, which were generally unknown in 1919, furnished in 1940 as much as 40 per cent of all collections . . .

The Roosevelt administration is preparing to extend this policy by introducing a federal sales tax to eat away the workers' meagre incomes, already sliced down by war prices rises, a hundred hidden taxes, state sales taxes, federal gasoline, amusement and tobacco levies, and federal income taxes on wages as low as \$800 a year.

The monopoly corporations, meanwhile, are sharing in this "equal sacrifice" by getting huge reductions in excess profits taxes and billions in government war orders with huge guaranteed profits.

# Where We Stand

By Albert Goldman

### The Battle of Yugoslavia

It is quite natural for workers to get a certain feeling of satisfaction at seeing Hitler bump into an obstacle—even a minor one. Since his invasion of Poland, the arch enemy of the working class has had easy sailing, riding rough-shod over Europe, and was stopped only by the English channel and the British imperialist navy and air force.

After Hitler knocked France out of the war, one after another of the small Balkan nations capitulated to him. Rumania was easy pickings and Bulgaria was still easier. It cost Hitler nothing to take over these countries. Yugoslavia was to be next and Hitler was satisfied with the course of events until the revolt of the officer caste of the Yugoslav army upset his calculations. He was compelled to use something more than the war of nerves and diplomacy to achieve his ends in Yugoslavia.

Possessed of a certain tradition as fighters for independence the Serbian officer caste was unwilling to surrender to Hitler without putting up some kind of a struggle. The ease with which the Serbian officers succeeded in getting rid of the Cvetkovich government, when that government signed a treaty putting Yugoslavia under Hitler's control, leads some observers to believe that the palace revolution was staged with the knowledge and connivance of the Cvetkovich government, and with the British playing the leading role in the whole affair.

The theory sounds plausible but whether it is true or not is unimportant. The fact remains that whereas Hitler and the world in general thought that he had Yugoslavia in the bag, he found himself confronted with the necessity of conquering that country by force of arms.

### Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea

The very revolt of the Serbian officers shows how the workers and peasants of the small nations are given the dreadful choice by their governments of either submitting to German imperialism or fighting and dying for British and American imperialism.

How easy it is to recognize the difference between the nationalism of the upper class and the nationalism of the workers and poor peasants! For the upper class Serbian nationalism is a means to guarantee their exclusive right to exploit their own people and to rule over minority peoples such as the Croats and Slovenes. The nationalism of the workers and peasants is based on their legitimate opposition to any foreign exploiter and constitutes no danger whatever to the workers and peasants of another country.

Under present conditions the justifiable nationalistic feeling of the workers and peasants and their hatred and fear of Hitler are utilized by the landlords and capitalists of Yugoslavia primarily for protecting their property interests. The Yugoslav army, composed mainly of peasants, will be fighting and dying to assure the preservation of a system that furnishes them less than a bare subsistence.

In Yugoslavia as well as in Greece the champions of capitalist democracy can look the country over with a microscope and find no traces of the democracy for which they are fighting. The thousands of workers buried in the Greek concentration camps because they fought against their own tyrannical government are sure to answer with a shrug of their shoulders if the favorite question is put to them whether capitalist democracy is not better than fascism. But that after all is immaterial to these champions; they are not at all averse to using dictatorships for the purpose of saving their own hides and their own somewhat democratic and comfortable existence.

Assuming even that the Yugoslavs and Greeks come out victorious in the war against Hitler and Mussolini, the workers and poor peasants can look forward to nothing but a return of the back-breaking toil which characterizes their lot under the regime of their capitalists and landlords. They cannot even look forward to a victory of their own imperialism because in reality their nations are fighting the battles of British and American imperialism!

If there is anything that is symbolic of the hopelessness of the position of the small European nations, in a world dominated by a few great imperialist powers it is the suicide of Teleki the Hungarian premier. In the hope of saving a slight degree of independence for the cruel and vicious ruling class of Hungary, Teleki decided to play ball with Hitler. But when the latter demanded the right to send troops against Yugoslavia by way of Hungary, thus involving that country in the war, the brave Premier decided to defy Hitler—and committed suicide. Thus did he proclaim to the world that the ruling classes of the small European nations, caught in the struggle between imperialist giants, are completely helpless.

### For Revolutionary War Against Fascism

To the workers and peasants of the small European nations, Hitler looms as their great enemy. The "New Order" which he has proclaimed as his aim represents a new slavery for them—or better, an old slavery under a new master. But to fight that enemy effectively, so that he will be completely destroyed without the possibility of being revived, a palace revolution on the part of nationalistic officers favoring Great Britain is useless. The workers and peasants of Yugoslavia, of Rumania, of Greece and of all the Balkan nations can free themselves of the slavery which will be their lot under Hitler in one way and in one way only—by uniting their efforts for a struggle for a Socialist United States of Europe.

This cannot be done by fighting under the leadership of Simovitch, who represents the interests of capitalists and landlords hoping to achieve a degree of independence for themselves by a victory of Great Britain and the United States. It can be done only by a government representing the Soviets of Workers and Peasants of the Balkan nations, appealing for help to the workers and peasants of Germany and France and other European countries. For the advanced workers and peasants of the small Balkan nations the task is clear: the organization of a party of the Fourth International, a party that will turn the struggle against Hitler into its proper channels.

To fight for the independence of their nations, to fight for their social liberation the workers and peasants of Europe must fight for a Socialist United States of Europe.

## 1941 Is Not 1917!

—An Editorial—

The *New York Times* is engaged in an editorial campaign for what it conceives as a simple solution to the present strike situation. It proposes that government, employers and the trade unions get together and repeat what they did in 1917, namely, adopt the same set of "principles" then promulgated by the War Labor Board.

The "principle" that the *New York Times* is primarily interested in re-enacting from the 1917 code is that which then "froze" the closed shop: wherever the closed shop did not exist no union was to demand a closed shop and, hence, the employment of "non-union" employees side by side with union men was not to be considered a grievance.

As Gompers, AFL head, agreed to surrender any further attempts to establish 100% union shops so, the *New York Times* proposes, the AFL and CIO heads should now agree.

We confidently predict that the *New York Times*' campaign will get nowhere.

Yes, Gompers was a Judas who agreed to this employers' proposal. And, unfortunately, there are still Judases in the top leadership of the trade unions.

But there is a profound difference between the trade union movement of 1917 and that of 1941. When Gompers agreed to outlaw the closed shop for all plants that did not yet have it, he was giving away the rights of tens of millions of workers who were NOT in the AFL. The AFL was primarily constituted by the aristocracy of labor in sheltered industries. The as yet unorganized workers in the great mass production industries bore the brunt of Gompers' betrayal.

Today, however, the great mass production industries are on the way to complete organization. The workers in rubber, auto, aluminum, cement, steel, are INSIDE the trade union movement. Had they been inside when Gompers sold them out the story of the trade union movement since 1917 would have been a very different one. Gompers and his kind would have been driven out of the labor movement.

William Green and the AFL bureaucracy may repeat Gompers' betrayal, perhaps, but if the CIO top leaders do so, they will precipitate civil war in the CIO. What Gompers could get away with against the craft unions, Philip Murray will never get away with against the great industrial unions.

And don't think he isn't aware of that!