

Ind.-Socialist Group Launches Ballot Campaign

By Lillian Kiezel

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URGE TROOPS WITHDRAWN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

U.S. Government Plans 'Summit' Without Peace

Employers Step Up 'Right-to-Work' Drive

N.Y. Candidates



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.

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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 movement.

White Foes Of Jim Crow 'Probed' in So.

JULY 28 — 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" frameup, 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 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.

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.

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.)

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

(Continued on Page 4)

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

(Continued on Page 4)

(See Editorial page 3.)

Vote to Continue Aggression



American and British delegations 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 Ju. 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.

(Continued on Page 2)

— 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 do with the local's funds. Accordingly, on their instruction, he transferred the funds to the newly chartered CIO local of truck drivers.

Stepping in to aid Tobin and further its own war drive, the Roosevelt Administration indicted 28 leaders of Teamsters Local 544 and of the Socialist Workers Party under the Smith Act for "conspiracy to advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence."

Kelly was one of the 28. He was freed of the Smith-Act

charge only to be brought to trial for "embezzlement" the \$11,000 of local union funds he had transferred from Local 544-AFL to Local 544-CIO.

FRAME-UP SUCCEEDS

On the first try, the case was dismissed by the judge who ruled that Kelly had simply carried out the will of the membership. But after four more tries, Kelly was finally convicted when the judge instructed a hesitant jury to find him guilty. There never was any suggestion by the judge that Kelly had personally appropriated any of the money or that every penny had not



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."

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 padshas 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 Iraq 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.

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Questions and Answers on Mideast

Demonstration in Jordan

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-US 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-



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 involved 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 only if ships pass through it

buy oil elsewhere. Venezuela, even the U.S., has plenty to sell. Secondly even if the Arab countries nationalized their oil fields that wouldn't deprive Europe of the oil. The Arab countries would want to sell the oil. Europe is their main customer, the Soviet Union doesn't need to import oil. To refuse to sell the oil to Europe would leave them without any income and they want money to modernize their countries.

QUESTION: But if the Arabs nationalized their oil fields wouldn't they set such exorbitant prices on the oil that the Europeans couldn't afford to buy it?

ANSWER: Like all sellers on the capitalist market they would want to get as good a price as they could. But if their price was too high the Europeans would buy elsewhere so they'd have to lower it or lose their customers. Actually their price might be less than the exorbitant prices the Europeans now pay for oil. For those prices are not based on production cost but are fixed by the oil cartel. Remember when Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal? The capitalist press was screaming that Europe's life line would be cut and Europe would be at Nasser's mercy. But the Canal is a resource of Egypt and benefits it

only if ships pass through it

wholly non-exclusive basis, to bring into being first a political instrument and 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.

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

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 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 George Washington or the revolutionary army stooges of absolute monarch Louis XVI or of the Spanish Inquisition. They took aid where they could get it.

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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 observes group there is befeud 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 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.

The Soviet leaders would still be able to score imperialist 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.

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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. Ward does in a survey of the progress of world socialism since 1848.

Read this inspiring article in the summer issue of the International Socialist Review. On newsstands, or send 50 cents for a copy.

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Resolution on Lebanon —

"Today British and American men and arms patrol the Middle East to keep the past upon its throne in some of the most impoverished feudal lands remaining in the world and to protect the Anglo-American empire of oil.

"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 focussed on the summit meeting scheduled at the United Nations; the presence of U.S

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THE MILITANT

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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-SDP 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 demagogic 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 De Sapien 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 slicker 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 work 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

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'."

A Socialist Tells How to Win World Peace

About the Interview With Myra 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



MYRA TANNER WEISS

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.

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.

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.

In the world which had long believed King Leopold's "civilizing and Christianizing" propaganda Casement's report was a bombshell. Overnight he became 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 revolution 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 its 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

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 what 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 the world.

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?

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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 Gosai, 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 INDEPENDENCE" Fri., Aug. 8, 8 P.M., 322 Hennepin Ave. Rm. 201, Mpls. Donation 25 cents. Unemployed free. Ausp.: Socialist Workers Party.

Local Directory

BOSTON
Workers Educational Center, Gainsborough Bldg., 295 Huntington Ave.
BUFFALO
Militant Forum, 831 Main St.
CHICAGO
Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9736.
CLEVELAND
Socialist Workers Party 10609 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 9-4953 or 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., 2-7139. Library, bookstores. Classes every Friday evening at 8 P.M. Open House following at 10:30 P.M.
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.
SEATTLE
655 Main St., MU 2-7139. Library, bookstores. Classes every Friday evening at 8 P.M. Open House following at 10:30 P.M.
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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."

A Job

By Theodore Kovalesky

(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 lectric method and the socialist part of their vacances 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-

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

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

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