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BOTH PARTIES UPHOLD ARMY JIM CROW

Ohio Bans Wallace from Ballot as 'Un-American'

Senators Approve Negro Segregation By a Vote of 67-7

By Albert Parker

The civil rights bills, long demanded by the labor and Negro movements, finally reached the floor of the Senate on June 8, in the form of amendments to the proposed conscription bill, and were promptly voted down by an overwhelming majority of both Republicans and Democrats. The only "concession" that was adopted was of such minor significance that the Southern Democrats did not even bother to stage a filibuster.

Thus the Republicans have a clause which they will wave as proof of their friendship for the Negro people, and the Southern Democrats have a real victory which will guarantee continuation of the Jim Crow system. All the Negro people and the labor movement have added proof that both capitalist parties in Congress are foes of civil liberties. The civil rights riders to the draft bill were introduced by Sen. William Langer (R-N.D.), and had the general support of Negro and labor groups. They would have outlawed racial discrimination in the armed forces; barred discrimination in interstate travel of troops; established federal penalties for lynching of servicemen; prevented draftees from training against their will in Jim Crow states; penalized discrimination against troops in hotel accommodations, etc.; denied contracts from the armed services to employers practicing Jim Crow employment policies; and prohibited the collection of poll taxes as a condition for draftees' voting.

All these amendments, except the last, were tabled or defeated by a bi-partisan vote. Most of the Republicans and most of the non-Southern Democrats claimed that they were not against the civil rights measures as such, but wanted them to be considered separately from the draft bill.

A FRAUD
However, this alibi was shown to be a fraud when the Republicans switched their line on the final amendment and voted for the anti-poll tax clause, which was adopted by 37-35. The Democrats protested that the Republicans had thereby violated a "general understanding" that both parties would co-operate in killing all the amendments.

The amendment on the poll tax was the most harmless of the lot. It did not outlaw the poll tax as such, but only as it related to servicemen, and only for the two year duration of the draft bill. A majority of the seven poll tax states already practice such a procedure on their own. That was why the Republicans selected it to use as campaign ammunition.

The bi-partisan opponents of the Langer amendments kept repeating that civil rights bills should be permitted to "stand on their own feet." But that is just what is being prevented by the united action of both parties, who are keeping the major civil rights bills bottled up in committee.

The so-called liberal Senator Wayne Morse (R-Ore.), who also voted against the amendments, had the effrontery to blame the American people for the pro-Jim Crow stand of the capitalist parties: "Neither the people nor the Congress are ready for these amendments." He said that some day they would be passed but he didn't know if he would live long enough to see it.

If the working people depend on men like Morse, then we surely will never live to see adequate civil rights legislation enacted by Congress. But the hypocrisy and cynical maneuvers of both parties are tearing the veils from the eyes of the people, and teaching them the necessity to build a party of their own. The next big step in the fight for civil rights is the building of a powerful Labor Party, based on the unions and Negro organizations. The establishment of such a party is one of the major objectives of the Socialist Workers Party.

Anti-Democratic Laws Bar Free Election in U. S.

Henry Wallace's Third Party has been banned from the ballot by Ohio authorities. This action, which would prevent thousands of Wallace adherents from voting for their presidential choice, was based on a section of the Ohio election laws barring "un-American" parties, Secretary of State Edward J. Hummel announced.

Keeping Wallace off the ballot is practically the equivalent of ordering Ohioans to vote for either the Republican or Democratic Party. Voters have the choice between Tweedledum and Tweedledee. The vaunted freedom of the ballot box in America is thus shown to be not very far removed from the one-party choice in the "Ja" voting of dictatorship-ridden countries. The Wallace party announced it would carry its fight to get on the ballot into the courts.

The scandalous decision of the Ohio Secretary of State underlines the undemocratic nature of the election laws in Ohio as well as in most other states. It is well known that in the South election day means nothing. The real decision is made in the primary vote of the lily-white, poll tax Democratic Party. In many states above the Mason-Dixon line it is all but impossible for a new party to get on the ballot.

DOUBLE THE NUMBER
In California, for instance, a new party must get 267,000 signatures to get on the ballot. To qualify as a party in Ohio 345,548 signatures are necessary. A candidate may get on the ballot without his party designation by securing the signatures of 23,000 registered voters who promise to vote for the candidate. The Wallace party attempted this latter method of getting their candidate's name on the ballot. Though almost double the number of required signatures were submitted, the Ohio Secretary of State rejected them on the "un-American" pretext.

From the above it can be seen how difficult it is, and in some states impossible, for a smaller, working-class party to participate in elections. In the case of the Socialist Workers Party's campaign for Dobbs and Carlson, terrific obstacles to a place on the "free" ballot are erected by the undemocratic election laws and the hostility of reactionary politicians who want to preserve the Republican-Democratic monopoly over the voting booth.

It is the duty of the whole labor movement to fight this undemocratic ruling of the Ohio Secretary of the State.

But the fight for free elections by no means ends here. If the labor unions are at all serious about independent labor political action they must organize a broad campaign for the free ballot. That means to fight for the elimination of all the undemocratic regulations and practices as well as the unreasonable petition requirements, which hinder and ban working-class parties from securing a place on the ballot.

Petrillo Calls for Labor Unity

James C. Petrillo, president of the AFL Musicians Union, told the delegates at the union's 51st annual convention in Asbury Park, N.J. that no union was strong enough to win a strike in the face of the Taft-Hartley Law. He said that many unions would be wiped out unless the AFL, CIO, Railroad Brotherhoods, and Mineworkers got together in a single organization.

He informed the convention that suits totalling nine million dollars had already been filed by employers against 101 local unions.

SWP CONVENTION HIGHLIGHTS TO BE BROADCAST OVER ABC

NEW YORK, June 9 — Key sections of the coming Socialist Workers Party national nominating convention will be broadcast over a national hook-up, George Clarke, recently appointed campaign manager of the SWP, announced today. The convention will be held in New York City from July 1 through July 5.

The keynote speech at the convention, to be given by James P. Cannon, national secretary of the Party, will be broadcast over the American Broadcasting Company network on Thursday, July 1, from 11:15 to 11:30 P. M., Eastern Daylight Saving Time.

Acceptance speeches by the party's Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates will be broadcast over the same network on Saturday, July 3, from 2:00 to 2:30 P. M., EDT.

The convention, to be attended by delegates from all parts of the country, will nominate a national ticket, adopt an election platform, work out a program of action for an intensive campaign, and act on a number of resolutions dealing with current political problems which are now under discussion in the party branches.

From Connecticut last week, word was received that SWP petitioners had obtained an additional thousand signatures, bringing their total to date up to 3,200. Among the signers were many striking workers of the American Hardware Corporation in New Britain, who were gratified to learn of the campaign of an independent workingmen's party.

STALINISTS BLOCK VOTE ON TANKER AGREEMENT

By C. Thomas

NEW YORK CITY — Over 3,000 members of the CIO National Maritime Union, attending a special meeting on June 7, were treated to a demonstration of organized obstruction when the Stalinists prevented a vote from being taken on a proposed Tanker agreement.

For a week prior to the meeting, the Stalinists circulated the union membership against the proposed agreement. The Stalinists knew prior to the New York meeting that the other ports had voted 1,649 to 636 in favor of acceptance. Of the 76 ships reporting, 73 had voted to accept. It was a foregone conclusion that the vote in New York would also show the same trend. That is why they were out to block a vote.

Several test votes taken at the opening of the New York membership meeting showed the trend. Before each meeting, the opposing factions distribute slates for the election of chairman and recording secretary. The Rank and File Caucus slate was elected over the Stalinist nominees by letter than a two to one vote, with President Joseph Curran taking the chair.

To prevent a Stalinist filibuster, a motion was made and carried that both majority and minority points of view be presented, discussion closed 10 PM and a vote taken at that hour. At ten o'clock, when chairman Curran called for the vote, a sea of hands



JOSEPH CURRAN

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Bureaucrats Conspire Against Union Ranks

The only changes the trade union bureaucrats seem capable of making are for the worse. Instead of learning a lesson from the current anti-labor offensive about their responsibilities to protect the interests of the unions, the top labor leaders are becoming more bureaucratic, more conservative, more timid and more conciliatory to the employers, and more hostile to the demands and aspirations of the rank and file. This is well illustrated in two highly confidential letters by union leaders, whose contents have come to public light in recent weeks.

One was a letter from Daniel J. Tobin, president of the AFL International Brotherhood of Teamsters, to local union officials. It contains advice that will meet with the unrestrained approval of every capitalist in the country, and includes an admission of the most damning character:

"After the next general election, no matter which party is in power, labor will be squeezed so hard that many unions weak in leadership or in diplomacy will no longer exist."

No matter which party is in power! And that's written by the man who headed the labor division of the Democratic Party during the last four presidential elections.

Does this mean that perhaps Czar Tobin has seen the light and is now ready to permit his union to engage in independent labor politics, to build a Labor Party that will oppose the union-busting activities of the Democrats and Republicans? Not on your life. Tobin is driving at an entirely different point:

"I appeal, therefore, to the officers of our unions to impress upon our general membership that no matter how difficult the road may be, keep your men at work and stop strikes during the coming year."

In other words, the way to fight the anti-labor offensive of the employers is to lie down, do nothing to displease them, and play dead. That's what Tobin calls "patience, diplomacy and strategy."

Tobin said he wanted the members of the union to know that the "conspiracy on the part of big industry, abetted and assisted in every way possible by the government and the courts of the nation," presented a real danger to the unions:

"One danger is that radicals

Threat of Mundt "Police State" Bill Remains

The Mundt police state Bill is still in the hands of the Senate Judiciary Committee. The brief public hearings on the bill ended with hundreds of witnesses deprived of opportunity to testify against the repressive measure. The Senate Committee has now begun closed sessions at which amendments to the bill may be considered.

Opponents of the Mundt Bill have reason to hope that if Congress adjourns June 19, as was originally planned, the measure will die in committee. The quantity of protest had visibly slowed down the bill's progress. Now, however, that there is a possibility that Congress may reconvene after the Republican Convention, danger of the bill's passage still exists.

The Senate Judiciary Committee, headed by red-baiting, anti-labor Senator Wiley (R-Wisc.), can report the bill out of committee at any time it wishes.

In a speech at Chicago, President Truman indicated he might veto the bill if it comes before him. However, he did not speak of the Mundt Bill by name but confined himself to pointing out the futility of trying to "stamp out Communism by driving it underground." Only six Senators so far have gone on record as being definitely against the police-state measure.

EXTENSIVE OPPOSITION

The effect of the widespread protest against the Mundt Bill was indicated by the furious blast against the Stalinist Party on the part of Senator Wiley. Wiley accused the Stalinists of seeking "to dupe liberals, progressives and all other individuals who are not personally Communists" into fighting the bill. Wiley's rage shows how extensive has become the opposition to the police state legislation.

The whole labor movement must be on guard against any "quickie" attempts by Wall Street's hired hands in Washington to pass the Mundt Bill. This can be prevented by further arousing the public to the danger and by steadily increasing the pressure on the politicians of the Senate and its Judiciary Committee.

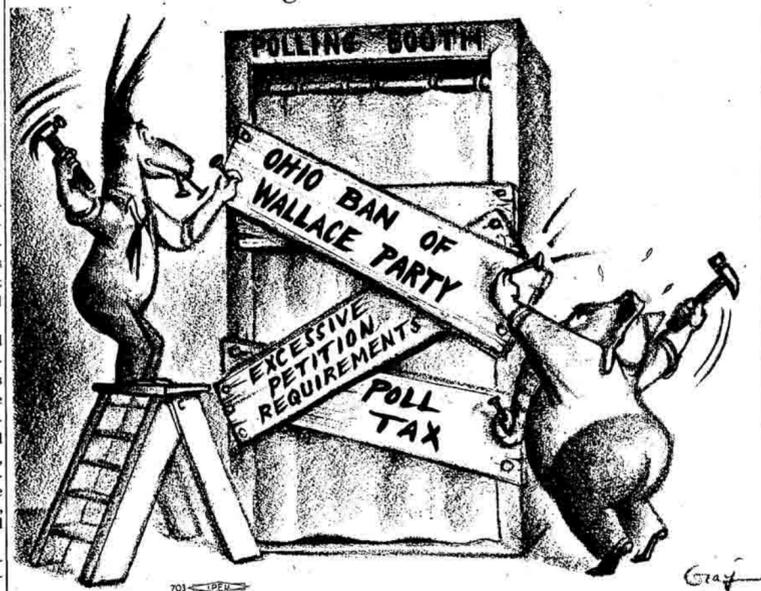
or those who are misinformed as to unions and the laws are liable to get into local meetings, and vote for anything, especially for an increase in wages, without knowing that they are setting off the first charge of dynamite to destroy the union of which they are members."

Is it really possible that there are some members so misguided, deluded and misinformed about the principles of unionism as to believe that they can vote for anything, including higher wages? Apparently there still are some people entertaining such old-fashioned notions, and apparently they constitute a bigger danger than the union-busting employers. Tobin's warning deals only with counteracting such "misinformed" unionists, and not with the employers:

"Officers of local unions who will not realize this danger and stand up to fight against it, or at least educate their members to the danger, are endangering not only their own security" [notice the polite form in which Tobin threatens to kick them out of their jobs] "but that of their union — its finances and its future."

And Tobin ends by telling local officers not to "play to the gal-

Nailing Down the Elections



Inter-Imperialist Rows Disclose World Crisis

By John G. Wright

The present lull in Washington's "cold war" against Moscow has sufficed to bring out sharply many of the deep-seated antagonisms among the various capitalist powers. Relations between London and Washington have deteriorated to a point where prominent spokesmen and periodicals on both sides speak quite openly about the growing rift. Many cleavages are likewise appearing within the Western European bloc itself, in particular the opposition of France to Anglo-American plans for the "reconstruction" of Western Germany and the Ruhr.

Palestine is merely one of the focal points in the Near East where the American and British imperialists are now colliding. Compelled to retreat before Wall Street's overwhelming preponderance, the British imperialists are nevertheless determined to hang on wherever they can in this highly strategic oil-producing area.

An equally bitter behind-the-scenes struggle is occurring over the control of the Mediterranean. London is adamant against the return of Cyprus to Greece or

the resumption by Italy of her former North African colonies. With Greece and Italy now virtual American dependencies, this would assure Wall Street control over century-old "bastions" along the lifeline of Britain's crumbling empire.

An aggravation of the current Anglo-American conflict would lead to the gravest paroxysms in the capitalist world. That is why the soberest spokesmen of American imperialism are beginning to voice alarm.

On the other hand, the French imperialists find themselves clashing with the Anglo-American combination on the question of Germany and the Ruhr. The French capitalists want to "unite" the coal of the Ruhr with the iron of Lorraine. This would open up the possibility of France's replacing Germany as the industrial power on the Continent.

Britain and the U.S., each for its own reasons, are united in opposing this. They demand an "international control" of the Ruhr, which would, in effect, mean their joint control over this key area. It took a six week conference in London to ram this proposal down the throat of the Schumann government. Regardless of whether or not the Schumann-Bidault government manages to survive the test on this issue, the crisis over the Ruhr will be a chronic one, worsening more and more the relations between France and her imperialist rivals.

ACUTE STAGE
At the same time, the intra-imperialist struggle for world markets is entering an acute stage. England must expand her exports or fall into national bankruptcy. French exports, which slumped alarmingly last autumn, remain no larger than they were before the franc was devaluated in January of this year. Meanwhile, American exports have also been sliding off.

The refusal by Congress to approve for more than one year the American tariff rates negotiated at the ITO blows up whatever hopes European capitalists may have had of achieving even a relative stabilization of world trade. The consequence is a fiercer competition for the dwindling world market.

The Marshall "Aid" Program, the chief, if not sole means of mitigating all the inter-imperialist antagonisms, bids well to prove a source of some of the sharpest clashes. We have already pointed out in The Militant how the ECA is being used to batter down the British currency and along with it, Britain's position as banker in her empire.

On top of all this come the drastic slashes made by the House in the ECA funds. Whether these ECA cuts are sustained by the Senate or not, the very action has brought sharply home to the European capitalists how completely dependent they are on moods and even whims in Washington.

European capitalism's growing crisis feeds the inter-imperialist conflicts.

The facts about the secret correspondence of the union bureaucrats deserve the widest circulation among union members. For these letters prove how the bureaucrats are conspiring against the rank and file at the same time they are retreating before the employers and surrendering the workers' interests in abject appeasement. And they demonstrate once again why the present union leaders should be kicked out of office and replaced with militants whose only allegiance is to the workers, who have the guts to resist the anti-labor offensive and the program for defeating it.

Then followed the names of four workers on the Murray

An Answer to Critics of Sliding Wage Scale

Since their first cautious expressions of "uneasiness" and "hesitancy" about the General Motors sliding scale cost-of-living wage contract, the capitalist press and economists are opening a more direct attack. An example is Lawrence Fertig's article in the June 7 N.Y. World-Telegram, headlined: "Disaster Held Lurking in GM Wage Formula." Fertig describes the "GM formula" as "inflationary" and "a dangerous plan for all industry to follow."

Big Business generally is fearful of any proposition based on the principle that every time they boost the cost of living they must boost wages proportionally. They are particularly fearful of this principle today, when war preparations are giving redoubled impetus to price inflation.

OPPOSITION VOICED

At the same time there are voices of opposition to the sliding scale wage program heard within the labor movement. They range all the way from the treacherous Stalinists, who helped put over the government's wage freeze during the war, to John L. Lewis, whose militant leadership of the miners commends his views on the wage question to the most careful consideration.

The Stalinists, as they have done for many years, continue their misrepresentations about the nature of the sliding scale wage program in general and now add fabrications about the GM contract in particular.

There is no lack of bad features in the GM contract: its freezing of real wages to the depressed level of the 1940 "norm"; its failure to include welfare benefits; its continuation of discriminatory "penalty" clauses; its lack of adequate union security safeguards and grievance procedure; its two-year termination clause.

But the chief focus of the Stalinist attack is the GM escalator clause, which the Daily Worker labels the "wage-cutting escalator clause." The false impression the Stalinists attempt to convey is that the GM sliding scale provision is primarily designed to cut wages and that it will, in fact, result in lower wages for the GM workers.

They dishonestly ignore the fact that the GM contract provides for unlimited automatic wage increases proportional to all rises in the cost of living during the life of the contract. They stress only the fact that the contract provides for a wage reduction if the cost of living index declines—although they skip over the additional fact that this decline is limited to a total of 5 cents even if prices should fall steeply.

But the Stalinists themselves don't think prices are going to fall. On the contrary, the Draft Resolution being submitted to the forthcoming National Convention of the American Communist Party by its National Committee, predicts further drastic inflation (Sunday Worker, May 30). "The resolution warns of the 'direct inflationary effect' of the Marshall Plan and 'swollen war economy' and states that 'prices are continuing to soar.'"

The conclusive proof that the Stalinists in the UAW and the Daily Worker are raising hysterical arguments for strictly factional ends is the fact that the Stalinist leaders of the CIO Electrical Workers have signed a "wage-cutting escalator clause" contract with General Motors Electrical Division identical to the GM contract in auto. The UE leaders have gone further to request a similar agreement from General Electric—but GE has flatly turned it down, offering only a flat wage increase.

The actions of the UE leaders are sufficient to dismiss the Stalinist attacks on the sliding

scale wage program as the distortions of hypocritical scoundrels.

On the other hand, the arguments of the June 1 United Mine Workers Journal are valid, insofar as they deal with the admitted defects of the particular contract signed by the UAW-CIO leaders with GM. But Lewis is incorrect when he attacks the sliding scale program as such and the sound basic features of the GM contract.

SAFEGUARDS

The Militant has advocated the sliding scale wage program for 10 years, but always with certain minimum safeguards. We have, for instance, warned that such escalator clauses should not be governed by the doctored consumers price index of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, but on an index carefully compiled by the labor unions. We agree with the UMW Journal when it says that the GM contract, based on the government index, "places the auto workers' wages at the mercy of a governmental statistical index—one repeatedly attacked by the entire labor movement as unreliable."

We can only ask the UMW leaders, why, if the unreliability of the government index has been so well known for years, they have not established in co-operation with the other unions a reliable index.

The Journal says that the GM sliding scale agreement "is simply another version of the 'Little Steel' formula that was imposed on workers during the war by the masterminds of the WLB."

That is incorrect. The WLB arbitrarily limited the amount of wage increases irrespective of price rises and froze wages at those levels for long periods. It did not provide for automatic wage increases at brief stated intervals for all increases in living costs. That is what the GM con-

tract does.

It is likewise incorrect to state that this is "wage fixing by government formula." The formula is a voluntary contract between GM and the UAW. The government simply supplies the statistics, it does not determine the use to which they are put. If the statistics were accurate, there would be no cause for criticism. The government cost-of-living statistics, however, are not accurate. Therefore it is the duty of the labor movement to compile its own reliable index.

The Journal claims that "many years ago the type of sliding-scale wage contract that tied wages in with prices was eliminated from the coal industry." But the GM contract does not tie wages in with the industry's prices. The sliding scale is based on the cost of living—what the worker has to spend and what he gets for his wages—not on what his particular boss charges for his product.

The weightiest argument of the Journal is the claim that "when workers accept such a formula they agree to forego any absolute advance in their living standard."

There may be some justification in this argument, in so far as it applies to the particular contract signed with GM, because this contract accepted the depressed real wages of 1940—nearly a decade ago—as the "norm" for today. But this has nothing to do with the sliding scale principle which is designed exclusively to fortify the "basic wages from rising prices during the life of the contract. A sliding scale wage clause, such as we propose, in no sense ties basic wages to the cost of living. It is intended solely to prevent the employer, after the basic wage agreement is signed, from paying the workers in depreciated currency. Naturally, the unions must continue to fight for as high a



This chart clearly shows that today's prices are far higher than in 1939. The new peak puts consumer costs 71.9% above '39. And that means the 1948 buck is now worth 58 cents in 1939 pennies. Federated Pictures.

basic wage as they can get.

At the same time, the unions must demand an additional safeguard, a clause in the contract which says in effect, that the employer must at all times pay the workers not only the minimum basic wage but the full purchasing power of the wage scale as of the date the contract was signed. If the cost of living goes up, and the value of the dollar goes down, the employer must pay a sufficient amount of additional dollars to keep the real wage at the level of the date of agreement.

HIGHER BASIC

This does not mean that when the contract terminates, the union agrees to continue at the same real wage. It fights, as the miners have done, for higher real wages, for higher basic minimum wage scales. It does not bind itself to long-term agreements but to short-term ones that permit speedy reopening of the wage question whenever the union feels in position to secure higher basic rates.

The two-year clause in the GM contract is a serious defect in this respect. Actually, the experience of the workers in every capitalist country in the world, including the United States, demonstrates

that wages always and everywhere tend to lag behind prices in a period of inflation. For example, from July 1945 to March 1948, average weekly money wages of all manufacturing workers in this country rose from \$45.45 to \$52.25. But the value of these wages in terms of the actual goods they could buy—the real wages—fell from \$45.45 to \$39.50, and this was in the period of the greatest and most bitter strike struggles this country has known.

The miners, who set the pace for these struggles, have raised their hourly wage rates from \$1 in 1941 to \$1.63 today. In the same period—the miners will be the first to testify to this—the actual cost of living in the mine towns has risen not less than 100%.

BASIC AND BONUS

What is needed, therefore, are not only increases in basic wages, but a wage program that ensures that these wages are not promptly dissipated by further price rises. By fortifying their basic wages with a cost-of-living escalator clause, with the necessary safeguards included, the workers can go on from the endless struggle to keep up with prices to the more fruitful fight for a higher standard of living and security.

Events on the International Scene

By Paul G. Stevens

LABOR STRUGGLES IN ITALY

Last week widespread strikes occurred in Italy again. Miners, shipyard, metal workers, farmhands and printers took part in stoppages throughout the country. On June 3, the whole province of Bologna was paralyzed by a general strike in protest against the arrest of four union leaders as well as against the police ban on demonstrations. In Cremona province, agricultural workers tied up the production of all dairy products in a bitter struggle marked by police fire upon 200 strikers at Spino d'Adda. At Emma, in Sicily, the miners occupied the pits in opposition to new mine regulations. On June 3, the miners called a 2-hour general strike demonstration throughout Italy.

All these actions are attributed by the press to the Stalinist party's drive against the Marshall Plan. But that the real causes are more deep-rooted was revealed by a pontifical address in St. Peter's square at Rome on June 2. The Pope's main theme was the need for immediate "social reforms." It is urgent, he declared, "to provide the poorer classes with housing, bread and work." The government must act, he went on, "lest the enemy, . . . retake ground so laboriously conquered"—referring to the recent election victory of the Catholics over the CP-SP bloc.

BELGIAN METAL WORKERS DEMAND GENERAL STRIKE

At its last session toward the end of May, the National Committee of the Metal Workers Union—the most important in Belgium—adopted a resolution calling for an Extraordinary Congress of the Belgian Trade Union Federation to organize a general strike. Its purpose is to win wage increases to meet the rising cost of living. Additional significance is attached to this action because the Stalinists play no important role in this union.

UPSURGE IN CYPRUS

A strike of 2,000 workers against the Anglo-American Mining Corporation, which owns all of the sub-soil in the Aegean island of Cyprus, has entered its fifth month. It began last January when negotiations for wage increases in the new contract reached a deadlock. The company has sought to break the strike by the most vicious methods—withdrawal of the milk ration from strikers' children, turning miners' families out of company-owned houses, barring strikers from use of the Pentagia Hospital which it controls, etc.

But a wave of solidarity actions, including two brief general strikes, has aided the miners in holding out, despite police terror, which has taken a toll of two dead and four wounded. The Cyprus section of the Fourth International is actively aiding the striking miners. Its weekly organ, The Proletarian (published in Greek), is devoted to strike publicity. The total receipts for the sales of the paper go into the strike fund.

INDIAN SOCIALIST PARTY

At its recent convention in Nasik, the Socialist Party of India voted to break away from the National Congress, with which it had been affiliated since its formation. The action was taken upon its initiative, but of the Congress leadership itself. The latter adopted a position barring organized groups from the Congress in the future, a break with its previous federated structure.

The SP leaders, who enjoyed an expectedly big success with independent candidates in the Bombay elections several months ago, were reluctant to give up their organization in order to remain in the Congress. At their convention, they stressed that in going independent they hoped to play the role of a loyal opposition to the Congress governments.

New Spark, organ of the Indian Trotskyists, comments as follows on this development: "Now, this attitude is all very good for a purely parliamentary

MAY DAY IN HONG KONG

The Chinese Trotskyists on the island of Hong Kong organized a small May Day celebration with delegates from some dozen of the most important factories and enterprises. Some 60 working men and women attended the meeting, which was illegal.

A delegate from a shipbuilding concern was the main speaker and dwelt on the history of May Day as the day of international class struggle. A delegate of the street car workers spoke on the living conditions of the Hongkong wage earners and the humiliating procedures of management, such as the search of all workers leaving company property etc. Three women textile workers followed, describing the intolerable conditions of the strike to the other mills and the adoption of a broad program for all Hongkong workers, including the 8-hour day, sliding scale of wages, abolition of piece work, cessation of barbaric treatment of workers, unification of the trade union movement (at present divided into Kuomintang and CP-led unions), formation of a General Federation of Labor.

U. S. Gives Raw Deal To Japanese-Americans

By George Lavan

While Hitler's barbarous uprooting of whole peoples in Europe is generally known to the public, not much attention has been paid to a similar black page in recent American history. This was the shameful forced evacuation of 120,000 persons of Japanese ancestry from the Pacific coast and Alaska in 1941.

This crime was committed in the name of military security. Nevertheless, throughout the war not a single case of espionage or sabotage was attributed to the Americans of Japanese descent, who were torn from their homes, shipped to concentration camps and separated from their families. Thirty thousand Americans of Japanese descent served with exceptional bravery in the U.S. Army. That is the record of the Japanese-Americans in relation to the government. What is the record of the government toward them?

The evacuees were given a week or ten days notice of their coming deportation. Thousands didn't even get this much advance notice. In this time they had to dispose of their property. They didn't know where they were going or how long they would be away. They could take with them only those possessions they could carry on their persons.

REAL ESTATE INTERESTS

While the uprooting of all the Japanese-Americans on the West Coast didn't serve the interests of military security, it did serve other interests. These were the interests that lined their pockets by stealing and swindling the property and savings of the deportees. The deportees left behind them about \$200,000,000

worth of real estate, personal property and commercial property. Most of that has been gobbled up by the 200% "Americans" who cloaked their robbery in patriotism.

Two centuries ago Dr. Johnson, who compiled the first dictionary, defined patriotism as "the last refuge of a scoundrel." That definition, as borne out by the events on the West Coast, is much more up to date than those appearing in current dictionaries. For it was real estate and business interests that put the pressure on the Army to deport the Americans of Japanese descent. The Army enthusiastically took up the plan.

Many homes and farms were left with no arrangement. Others tried to sell, rent, lend or store their possessions on short notice. Others in desperation placed their property in the hands of sharks who offered to act as custodians.

The results were economically disastrous to the deportees. Their farms, crops, live-stock, farm machinery, trucks and cars, restaurants, homes, furniture and all the other possessions were ruthlessly pillaged. While they were incarcerated in the "relocation" camps their farms were sold for unpaid taxes, furniture seized for unpaid rents, their once-flourishing businesses in wholesale fruits and vegetables and in fishing were seized by competitors.

ROBBERY AND FRAUD

A typical example of the wholesale swindling of the deportees concerned a Mr. Higashi, who owned a drug store in Los Angeles. A man who was a local pillar of the community visited Mr. Higashi in the concentration camp and offered to arrange the

sale of Higashi's property. For this purpose he got a power-of-attorney from Higashi. The man sold the property and kept the proceeds. Mr. Higashi has been unable to get a penny out of him. The facts were presented to the Los Angeles district attorney's office which stated it was not interested in prosecuting the swindler. This is but one case from thousands in the black record of persecution, robbery and fraud which marks the history of the "evacuation" of the Japanese-Americans.

For two years now Congress has kicked around a bill that would in some small measure make up some of the economic losses of the deportees. H.R. Bill 3999 would authorize the Department of Justice to settle claims—not to give a lump sum payment—up to \$2,500. Any higher claims would have to go through the lengthy and expensive procedure of the Court of Claims. No one can claim that this bill errs on the side of generosity. The broken lives of people cruelly torn from their homes and imprisoned, then scattered across the country, cannot be repaid in dollars.

But the real estate-backed enemies of the Americans of Japanese extraction are trying to prevent even this modest measure from being passed. The bill died in the 79th Congress last year and all indications are that the same will happen to the bill buried in a Senate Committee this year. Congress has plenty of time for red-baiting activity, anti-labor legislation and diplomatic and military preparation for World War III, but it can find no time to pass a stingy little bill righting some of the great wrong done to the Japanese-Americans.

San Francisco's Open Forum

THE NATIONAL POLITICAL SITUATION, will be discussed at the Open Forum to be held Friday night, June 18, at 8:30 p.m. by the San Francisco Branch of the Socialist Workers Party. The speaker will be Dan Roberts. The address of the Branch is 1739 Fillmore, fourth floor. Admission is free.

Chicago to Show Chaplin Film

Two films, Charlie Chaplin in "The Immigrant" and "The Gay 90's," as well as music, dancing and refreshments will be enjoyed by friends and members of the Chicago Branch of the Socialist Workers Party at the Pre-Convention Social on Saturday evening, June 19, at 777 W. Adams



Climaxing a campaign against the Mundt bill, 5,000 people converged on Washington June 2. These three pickets—with the gagged mouth, blindfolded eyes and covered ears—show what they think will happen to freedom of thought and expression if the bill should pass.

Stalinists Block Vote On Tanker Agreement

(Continued from Page 1)

shot up indicating an overwhelming affirmative vote for ratifying the agreement. At that point, the organized Stalinist gangs jammed the aisles, swarmed onto the platform and prevented the vote from being counted. As the union constitution calls for an actual count of the votes, the obstructive tactics of the Stalinists were effective in preventing a count.

The members were so enraged that an open riot was narrowly averted on several occasions. The management of the meeting hall called the cops and for the first time since the faction fight broke out New York police were present at an NMU meeting to maintain order.

As to the tanker agreement itself it is necessary to penetrate the double-talk of the Stalinists to the real source of their opposition.

For months prior to negotiations they predicted the union would have to strike to retain the hiring hall clause. The Taft-Hartley Law ostensibly outlaws the union hiring hall. And on the West Coast, the AFL Sailors' Union of the Pacific accepted a compromise hiring clause, known as the Lundeberg formula, to get around the provisions of the Law.

One of the periodic Stalinist "unity" conferences condemned the Lundeberg formula under the slogan, "No compromise on the hiring hall." Furthermore, at a meeting with the Tanker operators, a Stalinist spokesman de-

clared the hiring hall to be the ONLY question in dispute that was of concern to the union. Taking them at their word the Tanker operators agreed to retain the hiring hall clause in the agreement as well as granting additional minor concessions including a five dollar per month wage increase. When this occurred the Stalinists promptly upped their demands. It was obvious that out of factional considerations they were determined to prevent Curran from gaining any credit for negotiating an acceptable agreement.

The great majority of NMU members feel that it would be disastrous to go into a strike with the union paralyzed by the bitter internal struggle. They look upon the Stalinists, who control the apparatus, as a lame duck leadership which will be ousted once the election ballots are counted. But the election period does not terminate until June 30, while the contract terminates on June 15.

The one question that can rally the entire membership is preservation of the hiring hall, which is the very foundation of the union. The dry cargo operators, organized in the American Merchant Marine Institute, have refused to renew the present hiring clause. In the meantime, President Truman has appointed a "Fact Finding Board" to investigate and report back on whether a shipping strike would constitute a "national emergency." The position taken by Curran is that signing the Tanker agreement granting the hiring hall would

split the shipowner front and strengthen the union in its struggle with the AMMI.

To complicate the dispute the Stalinists have involved the NMU in another of their "unity" maneuvers. One of their aims is to utilize the NMU to salvage the position of the Stalinist-controlled unions on the West Coast which have become increasingly isolated as a result of 11 years of Stalinist maneuvers.

The Marine Firemen of the Pacific Coast, previously independent have set up a committee to solicit terms for affiliation to the AFL. The CIO Marine Engineers Beneficial Association voted at their recent convention to seek AFL affiliation. The Radio Operators split from the CIO American Communications Association and a section on the West Coast voted to affiliate to the AFL International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. All of these unions had been in the Stalinist dominated Committee for Maritime Unity which collapsed after the 1946 strike. This is the balance sheet of 11 years of Stalinist "unity" maneuvers and duplicity.

The NMU is carrying the ball on the fight to preserve the hiring hall today. If they win, it will regain ground lost by the Lundeberg hiring formula on the West Coast. Whatever happens on the Tanker agreement, the question of the hiring hall still remains open. The fight for the hiring hall remains a life and death struggle for the organized seafaring men.

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THE MILITANT ARMY

Radio Listeners Send in Subs

Subs are beginning to come in from radio listeners whose first introduction to the Socialist Workers Party was Farrell Dobbs' national radio broadcast as Presidential candidate of the SWP. The first two subs were from Sioux City, Iowa, and upstate New York. Two others have ordered Pioneer Publishers literature. Three other listeners sent us many names of friends to whom they wished us to send copies of Dobbs' speech.

From Savannah, Ga., a seaman subscribed and ordered Stalinists on the Waterfront and other current literature.

James W. Connery of Kewanee, Ill., 75 and oldest Militant subscriber, was back on the job last week after being laid up since fall after the last snowstorm. He sent in five one-year Militant subs (three renewals) and expended his own Fourth International sub.

very pleased with the paper," he reported. He has sold 32 subs in Kewanee and a dozen others in nearby and distant places.

"Sub-a-Day" Bob Williams of Harlem branch, New York, obtained four more subs last week. That makes 50 already this year. He and Jim Connery could hit off some lively competition for about 50 subs by Election Day. How many others would like to challenge either or both of these consistent workers?

We forgot to mention last week that Flint branch sent in 29 subs along with the letter we published temporarily reducing the campaign quota of 400 new Flint subs. Union work and other activities have interrupted the drive, but Flint hopes to catch up later in the summer.

J. M. and J. S. of Seattle have missed some recent issues through undetermined mail difficulties. "We are worried and do hope nothing serious has happened. We miss it very much," wrote J. M., enclosing \$1 although his sub still has a year to run.

Subscriptions: \$1 per year; 50c for 6 months. Foreign: \$2 per year; \$1 for 6 months. Entered as second class matter Mar. 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of Mar. 3, 1879.

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Monday, June 14, 1948



TROTSKY

The experience of my life, in which there has been no lack either of successes or of failures, has not only not destroyed my faith in the clear, bright future of mankind, but, on the contrary, has given it an indestructible temper. This faith in reason, in truth, in human solidarity, which at the age of eighteen I took with me into the workers' quarters of the provincial Russian town of Nikolaev — this faith I have preserved fully and completely. It has become more mature, but not less ardent.

—Leon Trotsky, Address before Dewey Commission, Mexico City, 1937.



LENIN

The Vatican's "Model State" - Franco's Fascism in Spain

By Art Preis

A vast propaganda campaign is being waged in the United States to whitewash the Roman Catholic hierarchy's connection with the fascist movement.

Last week's Militant article, "The Roman Catholic Church and Fascism," cited chapter and verse on the alliance between Mussolini and the Vatican, which culminated in the latter's support of Italy's rape of Ethiopia in 1935.

On August 22, 1935, the very day the League of Nations met to consider the Italo-Ethiopian war, the Osservatore Romano, official newspaper of the Vatican State, reported that 57 bishops and 19 archbishops of Italy had wired Mussolini:

"Catholic Italy thanked Jesus Christ for the renewed greatness of the country made stronger by Mussolini's policy."

When Fascist troops seized Addis Ababa, Ethiopian capital, Pope Pius XI declared that Mussolini's imperialist conquest "will initiate a true European and world-wide peace."

STATE RELIGION

The single and unchanging objective of the Roman Catholic hierarchy is to become the only legally-recognized church in the world, the official state religion everywhere. It regards governments as mere pillars of the Church, the secular "guardians of the law" as dictated and interpreted by the super-government of the Vatican and its "infallible" Pope.

To this end, the Vatican follows a devious, slippery and opportunistic course, when it must. Today, its agents and functionaries in the United States pay lip-service to "democracy" and "Americanism." Cardinal Spellman, in his article "Communism is Un-American" published in the July, 1946, American Magazine, claimed that "my sole objective... is to help save America from the godless governments of totalitarianism."

This utterly false statement is belied by the 1,500-year history of the Roman Catholic Church, and not the least by its consistent support of one after another of the capitalist totali-

tarian regimes of the past three decades. There is hardly a fascist regime anywhere in Europe or the Western Hemisphere which has not been supported and officially recognized by the Vatican and which has not made the Roman Catholic Church the official religion.

Within six months after Hitler, Goebbels and their crew took power in Germany in 1933, Pope Pius XII signed his Concordat with Hitler's Third Reich. The Catholic Revue des Deux Mondes, Jan. 15, 1935, reported the orders to all German bishops that all Catholic opposition to Hitler must cease. As late as August 1940, according to the N. Y. Times of August 27, the German bishops, meeting at Fulda, issued a pastoral letter containing "a solemn pledge of loyalty to Chancellor Hitler."

"NAZISM AND CATHOLICISM"

The betrayer of Czechoslovakia, Hitler's puppet ruler and president of Slovakia after the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, was the priest Josef Tiso. His premier, Vojtech Tuka, announced that "Slovakia's government in the future will be a combination of German Nazism and Roman Catholicism." Pope Pius XII demonstratively made Tiso a Papal Chamberlain with the title of Monsignor, while the Vatican radio broadcast:

"The announcement by Monsignor Tiso... of his intention to reconstruct Slovakia on a Christian plan, is greatly welcomed by the Holy See. The new organization of the State is to be based on the Corporate system which has proved so successful in Portugal... This coming soon after Marshall Petain's statement that he intended to reconstruct France on a Christian basis, is doubly welcome."

Thus did the Vatican express its joy at the three-fold advance of clerical fascism — in Tiso's Slovakia, Petain's France and Salazar's Portugal. Thus had it previously hailed the bloody dictatorships of Dollfus in Austria and Franco in Spain.

FRANCO'S FASCIST SPAIN

The present attitude of the Vatican toward fascism is most fully revealed in the case of

Spain, which the United Nations has been forced to formally describe as a "fascist, totalitarian" regime.

In October 1943, four years after Franco came to power over the dead bodies of two million Spanish Catholic workers and peasants, the Pope's newspaper Osservatore Romano hailed Spanish fascism as the "model state."

This "model state" in 1947, eight years after Franco's rule began, still held 300,000 antifascists in prison and kept 700,000 under surveillance. It averaged 2,000 death-sentences a year against its political opponents. About 60% of its budget went to the armed forces; a large part of the remainder to the police and Church, the latter state-financed. Wheat production was 53% of 1935; barley, 53%. Wages had risen 171% in money; but prices rose 570% at the same time.

Why was Spain the "model state" for the Vatican? On July 6, 1941, Franco signed a Concordat with the Vatican whose first article reads:

"The Roman Catholic religion, to the exclusion of any other, continues to be the sole religion of the Spanish nation."

A 1942 report of the U. S. Embassy in Madrid to the American State Department stated: "Protestant Churches for Spaniards have no legal status and enjoy no state guarantees."

WEALTH RETURNED

Pope Pius XII's proclamation of "great joy" at the victory of the "dearest sons of Catholic Spain" was not based altogether on spiritual values gained. Franco restored the State Ecclesiastical Budget of 85 million pesetas a year, plus allotments for repairing all Church property. The Spanish Jesuits were given back all their enormous wealth — estimated before the advent of the Spanish Republic at a third of the entire wealth of Spain and including such lucrative enterprises as the fish markets and the most expensive cabbages.

One of the crowning achievements of the Catholic Church in Spain is the complete monopoly of education, which, according to law, must "conform to the prin-

Asparagus Workers Out



This field kitchen in Stockton, Calif., has been very busy for two months as the CIO Food Tobacco Agricultural and Allied Workers strikes against asparagus growers. More than 4,000 strikers have remained solid despite police pressure and vigilante action on behalf of the Big Business farmers, Federated Pictures.

inciples of Catholic dogma and faith and to the prescriptions of canon law."

The American Catholic liberal, Emmet J. Hughes, in his recent book, Report on Spain, bitterly describes the precepts taught in the manual of religious instruction, Nuevo Ripalda, to all Spanish school children:

Q. What are the freedoms which liberalism defends? A. Freedom of conscience, freedom of worship and freedom of the press.

Q. What does freedom of the press mean? A. The right to print and publish without previous censorship all kinds of opinions, however absurd and corrupting they may be.

Q. Must the government suppress this freedom by means of censorship? A. Obviously, yes.

Q. Why? A. Because it must prevent the deception, calumny and corruption of its subjects, which harm the general good.

Q. Are there other pernicious freedoms? A. Yes, freedom of propaganda, and freedom of assembly.

Q. Why are these freedoms pernicious? A. Because they serve to teach error, propagate vice, and plot against the church...

These are the concepts which the Roman Catholic hierarchy teaches in its "model state." This is what the emissary of the Vatican, Cardinal Spellman, really means when he speaks of "saving America from the godless governments of totalitarianism."

(This is the second of a series of articles on the political role of the Vatican.)

Subscribe to THE MILITANT

Current Status of Wage Fight

It is unquestionable that the 11-cent and 13-cent wage settlements at GM and Chrysler are the first important break in the solid front of the industrialists and pave the way for similar wage increases in the other industries. But no one should have the illusion that from here on in all other unions will slide in on the coat tails of the auto settlement and will more or less automatically receive equivalent wage increases.

The strength and solidarity of organized labor in the great 1945-46 strikes were sufficient to set the 18 1/2-cent pattern which was then extended and observed throughout industry.

Even a year ago, the major CIO unions, though not in as good shape as in 1946, were able to gain the equivalent of a 15-cent increase and this again became a "pattern" which the workers gained throughout industry.

But a lot of water has passed under the bridge since that time. The union leaders' policy of continued retreat, appeasement and surrender has deeply shaken the self-confidence of the unions, has demoralized the membership and weakened their will to fight.

The labor bureaucrats, by their lack of a unified strategy, have permitted the manufacturers to take on the unions one at a time. And the bosses are now granting or not granting concessions strictly in accordance with the strength of the union in their particular industry.

The meat trust attacked the packinghouse union head-on. And while they didn't succeed in smashing the union, they bled it white, starved it out, and forced the workers to go back to work on the company's terms.

The auto union was too powerful, so the robber barons gave way a couple of inches in this case.

But that didn't automatically set a pattern for all industry. Because just two weeks later, the CIO union of telephone workers signed a 21-month contract which granted NO GENERAL WAGE INCREASES WHATSOEVER, but only some pitiful equalization of minimum wage rates for a small number of workers. The reason for this capitulation is no secret: the telephone workers are badly divided up in a number of different unions and lack the fighting capacities of the auto union.

This makes clear that the rubber workers and electrical workers in their pending negotiations will win only those concessions that they are prepared to fight for. And the further moral of this story is that it is still not too late for the national CIO to call a national conference and work out a unified wage strategy of its leading unions in cooperation with the miners, the AFL and railroad unions.

Every local union ought to put up a big banner in its local headquarters with the words of Benjamin Franklin emblazoned across it: "We must all hang together, or assuredly we will all hang separately."

The Refugee Bill

During the recent war the U. S. government led all the others in promises about how it was prepared to extend assistance to the vast number of refugees driven from their homes by the war. Roosevelt even convened the Evian Conference which adopted all kinds of humanitarian declarations.

Now the U. S. Senate, in passing the Rev. Ercomb-Wiley Bill, has demonstrated how worthless these promises are: how, even under the guise of a "generous" immigration bill, Washington is continuing the racial discrimination policies made notorious under Hitlerism.

After a period of almost ten years in which immigration to this country was reduced to a small trickle, the Senate consents now to admit 200,000 of the 850,000 DP's in European camps during the next two years. But even this inadequate quota is ringed round with such discriminatory provisions that it excludes many of the DP's most urgently in need of visas.

The bill stipulates half of the quota must be filled with refugees from countries "annexed by a foreign country," meaning primarily the Baltic countries annexed by Russia. But the DP's from those countries include only a very small percentage of Jews and Catholics.

The bill further requires that half of the DP's admitted must be farmers. This too

works to the disadvantage of the Jews and Catholics.

The Senate bill also restricts visas to the DP's who came to the DP camps before Dec. 22, 1945. This is a deliberate blow against Jewish refugees because only 10,000 of them had arrived in the camps before that date. Thus although the Jews represent 23% of the DP's, a maximum of 5% will be permitted to enter this country.

No wonder that Earl G. Harrison, chairman of the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, says, "No bill at all would be better than this so-called DP bill."

The responsibility for this reactionary bill rests on the Republicans and Democrats. But — it must be stated — the labor leaders have been shamefully derelict in their duty. At best they have mumbled a few words about admitting DP's, at worst they have remained completely silent. Their failure to lead a fight to open the doors of this country to the refugees is in part responsible for the acuteness of the Palestine crisis.

Time is short, but it is not too late for the voice of the labor movement to be heard in Washington, demanding the removal of all the race-baiting restrictions in the bill, and the expansion of the quotas to take care of all who need visas. Anything less will be a blot on the honor and record of American labor.

Stalinist Bureaucratism

While the Stalinists are under a heavy red-baiting attack from the Murray bureaucracy in the CIO, they themselves are continuing their bureaucratic reprisals against oppositionists in unions under their control.

The Stalinist leaders of New York Local 3, CIO Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, at Bloomingdale's Department Store, have cooked up obviously phony charges against three leaders of the minority caucus and expelled them from the union.

The three expelled members were charged by the Local 3 Stalinist leaders with "attempting to divide the membership along political lines." That is, they organized a caucus within the union to push the Murray machines' political line and program against the Stalinist line of supporting Wallace and his third capitalist party.

Even while their own necks are in the shadow of the axe, the Stalinists continue to such discredit over the past ten years in the unions. They must continue to resort to such methods because they cannot defend

their unprincipled line by democratic discussion and debate. Their only answer to opposition is repression and expulsions.

It is to the credit of the three expelled members that they have rejected out-of-hand the attempt at outside interference by Governor Dewey who proposed to "investigate" the expulsions. They have submitted their appeal to the international union and have insisted that their case is strictly an internal union affair.

This incident furnishes another demonstration that the Stalinists are not fighting for trade union democracy and genuine left-wing principles in their conflict with the Murray machine. This is just a brawl between two bureaucratic gangs over conflicting bureaucratic interests.

Murray is trying to force the politics of the State Department down the CIO members' throats. The Stalinists are trying to do the same with the Kremlin's politics. Both are a menace to the democratic rights of the union membership and the independence of the trade union movement.

Responses to Dobbs' Radio Speech

From New Orleans, La.

... send me a copy of the radio speech... Its contents at the time, seemed quite interesting to me, and I would like to further examine its full text.

C.J.W.

From Spartanburg, S.C.

Friends, Please mail copy of radio talk of last Saturday. Damned good talk, and it's a shame we can't have more of them to counteract the fascist blitzkrieg of the Truman government. Truman is saving capitalism for the rich in exactly the same way that Hitler saved the system for the rich of Germany.

R.W.

From Cleveland, Ohio

I have listened to your radio broadcast over WJW last Saturday evening... I would like to ask you a few questions about the organization of the socialist movement in the United States. Are there any possible means to print daily newspapers on a political basis for the working people? Almost all the workers that I have met here, do not know anything about socialism. Have you ever tried to distribute literature concerning the program of socialism, through your members, like the socialist party did in its early days in Europe? Each member could and should try to do something of this kind. He could leave leaflets lying around where he works if he is afraid to distribute them himself. I am a worker myself and I believe in socialism, but I am not an American citizen. As a non-citizen I should not criticize this country, but I have found many things wrong about the way the civil administrations are run. Things that remind of me of the gangster days.

Would you be so kind and send a reply to my questions and some literature which I could distribute among my fellow workers. I could help a little this way towards a socialized world.

M.

From Cleveland, Ohio

I would appreciate your sending me more information. I would also like to ask a question of the speaker of the May 29 radio program. What's the meaning of setting up a candidate for the Socialist Workers Party when there is already a candidate for the Third Party (Henry Wallace) who has a better chance than a

socialist candidate. This would only divide the labor class and get nowhere. Otherwise if the labor class would back up Wallace they would get more votes and pave the road for the labor class. If they don't win this election it will be possible the next four years to win. To my knowledge it looks as though the socialist party wants to divide the labor class. This is my opinion. Otherwise I have no affiliation with either party. I am only expressing myself as a progressive.

L.B.

Ed. Note: Wallace—by his own admission—is trying to build a third capitalist party. Speaking at Portland, Ore., on May 24, he said, "I look on myself as the best friend capitalism has in the United States today." Wallace's program for peace is likewise a fraud—by his own admission. In an interview with the reporter of the North American Newspaper Alliance, printed in the N. Y. Times April 25, Wallace stated he would withdraw his candidacy in the event of war and would support the war effort.

Building mass support for Wallace is therefore no gain for labor. It simply would make it easier for this capitalist demagogue to derail and sell-out the mass movement.

Our party stands for the building of a mass labor party. But to be truly representative of the rank and file, this party has to be based on and responsible to the organized labor movement; that means the labor unions. We have urged the unions to form such a party and promised to give it critical support.

In the absence of such a party in the '48 elections, the Socialist Workers Party is running its own candidates. The bigger the vote for the SWP candidates, the stronger will the movement grow for the creation of a mass labor party, the more effective the protest against the outrages of capitalism, the faster the consolidation of the socialist forces.

From Duluth, Minn.

I heard your speech Saturday afternoon and thought it was a great speech. When the Minneapolis office sent me the notice of your speech, I told several people to listen. I also distributed ten copies of the May 24 issue of The Militant which the Minneapolis office sent me.

I spend quite a bit of my time

at the fire hall which is right next door and the different views the firemen have are very puzzling at times. One fire captain is quite anti-labor. I have quite a few arguments with a real estate man who throws a fit every time I suggest labor getting higher wages. I gave him a copy of The Militant. He almost had heart failure.

Labor in Duluth is split into two factions: pro-Wallace and anti-Wallace... You were absolutely right in your statement that the workers should unite behind the Socialist Workers Party. Only when the workers do this will they get what they should really have.

D.P.

Please send me material stating your aims and objectives and some historical background on your development.

R.F.

From Bethesda, Maryland

I cut in on your great and powerful speech over the radio on Labor vs. Capitalism and would like to have you mail me a copy of the speech and also some of your previous broadcasts.

I am a Republican, but have decided that both Republican and Democratic parties have for the last 50 years used the worker as a tool for autocracy. The Shylocks.

Good luck in your work for the working people. I hope you win.

A.W.W.

LIKES ARTICLES

Thanks to G. F. Eckstein's articles concerning A. Philip Randolph's "disobedience program." His praise and criticism is wonderful. Most writers on the Negro struggle hardly show the flaws in our campaigns. I like to see our faults as well as goodness. Again thanks.

F. W. Seattle, Wash.

SUGGESTS AN F. I. SUB EDITOR

In reference to the Workers Forum of May 17, may I suggest, L.B., that a subscription to the Fourth International, and not the discontinuance of The Militant

table and fortunate that Stalinist maneuvers come within this paper's scope. It is only after The Militant clearly presents the Marxist analysis of Stalinist-inspired or dominated events, that it reaches the conclusions which you have superficially characterized as "Stalin-baiting." If you will keep this in mind when you read The Militant, L.B., I am certain you will find it far from dry.

S.S. Los Angeles, Calif.

Attention, Flint Militant Readers!

The Michigan candidates of the Socialist Workers Party—Howard Lerner, candidate for Governor; Genora Dollinger, candidate for U.S. Senate; and William H. Yancey, candidate for Secretary of State will be the speakers at a gala election banquet to be held by the Flint Branch on Sunday afternoon, June 20, at 3:00 p.m. All friends of the Militant and the SWP are cordially invited to come to the Flint Branch headquarters, 215 E. Ninth St.

Activities of 'Militant' Readers and the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

- AKRON—4 So. Howard St., 2nd fl. Mon. through Fri., 7 to 9 p.m.; Branch meeting every Thurs. 8 p.m. BALTIMORE—1121 E. Baltimore St., Phone Wolfe 1753, Daily 9 a.m.-9 p.m., O. Cover St. MILITANT and FOURTH INTERNATIONAL on sale. BOSTON—30 Stuart St., Sat., 1-5 p.m., Tues., 7:30-9:30 p.m. BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 622 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone Madison 3960. Every afternoon except Sun. CHICAGO—777 W. Adams (corner Halsted), Phone DEARBORN 4767. Daily except Sun., 11 a.m.-5 p.m. Library, bookstore. CLEVELAND—Militant Forum, Sun., 8:30 p.m., Peck's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.). DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Phone TY 7-6367. Mon. through Sat., 12-3 p.m., FRI.—215 E. Ninth St. Daily 7-9 p.m. Open House, Sat. eve. Forum, Sun. eve. LOS ANGELES—Militant Publ. Assn., Room 201, 124 W. 6th St. Phone VANDYKE 9061. SEATTLE—Militant, 1208 S. Pacific Room 214. WASHINGTON—44 Central St., Rm. 11, Sat. 1-5 p.m. Discussion, Tues., 7:30 p.m. MILWAUKEE—Militant Bookshop, 608 E. Du St. Mon. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p.m. Phone Broadway 9645. MINNEAPOLIS—10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7751. Daily except Sun., 10 a.m.-8 p.m. Library, bookstore. NEW BRITAIN, Conn.—Militant Discussion Group every Fri. 7:30 p.m. Mill Labor Club, 165 Main St. (next to Strand Theatre). NEW HAVEN — Labor School, 856 Grand Ave., 3rd fl., Tues. 8-10:30 p.m.

Who Is the Despot?

By Joseph Keller

T. Alan Goldsborough, the Democratic wheel-horse and federal judge who grinds out strike-breaking injunctions for the Truman administration, abandoned his pretended judicial calm toward the close of his latest injunction decree against the coal miners and delivered himself of some poisonous personal remarks against John L. Lewis.

The issue involved was the refusal of the United Mine Workers to deal with the Southern Coal Producers Association as the bargaining agency for all the southern coal operators. The reason for this refusal was simply stated by the miners' spokesmen. The SCPA is an organization designed to frustrate and defeat the legitimate demands of the mine workers and is a notorious strikebreaking outfit. Its purpose—as has been proved repeatedly in the past—is to obstruct and prevent collective bargaining and union contractual relations.

Now, Justice Goldsborough was not content to order and direct the UMW to bargain with the SCPA. He wound up by hurling a number of literary quotations, inappropriate but venomous, at Lewis. He quoted Lord Acton's saying that "Power always corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely." He recited from the ancient Cicero's Oration against Catiline: "It is your boundless audacity, O Catiline." And he added for good measure that "there is no such thing as a benevolent despot."

All in all, he drew the picture of Lewis as a "tyrant," running roughshod over the country and doing as he damned pleased to the poor coal bosses and everyone else.

The word "despot" in the mouth of Goldsborough has a peculiar ring. Here is the judge

who twice has decreed, under threat of fine and imprisonment, that the 450,000 soft coal miners must work under conditions dictated by the profiteering mine owners.

Here is the judge who by his single order decreed forced labor for the hundreds of thousands of miners and abrogated their right to strike. Here is the judge who by his sole word established a precedent whereby any federal judge can break any strike that the 15 million organized American workers might be forced to undertake.

This same judge, when his injunctions were twice defied, levied fines of \$3,500,000 and \$1,400,000 against the miners—one man made a law, then acted as judge, prosecutor and jury in penalizing alleged violations of his law.

Goldsborough, of course, isn't really concerned about Lewis being a "despot." He's concerned with defending the profits and privileges of the coal operators. If Lewis used his great influence and prestige in the UMW to curb the workers' struggles, as so many union bureaucrats do, Goldsborough would be ready to hail Lewis as a "labor statesman."

The truth is that Lewis's great authority in the UMW rests on his militancy as a leader, his readiness to fight for what the members want. Lewis's politics are utterly reactionary but when he fights the coal bosses, he speaks the will of every miner.

Goldsborough is the hand-picked juridical tool of a corrupt political machine run by the rich. Lewis is the elected representative of the half million miners, the struggling poor. One dictates in the interests of the greedy few against the many; the other defends the will of the many against the few. Who is the despot?

The Negro Struggle

A Letter About the NAACP

By Albert Parker

The following letter, from a reader in Santa Monica, Calif., raises a number of questions worth thinking about and discussing:

Dear Comrade Parker:
For many years I have conscientiously read The Negro Struggle in The Militant and have gained a great deal from it. But I do not recall ever reading any discussion concerning the problems involved in day-to-day, year-by-year membership and activity in the NAACP.

I have belonged to the local branch for three years and have learned that it is not a matter of signing a membership card and then jumping in to meetings to tell the Negro people all the big things they ought to be doing. In many respects, working in the NAACP is like working in the unions.

No matter how socially advanced your ideas may be, you must first of all show yourself to be a patient, loyal, hard-working union member before you will be listened to by the membership. The same thing applies to the NAACP. Its members, just like union members, are rightfully resentful of outsiders and newcomers rushing in with a Jesus complex to tell them how to solve their problems.

When the NAACP here set up the United Committee to End Job Discrimination at Sears last January, it was obvious that the Negro leaders were anxious that the direction of the fight should not slip from their grasp. This was not due to mere politics or petty jealousy. The NAACP leaders knew that only they could win over and make active the Negro population. The sad history of the Stalinist-dominated National Negro Congress out here had taught them a lesson. They knew they were in the best position to pace the struggle in terms of Negro response. And after many months of shrewd effort, they have achieved the united backing of the Negro community.

When the United Committee was set up, it was presented with a statement of policy by the

NAACP executive committee, making it plain that the NAACP was the responsible organization of the Negro people, that it was calling representatives of other organizations together to mobilize support for its fight against Sears, and that it would remain the basic policy-making organization and would negotiate the settlement with Sears.

The Stalinists, who had come as representatives of a number of groups, hit the ceiling and beamed no end. They acknowledge the leadership of the NAACP in the fight, but for months have turned the committee meetings into vicious conflicts over the question of where the policy-making authority lies—with the NAACP or the United Committee.

The Stalinists have adopted a new theory. They insist that discrimination against Negroes is not a Negro problem, but a community problem, and should be handled by a community organization. You may be sure they will show up as a majority in any such organization. Personally, I would never trust any vague community organization to handle things right for the Negro people. But if you don't accept their proposals, the Stalinists will cut your throat. All who have defended the stand of the NAACP have been attacked in the Stalinist People's World for seeking to "isolate" the Negro people.

Back of all this controversy lies the question of whether we believe in the NAACP; whether we believe that with patient, hard work it will fulfill its role as the fighting mass organization of the Negro people. Out here, we have that belief. The Stalinists don't. Yet many sincere socialists have mistaken ideas. They may think the NAACP moves too slow for them and be tempted to stay away from participation in its activities.

I look forward to the day when no one interested in doing something about Negro oppression will think of making a move without close collaboration and direction from the NAACP.

Fraternally,
J. Hawkins

Wife for Sale

By Joseph Andrews

The case of a young lady from Rockville Center, Long Island, who offered to sell herself in marriage for \$10,000 in order to provide security for her two children, has aroused nationwide discussion.

National columnists have protested that this incident puts love on a cash basis and undermines such institutions as June, Moon and Spoon.

Moralists and preachers have tried to kid us into believing that marriage is built upon "pure love" and is sanctified by the most lofty ideals. Bourgeois marriage, according to them, is a thing of beauty, and Marxist materialists threaten to destroy this sacred institution.

But the case of the young lady from Rockville Center, Long Island, differs from many thousands of other marriages only in that this case has been made public.

This is considered very bad taste. Usually the young lady and her suitor settle the financial question in the privacy of the attorney's office. That is—in marriages of the upper classes. Among the workers neither the girl nor boy has anything more than the clothes on his back, so they mate for love. But their love soon becomes burdened by family debts and economic anxiety. Among the rich, they settle the problem of economic security first, and look around for love later.

It is well known that among the wealthy the figures in the bank book have always been more important to the groom than the bride's other assets, and vice versa.

When a woman sells herself for a pittance, that is "prostitution." But when a Vanderbilt or a Rockefeller "settles" a million dollars on his blushing bride-to-be—that is "romance." Such marriage contracts are strictly in the capitalist tradition, and will be duly legalized by a notary public and sanctified by the church.

Workers in the plant where I work see this sensational news about a "Wife for Sale" from their own particular point of view. One said that if he had \$10,000 he would use it not to buy a wife, but to get rid of the one he's got.

"\$10,000!" said another worker. "That's inflation for you."

"But don't forget," he was answered, "there's two kids thrown in."

"No thanks, I've got six already," his buddy replied.

"Personally," said the first worker, wiping the sweat from his brow, "I think it's highway robbery."

And that is the low estate to which marriage has fallen under Capitalism. Under Socialism, no one will have to sell herself for security.

Notes from the News

SKY HIGH—The high cost of fighting has climbed to dizzy heights than the high cost of living. Before the war, the Navy bought fighter planes for \$53,350. The present budget lists fighters at \$456,500. That's just for one.

STUDENTS BACK RANDOLPH—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People polled 2,280 Negro men students on the Randolph Civil Disobedience campaign. To the question: "If called upon today to register for a draft into segregated armed forces, what would you do?"—24% replied that they would register and serve. 23% said they would register but not serve. 14% stated they would refuse to register.

CRISIS IN ROME—Excavators in Rome digging a subway, unearthed an ancient Roman district called the "Suburra," which was a vast slum and vice area in ancient times. Three state archeologists discovered amazingly well preserved murals but were thrown into consternation when they found the murals to be incredibly obscene. After more digging the experts realized they had hit the red light district of ancient Rome. Amidst all the turmoil created by this find, the Vatican is demanding the area remain unexcavated. The archeologists are insisting that this amazing discovery be given to the world. The city authorities say they need the subway. Next year is a holy year in Rome when millions of pilgrims are expected. A compromise solution is now being worked out whereby excavations will be continued but the whole area will be sealed off until after the holy year of 1949-50.

"Bare Feet" Revolt In Colombia

Bare feet had more to do with the recent Colombia revolt than Moscow. Since their upsurge that wrecked the Pan-American Conference, the Colombia workers are being put on a better footing. The government in Bogota has decreed that employers must give a free pair of shoes every six months to permanent workers getting less than \$46.40 a month. They have to wear the first pair, or forfeit the second.

Conn. Hardware Strikers Fight To Defend Union

NEW BRITAIN, Conn., June 7.—The strike of 4,000 workers of the American Hardware Corporation is going into its second week. The company provoked the strike by refusing to bargain with CIO Electrical Local 232 until "the local and international union officers sign the Taft-Hartley affidavits."

The Stalinist leadership of Local 232 tried every sort of maneuver to avoid a strike but the company saw this as their big chance to break the union, and refused any settlement. The majority of the rank and file recognize the threat to their union and have responded in a very militant manner.

Despite red-baiting, injunctions and police man-handling of picket captains, the morale of the workers remains high.

5,000 in Phila. Protest Mundt Police State Bill

PHILADELPHIA, June 3.—About 5,000 people paid 35 cents admission price to attend the protest meeting against the Mundt "police state" Bill. Headline speakers included Arthur Garfield Hays, general counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union; U.S. Senator Elbert D. Thomas of Utah and Rev. Wm. B. Spofford of New York City. Sponsors of the meeting included prominent churchmen, scientists and Quakers. A quarter million leaflets were distributed, large display ads placed in the Philadelphia Inquirer with 700,000 daily circulation, and intensive mailings sent to the local labor movement to publicize the mass meeting.

Although the chairman and two speakers were prominent Negroes, only a hundred Negroes were in the audience. There was only one labor speaker, Michael Harris, president of the Philadelphia CIO Council and he was limited to five minutes. The Stalinists and the American Jewish Congress elements were there in force. The only other labor elements present were from unions under Stalinist influence.

By E. Burton

The present military conflict in Palestine may serve to obscure for some the real role of Zionism in the Near East. The fact that a big labor movement forms the backbone of Zionism in Palestine has led many to regard Zionism as a progressive or even socialistic force. The record of this movement reveals the fallacy of this assumption. The most important instrument of labor in Palestine is the "General Federation of Hebrew Workers." This organization, commonly known as the Histadrut, is not only a trade union federation, but the most powerful economic and political force in Jewish Palestine. It is the biggest single employer of labor, and its affiliated organizations comprise agricultural and industrial co-

Chrysler Workers Get 13 Cents



After a 17-day strike members of the CIO auto union won a 13-cent hourly wage boost at Chrysler. Here union and company negotiators sign the agreement. Seated (l. to r.) are UAW representative Art Hughes, UAW Chrysler Division Director Norman Matthews and Chrysler's Labor Director Robert Conder.

TEAMSTERS RAID UNION OF BOEING STRIKERS

SEATTLE, June 7.—The Teamsters Union has announced its intention to take jurisdiction over 5,000 of the workers now represented by the striking Aero-Mechanics. The Teamsters have been working with the company to sign up "new hires" crossing the mechanic's picket lines. This effort to throw a cloak of respectability over scabbing has been condemned by Ed Weston, President of the Washington State Federation of Labor and Leo Flynn, AFL organizer for this area. Flynn was quoted as saying: "This is no time to begin jurisdictional disputes. Lodge 751 is engaged in a fight for its life. We must help them in every way possible." The Lumber and Sawmill Workers, Sailors Union of the Pacific, Longshoremen and many other unions have voted complete support to the Aero-Mechanics.

The Independent Welders Local No. 9 has also attempted to make a jurisdictional raid but their Business agent, Joe Johnston, has admitted that so far "hardly anything was accomplished."

COMPANY'S OFFER
The Boeing Company has tried to step up its back-to-work campaign by granting all factory workers a 15 cents hourly raise and a \$15 a month increase to offset workers. This is the offer that the union rejected before the strike, because in exchange for the wage increase the company wanted to emasculate seniority provisions. The Boeing Company also announced that all supervisors respecting picket lines have been fired. It is estimated this will affect about 300 foremen. The union responded with the statement: "We'll keep those plant doors shut until every last man gets his job back."

This is a critical point in the strike. The membership of the Aero-Mechanics is growing restless. There have been persistent rumors of negotiations, but no official statement has been issued by the union. No general membership meeting has been held during the entire seven weeks of the strike. The three locals comprising the plant membership meet separately twice a month, but strike policy is discussed only by the District Council.

Instead of mobilizing the membership for action, the union is getting out a petition to President Truman asking him to intervene in the strike. Members of uptown unions, while in sympathy with the Boeing strikers, have expressed their surprise at the inaction of the leadership in face of the all-out company attack and attempt to smash the union. The membership of the union has remained firm, but there is mounting tension on the picket line as rumors spread that the Teamsters have recruited thousands of scabs to go through the lines this week.

A great number of Boeing workers—at least several thousand—have left town for other jobs and many do not plan to return. The strike has had a disastrous effect on Seattle business firms and unemployment is spreading in other lines of work, especially retail establishments.

One of the great goals of progressive railroad workers for 75 years is today closer to realization than for decades past—the consolidation into a single union of the dual and rival organizations of the men in the engine cabs. Since last October 13, convention-appointed committees of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers (BLE) and Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engine Drivers (BLF & E) have been working out a plan of merger. On May 5, the Joint Conference Committee on Amalgamation announced in a letter to all officers and members of both organizations that the basic principles of a consolidation plan had been agreed upon by a vote of 16 to 2 and that this plan would be submitted to a referendum of the BLE and BLF & E members for approval within a few weeks. If no further serious obstacles are erected by the obstructionist top leaders of the two organizations, the members should shortly have an opportunity by their vote to end the wasteful and weakening division that has existed for so long. A majority vote in both organizations for the consolidation plan of the Joint Conference Committee will mark an historic step forward for railroad labor. It will not only fuse into one the divided forces of the enginemen, but will give a great impetus toward unification of all railworkers, now cut up into 21 different craft unions.

BUREAUCRATS RESIST
The BLE and BLF & E had been on record for many years for amalgamation. But the top bureaucracies of both unions had successfully sabotaged any practical steps to achieve a merger. Each bureaucracy has a vested interest in its own organization and resists by hook or crook all efforts to unite the two unions.

Throughout the eight months in which the Joint Conference Committee met, the CCE kept close watch on its deliberations, informed the union ranks of all developments and obstructions, and prodded it for action. Robertson and Alvanley Johnston, BLE Grand Chief Engineer, continued to block and hamper the work of the JCC.

Immediately following the JCC announcement of the amalgamation plan and the proposed referendum, Johnston sent out letters to the BLE officers and members attacking the JCC proposals. It is clear that Robertson and Johnston are going to conduct a virulent campaign to secure defeat of the amalgamation in the referendum. They were instrumental in establishing a referendum procedure which works to the advantage of the anti-amalgamation elements. This provides that an outright majority of all members of both organizations must vote "yes" for consolidation in order for it to go into effect. Thus, all members not voting are automatically counted as voting against amalgamation.

In spite of these obstacles, the amalgamation plan can be won if the CCE mobilizes an energetic campaign to get out the "yes" votes. In an article entitled "The Crucial Days," appearing in the May 11 issue of The Consolidator, Tim McCormack, an officer of the CCE, sums up as follows: "Let us move into action and move to a grand and victorious conclusion of our struggle for consolidation."

Amalgamation of the BLE and BLF & E would mark an historic advance for railway labor and a big forward step to the eventual building of one big union of all railroad workers.

General Organizer for D. B. Robertson, BLF & E president. Shortly thereafter the tragic division and weakness of the rail unions was sharply underscored when Truman used the Army to break the railroad strike and when Robertson ordered his members to scab against the striking unions. The profound lesson of this broken strike gave a big impulsion to the consolidation movement.

Members of the two rival unions joined the consolidation movement by the thousands. It spread to terminals from coast to coast. In February 1947, a national conference of this rank and file movement for consolidation was held in Chicago, with delegates present from every major railway center in the country. National officers were elected and a national program of action adopted.

The work of the CCE and its paper, The Consolidator, was directed toward the conventions of the BLE and BLF & E which were held in the summer of 1947. Top leaders of both unions attempted to squelch the CCE by intimidation, expulsions, charges of "dual" unionism, etc. But these bureaucratic attacks failed to halt the CCE.

In spite of moves to silence and kick out convention delegates sympathetic to the CCE program, the leaders at both conventions could not stem the tide of sentiment for the CCE program. Both conventions overwhelmingly endorsed the resolutions for amalgamation and for the establishment of 9-man rank and file committees to meet jointly and work out a consolidation plan.

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SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT

The Role of Labor Zionism in Palestine

contracting, marketing, banking and insurance divisions. Its membership is the decisive element of the military organization, "Haganah."

Labor Zionism and its representative organization, the Histadrut, stands in the forefront of the Zionist struggle for immigration, "conquest of labor," "conquest of land" and boycott of the products of Palestinian Arab economy.

REFORMIST ILLUSION

It has the reformist illusion that it is not only possible to build a socialist economy as an enclave within capitalism, but that a closed Jewish economy can be constructed in opposition to the surrounding Arab world. That is why Zionism is forced to rely on imperialist support and why Labor Zionism is as reactionary as Zionism in general.

Labor Zionism has taken the lead in the attempt to create a closed Jewish economy. Despite the lip service it has paid to Jewish Arab co-operation, it has fought consistently against this selfsame co-operation.

The hypocritical declarations by the Histadrut of its readiness to organize Arab workers in its affiliated organizations were invariably coupled with its determined efforts to dislodge them from their jobs. This "conquest of labor" policy resulted in campaigns to bar Arab workers from Jewish economy and also dislodge them from government jobs like civil service, public works, railroads and oil installations.

Jewish workers were given special incentives, like reduced union rates, to enable them to compete with Arab workers for these jobs. The Histadrut put special pressure on Jewish foremen and supervisors on these

jobs to hire Jewish workers in preference to Arabs. In the Jewish sector, it put pressure on employers by picketing, threat of boycott, and even violence, to bar Arab workers. In the citrus industry, Jewish workers were given bonuses up to 40% of their wages to bring them up to the general Jewish wage level. This permitted the employers to hire Jewish workers while continuing to pay the low wages previously received by the Arab workers.

This discrimination against Arab labor was accompanied by boycott of the products of Palestinian Arab economy. This boycott was enforced by a pressure campaign to "Buy Hebrew Products Only" and by gangs