

Ind.-Socialist Group Launches Ballot Campaign

By Lillian Kiesel

NEW YORK, July 30—The United Independent-Socialist Campaign Committee announced last week its complete five-candidate slate. The petition drive to place the United Independent-Socialist Ticket on the ballot for the New York State elections in November, began yesterday.

The Committee's last two nominations are Captain Hugh N. Mulzac, first Negro to command an American merchant vessel, for Comptroller; and Scott K. Gray, Jr., lawyer and farmer, for Attorney-General. The slate also includes John T. McManus for Governor, Corliss Lamont for U.S. Senator, and Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein for Lieutenant Governor. These selections were announced earlier.

A petition-workers' rally held at Adelphi Hall on July 24, kicked off the signature drive. Henry Abrams chaired the gathering of approximately 175 people. He voiced the opinion of everyone present when he said that "Ours will be the only ticket to express the growing sentiment for peace in the coming election."

URGE TROOPS WITHDRAWN

Later in the meeting, a resolution calling for the withdrawal of United States troops from Lebanon was passed unanimously. (See excerpts, page two.)

The meeting proceeded to detailed reports from the different committees which are

organizing the petition work. Muriel McAvoy, Petition Campaign Manager, told about the legal requirements to place the United Independent-Socialist ticket on the ballot. These call for the signature of 12,000 registered voters throughout the state and for the signature of at least 50 registered voters in each of New York's 62 counties. However, to make sure that the legal requirement is met, canvassers must get at least twice the minimum called for in each county and well above the 12,000 total.

Muriel McAvoy further stressed the need for crews from New York City to give aid to the ticket's supporters in the "up-state" counties. "Join the Independent-Socialist Ticket and see Niagara Falls," was her slogan. She appealed to all who could assist in any way to contact the Campaign Committee at its headquarters, 799 Broadway, Phone, GR 3-2141.

Richard Garza, in charge of the "up-state" campaign reported that "The response from the people in the up-state counties has been heart-warming. They have volunteered to

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Rally in Los Angeles To Aid N.Y. Campaign

LOS ANGELES — Vincent R. Hallinan, 1952 Presidential Candidate for the Progressive Party, will speak in Los Angeles on "United Socialist Political Action in 1958," on Saturday, Aug. 9, at 8 P.M. at the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Hall, 5625 South Figueroa Street.

Hallinan, who was principal guest speaker at the United Independent-Socialist Election Conference held in New York City, June 13-15, will give a report on that historic event, which brought together socialist minded people of various persuasions for the first time in decades. The Conference was united on the necessity to break with the capitalist two-party system and launch a new, socialist electoral ticket.

Leo Gallagher, noted Los Angeles labor and civil liberties attorney, will chair the meeting. Proceeds will be sent to the New York United Independent-Socialist Campaign Committee.

Hallinan, State Chairman of the Holland Roberts Campaign for California Superintendent of

Public Instruction, will speak on the prospects for united socialist electoral action in California.

In a letter calling for the Los Angeles meeting, Leo Gallagher stressed its national importance.

"This will be our way of expressing approval and solidarity for united political action of this type and the New York campaign in particular," he wrote. "Because of the key place of New York in national politics, the campaign's importance transcends state boundaries. Its course and outcome will affect the regroupment of progressive forces throughout the country and in California."

His letter also describes the campaign as "a big new step forward in the revival of socialist forces in the electoral field."

The Los Angeles meeting will be held under the auspices of the United Socialist Electoral Forum Committee.

Legal Action Threatens N.Y. Socialist Ticket

NEW YORK, July 24—The first threat of legal action to block the United Independent-Socialist Ticket in the New York fall elections came last week from the Social Democrats.

In a letter to the "United Independent Socialist Campaign of New York State," Irwin Suall, National Secretary of the "Socialist Party and Social Democratic Federation U.S.A.," accused the United group of "fraud and misrepresentation."

"On behalf of the Socialist Party," said Suall, "I must request that you alter the name of your group in such a manner as to eliminate any confusion in the mind of the public that you are in any way identified with our Party."

"As you well know, we are not in any way connected with your group nor have we endorsed your organization or its candidates, nor are we in sympathy with your political program. Nevertheless, the effect of your use of the title 'United Socialist Party' is to create the impression that the Socialist Party is united with other groups in your 'United Socialist Party.' This constitutes fraud and misrepresentation and considerable embarrassment to our Party."

"Our attention has been directed to the fact that you propose to use the name 'United

Socialist' for electoral and campaign purposes. To this we strongly object for the reasons stated above.

"Formal demand is hereby made so that the aforesaid confusion and misrepresentation shall be ended and that we have your advice and public statement to that effect on or before July 30, 1958."

New York election law permits the use of only 15 letters in designating a party on the ballot. The United Independent-Socialist group preferred the use of "Independent-Socialist" for the ballot designation, but even this would have required abbreviating the word "Independent." They therefore adopted the alternative of "United Socialist."

In view of the objection from the Social Democrats, the United Independent-Socialist Campaign Committee decided that the question was not worth a court fight, which could endanger the entire list of nominating petitions, and decided to use the ballot designation "Independent-Socialist," even though this requires abbreviating the first word.

(See Editorial page 3.)

U.S. Government Plans 'Summit' Without Peace

Employers Step Up 'Right-to-Work' Drive

N.Y. Candidates



Annette T. Rubinstein, United Independent-Socialist candidate for Lt. Governor of New York and Capt. Hugh N. Mulzac, candidate for Comptroller.

White Foes Of Jim Crow 'Probed' in So.

JULY 29 — The House Un-American Activities Committee is conducting a witch-hunt investigation in Atlanta this week. Its target is those Southern white individuals who have been prominent in the struggle to end segregation. Carl and Anne Braden who helped a Negro couple buy a home in a Louisville white neighborhood and were victims of a Kentucky "sedition-law" frame-up, have been summoned.

Also called is Eugene Feldman, editor of the Southern Newsletter, strong advocate of unionization of the South on an integrated basis. Mr. Feldman formerly lived in Montgomery, Ala., but was forced to move to Chicago when racists made it impossible for him to continue publication in the South.

Aubrey Williams, president of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., charged the "investigation" is for the purpose of hounding and smearing Southern white integration leaders.

In a telegram to Rep. Emanuel Celler of New York, Williams declared the aim of the Un-American Activities Committee is to "publicly pillory any white person, Jew or Gentile, who openly favors and works for the implementation of the Supreme Court's mandates with respect to the rights of minorities. . . . They can't put them in prison any more, but they can get them fired from any job they may have, and thereby serve effective notice on all others that this is what will happen to you if you come out in the open and show your hand. I think you should bring this to the attention of the House of Representatives and force a showdown," he concluded.

Scab Laws Pushed in Six States

By Frances James

A concerted anti-union legislative drive is being mobilized this year to put union-busting "right-to-scab" laws on the books of six additional states. Eighteen states already have laws prohibiting the union shop. Thirteen of these are Southern and four are Northern agricultural states — Iowa, Nebraska, North Dakota and South Dakota. Last year, employers succeeded in pushing through an open shop bill in Indiana, a Northern industrial state. Their intent this year is to push anti-union legislation further into the central industrial region of the country with passage of an open shop law in Ohio. Referendums on the issue are also being attempted in California, Kansas, Washington, Idaho and Colorado.

Under a section of the national Taft-Hartley Law, passed in 1947, states are given the right to pass laws that are even more damaging to workers' efforts to organize and strengthen their unions than is the Taft-Hartley law itself. Anti-union legislation drives have been conducted throughout the last ten years under the guise of enacting "right-to-work" laws. These laws make the union shop illegal and guarantee nobody job protection. They do guarantee roadblocks for workers seeking to organize and bargain collectively with their employers. Behind the union-busting laws are the Merchants and Manufacturers Association, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and its affiliates throughout the country.

Governmental attack on the unions through the Senate Investigating Committee has given extensive publicity to the corrupt practices of the labor bureaucracy. For this reason, reports the July 19 Business Week, proponents of the right-to-scab bills believe the public is in a receptive frame of mind this year for "reform" proposals in regard to the union move-

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Vote to Continue Aggression



American and British delegates to the UN Security Council are voting against Russia's resolution calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Lebanon and Jordan. The resolution was defeated 8 to 1 with Sweden and Japan abstaining. Among those voting with the U.S. were such delegates as Chiang Kai-shek's personal emissary from Taiwan, and the representative of Iraq's monarchy overthrown by the July 14 revolution.

American Living Standard

By Mary Conway

Manufacturing employees in America's basic industries are reputedly a better-off section of the American working class. When employed, their weekly paycheck presumably enables them to escape from the poverty that confronts migratory agricultural labor, for instance. It presumably enables them to join the "middle class" and thus to "share" in the luxuries created by the American productive system. The real facts, however, belie this assumption and reveal that the wages of the average non-supervisory manufacturing employee falls well below the minimum income necessary for a decent but modest living.

The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics calculates that as of April 1958 a city worker with a wife and two children (the average American family) needed an income of \$90 a week as a minimum for a "modest but adequate" standard of living. The average weekly income after taxes, reported by the Department of Labor for June 1958 was \$75.55.

The University of California Heller Committee for Research in Social Economics estimates a necessary annual income of \$5,832 or \$112 each week of the year for a four-member family in the San Francisco Bay region to afford those things which are a part of the "commonly accepted" standard in the area.

On the East Coast, the Community Council of Greater New York calculates that a family of four in New York City must receive \$87.40 a week "to maintain current standards of adequate consumption at low cost."

FALLS \$37 SHORT

Thus, the \$75.55 average weekly wage in manufacturing falls \$15 short of the Labor

Department's estimated necessary minimum budget, \$12 short of the New York Council budget and \$37.00 short of the Heller Committee's minimum budget.

The AFL-CIO Department of Research notes that the Labor Department budget figure is a conservative one. (See July 5 AFL-CIO News.) It allows, for example, less than one egg a day for each person and does not include an allowance for savings. The Heller budget is also modest. It calls for monthly rent of a four-room apartment at \$60, a used car (1952) to be replaced every four years, a new hat for the husband every four years and a \$60 suit every three years.

In terms of regional differences in necessary income the AFL-CIO Research Department declares: "For the same standards of living, as much income is needed in most Southern cities, for example, as in cities in other parts of the country." Assuming an equal purchase of goods and services, the Labor Department's estimated budget for Southern cities averages around \$92 a week; in Western cities, \$93; Northeastern, \$89; and in the Middle West, \$90 per week for a family of four.

The average weekly take-home pay figure of \$75.55 was released along with the June 1958 Government report on living costs. The report shows that the cost of living index has risen in June for the 20th month in the past 22. The index is currently up to 123.7% of the 1947-49 average. Thus, inflation is lowering real income of even fully-employed workers below the minimum they need for a decent living standard.

More Arms To Be Sent To Mideast

By John Thayer

JULY 31 — Forced by alarmed world opinion and by its allies into a reluctant acceptance of Soviet demands for a "summit" meeting, Washington is insisting on so many hindering conditions and procedures that it is still not certain that the conference will even take place. In the meantime, Secretary of State Dulles has pledged increased military equipment to the governments of Turkey, Iran and Pakistan, which are stooges for the State Department in the Middle East.

For two and a half years the U.S. has been fending off Khrushchev's proposals for a summit meeting. But unwilling as the prospect of such a conference was in the past it is even more distasteful to the State Department at the present moment. For the very occasion of its being held is the danger to world peace caused by Eisenhower's sending of troops into Lebanon.

The pressure on Washington to agree to a conference was tremendous. Throughout the world the U.S. is openly being branded an aggressor. A big portion of the world stood aghast at how recklessly the U.S. government gambled with atomic war when it rushed troops to Lebanon and threatened the United Arab Republic, a country friendly to the Soviet Union.

Despite the world outcry, the U.S. government was inclined to brazen it out, but important allies particularly the British brought strong pressure to bear for accepting a summit meeting. To refuse, they argued, would strengthen world feeling that the capitalist powers were not only aggressors but contemptuous of the universal sentiment against war.

NO STRONG OPPOSITION PARTY

The different attitudes of the British and American capitalists flowed from the different political situations within their countries. In the U.S. no vehicles existed for popular expressions of opposition or even of the fear of war. The whole daily press is Big-Business con-

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Kelly Postal, Fighter for Labor, Dies

By Charles Scheer

MINNEAPOLIS, July 24 — Socialist working class leader, Kelly Postal, was buried today after a final tribute by his long-time personal friend, V. R. Dunne, Minnesota State Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party.

Kelly Postal died on July 20. He was 61. He had been a leader in the organization of the truck drivers in this city, distinguishing himself particularly in the great Minneapolis strikes of 1934 that made the city a union town. He served as Secretary-Treasurer of Teamsters Local 544.

Along with the other leaders of this giant local union, Kelly believed firmly in workers democracy and in militant unionism. These were cardinal sins in the mind of Daniel Tobin, then president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Added to that, the Minneapolis leaders were opposed to the preparation for the second World War. Federal, state and local governments aided Tobin in his fight to break Local 544 and to install a dictator-receiver in place of the duly elected officers. Tobin succeeded over the almost unanimous protest of the rank-and-file members.

Kelly Postal believed that it was the right of the dues payers and not the International president to decide what to



KELLY POSTAL

been turned over to the trustees of the new union.

As Dunne said, standing beside the body of his dead comrade, "His friends, brothers and comrades indicted under the Smith Act at least had an honorable means of defending themselves on a difference of political opinion. Kelly went to prison branded as a thief, the most tragic fate that can befall an honest man."

"To give you a picture of this man and his reaction to

this injustice, I quote the following telegram to the Civil Rights Defense Committee [the organization that defended him and the Smith Act victims].

"I cannot tell you how much I appreciate the generous spirit of the telegram from the Civil Rights Defense Committee," said Kelly in his wire. "Without the aid of your committee it would have been impossible for 544-CIO to carry through the case. I believe that the principle of trade union democracy which was the chief issue in this case made it worthwhile to make the appeal. Even though we have lost the battle, we have not lost the war. Trade union friends all over the country to whom the Civil Rights Defense Committee brought the case have been aroused at what they know is a violation of trade union democracy. I am confident that they will support your Committee as it continues to fight for this principle. Since I am to enter Minnesota state prison on Monday, this is my last chance to thank you and the Committee for what you have done and will continue to do for me and the union."

HEALTH BREAKS

When eligible for parole from his five year sentence, Kelly was sent to work on one

of the toughest jobs in a saw mill far from his friends and his sick wife. This, after his time in prison, broke his health (but never his spirit) and contributed to, if it did not cause his untimely death.

His wife, three daughters and three sisters survive Kelly Postal.

As V. R. Dunne said at the funeral: "Kelly was never accused of any wrong-doing by a working man. He was a materialist in the full meaning of the word, generous to a fault—he was a fine companion and friend. His first thoughts were always for the welfare of his brothers, fellow workers and comrades. He had been an active union man for many years before I met him in the Minneapolis coal yards in the early 1930's."

"He knew the coal men from the mines in West Virginia and Kentucky—on to the West. He knew hundreds of men on the Great Lakes Docks as well as in the wholesale and retail coal yards in the Twin Cities. His tenacity and ingenuity as a class fighter was balanced, disciplined and organized. That was the true reflection of the whole man."

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The Arabs Want Their Oil

By Gordon Bailey

Robert S. Allen, in his July 28 column, states that U.S.-British plans for landing troops in Lebanon and Jordan also included the launching of a joint invasion of Iraq by Jordan and Turkey. Execution of this part of the plan was held up, says Allen, pending clarification of the situation in Baghdad. When the revolutionary government told oil officials they wanted "to continue doing business as before," the planned invasion of Iraq was called off.

The oil officials in question represent member companies of an international oil cartel, composed of seven corporations, five of them American. What the cartel understands by "doing business as before" is that the companies will continue to reap fabulous profits by exploiting Iraq's oil and by selling it at monopoly prices in Western Europe. They say that any change in the way of doing business in the Middle East would endanger the fuel supply of Europe, and they warn about an Arab cut-off of Mideast oil.

However, more objective observers see little danger to Europe's industry if the Arabs control their own natural resources. For instance, Osgood Caruthers writes in the July 27 New York Times that "President Nasser and his followers realize that their best hope for prosperity is to continue to sell their oil to the West and to permit the West's shipping to pass through the Suez Canal. The Arab world's ties to the West are strong, but President Nasser and his nationalist followers insist that they be treated as equal partners."

Fear for Their Plunder

Actually what disturbs the oil cartel is not the problem of supplying Europe with oil. (They have oil fields in the U.S., Venezuela and elsewhere that are shut in because of over-supply.) What worries them is that the deals they made with sheiks and kings for plundering Arab natural wealth will be scrapped. These deals benefited none in Arab society but the feudal elements. Now a resurgent Arab national independence movement, involving a capitalist class and the Arab working masses, is becoming strong enough to insist on redivision of the profits, if not on outright national seizure of the oil fields.

For this reason the oil companies view with great fear the replacement of kings and pashas with more popularly-based regimes. Their enmity to the Iraqi revolution springs from this fear. It prompted U.S.-British military intervention in Lebanon and Jordan.

Despite the threats, however, the new government of Iraq will not remain long content to do business as before. The division of oil profits between oil companies and Arab rulers has been 50-50. But this ratio is already being altered in favor of the oil-bearing nation. An Italian firm, not part of the cartel, recently signed a contract giving Iran 75% of the profits. A Japanese combine is negotiating for a concession in Kuwait on 75-25 terms. There will be strong pressure at home on the new Iraqi government to alter its contract with oil-cartel members to provide for a similar ratio.

Strong Bargaining Force

Adding to the oil cartel's woes are the strides the Arabs are taking toward national unification. Such "nations" as Jordan or Kuwait are artificial creations of British imperialism without any historical justification. With their governments dependent on British bayonets they are in no position to bargain with the oil cartel. But the federation of Egypt, Syria and Yemen is a step in the direction of Arab unity. There are prospects that the Sheik of Kuwait, following a visit to Nasser, will seek unity with Iraq. This would put the richest oilfield in the world under the protection of one of the strongest Arab states. In turn, the Iraqi government is seeking stronger ties with the United Arab Republic. All told, this will be a strong bargaining force confronting the oil companies.

However, the power of the oil cartel lies not only in concessions to exploit the oil fields, but in control of all operations from well to consumer. The companies operate the refineries, the pipelines, the tankers and the marketing facilities.

When Iran nationalized her oil industry in 1951, she offered oil to all the world. The cartel, however, declared a boycott on Iranian oil. Then, in 1953, by the time Iran had succeeded in selling part of her production despite the boycott, the Shah, with British and U.S. backing, overthrew the government of Premier Mossadegh, under whom nationalization had taken place.

The oil companies will not readily yield even a portion of their monopoly profits. They will use every weapon at their command to retain them. Among these weapons are the U.S. and British armed forces deployed today in Lebanon and Jordan. The Arab national independence movement allied to the national independence movement throughout Asia and Africa, is a mighty force, too. If adequately supported by American and British workers, it will get the best of the international oil cartel.

Questions and Answers on Mideast

By George Lavan

QUESTION: Weren't American troops sent to Lebanon because the people there wanted help?

ANSWER: No. The mass of the people of Lebanon are opposed to occupation by foreign troops. President Chamoun, whose term had only a few weeks to run, and his cabinet asked for U.S. occupation troops but the Parliament opposed the invasion by U.S. forces. On behalf of Parliament, its Speaker Adel Osseirane, immediately protested to the UN Security Council that the U.S. had committed "an infringement of the independence and sovereignty of Lebanon."

QUESTION: What's the fighting in Lebanon about?

ANSWER: The immediate cause was the move of President Chamoun to keep the presidency for another six-year term although the country's constitution (like Mexico's) provides that a president cannot succeed himself. Underlying this struggle is the fact that Chamoun is a political puppet of the U.S. State Department while his opponents and the mass of the people are for the Arab national independence movement and hence are pro-Nasser.

QUESTION: But the fighting in Lebanon broke out on May 10 and the U.S. didn't send troops till July 15—over two months later. Why?

ANSWER: Because the sending of troops is such a naked display of imperialism that it arouses world-wide hatred and condemnation especially in Asia and Africa. It exposes as hypocritical the "high moral" principles of U.S. "foreign policy." Accordingly, the State Department first tried to get a UN cover for its interference in Lebanon's internal politics as it had in Korea. Along with Chamoun, it claimed the civil war in Lebanon was caused by massive infiltration from Syria. But this was too raw for the UN observer teams to accept. They reported the conflict was internal with no important aid coming across the border from Syria.

Then on July 14, the Anglo-U.S. puppet regime in oil-rich Iraq was suddenly overthrown by a group of army officers supported by virtually the entire population. To prevent imminent downfall of Chamoun either in the civil war or in the election scheduled for July 24 (Parliament elects the presi-

Demonstration in Jordan



This demonstration took place in Jordan in April 1957, just before King Hussein with U.S. support under the Eisenhower Doctrine overthrew the democratically-elected Parliament. The banner reads, "The people in cooperation with the Army demand formation of a strong national government that would reject the Eisenhower Plan and achieve confederation with Syria."

dent), the U.S. landed its troops in Lebanon on July 15. Another motive may have been the invasion and overthrow of the Arab nationalist regimes in Iraq and Syria.

QUESTION: But you have to admit that British troops were invited into Jordan.

ANSWER: Of course, by the King. But the people of Jordan are overwhelmingly against both the King and the British occupation troops. Even the U.S. capitalist press doesn't conceal the fact. For example, the N.Y. Times (July 30) reports: "Information reaching Washington suggests that if the British withdrew now the Jordanian Government would quickly be overthrown. King Hussein can count on the loyalty of only the Bedouin elements, or about one-third of his army. Most Palestinians, numbering two-thirds of his population, are for President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic."

QUESTION: Well then why did the U.S. and Britain land troops in Lebanon and Jordan?

ANSWER: Oil!

QUESTION: Isn't it true that the countries of West Europe depend on that oil and that it would be an economic catastrophe if they were denied it and industry ground to a halt throughout Europe?

ANSWER: First, they could

and pay the tolls. The imperialists lost Suez and the European economy hasn't "ground to a halt."

QUESTION: Then what's all the fuss about if Europe wouldn't be hurt by the Arabs nationalizing their wells?

ANSWER: Oh, the buyers of oil in Europe wouldn't be hurt but the oil billionaires who own the Mideast wells would lose their steady stream of liquid gold. According to the July 19 New York World Telegram, American oil companies earned \$500 million in 1956 on a Middle East investment of \$1 billion. Oil capitalists have always had an enormous influence on U.S. and British foreign policy. While the cold war doesn't flow from their influence by a long shot but from collective interests of the capitalist class as a whole, the oil billionaires have a tremendous say on the State Department's Mideast policy.

QUESTION: But don't you admit that Nasser is for these nationalist movements in all the Arab countries and wants to amalgamate them into one huge Arab state?

ANSWER: Sure. What's so wrong with that? The Arabs are one people, with the same language, culture, historical and religious tradition. That they are cut up into all sorts of artificial states is not their fault—the imperialists did that when they were carving out colonies and spheres of influence. The Arabs want to be united into a single nation, just as a century ago Italy and Germany for example did, and they should have that right.

QUESTION: But isn't Nasser a dictator?

ANSWER: Since when has being a dictator offended the State Department? Some of Dulles' best chums are dictators: Franco, Jimenez of Venezuela, Batista, to name a few. Besides, the pro-U.S. states in the Mideast are police states. Turkey, Pakistan, Jordan, Iran.

QUESTION: But doesn't it matter to you if a country has a dictator?

ANSWER: Yes it does. I'm for a democratic and socialist state in Egypt and everywhere else. But bringing that about is the job of the people there, just like my job is bringing it about here. Besides that's not what the shooting is about in the Mideast or why Eisenhower sent the troops. At this stage of things the mass of the Arab people are behind Nasser be-

cause he stands up to the imperialists and opposes the feudal landowners and rulers. The Arab people are for him because he wants to unite the Arab people. As long as he is fighting for the things they want they will probably continue to support him. But I think a stage of the present Arab movement will come when the mass of peasants and workers will want to go further than Nasser, who is a middle-class nationalist. Then they will demand an end to his kind of political rule.

QUESTION: But Egypt and Syria have bought arms and received economic and technical aid from the USSR. Doesn't this make them tools of Moscow?

ANSWER: I'm glad they got aid from the Soviet Union. The

struggle of the Arab people to shake off imperialist domination and their own feudal rulers is progressive. So when the Kremlin bureaucracy gives that struggle any material help it is in pleasant contrast to all the reactionary things the Kremlin does. But accepting aid from the Soviet Union doesn't make the Arab nationalist movement Communist or Communist-dominated. An independence struggle accepts aid wherever it can get it. When the 13 American colonies were struggling for their independence from Great Britain, they accepted aid from France and from Spain. That didn't make Gen. Washington or the revolutionary army stooges of absolute monarch Louis XVI or of the Spanish Inquisition. They took aid where they could get it.

... "Summit" Meeting

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trolled and there is no sizable opposition party. The Democrats not only didn't object to the sending of troops — a violation even of the Eisenhower Doctrine since "Communist aggression" was not involved — but voluntarily adopted a policy of non-criticism.

But in Great Britain there is a strong, organized, anti-war feeling. The Labor Party condemned the military intervention. Moreover, there is widespread hope that a meeting of the heads of the big powers could somehow agree to banish the constant threat of war.

So great is this sentiment that no British politician dare openly oppose the idea of peace talks with the Soviet leaders. U.S. rejection of a summit meeting in the midst of the Mideast war scare therefore would have put the Tory Party in an impossible position. Prime Minister Macmillan in effect told Washington, you have to agree to some sort of meeting, you don't have to agree to anything at it, but we must put on a show of being willing to negotiate a peaceful settlement with the Soviet Union.

The device then proposed by the U.S. was a meeting of the UN Security Council, which has eleven members. Since the USSR is a member Khrushchev could appear as its delegate and other heads of states could represent their governments. To the State Department's dismay Khrushchev accepted this. He also asked that India and some Arab states be invited. Moaning that this was "the wrong meeting at the wrong place at the wrong time," the White House began making other stipulations — the procedures, agenda, etc., would be only those fixed by the Security Council, on which the U.S. has a big majority.

The Soviet leaders would still be able to score imperialism intervention against the Arab people and expose Washington's "brink-of-war" gamble. That such exposure would have its effect on world opinion is the reason that the Soviet leaders still want the meeting and that the State Department doesn't want it.

U.S. WON'T YIELD
But there is no possibility of an anti-U.S. vote in the well-packed Security Council. Nor is there any prospect that American Big Business will stop opposing the legitimate aspirations of the Arab people for national unity or abandon its military build-up in the Middle East. This build-up in Turkey, Iran and Pakistan is aimed at the Arab masses and the Soviet Union and, together with the current U.S. occupation of Lebanon and British occupation of Jordan, is the source of the war danger in the Mideast.

Indeed, until such time as a combination of the anti-imperialist movement in the Middle East and a working-class move-

ment in the U.S. can force American imperialism to quit the area there will be threat of war in the Mideast.

Washington made British and French imperialism back down from their unauthorized military aggression at Suez in 1956. Now the U.S. is in a comparable position and under similar universal condemnation, but instead of retreating, it is going further. The State Department has just given a pledge to the British that it will keep U.S. troops in Lebanon as long as British troops in Jordan need support.

TROOPS MAY STAY

A dispatch from Washington carried by the Scripps-Howard newspapers (July 30) states: "Even if Lebanon elects a new president and the UN observers group there is beefed up, Congressmen have been told in secret briefings that U.S. troops probably will have to stay for three to five months. This is believed at least partly because of the pledge to Britain. When our troops do leave Lebanon, some may be sent to Jordan and others based in Turkey. From either point they would be in a position to strike swiftly in case of need."

"Congress and the public are expected to put on strong pressure to pull the troops out of the entire Mideast area as soon as the Lebanese crisis subsides. But an authoritative source said flatly there would be no U.S. withdrawal which was not in concert with the British."

This same determination to continue brink-of-war intervention in the Mideast and the same contempt for Congress and the desires of the American people was dramatically demonstrated by Secretary of State Dulles on July 28. At the London meeting of what is left of the Baghdad Pact alliance, (now that revolution in Baghdad has put Iraq in the camp of Arab nationalism) Dulles announced that the U.S. had then and there joined the alliance as a full member.

Just as the U.S. Constitution's provision that Congress alone can declare war has been circumvented by calling wars "police actions" which can be declared by the President alone, so now the Constitutional provision that the U.S. can join a military alliance only by a two-thirds vote of the Senate has been circumvented. Dulles did not even inform the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which he is supposed to keep briefed, that the U.S. was going to join the Baghdad Pact. Committee members first learned about it from the morning newspapers the next day. Thus without consent of Congress, let alone the people, Dulles has committed this country to go to war on behalf of Turkey, Iran and Pakistan — the very countries it has been arming for attack against the Arab masses and the Soviet Union.

... Ind.-Socialists Open Campaign

Banner Bearers

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petition, to do the clerical work necessary, and to organize their friends to do the same."

SETS CITY GOAL

Morris Goldin, New York City Petition Director, spoke with enthusiasm of the importance of the petition drive here. He said: "We can make a real political demonstration out of the drive by setting as our goal 15,000-20,000 signatures."

Elinor Perry, reported on the Campaign Committee's financial needs. She pointed out the importance of the campaign abroad and said that Harold Davies, British member of Parliament had informed her that the British labor movement is watching the progress of the campaign with great interest. Reflecting the confident spirit of the campaigners the total collection for the night was \$500.85.

Abrams told of the threat of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation to take action to enjoin the Committee if it used the ballot designation of "United Socialist." (See story page one.) He also explained that the Committee had decided not to become involved in possible legal action that might result in the ticket being denied a place on the ballot and had decided to change the ballot designation to "Independent Socialist."

CANDIDATES SPEAK

The rally was sparked by speeches made by two of the candidates. Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, candidate for Lieutenant Governor, and John T. McManus, candidate for Governor. Dr. Rubinstein declared that she has no illusions about the possibility of getting elected this time. "But we have already achieved results," she said. "For the first time Socialists will run a united campaign and the voice of Socialism is being heard again. We have received many letters of encouragement from various parts of the U.S." She reported the comment on the ticket in "Lumberjack News and the Unemployed Worker" published in Piercy, California. The July 12 issue stated, "At this time we re-affirm our support of the Socialist unity ticket in New York and urge the New York-



John T. McManus (left), United Independent-Socialist candidate for Governor of New York, and Corliss Lamont, candidate for U.S. Senator.



ers to do all in their power to beat both old parties. This campaign will do a lot towards bringing Socialist ideas to the forefront, so more power to the United Socialist Ticket in New York."

"This meeting is impressive because of the number of youth in attendance," Dr. Rubinstein concluded. "It is imperative that another generation of American youth should

not grow up without knowing what Socialism means."

John T. McManus said that the IST candidates and campaigners would be urging "... the people of our state to open their minds to the consideration of socialist remedies for the recurrent ills of war and economic depressions."

"We are what we say we are: independents and socialists, working together on a

wholly non-exclusive basis, to bring into being first a political instrument and then a common program according to the wishes of the people of our state."

The first of two week-end outings planned to help raise funds for the campaign took place last week at Mountain Spring Camp in New Jersey where John T. McManus and Annette T. Rubinstein spoke to an audience of 90 people. The next campaign week-end will be held at Camp Wingdale, August 15-17. The candidates will also address meetings there.

BIOGRAPHIES

Captain Hugh N. Mulzac, candidate for Comptroller, was the first Negro to command an American merchant vessel. From 1942 until 1947, Capt. Mulzac, who had won his "Master of Ocean Going Steamers" papers in 1920, commanded the Booker T. Washington, a war-time Liberty ship and sailed with an integrated crew. Capt. Mulzac started his 45-year sea-going career as a seaman and fought a long fight to end discrimination against Negro merchant marine seamen and officers. In 1950 he was screened and had his papers removed. In 1957 he won his case, and his papers were returned. He has been an American Labor Party candidate for Borough President of Queens and for New York City Councilman from Queens. Born in St. Vincent, British West Indies in 1886, he was naturalized in 1918 and now resides in Jamaica, Queens County.

Scott K. Gray, Jr., candidate for Attorney-General, is a lawyer and Hudson Valley farmer. He practiced law in Albany and Troy, N.Y. for 25 years. He was long associated as legal counsel for trade unions in the Albany and Troy area. In addition he has been active in civil liberties cases and in the legal defense of foreign born persons threatened with deportation. He is a former American Labor Party candidate for Congress. He resides in Stuyvesant, Columbia County. From 1942 to 1946 he was assistant counsel and then counsel for the U.S. Senate Committee on Small Business.

Wingdale Wing Ding

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"Militarist adventures cannot stave off the recurrent crisis of the capitalist world; nor can such adventures turn aside the determination of the American people for peace, freedom and security any more than they can still the aspirations of the colonial peoples of the world to control their own destinies and to enjoy the full fruit of their labor and resources.

"The hope for peace by peoples everywhere is now focused on the summit meeting scheduled at the United Nations; the presence of U.S. and British troops in the mid-east is a brutal violation not only of the rights of the people of Lebanon and Jordan, but of the universal desire for peace and a world settlement."

(Excerpt from resolution passed by the UI-ST Petition Workers' Rally, July 24, calling for withdrawal of U.S. troops from Lebanon.)

"Progress of World Socialism"

Is socialism moving ahead? When temporary defeats and the degeneration of once-revolutionary parties make it seem that the cause is hopeless, it's time to take a look at the movement from the long-range point of view. This is what William F. Warde does in a survey of the progress of world socialism since 1848.

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THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
118 University Pl., N.Y. 3, N.Y. Phone: AL 5-7460
Editor: DANIEL ROBERTS
Business Manager: BEATRICE ALLEN

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the act of March 3, 1879."

Vol. XXII — No. 31

Monday, August 4, 1958

First Challenge to the Ticket

The threat of the Social Democrats to take legal action against the United Independent-Socialist Ticket in New York (see story, page one) is quite in keeping with the reactionary character of the Social Democracy.

The Social Democratic leadership is not running a socialist ticket in the fall elections in New York. These political fossils are neither able nor willing to do that. Like the leadership of the Communist Party, their line is not to oppose "labor endorsed" candidates. This is the formula employed by CP and SP-SDF alike for supporting capitalist machine politicians who have been certified by labor bureaucrats following the usual back-room deals.

This support will be given in New York by putting the "labor endorsed" Democrats or Republicans on the Liberal Party ballot.

Where such convenient devices do not exist for rationalizing the embarrassing and shameful vote for Democrats or Republicans, the Social Democratic strategists, like their peers in the Communist Party, find it neither shameful, embarrassing, a fraud or misrepresentation to ask the voters to cast their ballots for the "lesser evil," generally an evil skilled enough in Democratic demagoguery to do it himself instead of having to depend, like his Republican opponent, on expensive grooming by Madison Avenue pitch men.

We note that a spokesman of the former Socialist Party, which fused with the Social Democratic Federation, was chosen

to make the legal threat. His gimmick was to express dismay and ire over use by the United Independent-Socialist Ticket of the ballot designation "United Socialist."

Since the Social Democrats refused to have anything to do with the new united grouping of socialists and independents, it is difficult to find any honest substance to the complaint. The Social Democrats are neither independent nor socialist. Why then should they object to socialists and independents, who are trying to put socialists and independents on the ballot, using the word "united"?

The real reason, we think, is the embarrassment felt by the DeSapio machine over the possibility that a minority party might appear on the ballot offering the socialist alternative on the issues of greatest concern to the people today — the issues of the war danger, nuclear tests, unemployment, jim crow, and anti-labor legislation.

The Democratic bosses, naturally, are prepared to utilize any kind of legalistic obstruction to prevent the democratic process from going that far. They have done it in the past and they will do it again. But it is sicker to obstruct the new socialist ticket through agents who know how to palm themselves off as "socialists."

We think that the United Independent-Socialist Committee did well in handling this first threat from the united Democratic-Social Democrat coalition by avoiding provocation.

The CP and Corliss Lamont

We note that at a state committee meeting of the New York Communist Party the week end of July 19-20, according to the July 27 Worker, Benjamin Davis declared that the party's electoral policy would continue as before. This means, among other things, said the Worker, that "the party would be willing, as it had declared earlier, to support a 'peace' candidate like Corliss Lamont for U.S. Senate, but continued to regard a full-slate, 'socialist' ticket, as projected by the United Independent-Socialist conference as sectarian and as destined to come into a frontal clash with the labor movement."

Since Lamont announced his willingness to run as a candidate of the United Independent-Socialist Campaign Committee at a press conference July 18, it is reasonable to assume that the CP state committee had this fact under consideration and that the Worker announcement indicates that the Communist Party will support Lamont.

We hope that these deductions are correct and that the rank and file of the Communist Party, many of whom have already indicated their desire to see a socialist ticket on the ballot in New York, will be given the official OK on pitching in on the arduous work of collecting signatures on the independent nominating petitions. To be effective, this word should come early.

However, against this hope, we see an ominous sign in the CP leadership's irrational fear of a "frontal clash" with the labor bureaucrats and their continued insistence on the "sectarian" nature of a full slate as contrasted to a lone candidate.

The "frontal clash" is NOT with the "labor movement." The editors of the Worker know this. The clash is with what Daniel De Leon accurately called the "labor lieutenants" of the capitalist

class.

Socialists should feel no fear—they should welcome the opportunity—to take up the cause of the rank and file of the labor movement and engage in a frontal clash with labor bureaucrats who favor war with the Soviet bloc, continued nuclear tests, an astronomical armaments budget, sweetheart contracts with the big corporations, a Democratic-Republican monopoly of politics, and a brutal dictatorship in their own unions.

In relation to the charge of sectarianism, we note the following sentence in the Worker: "The 'objective effect' of a third party at this time is to support the Republican candidacy, whose 'front-runner' is Nelson Rockefeller (sic), 'Mr. Oil Trust'."

What is the meaning of such a sentence unless the editors of the Worker are thinking of sabotaging the difficult task of gathering signatures for the socialist peace slate? The objective effect of putting a slate of independent-socialist candidates on the ballot is to give the voters an opportunity to express their opposition to the monopolies represented by BOTH Rockefeller and Harriman. The editors of the Worker know this.

They also know, we think, that the objective effect of opposing such a slate is to support EITHER Rockefeller or Harriman—whichever is the "lesser evil."

But neither Rockefeller nor Harriman is a "lesser evil." The lesser evil to a socialist victory in this case is a strong opposition vote to both capitalist parties. Debs was dead right, in our opinion, when he said, "It is better to vote for what you want, and not get it, than to vote for what you don't want and get it."

We express our hope once more that the leadership of the CP will come around to this wise view—and in time to help the socialist campaign when it needs help most.

To Our SLP Friends

We felt some disappointment when we read an unsigned article on the editorial page of the July 26 Weekly People. We have always given our good friends of the Socialist Labor Party credit for honesty and sincerity in their advocacy of socialism, however mistaken we consider their sectarian approach.

It was our impression that such credit was granted us in return, if somewhat grudgingly, despite the SLP belief that our endeavors to help break the socialist movement out of its isolation is nothing but a form of opportunism.

However, the unsigned article in the July 26 Weekly People implies that the United Independent-Socialist Campaign Committee, on which the Socialist Workers Party is represented, is financed by the Republican machine.

"There is every reason to believe," says the unsigned Weekly People article, "that the 'United Independent-Socialists' would leap at acceptance of GOP aid, rationalizing the deal on the ground that the 'end justifies the means.'"

Why is there "every reason to believe"? The unsigned article cites a gossip column in the July 13 Sunday News. The gossip was probably planted by the DeSapio machine, since its political intent is clearly to injure the United Independent-Socialist effort and to help the Democrats.

If our SLP friends will not take too much umbrage at advice from us, we should like to suggest that they keep their hands out of the political garbage pail of the capitalist political machines; above all when the pail is labeled: "For Use Against Socialists."

Throwing that garbage helps the Democrats, so that a person careless with facts might say, "There is every reason to believe that the Socialist Labor Party leaped at acceptance of Democratic aid."

A better policy, which it is not too late for the SLP to adopt, would be to join with other socialists and independents in putting a united socialist slate on the ballot against both Republicans and Democrats.

A Socialist Tells How to Win World Peace

About the Interview With Myra Weiss

The interview with Myra Tanner Weiss printed on this page, was a University Press Conference program broadcast last May over WBUR-FM, Boston University's radio station. The interview was conducted by a panel consisting of a Boston U. faculty representative and two students. Before the Press Conference interview, Myra Tanner Weiss addressed a meeting of students at Boston U. This was part of a speaking tour she conducted last spring of several Boston-area colleges. She also spoke at Wellesley and at Brandeis University.



MYRA TANNER WEISS

(Excerpts from a radio interview with Myra Tanner Weiss, 1956 Vice-Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. "Q." stands for any one of the panel of interviewers. "A." stands for Myra Tanner Weiss. — Ed.)

Q. This afternoon you spoke at Boston University about the relationship between Socialism and peace. I wonder whether you would like to continue this discussion by giving us your feelings about the current power struggle that dominates the world today.

A. Of course the question of peace is the primary question before the American people and everyone throughout the world. The question of war and peace is now the question of will civilization survive or will we be destroyed in the nuclear holocaust. I think it is clear to everyone that the very fact that war is so devastating, is so deadly to human life, does not necessarily mean that there will be no war. It only means that the danger of annihilation is greater than it has ever been in human history.

We had one war in 1914 to 1918, another in 1939 to 1945, and it is clear to everyone that a third world war is being prepared. I believe that this is the result of a profit system; that capitalism has to expand; that it has to seek world domination. I believe that this is the source of the trouble. And unless we remove the profit system and organize a planned economy, eventually—whether people want it or not, or fear it or not—there is going to be a third world war.

Q. I take it that you believe that as our political economy is now organized, a third war is an inevitability.

A. Yes. I think that only the working class by ridding society of the profit system will be able to eliminate the basic causes of war.

Q. If I may go back to what we just discussed on the problem of world peace, I think that this will be a good time to bring up the question of your stand on the A-bomb controls.

A. The banning of nuclear tests is a very popular issue. In England the Labor Party

and the socialists in that country are conducting a vigorous campaign to get the powers that be to grant an immediate end to nuclear tests. The Soviet Union has already offered to ban nuclear tests.

The United States has been stalling for a long time on the ground that you can't inspect or supervise the banning of tests. This is a false argument. It is well known, for example, that the Atomic Energy Commission lied, or at least gave out inaccurate information about the underground test that was held in Nevada. It said it was detected 250 miles away, when actually it was detected in Alaska. And the truth finally came out.

You see, the capitalist economy requires a great military machine even from the point of view of diplomacy because they base themselves on compulsion.

They need a huge military machine even if they have no immediate intention of using it. Suffice it to say that the United States has dropped the only Atom bombs in history, two of them in Japan—after the Japanese had already sued

for peace. And prominent Pentagon officials have threatened to use the Atom bomb. They threatened in Korea; they threatened in Indo-China; and they insist now on using nuclear tactical weapons in the Middle East and arming the European countries, the NATO powers, with nuclear missiles. I think that this is wrong and the American people have to step to the fore and oppose it.

Q. I take it that your position is that the very imminence of war makes it necessary to conduct large scale disarmament negotiations and conclude it in effect as soon as possible.

A. Yes. I am for that, of course. And I support every demand, from whatever source it comes, for banning the tests and for disarmament. . . . But it's much more than that. It is a question of disarming the incentive for war.

Q. You then argue that war is a function of capitalist society and the establishment of a workers' state is the only possible way of preventing a third world war, which will mean not only great suffering but perhaps extinction.

A. Let me point out that I don't think the Soviet Union wants war. And I think it's winning the so-called propaganda war, precisely because it really wants peace. I don't have any sympathy whatsoever with the ruling clique in the Soviet Union, with Khrushchev and his ilk. I have always opposed, and people of my political views have always fought, the bureaucratic caste that exists in the Soviet Union, the millionaires over there, just as we fight the millionaires over here.

Q. Then you . . .

A. I don't think they want war.

Q. . . . would argue that our leadership in this country does seek a war in its own time and its own choosing.

A. I think not our desire, but big business' desire.

Q. I was thinking of leadership.

A. And of course big business does not want war in itself—if it could get its way without war, it would do it. They are not blood-thirsty, crude individuals, unkind. They may be very good people, I don't know. But I know they want what they must have. They must have markets open for capital investment and trade and so on. This is a life and death question with them.

Q. You would argue then that there are historical forces in operation which inevitably incline us to war. . . .

A. Yes. . . . In 1945, at V-J day, my paper, the Militant, came out with a two-inch headline which said "There Is No Peace." At that time, everybody thought we had just won the peace and we were through with war for a while.

But we knew better. We knew that capitalism has unresolved problems. Eventually they want to reoccupy the Soviet orbit, reinstitute the profit system there. I don't think that Dulles is interested in freedom for the Russian people. If he were interested in freedom, if that were the ruling passion in his breast, why couldn't he do something about the freedom of the Algerians? Or the freedom of the Cubans who are closer home? And he could do something about it. He could stop aiding the dictators.

Q. Mrs. Weiss, if you say on the one hand that war is inevitable and on the other hand . . . that you really feel that the Russians do not want war, are you then completely, one hundred per cent, blaming this country or the capitalist system of this country for any . . . third World War that might occur?

A. Yes. In this country, England, West Germany, Italy, these are the countries that are preparing the war. Not the people, the people did not prepare any of the wars. The American people want war no more than anyone else does. The American people don't decide. The American people did not vote to go into the second world war. They voted for leaders who said that they would keep America out of war. And no one can convince me that the American people wanted to go into Korea and

British Council Hears Dobbs

Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party addressed the Birmingham (England) Trades Council, July 5. The Council represents 355 local union branches with 150,000 members. Dobbs gave an outline of the American political scene. He said that the recession, with nearly 7,000,000 now unemployed was making many American workers have a new and serious look at Socialism, even if they were not yet ready to accept it fully. A report of the Council meeting including Dobbs' remarks was published in the Birmingham Evening Post and Gazette.

drop napalm bombs on the Korean villages. The Korean people had a right to decide their own civil war. . . .

Q. Do you not believe that the Chinese who sent a hundred divisions into the Korean war, did they send them as a Soviet satellite with the intention of bringing peace?

A. Well, this is not an easy question to answer. Let me point out that the Chinese fought for freedom from Japanese domination. . . . And they also fought Chiang-Kai-shek. Chiang-Kai-shek was an ally of the United States and armed by the United States. The Chinese feared that the Korean war was an . . . opening to take troops into China. And I can understand their fear.

Q. Mrs. Weiss, this is a section that particularly interests me. I am very much interested in the answers which your party poses to our current economic problems and also your economic answers to the current economic world situation. Since I understand that our economic system is tied up with the possibility of war, I just hope that you will elucidate the type of answers that you propose to our current economic problems.

A. Certainly. I think any economic system that can't provide at least a job for anybody who wants a job, is no good. And this system hasn't in this day and age, despite our great technical advancement and our great productive capacities. It has told five and a half million . . . American workers to get by on unemployment compensation and when that runs out to get by on relief. And I think this is degrading to the human being and criminal. . . . The capitalist system has cycles; it has economic laws that periodically get it into difficulty. And what socialism would do, would be to bring rationality into economic life. We wouldn't be subject to the laws of profit, which give us unemployment and periodic wars. A planned economy would organize production on the basis of the needs of the people not only of this country but everywhere throughout the world.

Aug. Selection, Book-A-Month Plan

TRAITOR OR PATRIOT: The Life and Death of Roger Casement. By Denis Gwynn. New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, Inc. 1931. 451 pp., \$3.50. (Book-A-Month price \$1.00 plus 15c postage.)

In 1916 the British government hanged Casement as a traitor and posthumously removed the knighthood with which it had once honored him. But the brand of traitor was wartime propaganda. Casement was an Irish patriot, sent to the scaffold for his efforts on behalf of the Irish Revolution.

At the age of 19 he sailed on a merchant ship to West Africa. The Congo basin was still a wild, unknown region. Adventurous young Casement became a member of a British exploring party. He soon distinguished himself by all-around ability and his knack of getting along with the native people.

By the age of 28, he was a well-known explorer and a figure of romance. This young Irishman went for months into the deepest jungle with no weapon but a walking stick, and no safari but one native bearer and two bull dogs.

INVESTIGATES CONGO Needing experts on Africa, the British government made him a Travelling Commissioner in Nigeria. Again his abilities with the native people meant steady promotions. At this time the present Belgian Congo was an "independent" state run by the International Association for the Exploration and Civilization of Africa. The association's president was King Leopold of Belgium. He and his businessmen associates were personally enriching themselves by the most ruthless exploitation.

Under pretext of stamping out the slave trade carried on by Arabs from the East, they had built up a huge, mercenary, native army, officered by Europeans, whose primary task

was to force the native people into an ever faster tempo of rubber collection from the wild trees that grew in the jungles. So brutal were their methods that the native people were being virtually annihilated.

It suited British imperialism's interests to permit Casement to make an investigation of this vast area which he had not seen since its exploration 15 years earlier. Despite all the dangers and obstacles put in his way Casement made a thorough investigation. He could hardly believe the horrors.

To the world which had long believed King Leopold's "civilizing and Christianizing" propaganda Casement's report was a bombshell. Overnight he became a world celebrity. In 1910 he made a similar investigation of the Peruvian Amazon Company's rubber operation in the upper reaches of the Amazon River with equally horrifying revelations.

ACTIVE IN SINN FEIN At the age of 48, broken in health, Casement retired to Ireland. He had been there earlier for two years between the Congo and Amazon investigations and had quickly become active in the Sinn Fein movement. Now in 1913 a revolutionary situation was fast developing in Ireland. Formation of militias by the pro-British in North Ireland with army connivance and London's condoning of them, gave the Nationalists of Southern Ireland the legal basis for forming their own militias. How to arm them was the question.

Casement was sent off, disguised, to the U.S. on a money-

raising tour. While he was here World War I broke out. On his own Casement now went to Germany with a proposal that its government make arms available to the Irish freedom fighters and that it release to him all Irish prisoners among captured British troops. These he hoped to form into an Irish Brigade to return to Ireland and fight for independence. His German trip was a fiasco. He was under constant suspicion of being a British spy.

The Irish volunteers were few and the Kaiser's government was stingy about arms. Finally, as the deadline for the Easter uprising in Dublin drew near, Casement succeeded in getting the German government to send a shipload of old rifles by freighter and himself by submarine to Ireland. The freighter was sunk and, after landing, Casement was captured.

No mercy had been shown to the defeated Easter Week insurrectionists by the British government, no mercy was shown to Casement. Tried in England, he was sentenced to be hanged as a traitor. To squelch a growing protest movement Scotland Yard conducted an international whispering campaign that it had documents proving Casement to be a homosexual. The sway of Victorian hypocrisy was still great enough for this to frighten those who otherwise might have demanded clemency.

Though the reader may take exception to political evaluations made in passing by the author, for example of James Connolly, this is on the whole an extremely fine book.

— George Lavan

Local Directory

BOSTON
Workers Educational Center, Gainsborough Bldg., 295 Huntington Ave.
BUFFALO
Militant Forum, 631 Main St.

CHICAGO
Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9736.
CLEVELAND
Socialist Workers Party 10608 Superior Ave., Room 301, SW 1-1818. Open Friday nights 7 to 9.

DETROIT
Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward.

LOS ANGELES
Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St., AN 9-4853 or AN 3-1533. Book Shop open Mon. 7-9 P.M.; Wed. 8-10 P.M.; Sat. 12-5 P.M.

MILWAUKEE
150 East Juneau Ave.
MINNEAPOLIS
Socialist Workers Party, 322 Hennepin Ave., 2nd floor. Open noon to 6 P.M. daily except Sundays.

NEWARK
Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, N.J.

NEW YORK CITY
Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, AL 5-7852.
OAKLAND-BERKELEY
P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif.

PHILADELPHIA
Militant Labor Forum and Campaign Hdqrs. Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave.

SAN FRANCISCO
The Militant, 1145 Polk St., Rm. 4. Sat. 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. Phone: PR 6-7296; if no answer, VA 4-2321.

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ST. LOUIS
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Calendar of Events

LOS ANGELES

Hear: Vincent R. Hallinan on United Socialist Political Action. Ques. and Disc. Sat., Aug. 9, 8 P.M., ILWU Hall, 5625 S. Figueroa St. Ausp.: United Socialist Electoral Forum Committee.

NEW YORK

Wed., Aug. 6, 8:30 P.M. Discussion on "The Middle East Crisis." Speakers: Kumar Goshal, National Guardian editorial staff; United Independent-Socialist Ticket candidate to be

announced. Sponsored by Young Socialist Alliance in cooperation with the UIST. At 144 Second Avenue (near 9th Street). Air-cooled hall. Informal social will follow the meeting.

TWIN CITIES

Hear: Dorothy Schultz, former socialist candidate for U.S. Congress, 4th District, on "WAR OR ARAB INDEPENDENCY?" Fri., Aug. 8, 8 P.M. 322 Hennepin Ave. Rm. 201, Mpls. Donation 25 cents. Unemployed free. Ausp.: Socialist Workers Party.

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The Negro Struggle

By Jean Simon

Jackie Robinson Said It

Because Jackie Robinson said it, it was news. It made the daily papers. It was mentioned in panel discussions. It was discussed informally by many delegates at the recent convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored people.

What he said was that the NAACP has to do a better job of becoming a mass organization, and that the initiative in the Negro struggle for equality must come from the Negro masses.

The former baseball idol expressed the feeling of the delegates on this point better than any of the formally adopted resolutions, when he frankly told reporters that he was disappointed in the "failure" of the organizational leadership to recruit more of the Negro rank and file.

The Cleveland Plain Dealer reported that Robinson said the NAACP has plenty of work to do, but it ought to tackle at least one phase of it more aggressively—selling the organization to the Negro man on the street.

"Robinson thought it was vital for more Negroes to become active in the NAACP," the reporter wrote, "because the community has no respect for us unless we take the initiative ourselves and do our own fighting."

"If the average Negro man stood up for his civil rights more aggressively," the Cleveland News quoted Robinson, "he would achieve these rights more quickly."

"The average white person is waiting for the Negro to take the lead in the Negro's fight for freedom."

Robinson's criticisms, like those of other members of the organization, were aimed at strengthening the NAACP and making it more effective. No advocate of "gradualism" in the Negro struggle, no Uncle Tom and certainly no white su-

premacist could gain any comfort from this type of criticism.

Any attempt to slow down the tempo of the movement for complete equality by the old flag-waving tactic of questioning the "loyalty" of those who press the government hard at this point for their democratic rights was suitably answered by Jackie.

"It's about time this country turned around," he said, "and gave a little loyalty to the Negroes for what they have contributed to this country."

Robinson was not alone in expressing these views. The whole convention reflected the fact that the Negro movement is gathering strength for new attacks on Jim Crow, and is in no mood to take the advice of Eisenhower and liberal friends. The NAACP is not going to rest on its laurels, the legal victories of recent years. The Negro masses won't let it.

In the convention "workshop" on civil-rights problems in Northern cities, the delegates took up, among other things, such questions as "What are we going to do about unscrupulous Negro real estate agents?"

In the one on enlisting support for the NAACP, strong views were expressed on the subject of Negro ministers and other professional people who do not mobilize support for the NAACP because they consider its stand against segregation a threat to their jobs.

Jackie Robinson, from New York, expressed it eloquently; Attorney Thurgood Marshall said it brilliantly; 17-year-old Amos Brown from Jackson, Miss., said it with youthful vigor. But one of the most convincing was a 69-year-old retired blacksmith from Vicksburg, Miss., who said very simply: "This Uncle Tom stuff is out of style with Negroes in the Deep South."

Rev. King To O'Hara: Play Fair!

CHICAGO, July 25 — Rev. Joseph P. King, United Socialist candidate for Congress in the Second District, today challenged the Democratic Party incumbent, Barratt, O'Hara, to permit him a place on the ballot. In an open letter to O'Hara, King wrote "Time and again, not only minority candidates, but even majority candidates with a party label different than Congressman O'Hara's have been denied the ballot."

King also wrote: "... Over 10,000 voters have already signed my petitions testifying that they want Rev. Joseph P. King on the ballot so the voters may decide in the November elections. As you know this is well over the 8,300 minimum signatures required by law."

"However, the question is posed — Will my name be permitted on the ballot...? Or will an attempt be made to make it appear that the technicalities of the law have not been fulfilled?"

"I raise a question of elementary democracy here: the right to a free ballot in Chicago."

STANDS TO GAIN

"I direct this question to you, Congressman O'Hara because, as the incumbent and the Democratic Party candidate, you stand to benefit directly in the election if I am kept off the ballot... Furthermore your Democratic Party partisans are in a position to act as both judge and jury because our petitions must be submitted to the Board of Election Commissioners, which is composed of a majority of Democratic Party regulars."

"The Democratic Party forces in charge of electoral machinery must not use devious technicalities to prevent voters from expressing their free choice..."

"If the rights of a minority candidate are violated, the Democratic Party will have to answer, not only to voters in favor of the King candidacy, but also all those who stand for the American tradition of a free ballot."

Five Spanish Sailors Arrive In Mexico

LOS ANGELES, July 28 — A large welcoming committee greeted the Five Spanish Sailors today as they were released from the custody of the U.S. Immigration Service and escorted across the border into Mexico, where they had sought asylum last July after leaving their ships in San Diego.

The five young refugees from Franco's tyranny had been confined in jail-like conditions for over a year, while the American Civil Liberties Union fought in the courts for their release and their right of political asylum.

The ACLU had wanted the five to be released in the custody of A. L. Wirin, their attorney and counsel for the ACLU, so that a victory celebration could be held in Los Angeles.

This was evidently refused by the U.S. authorities, who are stinging from their court defeat, and the ACLU says now that the five will not return this side of the border.

The San Diego ACLU is planning to hold a celebration meeting this weekend in Tijuana.

LACK FINANCES

The U.S. Office of Education estimates that each year 60,000 to 100,000 high school graduates among the top-ranking 30% of their classes fail to go to college for lack of finances.

Socialist Workers Party

WHAT IT IS —

WHAT IT STANDS FOR

By Joseph Hansen

54 pages 25 cents

Pioneer Publishers
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XXII

MONDAY, AUGUST 4, 1958

NUMBER 31



"I hired an efficiency expert, and the first useless job he tried to eliminate was mine."

Letters from Readers

Open Letter

To The Worker

To Editorial Staff, The Worker:
When will you people ever learn? In regard to your editorial of June 29 justifying the execution of Nagy, I was appalled.

The Worker could have made a real contribution to Marxist thinking by opening up the question: "Were the Hungarian secret trials and executions actions befitting a socialist state?" This major question raises other questions that need discussing and clarifying. After the 20th Congress the Worker wrote an editorial in opposition to capital punishment. What is their official position on capital punishment today? Should Marxists be in favor of capital punishment? Under peacetime conditions when almost one-half the earth's population lives under socialism, can we morally justify the taking of life? Can we afford to accept and perpetuate the morals of our class oppressors?

And the trials themselves — the Hungarians were tried secretly. How can people who claim to be Marxists accept secret trials as part of socialist democracy, where for the first time man's fate should lie in the hands of their fellowmen — the masses? Secret trials which by their very nature imply that leadership is infallible and that the masses of people cannot be trusted to hear the whole truth. How can we have gone through the experience of witch-hunting fail to see the danger and immorality of such trials?

History and time proved the innocence of many of the victims of the Moscow trials. Remember how they were disclaimed in the most vicious terms as enemies of the people! How glib are the tongues that say it was an error. To call such wanton murder an error is no comfort to those who have lost their loved ones and to humanity for having lost some of its best thinkers and contributors. For weren't they the first to protest against the excesses practiced against the Soviet people by the bureaucrats?

Such glibness is not befitting to true Marxists who hold life dear as opposed to the capitalist value of the cheapness of life. Secret trials can only aid and abet the enemy, for the Marxists have only to fear the

lack of light on the truth. For the true weapon of the fighters against capitalist oppression is the truth for all to witness!

Carol Blackman
Chicago

P.S. This is an open letter and is being sent to other papers in the hope of opening larger areas of discussion.

Need for Socialism

Editor:

... A few weeks ago in conversation with a person of good average intelligence he stated quite emphatically: "I'm no socialist." In reply I said: "I rather think you are. What do you think of our public school system?" "It's all right," "Would you like to see our highways and postal systems operated by private corporations?" "No..."

When tools of industry were simple, inexpensive, hand-used, there was no need for socialism in industry but with the coming of the machine in manufacture, transportation and communication, COLLECTIVISM has followed inevitably and basic industry has become the most vital public concern...

This splendid industrial plant has become the property of a small minority of citizens and "they love it." Not only do they control government through their ownership of the most strategic wealth of the nation, they also control the chief sources of information — press, radio, TV, etc. It is naive to expect them to permit their government to be used in contravention of their interests.

I. S. Crillis
New Hampton, Iowa

ARMY GRABS AIR-TIME

The American Civil Liberties Union has warned that increasing use of radio channels by the armed forces may crowd out educational and other diversified programs for the public.

In a letter to Sen. Knowland, the ACLU said "The civil liberties interest in having the First Amendment principle of freedom of expression exercised by presenting a variety of information can be met by the creation of new channels..."

"Unless additional channels are established, we face the possibility of military demands invading the channels now allocated for non-government services thus cutting into the all-too-few existing channels through which information is channeled to the public."

Hits 'Neutrality' Of Gov. Williams In Negotiations

DETROIT, July 24 — In a letter to the Detroit Free Press, Frank Lovell, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Michigan, today scored Gov. G. Mennen Williams' "neutral" stand in the negotiations between the auto corporations and the United Auto Workers.

The Detroit Free Press recently called on Williams, a liberal Democrat, to side more openly with the companies and to use "strong words of distaste" and "forceful admonitions" against the UAW. (Negotiations are at a standstill, and the auto workers are being speeded-up and otherwise harassed by the corporations.)

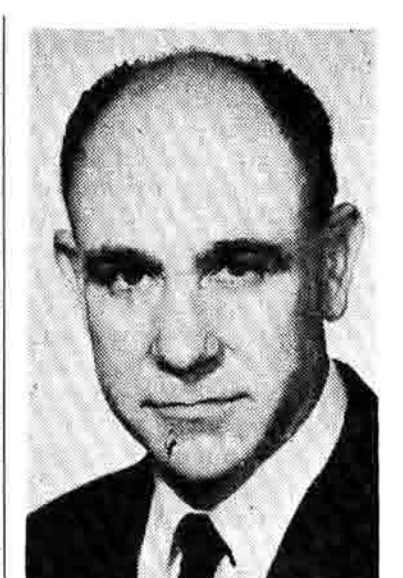
Gov. Williams replied: "I have no intention of expressing on behalf of the State any such partisan attitude toward either the union or the automobile companies as the Free Press suggests... Government can serve as the protector of the public interest only if it refuses to be the partisan of either side."

Lovell then wrote the Free Press as follows:

"Governor Williams' answer to your editorial suggestion that he pressure the UAW to comply with the demands of the auto corporations is the traditional 'plague on both your houses' answer of politicians who pretend to represent a mythical 'public interest' when labor-management disputes are at issue. He says 'Government can serve as the protector of the public interest only if it refuses to be the partisan of either side.'"

"The stand on the part of Williams ignores the fact that the real public interest is the welfare of the majority of the people. The overwhelming majority are the industrial workers and their families, combined with the working farmers and small shopkeepers. A real victory for the UAW in the current negotiations would serve the interests of all these people better than anything else at the present time. Consequently, if the Governor really wants to serve the public interest he ought to help the UAW."

"I believe the most urgently needed service in the interest of the vast majority of people is legislation amending the wages-hours law to provide a 30-hour work week at 40 hours pay. This legislation ought to be championed by any governor who feels responsible to the real public interest he is supposed to serve."



FRANK LOVELL

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... Open Shop Bills

(Continued from Page 1)

ment. Union politicians now concede that the labor movement may meet with "some" set-backs in the November elections.

No right-to-sab laws have yet been adopted by referendum votes, other than popular ratification in 1948 of statutes already enacted by state legislatures in Arizona and North Dakota. In Montana, organized labor, working with the Montana Farmers Union, succeeded this year in preventing a pro-right-to-sab attempt to qualify for a place on the ballot by petitions. In Kansas, however, the legislature's proposed "work" amendment to the constitution has already been assured of a place on the November ballot.

In Washington State, a big business blitzkrieg in which coercion and pressure were used to get signatures, revived the initiative campaign just before the deadline and backers of the anti-union legislation claim to have filed 119,000 signatures, with 90,319 needed to get on the ballot. Signatures are being checked by the secretary of state and official results may not be known until some time next month.

In Idaho, proponents of a "right-to-work" initiative claim to have filed over 25,000 signatures. These are being checked, and President Robert Lenaghan of the Idaho State Federation of Labor said that preliminary inspection "shows many signatures of non-registered voters erroneously certified by county clerks as genuine."

In Colorado, the "Right-to-Work Committee" filed 53,647 names, and the Colorado Labor

Council, AFL-CIO, is examining them for validity. Labor officials say that proponents of the legislation may "have just squeezed by with sufficient names... to qualify for the November elections."

OHIO FIGHT

In Ohio the issue is hot, and supporters of the bill have hired college students to tour the state for signatures to put a right-to-sab bill before the electorate in November. It is reported likely that the necessary 354,210 signatures will be obtained by the Aug. 5 deadline. Ohio unions have set up the United Organized Labor of Ohio which is planning an intensive drive against the signature campaign. The NAACP is also opposed to the anti-labor measure.

In California, the right-to-sab initiative campaign went over the top, with necessary signatures to get on the ballot having been obtained shortly after the primary elections this spring. The two critical states are California and Ohio, and a well organized employer campaign has been working in favor of the union-busting laws in both these states.

The majority of the 18 states that have already outlawed the union shop are controlled by the Democratic Party. Yet the labor officialdom calls for a policy of reliance on "labor's friends" in the Democratic Party to defeat further union-busting legislation. Only a break from the capitalist political machines of both the Democratic and Republican parties can stem the tide of political and legislative attack on organized labor.

... Kelly Postal, Fighter for Labor

(Continued from Page 1)

"Kelly was what can only be described as a staunch and beautiful character. He was endeared to all who knew him and seemed to attract the best kind of humanity to any task to which he set his hand. He was one of the most sagacious and courageous working class fighters I have ever known. His entire life was devoted to the cause of the workers, and his thought and study were dedicated to finding how best to build a better society."

"He had a powerful body—strong and muscular. There was a rhythm to his movements and he did everything in the most effortless, graceful way. It

was a privilege to see him and a greater one to work at his side. Kelly was impatient of all waste motion. He was skilled with machinery that relieves men of back-breaking toil. That was one of the things he wanted for the world. He felt that machinery, linked with science, could do all the heavy, disagreeable, brutal tasks of the world. He believed that a Socialist society could free men from this toil."

"Kelly wanted to free men for the improvement of their lives. He believed in a scientific society, based on better ways to take care of human needs, a greatly expanded culture superior to any that has gone before."

"We take Kelly to his grave today. But the record of his work and his leadership of those who do the productive labor of the world will never be buried. I'm sure that we all can extend our sympathy to Mildred, his wife and companion, and to his daughters as well as to his sisters and other relatives and close friends. To

TEACHERS' PAY

In only two states in the U.S. do teachers' salaries average as high as \$5,000 a year.

CLASSROOMS NEEDED

There are at present almost two million children in the public schools in excess of classroom capacity.

gether we can paraphrase that great figure, Robert Ingersoll, and say: If all whom he befriended and struggled to aid could have sent one petal to his funeral, the room would be filled with flowers and the path to his grave would be carpeted.

"A salute to your memory, Kelly. Farewell."

BOOKS - PAMPHLETS On Socialism And the Labor Movement

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A Job

By Theodore Kovalsky

(Song for solo voice and guitar)

A job means that somebody else has the sun,
And you have the factory's gloom.
It means you're half dead when your shift is done
And you're back in your furnished room.

A job means you long for the end of each day
Though each day brings you nearer your grave.
Now a man shouldn't wish his whole life away,
But what man wants to live like a slave?

Oh, it's better to work and have something to eat
Than beg at a rich man's door.
You don't have to feel so scared of the cop
On the beat.
And you hold up your head in the store.

A job is a jailhouse that's cleverly made.
The door to the cell has no knob —
But half of the years of my life I would trade
If I could just find me a job!

A job means you sell the red blood in your veins
And the strength of your back and your hands.
It means that you lock up your heart and your brains
Because that's what a job demands.

A job is a trick, it's a fraud and a lie.
A job is a joke they play:
You can work till you drop, you can work till you die,
But you can't get along on the pay.

A man don't mind work, can he work like a man.
A man should be more than a mule.
A man needs a chance to do what he can
With a plough or a pen or a tool.

I've done all I could, tried to live like I should
I don't want to murder and rob.
But I can't afford to go on being good —
I'm warning you, I WANT A JOB!

Worker's Bookshelf

For Summer Reading

For those who plan to use part of their vacations for reading or study Pioneer Publishers recommends the following list.

LITERATURE AND REVOLUTION. By Leon Trotsky. 256 pp. Previously \$3.75. Now \$1.98 plus 15 cents postage.

The finest and most comprehensive Marxist work on art yet written. Trotsky not only extends and enriches earlier Marxist studies of literature; he deals with questions history had not placed before them: the attitude of the working class and its party to art and artists after the conquest of state power.

UNADDRESSED LETTERS and ART and SOCIAL LIFE. By G. Plekhanov. 243 pp \$1.00.

This little book is valuable for its materialist analysis of the role and meaning of art from primitive times to the 19th Century.

ANTI-DUHRING. By Frederick Engels. 546 pp. \$1.35.
Starting out as a polemic, this work developed into a positive exposition of the dia-

lectic method and the socialist world outlook.

DIALECTICS OF NATURE. By Frederick Engels. 496 pp. \$1.50.
Engels explains the basic laws of dialectical thought, and illustrates their workings by examples from natural science and mathematics.

THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM. By James P. Cannon. 268 pp. Cloth \$2.75 Paper \$2.00.

The book comprises a series of twelve lectures delivered in New York. An absorbing story of the struggle to build a revolutionary socialist party in the U.S. from the founding of the Communist Party to the launching of the Socialist Workers Party in 1938.

THE EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE OF LOUIS BONAPARTE. By Karl Marx. Cloth \$1.50. Paper 75 cents.

In 1852, an adventurer made himself dictator of France under circumstances and in a manner that foreshadowed the rise of "strong-man" rule in modern times. Highly pertinent as an aid in understanding de Gaulle's rise to power in France today.

OUT OF THE DEPTHS. By Barron B. Beshoar. 372 pp. Regular price \$3.50. Special for this column \$3.00 plus 15 cents postage.

The Ludlow Massacre was the end result of a bitterly fought strike of coal miners against the Colorado Rockefeller interest. It has become the prime example of the class struggle in its most naked form. This book is a carefully compiled

document of every stage of the struggle and reads like an exciting novel.

THE JUDGMENT OF JULIUS AND ETHEL ROSENBERG. By John Wexley. 672 pp. Original price \$6.00. Now \$3.00 plus 20 cents postage.

An intensive, carefully documented examination of the trial of the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell. Of this book, Prof. Francis D. Wormuth the Western Political Review said: "Obviously the Department of Justice cannot answer all criticisms. But unless it answers Mr. Wexley's, we must conclude that the Rosenberg case is our Dreyfus case, outdoing the first in sordidness, cruelty and terror."

AUTOMATION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS. By S. Lilley. 224 pp. Regular price, \$3.75. Special price, \$3.00 plus 15 cents postage.

The technical aspects are examined in detail, and an analysis made of its impact on the social structure.

KARL LIEBKNECHT. By Karl W. Mayer. 180 pp. Regular price \$3.25. Special price, \$2.75 plus 15 cents postage.

In the generation since the assassination of this great revolutionary leader there has been only one other biography of him written and it has not been translated from the German. This new biography in English will fill a deplorable gap in the bookshelves of socialist-minded Americans.

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