

# Time to Revive the Spirit of Militancy!

## Big Business Started It; Now Let's Roll Up Our Sleeves and Finish It!

An Editorial

Let's revive the spirit of militancy! This is the keynote sounded by workers from coast to coast as they assemble to demonstrate the power of America's union movement on Labor Day.

It's high time. Big business has mobilized its forces in a nationwide effort to dismember the unions. The bankers and monopolists have selected the steel industry as the first major battleground, hoping that a victory in this key sector will set a pattern enabling them to pull the unions down one by one.

In Congress a coalition of labor-hating Democrats and Republicans is readying laws that go far beyond the Taft-Hartley "slave labor" Act. As excuse, they have sought to picture the labor movement as an enterprise of racketeers, gangsters and thugs.

The White House is cold-bloodedly calculating the best time to swing the axe against the Steelworkers through Taft-Hartley injunctions.

The courts that backed up Roosevelt in his attempt to break the United Mine Workers Union during the war are lining up for their part in this union-smashing drive of 1959.

Labor has no choice but to fight back!

Some of labor's top leaders, alarmed at the corporation drive against the unions, decided to mobilize on Labor Day.

In New York City, where a Labor Day parade has not been seen for twenty years, the unions decided to stage an all-out demonstration.

As Justice, the newspaper of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, said: "The parade up Fifth Avenue will be a huge picket line against those who are seeking to undermine unions at the bargaining table or in the legislative halls."

The AFL-CIO executive council followed up these plans by designating the holiday as "Support the Steelworkers Day." They called on every union to demonstrate "arm-in-arm solidarity" with the 500,000 strike-bound members of the steel union. They announced plans for a nationwide fund drive to aid the steel pickets. And at the San Francisco AFL-CIO convention to be held in a few weeks they set aside a full day as a "national rally" to consider ways and means to help the Steelworkers.

These actions must be supported to the hilt. Let this Labor Day open a new chapter of labor militancy in America, a revival of the will, the courage and the readiness to fight that built the unions in the first place.

Let the old-timers recall how they organized the CIO and beat back the union-hating bosses in the thirties. Let them show the young generation of workers how the power of numbers and labor's strategic position in the economy can be brought to bear with invincible force against the enemy.

And let the new generation demonstrate how youth and energy and enthusiasm can overcome the pessimism and apathy that have accumulated over the years, slowed down the unions and made the bosses think labor is ready for the undertaker.

On this Labor Day let our slogans and our banners, our floats and brass bands, and above all the massing of our ranks show that labor can become the mightiest power in the land!

## Do Union Leaders Get Too Much Pay?

By George Breitman

When a left wing is formed in the American labor movement, I think it should have, and will have, a point in its program about the salaries and expense allowances of union officials and staff members. Namely, that they are too high, and should be reduced to the level that workers get as wages.

In no other country is there such a gap between the incomes of union officials and the incomes of the workers they are supposed to represent. Some top officials get \$1,000 a week, and more. That's not counting expense allowances. In the UAW, which is not the worst example, the president's salary runs around \$400 a week.

Even the lower ranks of the union bureaucracy get much more than the workers. In the auto union, international staff representatives get \$153 a week. On top of that they get a flat allowance of \$35 a week in their home city. Not counting out-of-town allowances (\$13 a day plus hotel costs up to \$10 a day and all travel expenses), their weekly incomes are \$188 a week. This is approximately twice as much as the average auto worker gets.

What happens when officials and staff members draw ten or four or even only two times as much as the workers? Not much that is beneficial.

### BECOME CONSERVATIVE

Being paid much more, they stop living the way workers live, and tend to stop thinking the way workers think. They move into more expensive neighborhoods, mix in new circles, and begin living the way the middle classes do. They become more conservative. The lower members of the staff lose their independence, if they had any. They become part of a bureaucratic caste, whose interests no longer coincide with those of the workers.

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# Congress and President Lead Assault on Unions

## Copper Firms Force Strike In 20 States

Following the example of the steel barons, the top five copper producers and refiners have forced 30,000 workers in 20 states to strike for a new contract. The bulk of the strikers are members of the independent Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

Between Aug. 10 and 20, the union shut down Kennecott Copper, Phelps Dodge, Anaconda Copper, Magma Copper and the American Smelting & Refining Co. The Kennecott strike also involves 2,300 members of the United Steel Workers and 600 members of the International Association of Machinists.

Seeking a three-year renewal of a contract won after a 40-day strike in 1955, Mine-Mill is asking for a 15-cent wage increase and fringe benefits variously estimated as running between 15 and 30 cents an hour. Current wages range from \$2.20 to \$2.55 an hour. Other demands include supplementary unemployment benefits and elimination of wage differentials.

Copper spokesmen rejected the union proposals as "exorbitant," asserting that "international competition" prevented them from passing a wage increase on to consumers.

As in steel, the companies are striving to undermine union job conditions. Kennecott, for example, is demanding elimination of a contract clause requiring that three men be assigned to stripmining shovels and two to bulldozers. It claims that the machinery has been made more automatic and that each can now be operated by one man less.

Adopting a tough attitude, Kennecott ended previous strike agreements under which supervisory personnel entered plants only with a union pass. On Aug. 11, it sought a federal injunction barring the union from preventing foremen from crossing the picket lines. (It failed to get the injunction. The judge told Kennecott officials that they could simply use law-enforcement officers to run men through.)

When several foremen who refused to cross the picket lines were threatened with loss of their jobs, the three striking unions at Kennecott jointly announced they would not sign a contract if any foreman is fired for respecting the picket lines.

It is generally assumed that the terms of a steel settlement will be a major factor in the pattern of an ultimate agreement in copper.

## With Spirits High



Striking steel workers march to their picket stations at the main gate of the big U. S. Steel Corp. works at Gary, Indiana.

## Democrats, GOP in Congress Knife Civil Rights Legislation

By Lillian Kiezal

Weighted heavily on the side of liberal Democrats elected last fall as "friends" of labor and of civil rights, the 86th Congress is winding up its first session by clubbing the labor movement over the head and knifing the Negro people in the back. There will almost certainly be no civil rights law this year. A last minute flurry by some Senators and Representatives to make a showing for the benefit of their constituents only further exposes the sham.

The liberals forgot their campaign promises even before Congress got under way. Civil rights legislation suffered its first defeat in January when most liberal Democrats, without a serious struggle, knuckled under to Lyndon Johnson and Speaker Sam Rayburn (both from Texas), the majority leaders in the Senate and House.

At that time, Johnson blocked a move in the Senate to change Rule 22 by means of which Dixiecrats can filibuster any civil rights measure. In the House, Rayburn said "No"

to curtail the power of the House Rules Committee to hamstring legislation. This body is headed by Southern Democrat Howard W. Smith (Va.) — a racist and the father of the Smith "Gag" Act.

Last week, word got out that Rayburn said it was "impossible" to get any civil rights legislation through the House this year. "The present Democratic strategy," reports John D. Morris in the Aug. 18 New York Times, "... is to steer a 'moderate' bill through the Senate ... but to defer a showdown on the House floor until next year."

This "moderate" bill, sponsored by Johnson, is simply a reshuffle of the all-but-toothless 1957 Civil Rights law. The liberal Democrats are not resisting Rayburn and Johnson's strategy.

At the same time, the Aug. 24 N.Y. Times revealed that Republican Congressmen were opposed to civil rights legislation in either house this year because of a deal between them and the Southern Democrats to get the union-busting Landrum-Griffin bill passed. "... conditions are therefore not good

for strong GOP support of a civil rights measure," says the Times. Unlike the Landrum-Griffin bill, civil rights is not included in President Eisenhower's must legislation. Next year is an election year and the GOP might feel freer then to engage in vote-getting maneuvers involving civil rights.

### WHO? US?

The charge that they were using civil rights as a political football angered the Republicans. Minority Leader Dirksen (Ill.), attacked the Times' report on the Senate floor and declared, "The Republican Party doesn't play politics with civil rights." On Aug. 26, Sen. Javits (R-N.Y.) and Sen. Case (R-N.J.) filed a motion asking the Senate to take a civil rights bill away from the Judiciary Committee where it is being stifled.

Javits' purpose in making the move? As he explained it, the motion would in effect tell Lyndon Johnson "Now the responsibility is yours."

Who says the Republicans aren't playing politics with civil rights?

## All Labor Must Help Steel Workers Combat Threat of Taft-Hartley

By C. Thomas

The AFL-CIO has called upon its member unions to demonstrate on Labor Day their solidarity and support of the embattled steel workers.

Ten days later the third annual AFL-CIO convention convenes in San Francisco at what is admittedly a turning point in the history of the American movement.

The day following the opening of the convention has been set aside for an emergency conference of union leaders to consider measures to counter the venomous big business-government anti-labor offensive.

The recent AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting in New York voted to mobilize organized labor's "full strength" for the showdown battle with the big business-reactionary political alliance that is seeking to dismember the labor movement.

The deadliest enemy of the union movement in the coming showdown is the capitalist government in Washington. Yet the union leaders gingerly evade any mention of the government as such. Instead, they point the accusing finger at what they call the "reactionary political alliance."

### BI-PARTISAN ENEMY

In American labor politics this phrase is applied to the alliance between the Dixiecrats and the Northern Republicans to justify continued support to the so-called liberal "friends of labor" in the Democratic Party. There can be no talk of effective action in defense of labor unless the policy of tying the unions to the Democratic Party is abandoned.

The Republican Administration and the Democratic Congress are working hand in hand to forge the weapons to crucify labor.

"I would remind the Republican Party," boasted Lyndon Johnson on the Senate floor, "that it was a Democratic Congress that brought into existence a Democratic committee, headed by a great American, John McClellan," which prepared the ground for the current crop of anti-labor bills.

Eisenhower has already announced he will use the strike-breaking Taft-Hartley injunction to herd the steel workers back to the mills when the heavy steel inventory has been depleted.

## Wall Street Paper Crows About Anti-Union Drive

The growing arrogance of big business is reflected in the Aug. 24 issue of *Baron's*, a weekly Wall Street publication. After a gleeful comment on current anti-labor legislation, the magazine adds: "... what is happening in Washington cannot match what is happening in factory and mill throughout the country ... Collective bargaining ... has grown unwontedly hard. By the same token ... it is no longer a one-way street. For instead of merely granting one concession after another, as had been the custom, employers today are pressing demands of their own. Specifically, they are seeking to change the restrictive union work rules with which they have been saddled."

That is the source of the real threat to labor. If the union leaders are serious they must prepare to ward off that threat. The workers have no moral obligation to yield to laws of a flagrant class character. The AFL-CIO convention should call upon the labor movement to back the steel union in defying any and all strikebreaking attempts by the capitalist government.

When the showdown comes labor can expect to see Republicans and Democrats lined up solidly against them. To halt the Taft-Hartley trend and erase all anti-labor laws from the statutes labor must have its own representative in Congress. For that it is necessary for labor to have its own political party. It is not yet too late to enter independent labor candidates in the 1960 elections.

Defy the Taft-Hartley injunctions! Build an Independent Labor Party! With these weapons in labor's armory the fight can be won.

## "45 Heart Attacks in the Mill Since Christmas"

By Henry Gitano

FAIRLESS WORKS, Pa. — Parked near the fence by the main gate of the huge U.S. Steel Fairless Works was a bus carrying a handwritten sign: "On Strike. Local 4889, 5092, 5030, 5118."

We asked the picket captain how things were going. "The strike is going all right," he said. "It's rough on big families, though, when their pay is cut off."

Another picket checked in. His first question was: "Anything new on the pay?" We were told that this plant has about \$3 million in unpaid wages.

We came around to the subject of negotiations. A picket asked: "What negotiations? There are no negotiations. Only talk and hedging around. They want to take away from us, not negotiate. They want to bust the union."

"We've got a tough management here," said another picket. "Grievances about plant conditions are piled sky high."

The pickets then began discussing the government surplus food they had received. Surplus cheese and pork, they all agreed, were very good, only there wasn't any available. The yellow corn meal was recommended for mush and possibly muffins. The dry milk could be mixed with powdered eggs to make cakes. "How do you separate the yolk from the white in powdered eggs?" someone asked. The problem remained unsolved.

Two barbers were coming to town from Philadelphia to give free haircuts, and Penn Fruit had donated coffee for the pickets. The strike committee had also contacted stores, banks and finance companies. "As a rule, as long as you notify them that you're on strike before payments are due they have been pretty good about going along

with us," said the picket captain.

### DIFFERENT THAN '56

It started raining and we went into the parked bus, which contained a bed, shelves and chairs. It was donated by a steel worker who normally uses it for hunting and camping. One of the pickets mentioned that in the 1956 strike the company donated a shack with TV for the pickets, but the atmosphere is different this year.

Later, we talked with two off-duty picket captains over beer at the Country Lane near the Fairless Works. I asked them how they felt about the strike.

"It's a relief, a safety valve," one of them said. "You can actually feel like a man. During the life of the contract, all the grievances build up, but there isn't much you can do about it. If you participate in a wildcat stoppage or slowdown, you might get fired. Eighteen steel

workers were fired when this strike began for being too prompt in walking out."

"Management says it wants the right to direct the labor force," said the other picket captain, a crane operator. "Why Section 3 of the contract gives them the right to direct work forces now. They're talking about featherbedding; we couldn't featherbed even if we wanted, because they can add anything they want to your job as long as it's not in a higher pay scale."

The other picket captain broke in: "They're accusing us of robbing poor widows — you know, the stockholders. I don't understand why stockholders don't organize a revolution. We have one foreman for every five men in Fairless. And they're talking about featherbedding! These foremen are nothing but deadwood."

"We make decent wages, that's true, but they're canceled out by layoffs. We were hoping that

this strike would have one main demand; something concrete like a six-hour day with no cut in pay. That would provide a 25% increase in employment. Last year I was laid off from January to July."

(I remembered the drive through Fairless Hills, the steel worker community. We saw clusters of one-family houses almost resembling a ghost town. Three and four empty houses next to one another with broken windows and bare insides. These deserted homes are memorials to the recession.)

### 45 HEART ATTACKS

"The men work themselves into an early grave because of the incentive plans," said the crane operator. "They say that since last Christmas there have been 45 heart attacks in this mill. The company's best watchdogs are the incentive plans. There are 900 different plans for 4,300 workers. The company uses them to work one man

against another. We feel the union should negotiate a single incentive plan, so that the men will cooperate instead of fighting one another and hurting the union."

I asked them about a statement by John Morse, one of the corporation lawyers, who said that the companies did not plan to force open the mills "unless the strike goes on for a very long time and there is a revolt among the membership."

"They're out to bust the union, all right, but they won't succeed," said the crane operator. "The strike's hurting. But we figure we'll never get rich anyhow. We're willing to stay on strike for job security, better working conditions and stronger safety regulations."

"We've been under the company's thumb for three long years," said his friend. "Now we're standing up again, and not a bucket of steel is coming out of the mill until we get a good settlement."

# ... Union Officials Get Too Much Pay **Class War and the Policy of Collaboration**

(Continued from Page 1)

ing to ask for a substantial dues increase. It would be timely if delegates there were to propose that the officials' pay be reduced to the highest wage paid workers in the auto industry. And educational too, I think.

Because the pattern at recent UAW conventions has been something like this: The Reutherite constitutional committee comes in with proposals for substantial pay increases for officials and staff members. (At the 1951 convention, Reuther's salary was raised from \$10,000 a year to \$11,250; to \$18,000 at the 1953 convention; no change at the 1955 convention; and to \$22,000 in 1957.)

A number of brown-nosers then grab the floor. They say that the increase is too small, that Reuther is worth much more, that he should be paid \$25,000 — \$50,000 — \$100,000. They even quote the Bible, urging the delegates to "do unto others as you would have them do unto you." (On one occasion a delegate said, "I think we should force this one down Reuther's throat and make him take it." Which reminded me of the Marx Brothers picture where Groucho, half-fainting, thirstily remembered to suggest, "Quick, force some brandy down my throat!")

This sets the stage for Reuther to take the floor against "excessive" salaries. Voice throbbing, he assures the delegates, "I am working in this union because of what is in my heart, not what you put in my pocketbook." Then he hints that he had to be pressured before he accepted even the constitutional committee's proposal, but "if you go beyond that, I will not be bound by any commitments I made to anyone, and I will fight." And so, in the name of opposing excessive salaries, he defends the excessive salaries proposed by his committee as providing "an acceptable salary structure."

It would be educational, I say, if some delegates at the

next convention were able to set the discussion off on a different footing. Even if they didn't carry the convention this time, they would start the members thinking in a healthy direction. And I think a move to pay the Reuthers no more than a worker's wage would quickly strip him of the pose that he has been taking his \$400 a week with reluctance. (When a union once voted Eugene V. Debs some money he didn't want, he didn't make podium speeches and take the money; he simply refused to take it and it's still in the union's treasury.)

Besides raising this question in the unions now, we should apply the same principle to all public office, from the national to the local. Socialists should make it part of their platform in every election campaign as well as in their general propaganda.

An example of how to handle this issue was provided in the Socialist Workers Party's mayoralty campaign in Detroit two years ago. It is worth citing because it evoked a common liberal objection.

"I think the top city officials are overpaid," said Sarah Lovell, SWP candidate for mayor, in her campaign literature. "The salaries of the mayor and common council should be cut to the average wage of a skilled worker. If they had to live on that, maybe they wouldn't find it so easy to forget the problems workers face."

This prompted columnist W. K. Kelsey to make the following comment in the Detroit News: "True; but it might be hard to find candidates as devoted as Mrs. Lovell, who would serve as mayor for the wages of a proofreader, which she is."

I've got news for Mr. Kelsey. Although capitalism tries to instill in us all with its monetary values 24 hours a day, it isn't always successful. There are plenty of people in this world, in the labor movement and out, who don't consider the making of money the major object of their lives. In fact, I can name hundreds of such people in Detroit alone. If they are not candidates for office today, it's not for lack of "devotion," but for other reasons.

"Granted that there are many 'devoted' people," some will say at this point. "But don't you have to offer high salaries if you want to attract the best people to run for them?" What they mean by

"best" is not only devoted, honest and so on, but technically competent to fulfill the office. I think Sarah Lovell answered this question two years ago in her remarks about qualifications for public office, which apply equally to union office:

"The most important qualification of any candidate is his program. . . . Don't be taken in by meaningless slogans like 'Honest,' 'Fearless' or 'Experienced,' which capitalist politicians use instead of a program. These people also like to make a public office seem so mysteriously difficult that only a superman could hold one. That's nonsense. There are thousands of men and women in the city who could make a better mayor or councilman than Cobo or Miriani. Of course there are technical problems which require experts, but the officeholders don't solve these problems by themselves. They hire experts. I can do that too, and so could you. These experts would probably be even more willing to work for an administration which wouldn't let big business politics interfere with technical progress."

In conclusion, I think the proposal is correct, progressive and healthy; can be explained and defended to large numbers of workers; and can become popular. I hope other readers of *The Militant* will express their opinions.

## What Marx Said About Pay for Govt. Officials

Here's what some revolutionary socialists said about pay for public officials:

Karl Marx hailed the Paris Commune of 1871, the first workers' government, because it decided that "the public service had to be done at workmen's wages," and because "plain working men for the first time dared to infringe upon the governmental privilege of their 'natural superiors,' and under circumstances of unexampled difficulty, performed this work modestly, conscientiously, and efficiently" at these wages.

Friedrich Engels, noting the tendency of public officials to transform themselves from "the servants of society into the masters of society," said the Commune had fought this tendency by providing that "all officials, high or low, were paid only the wages received by other workers." (Introduction to Marx's *The Civil War in France*, 1891.)

In his study of the state written before the Soviets came to power in Russia, V. I. Lenin repeatedly endorsed the Paris Commune's standard on officials' pay as one of the means of combating bureaucratism in a workers state.

By Tom Kerry

The American labor movement today is once again being taught the lessons of social reality laid down in the Communist Manifesto written over 100 years ago by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

According to Marx and Engels — and all genuine Marxists following them — modern society is divided into social classes with irreconcilably opposed interests. In the Marxist definition of the term, classes are determined by their relation to the means of production.

In a society based upon the private ownership of the means of production and distribution, capital is king. The capitalist class holds in its grasp the reins of economic and political power. The workers, having only their labor power to sell, are compelled to organize into unions to defend even a minimum standard of living against the organized power of capital.

### SERVE CAPITALISTS

Political parties represent the interests of definite social classes in society. Under our two-party system both Democratic and Republican parties serve the interests of the ruling capitalist class. A government made up of representatives of these parties, therefore, can only function as the executive committee of the capitalist class as a whole.

These, in very brief, are the basic tenets of the Marxist theory of the class struggle which provides the key to an understanding of historical development, including the current eruption of the class struggle by the mobilization of class forces around the steel strike.

As against the class struggle the top union leaders preach and practice the theory of class collaboration. According to this concept there is an identity of interest between capital and labor in preserving the so-called "free enterprise" system. Or, as some of the labor statesmen put it: "Preserving the American way of life through labor-management cooperation." While they are ready to admit that class divisions exist in Europe and that class struggle is a common feature of that benighted continent, the American "democratic tradition" has supposedly dissolved classes into the people as a whole.

The workers have been assured by their union leaders, in season and out, that the most effective method of achieving a constantly improving standard of living is through the medium of labor-management cooperation. Then how explain the current anti-labor offensive? How explain the savage assault upon the unions spearheaded by the steel corporations solidly backed by the organized employers? How explain the strikebreaking policy of the government which is alleged to be an "impartial" body representing ALL the people?

### REUTHER EXPLAINS

Confronted with this dilemma, Walter Reuther, one of the more vocal practitioners of class collaboration puts his finger on what he considers the crux of the trouble — the class struggle. In a keynote speech to a recent conference of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department, Reuther explained:

"The National Association of Manufacturers and big business are waging a class struggle in America, precisely as Karl Marx wrote it would be waged. They are working overtime to prove that Karl Marx was right."

If there are no class divisions in America, then against whom would the NAM and big business be "waging a class struggle? And for what purpose? Just to prove that Karl Marx was right? Hardly! The NAM and Big Business are motivated by weightier considerations.

Not to be trapped into proving Marx right, Reuther goes on to warn: "If we begin to respond in kind, then we are going to do really serious damage to America and the cause of human freedom in the whole world. . . ."

While the NAM and Big Business are primarily concerned with such mundane aims as squeezing greater profits out of the hides of the workers, Reuther, you see, is occupied with the loftier considerations of "the cause of human freedom in the whole world . . ."

### COMPROMISE SHATTERED

Taking a hard look at reality, Reuther is forced to admit that the old pattern of collective bargaining has been shattered. Bargaining, as it has been practiced by the union officialdom, rests on the principle of compromise. Compromise is of the essence of class peace, or, as the labor statesmen would have it, "labor-management cooperation."

But the employers have summarily rejected the offer of



peaceful compromise and cooperation. Their bargaining consists of presenting the unions with an ultimatum — "Take it, or else!" As Reuther puts it in his speech "forcing the workers to strike, dragging out the settlement, and then enlistment of strikebreakers."

The union tops are very unhappy about this development. They long for a return to the good old days when some clever union negotiator would emerge from a collective bargaining session with some small concession that could be sold to the ranks as a great victory. Those days are gone! Today the employers not only refuse to grant concessions but demand that the union surrender concessions previously gained.

The union heads find themselves impaled on the horns of a dilemma. It is impossible for them to yield to the employers' ultimatums without provoking a major revolt of the ranks. Yet they fear to mobilize the ranks for militant action in a struggle for union survival which could not be confined within the framework of their class collaborationist policy. For it is on the foundation of class collaboration that the union bureaucracy has built its machine and that its elaborate structure of power and privilege rests.

### THE ANTI-LABOR LAW

Twist and turn as they will, the union bureaucrats cannot escape the reality of the class struggle. Their tortured explanations seek to conceal their dread role of engaging the enemy in open combat. The employers and their government have declared war on labor. This is acknowledged in an article published in the summer issue of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department Digest, significantly entitled: "The Anti-Labor War."

Carrying forward the theme of employer responsibility for "proving Karl Marx right," the article begins: "President Eisenhower told newsmen at a regular White House press conference last spring that he was disturbed by evidence of what he called a 'tendency' to adopt the theory that class warfare is inevitable between workers and employers."

"Mr. Eisenhower branded such ideas 'un-American.' He urged cooperation between labor and capital to advance the well-being of all citizens."

"The President's implication," the article complains, "was that labor bears a major portion of the blame for fomenting 'class war.'"

Stung to the quick, the union

leaders vehemently deny responsibility for any such "un-American" doctrine. The real culprits says the article, are "Today's resurgent right-wing intellectuals [who] have declared a kind of class war."

"If," the article continues, "our right-wing intellectuals have declared the class war and laid down its theoretical framework, our business leaders have not lagged in putting the theories to the test."

Then it wasn't Karl Marx but our unnamed "right-wing intellectuals" who laid down the "theoretical framework" of the class struggle and class warfare. How silly can you get?

The IUD Digest article gets down to brass tacks when it says: "Hardly a week goes by but that some prominent industrialist mounts the rostrum to declare war against our unions and their members." The industrialists not only talk but they act. The virtual lockout of the steel workers is evidence of the fact. This is the reality.

In the face of this reality whimpering sermons on the evils of class war are worse than useless and can only lead to the disarming of the workers in the declared "anti-labor war" of the employers. Yet, the union tops cling like a leech to the illusions of "class peace" as the accepted ideal of the "American way of life."

The old pattern of collective bargaining has admittedly broken down. Management has declared war on labor. The National Association of Manufacturers and big business have allegedly been "duped" into launching a class war. The capitalist government is solidly aligned with the employers. La-

bor is fighting for survival against heavy odds. The situation is desperate. What to do?

### REUTHER ADVOCATES TALK

The reality is class war — for whatever reason — whether the union tops like it or not. But some proceed on the premise that if reality doesn't conform to their preconceived notions then so much the worse for reality. After detailing the breakdown of peaceful co-existence bargaining in his speech to the IUD conference, Reuther goes on to say:

"I believe we need desperately

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**\$235 for Your Second Toe**

**Editor:**  
The Workmen's Compensation Act in Washington is a weird study in vivisection, with standard prices for each part dismembered. The injured worker, for example, will receive \$235 for the second or third toe when amputated, a little more for the great toe and less for the fourth or fifth toe.  
So it goes. Every part of the anatomy has a fixed retail price, plus a limited extra amount for hospitalization, doctors and medication.  
If a worker is killed in an industrial accident, his widow or nearest of kin will receive \$7,500 out of which she can pay burial expenses. But it really doesn't pay for the worker to get killed outright. He is worth considerably more on the installment plan — an eye now, a finger later, a toe, maybe a hand. Not only is the total payment higher but he also enjoys a much needed rest in the hospital. And his friends get to bring him flowers while he is still alive.  
The setup is considerate of his employer, too. If a worker is injured or killed on a job his employer can't be sued for damages. The worker is entitled only to the amount stipulated in the law.  
The employer pays a small monthly stipend for this service

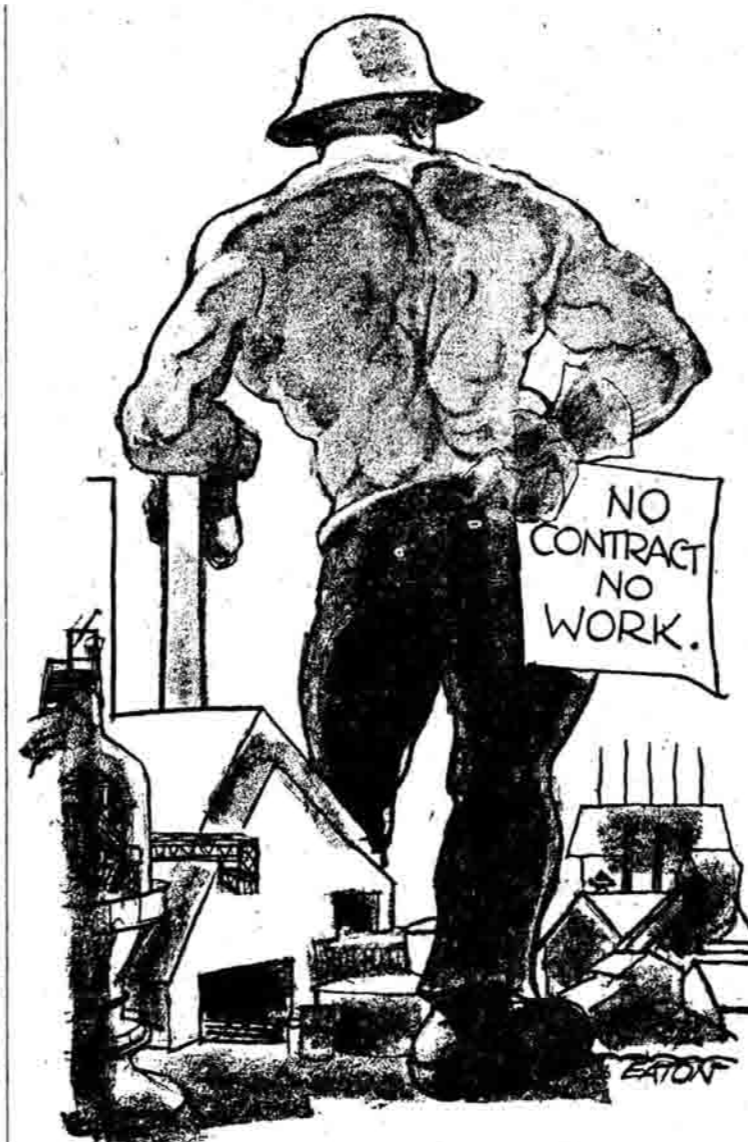
which saves him thousands of dollars in damage suits, lawyers fees, etc.  
After considering all these facts, our local union leaders decided to do something about a better deal for industrial-accident victims. They went lobbying down to Olympia and swapped jokes with our various liberal Democratic "friends" in the state legislature. And they actually got a couple of bills passed.  
After days of hard struggle in the Olympia cocktail lounges, they did some horse-trading. They swapped off some Old-Age Assistance provisions for two new clauses in the compensation act.  
The first provides coverage to "certain janitorial and maintenance personnel." The second assures the replacement of eye glasses broken in industrial accidents.  
Just think how fortunate a worker will be if he happens to be a janitor who gets his glasses broken when the elevator falls on him.  
Jack Wright  
Seattle

**Thinks Socialists Should Make Bid To Consumers**  
**Editor:**  
Congratulations on the comprehensiveness of the Socialist Workers Party convention resolution.

"Toward the 1960 Elections," published in your July 27 issue. It was a work of thorough analysis.  
I realize that in such documents a socialist convention can not cover all of the crimes of the capitalist profiteers, but a paragraph including some of the points made in your columns does seem missing. For example, the way production is cut back just to increase or hold the line on prices. The steel monopolists provide a good example of how to circumvent the law of supply and demand.  
Which reminds me of the correspondence, etc., in your columns about the need for a third party, which is 100% correct as a program. While I am a strong believer in socialism (even the realistic USSR variety) I think the name of a socialist party should be formulated so that it would also be attractive to our daily-gypped consumers and taxpayers. I'm not ingenious enough to devise a name, but it should have an immediate appeal to consumers, workers and taxpayers alike, if possible. (The word "progressive" is meaningless.)  
Today in Pennsylvania, three different government divisions require tax documentary stamps on deeds. This alone would justify a "revolution" by small home-owners — as such taxes did in 1776.  
J. K.  
Pennsylvania

**Crowd Stops Police from Shooting Boy**

**Members of the Negro community in St. Louis last week prevented two cops from shooting down a Negro youth. It was the fifth time in the past two months that Negroes in various parts of the country have acted to curb police violence.**  
The St. Louis incident came Aug. 17 when patrolmen Richard Jones and Donald Strate, both in plain clothes, pursued a youth they said was suspected of stealing a purse. Both were firing revolvers at him.  
People quickly converged on the cops shouting, "Don't shoot that boy." In a matter of minutes Jones and Strate were pinned against a cab by more than 500 people who were apparently unimpressed by the explanation that they were policemen.  
"It was the first time that I was scared since I joined the force," Jones said later.  
A squad of policemen, some carrying riot guns, used police dogs to disperse the crowd. A police spokesman asserted that "more drastic" action would be taken if citizens continued to "interfere" with police.  
On the same day in Mt. Vernon, N.Y., a group of Negroes prevented policemen from arresting and manhandling a Negro youth. The cops claimed he had ignored an order to move along and not block the sidewalk.  
Police said that when reinforcements came to assist in the arrest they were greeted by a shower of bottles and abuse. In the ensuing fracas, unidentified persons snatched the prisoner from officers.



— Reprinted from June 1959 Fairless Union News, published by Local 4889, United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO.

**San Francisco Truck Drivers Extend Picketing**

**SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 25 —** More than 60% of truck freight shipments in and out of the Bay Area was blocked yesterday as San Francisco Teamsters Local 85 extended its picket lines into Oakland and other East Bay points where member firms of two struck truckers' associations operate out of long-haul terminals.  
Today, Local 85 members on strike set up picket lines at ten of the biggest truck terminals in the East Bay area.  
All work at these terminals stopped. Loaded trucks were permitted to pull into the yards and park, but were not permitted to leave.  
Extension of picketing came after Superior Court Judge Orla St. Clair modified an injunction that limited picket lines to San Francisco and San Mateo counties.  
Meanwhile mass picketing and patrolling of streets and public highways here by the 5,000 strikers has been largely curbed. Union officials are pressing members to respect the ban on such picketing stipulated in the injunction.  
**RANK-AND-FILE REVOLT**  
The strike began Aug. 7 after a revolt by the local membership against the union officials' proposal that it accept a new three-year contract with two associations representing the city's major truckers. The men want a one-year pact. Such a short-term agreement would give them greater protection against steadily rising living costs and job losses from automation.  
In addition, the rank-and-file truck drivers want a \$2.50 wage increase. Wages now range from \$19.80 to \$21.80 a day. They also want a guarantee of eight hours work for a helper when he is called to work and improved holiday and vacation provisions.  
Both the truckers association and the union heads are now meeting with federal mediators who moved in on the strike without invitation by either side. So far no tangible result of this intervention has been reported.  
A further threat to the success of the strike has come from warehouses that have been shipping goods by rail to nearby cities and then transporting them here by non-striking teamsters.  
Longshore and warehouse union locals have pledged their cooperation to stop such shipments.  
Some trucks have now reappeared on the city streets, mostly moving government supplies, medicines and perishables.  
Sixty-five small trucking firms hiring 170 drivers have signed up. But all the major employers are still holding tough.

**Bail Is Granted To Willie Reid**

**NEW YORK, Aug. 21 —** The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People this week guaranteed bail of \$2,000 for Willie Reid, fugitive from a Florida chain gang, while his fight against extradition continues in the courts.  
Reid escaped several years ago from Lake County, Fla., where Sheriff Willis McCall, the "Negro-killing" officer is boss. Both Governors Harrison and Rockefeller ordered him returned to Florida — a move that could well mean death for Reid.  
The U.S. Court of Appeals last week ordered Reid freed on bail while his attorneys file a petition for a review of the case by the U.S. Supreme Court.

**Calendar of Events**

**NEW YORK**  
You are invited to attend the **New York State Conference on Independent and Socialist Political Action in 1960.** Sat., Sept. 26, 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. and Sunday, Sept. 27, 11 a.m. to 4 p.m. **Fraternal Clubhouse, 110 W. 48th St. (Off Times Sq.) New York City.** Auspices **United Independent-Socialist Committee.** For more information write or phone for a free copy of the **UI-SC Newsletter, 799 Broadway, New York, 3.** Phone Gr. 5-9736.  
For a cool, informative and interesting evening, attend the **Penthouse Starlight Forum, Sunday, Aug. 30, 8 p.m. 59 W. 71 St., N. Y. C. (Penthouse 10A) Ausp.** **United Independent-Socialist Committee.**  
The **Khrushchev-Eisenhower Meetings and the Prospects for World Peace** will be the subject of the first of the regular Friday night forum series sponsored by the **Militant Labor Forum, Friday, Sept. 18, 8 p.m. at 116 University Place (Off Union Sq.)**  
**DENVER**  
A **Socialist Discussion Series** will be sponsored this fall by the **Denver Militant Labor Forum.** For information write to: **Militant Labor Forum, Box 724, Denver 1, Colo.**

**Which World for Nancy?**

**By Marvel Scholl**  
She is only three and a half. With her blonde curls and pixy face, wiry little body that is never still, Nancy commands a great and enfolding love from everyone who belongs to her. All of her family, including her almost contemporary cousin, shower this child with a special kind of love — almost as though each was trying to protect her from a danger she doesn't know exists. And this should not have to be.

Nancy is a perfectly normal little girl, not handicapped in any way. She has perfect vision, straight and sturdy limbs, a bright mind.  
Yet she is moving into an age when knowledge without understanding is going to hurt her. For, despite her blonde curls and apricot-and-cream complexion, Nancy is partly Negro.  
She has no conception of "color." Her friends and nursery school mates are all colors. Yet somebody, probably a child, has already tormented this baby with the fact that she isn't lily white.  
I caught a brief glimpse into her awakening consciousness one night recently and what I saw troubled me.  
Rosy and clean, her hair brushed, she nestled in my lap for a bedtime story. We went through Mother Goose, Captain Peter, the Three Little Pigs and Raggedy Anne. Then came the new book — about three little kittens, all dressed up in their mother's clothes. One was black, one white, the other mixed black and white. We read along for a few pages and

suddenly her little finger darted out to point at a picture.  
"That's me," she said.  
"Which one is you, darling?" I asked and pointed, beginning at the left, to the first kitten — the black one.  
Her little body flew up. "No, no," she stormed. "I'm not black! I'm not black!" And she began to cry.  
A small incident — yes. If it were not for the big problem behind it.  
All children have an inalienable right — but a right which no child born under capitalism enjoys — the right to a decent, prejudice-free world where worth is determined by action, not by color, creed, or national origin.  
All children should have another right — to hold their heads high and proud. Secure in the knowledge that no one is their master.  
That is what we who love her want for Nancy. That is one of the reasons we are all fighters for socialism for a world where greed and profit no longer exist; where education, culture and economic security are taken for granted; where all children can grow and live and learn and expand. Not be cowed, fearful and inhibited as capitalist society seeks to shape them.  
Nancy is lucky. She has a socialist family and hundreds of socialist friends to help her understand the world she lives in and the world we are fighting to build. She will grow up, proud of both her races, her head high.  
It should be so for all children.

**SAINT-PAUL INCIDENT**

It was also on Aug. 17 that St. Paul police used dogs and fire hoses to disperse some 300 persons who acted to stop policemen from roughing up a Negro man. The cops seized him after he had told his white wife not to submit to a cross-examination about why she was in a Negro neighborhood. The incident reflected long-smoldering indignation against harassment of Negroes by St. Paul police.  
The anti-Negro bias of the cops was crudely but plainly expressed by Police Chief William Proetz at an open meeting of the St. Paul NAACP called to discuss the incident.  
Proetz bluntly stated that he had ordered his cops to stop any "suspicious" person and demand identification. If the persons stopped were unwilling or unable to produce satisfactory identification he said, the police were to arrest them by whatever means they deemed necessary.  
He further asserted that interrogation of white women in the Negro section was justified because they were "foreigners in the community." At this point the audience jeered, and many people walked out in disgust.  
Police brutality against Negroes provoked two recent spontaneous protest actions in New York City. On July 13, a thousand Harlem residents moved in to stop policemen from beating a woman prisoner and then milled in front of the local police precinct until they were convinced that the woman and another prisoner were not being beaten inside the station house.  
In the East Bronx, Aug. 9, 300 people hemmed in policemen who were beating a prisoner with gun butts. Like the St. Louis patrolman, one of the two cops said later: "We were both scared stiff."

**Strike-Relief Fund Sought by Aliquippa Local**

**PITTSBURGH, Aug. 18 —** Financial aid may be forthcoming for distress cases among the 12,000 striking members of Aliquippa Local 1211 of the United Steel Workers. Nicholas Mamula, president of the Jones & Laughlin local, announced yesterday that he will ask the executive board to give the strike committee \$50,000 from the local's general fund. It would be used to help pay medical bills and other urgent expenses.  
Mamula, who was a leader of the dues protest movement here, said he would also propose that a permanent strike fund be set up by the local 30 days after the present shut-down. Ten cents of each dollar of local income would go into the strike fund.  
The international union has never set up a strike fund. Three years ago, a \$2 dues hike was put through for a union "war chest," but nothing was ever set aside for strike benefits. However, Mamula contends, nothing in the union constitution bars local strike funds.  
The need for financial action was underscored when county welfare officials reported that 60% of the strikers applying for relief are being accepted as against 44% in previous strikes. A striker must be absolutely penniless to qualify for relief. Officials say last year's recession helped boost the number of eligible applicants.

**Notes in the News**

**A FIRST-CLASS DOG** — An army general's pet Irish Setter, and two sergeants assigned to care for him, sailed to Korea in first-class accommodations on a troopship. Meanwhile, 2,135 men, including two Korean doctors, sweltered below deck in quarters normally holding 1,698 berths. One of the men aboard wrote to a San Francisco paper describing the incident. Armed forces spokesmen said that many dogs are transported overseas for Army families and that it was standard procedure for "Korean males [to] go troop class." He added that the sergeants would have been given first-class quarters even if they weren't sweeping up after the dog. The man who wrote the letter from the hold is a sergeant.

**NOT RELYING ON CON EDISON** — New York's power failure Aug. 17 could have caused a "disastrous breakdown" in municipal hospital service, warned Hospital Commissioner Dr. Morris Jacobs. On Aug. 22, he urged that the city equip 13 hospitals with emergency generators. Eight of 28 municipal hospitals have their own power plants. During the breakdown of Consolidated Edison cables five premature babies in electric incubators at one city hospital had to be rushed elsewhere. "We were lucky," Dr. Jacobs said. "If the power failure had been more widespread we would have been in one hell of a fix."

**JIM CROW IN DETROIT PUBLIC HOUSING** — The Detroit Public Housing Commission discriminates against Negro applicants for public housing, and those Negroes accepted are invariably assigned to segregated projects. A study by the Detroit Commission on Community Relations found that 76% of all white applicants were accepted for project apartments whereas only 61% of the Negroes who applied were housed. An applicant's race "does affect... the chances of obtaining a dwelling unit," the report charged. This was denied by housing director Harry Durbin, who also claimed that assignment to specific projects was based on the applicants' choice. But the study showed that less than 2% of white applicants were assigned to projects not of their own choosing while 11% of Negro applicants were put in projects they had not requested.

**ALABAMA LIBRARIAN FACES OUSTER** — The Alabama Legislature's Segregation Screening Committee is seeking the removal of Miss Emily Reed, director of the Alabama Public Library Service, because the organization had listed Rev. Martin Luther King's book,

"Stride Toward Freedom." The book is an account of the Montgomery bus boycott movement. State Senator E. O. Eddins angrily declared, "I asked Miss Reed if she believed in integration and she refused to tell me. She said that had nothing to do with running a library." The state librarian first came under fire for permitting circulation of the children's book, "The Rabbits' Wedding," in which a black rabbit marries a white rabbit.  
**RACIST GOVERNOR INSISTS KENNEDY IS 'FRIEND.'** — Gov. John Patterson of Alabama is under fire from rabid segregationists because he endorsed Massachusetts Senator John Kennedy for the Democratic presidential nomination. A committee of segregationists fired questions at him to prove that he is "being used as a guinea pig by the Communist-Jewish integrators." Patterson told the group that Kennedy "is a friend" and cited his own white supremacist record. He said no Alabama school will be integrated "unless they pass over my body."

**'TEMPORARY HYSTERIA'** — The plunge in stock prices following the announcement of the Khrushchev visit to the U.S. evoked newspaper advice to Wall Street. "The stock market's edginess over the possibility that peace might break out as a result of the Eisenhower-Khrushchev meetings was regarded as premature," said the Associated Press. "Temporary hysteria" was responsible for the market drop said an Aug. 13 editorial in the Nashville Tennessean. Pointing out that the government does not intend to give up its multi-billion dollar arms program, the editorial suggested: "What the smart operators of Wall Street need is tranquilizers that will sooth their nerves and keep them from jumping to unjustified conclusions."

**TOWN FACES POLICE BRUTALITY SUIT** — Three residents of Lyons, Colo., are suing the township and its ex-marshal for \$105,000 for assault and false arrest. Lewis McLaughlin charged that the marshal, Lester McFarland, stopped him outside the town limits, forced him to turn back, knocked him unconscious and threw him in jail. McLaughlin was later released with no charges made against him. Mr. and Mrs. Earl Smith say that the marshal came to their home and beat them after they attended a meeting of town residents to protest his behavior. The three victims also directed their suit against the town board because they said it had encouraged the "vicious, wanton and brutal behavior" of the marshal who resigned a few weeks ago.

**Local Directory**

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Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200.
- CHICAGO**  
Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9736.
- CLEVELAND**  
Socialist Workers Party 10609 Superior Ave., Room 301, SW 1-1818. Open Wednesday nights 7 to 9. The Militant, P.O. Box 1904, University Center Station, Cleveland 6, Ohio.
- DETROIT**  
Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, TEmple 1-6135.
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Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238.
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