

# Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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## UAW Rejects GM's Terms

Conference Brands Them Inadequate; Old Pact Continues In Force

Detroit, Mich.

Representatives of the workers in General Motors plants throught the country, meeting over the week-end in a conference called by the United Automobile Workers of America, unanimously rejected as inadequate the offers made by the General Motors management to be included in the new agreement between the union and the automobile concern. Homer Martin, president of the U.A.W.A., declared, in a letter to William Knudsen, head of General Motors, that the corporation's proposals fail "even reasonably" to provide "a just and workable relationship between corporation and union."

With the rejection of General Motor's new proposals, the old agreement, arrived at the conclusion of the memorable G.M. general strike in the early part of this year, remains in full force. Negotiations with the corporation will, of course, continue until the present agreement is supplemented and modified in line with the union's demands.

So confident does the U.A.W. feel of its overwhelming support among the automobile workers in the General Motors plants that it has declared its readiness to accept a National Labor Relations Board election, either on a plant or company-wide basis, for the purpose of determining the union's right to be sole-bargaining agency for G.M.'s employees.

## New Jersey Labor Party Is Formed

An attempt to form a New Jersey labor party, with both C.I.O. and A. F. of L. unions affiliated, will be started next month, it was announced last week by Carl Holderman, chairman of Labor's Non-Partisan League of that state. The initial conference will be held at Newark on December 5 and every trade union in the state has been invited to send delegates. Mayor LaGuardia of New York City and Luigi Antonini, chairman of the American Labor Party of New York, are to be among the speakers to address the gathering.

Mr. Holderman, who is also New Jersey director of the C.I.O. Textile Workers Organization Committee, said a new party was necessary because of the "callous disregard of the rights of labor" by both the Democratic and Republican parties in this state. He referred particularly to the anti-labor views of Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City, supporter of United States Senator A. Harry Moore, who is governor-elect to succeed Harold G. Hoffman.

"It is absolutely necessary at this time," said Mr. Holderman, "to be prepared to resist the domination of the state government by the Hague and Hoffman alliance in the next term of Governor Moore."

## Detroit Elections and People's Front

By WILL HERBERG

LABOR'S participation in the recent elections as an independent force constitutes a development of first-rate importance in the shifting scene of American class relations. In its victories and defeats, in its achievements and snortcomings, it is replete with experiences of far-reaching significance. In fact, upon the degree to which labor proves capable of grasping and assimilating the lessons of the recent elections, will depend, to a considerable extent, the real headway it will be able to make on the political field in the near future. The best service that those who aspire to leadership in the labor movement can render it in this situation is to bring to it a clear, a realistic, a class-conscious understanding of its own political experiences in the perspective of the movement as a whole and in organic relation to its ultimate aims and objectives.

### The Daily Worker On The Detroit Elections

All the more vile, therefore, are the brazen perversions and distortions spread by the Stalinist press as to the meaning of the recent

elections in New York and Detroit and the lessons that labor must learn from them. Instead of attempting to raise the level of class consciousness and class understanding among the masses, the Stalinists are deliberately at work degrading and confusing it. Instead of trying to fan into flame the first sparks of political class consciousness among the masses, the Stalinists are doing everything in their power to smother them in a heavy blanket of "progressive," "democratic" phrases in which there is not a sign of working-class spirit.

In the Daily Worker of November 5, there is a long editorial estimating the results of the elections. How thoroly reactionary is the political orientation of this self-styled "communist" paper and of the party it represents, can be seen best from what it has to say about Detroit.

"This is shown by the successes and the failures in Tuesday's elections. New York and Detroit are cases in point . . . Detroit, where the entire labor slate was defeated, presents a picture that is the reverse of New York . . . The chief reason lies in the narrow approach to the whole problem of defeating

(Continued on Page 7)

### "NOBODY STARVES IN THE U. S."

WILLIAM TROELLER, thirteen years old, committed suicide by hanging on Tuesday, November 9, at his home in the Greepoint section of Brooklyn. His father had lost his job with the Brooklyn Edison Company because of an accident; a technicality deprived him of compensation, altho the company gave him a "certificate of merit" along with his dismissal notice. In the entire family of seven, Harold, Jr., 21, a W.P.A. worker making \$54 a month, was the only breadwinner. The Troellers had once been on home relief but they were dropped from the rolls some months ago because, with a brazen disregard for all rules and regulations, Mr. Troeller had attempted to make a little extra money by selling Christmas trinkets. The electricity and gas had been shut off. There was no food in the house—a month before, they had had some stew meat but none since. For days, they had lived on some potatoes. On Tuesday night, unable to keep himself going any longer, William committed suicide. . . .

## Union Parley Halted Again

Will Resume Nov. 18; Clash Over Industry Lines Ends Sessions

Another adjournment, this time for eight days, ended the second series of "peace" conferences between the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. held at Washington last week. The thirteen-man joint committee will reconvene on November 18.

The discussions had started off on a new tack when it was proposed to explore in detail those fields of industry where the A. F. of L. would agree to accept industrial unionism as the official form of organization. For a time, this method of approach held out some promise of results but, in the end, it became clear that nothing substantial could be achieved because of the refusal of the Federation delegates to make any formal commitments on which industries should be "turned over" to the C.I.O. Another difficulty was the unwillingness of the A. F. of L. spokesmen to define what the limits of an industry were in each particular case; without agreement on such a definition, all discussion of "apportioning" specific industries to the C.I.O. must, of course, remain inconclusive.

In view of the new deadlock reached, the original proposal to appoint sub-committees to examine the situation in particular industries, was dropped.

Despite the lack of concrete results of the "peace" conferences hitherto, the C.I.O. spokesmen reiterated their desire to achieve unity in the labor movement on a basis that would safeguard the principles of industrial unionism and the trade union organizations that have been built up by the C.I.O. in the last year and a half.

## Fascist Regime Set Up In Brazil

A new constitution for Brazil setting up a "corporative state" along the fascist model was approved and put into immediate effect last week by the country's dictator, President Getulio Vargas. The federal congress, the state assemblies and the municipal councils were all dissolved and more power and authority was concentrated in the hands of the president than any head of the state has ever possessed since the days of the empire. All political parties, labor and social organizations of a liberal cast, were also banned.

According to the official announcement, there will be established a Consultative Council of National Economy, made up of representatives of "commercial, professional and industrial associations" on the Italian and German models. But actual power, apparently, is to remain in the hands of Vargas and his clique.

In Washington, there is said to be considerable concern over recent developments in Brazil as foreshadowing an increasingly unfavorable situation for American capital.

## FACING A NEW CRISIS

By Jay Lovestone

ON April 3, 1937, the Workers Age declared editorially: "We are in the throes of a precarious boom. The forces making for the present prosperity are the forces preparing the ground for the crisis ahead. This does not mean that we are now on the threshold of a great crisis. It does mean that the present prosperity is very shoddy. It does mean that the present prosperity, no less than the recent crisis, serves to accentuate the contradictions inherent in capitalism as an international system and in American capitalism as an integral part of the world structure. . . ."

"The gap between productive capacities and the possibilities for consuming the products turned out, is widening. In this chasm gather all the elements of crisis. The sources, the causes of the crisis, which is not yet at hand, which we are not facing immediately, but which is developing in the very midst of and because of the character of the very prosperity at hand, can be overcome only with the overcoming of capitalism as a social and economic system. . . ."

### Depression In Full Swing

The serious economic depression forecast above is now in full swing. Not even the meekest worshipper of Roosevelt as the Messiah of "all the people" can today deny with the slightest semblance of sanity the fact that a first-class economic blizzard is sweeping the country. In fact, after acting a la Hoover, after stubborn insistence that things are just swell, that happy days were never so numerous as they are now, the White House itself has been compelled to take

cognizance—in a hesitating and inadequate manner, it is true—of stark reality at hand. That is the basis of the Roosevelt conference with the biggest business brains of the country for the purpose of uncovering and discovering some cures. That is the why and wherefore of the promises being made by the Roosevelt Administration for "easing taxes," "new RFC loans," for "using the Social-Security fund," for the recent change of stock-market regulations in order "to spur business." With the possible exception of the economic "theorists" of the Communist Party, nearly everybody now recognizes that what we have in the country is not a conspiracy by "big business" to weaken the "strong progressive hand of that great liberal President," not a mere stock-market flurry, but a serious depression.

### Stock Market Collapses

The collapse on the New York Stock Exchange, while not as great as the 1929 chute, approximates the debacle of 1920-21. In some respects, it resembles the panic of 1907. We say panic because that is what you face when you have a situation in which about half of the listed shares have fallen more than 50% in price within a few months. It is not insignificant that industrial shares have lost about 40% of the ground they recovered since the 1932 lows were touched. Railroad shares have lost 60% and utilities more than 80% of this ground. Even for so wealthy and powerful an economic unit as the United States, a drop of \$25,000,000,000 in stock-market share

"values" is a phenomenon of major import. Especially sinister is the significance of this drop because it was not preceded, as has been usually the case, by a genuine or artificial shortage of credit. American capitalism continues to choke with a physical but unusable superabundance of credit.

It is true that the stock-market is not an accurate reflector and effective barometer of the immediate economic situation at hand. It is also true, however, that it is in no small measure a vital index of the economic situation in process of development, of moods and plans, of outlook for the next and nearest future. It is likewise unchallengeable that the stock-market has substantial effects on the trends in production.

Anticipating a decline in steel production, the stock-market began to fall weeks ahead of time. Once the stock-market did go down, it served to stimulate the downward trend in steel which had already started. For instance, this week, steel production is operating at 41% capacity. Here we have a drop of 7.6 points in a week. This is a drop of more than 15% in a few days. It is the ninth consecutive drop. It marks a reduction of more than 50% in production in a period of nine weeks, and is half the average production rate maintained for the first nine months of this year. The present operating figures in the steel industry are the lowest since July 1935. We have not yet reached bottom.

We have already reached, according to the Times index of business activity, the lowest level

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WORKERS AGE

Organ of the National Council, Independent Communist Labor League...

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A DANGEROUS PRACTICE

The decision of the National Labor Relations Board to void the "closed-shop" agreement between the A. F. of L. electrical workers union and the Consolidated-Edison Company...

By long and honored tradition, the closed shop has become widely recognized as one of the great aims of the trade-union movement...

But what has the A. F. of L. done to the closed-shop idea? In the heat of its frantic struggle to crush the industrial-union movement...

It is hardly necessary to point out how profoundly dangerous such practices on the part of the A. F. of L. are for the whole labor movement.

But even from the very narrowest standpoint, the A. F. of L. policy is suicidal. No labor organization can long maintain itself as such...

It is the duty of all members of the A. F. of L., no matter what may be their opinion of the C.I.O., so long only as they have the interests of labor at heart...

WHY THE DELAY IN THE POUM TRIALS?

(From the Spanish Labor News Service)

The long delays in bringing the P.O.U.M. leaders to trial can be attributed to two main causes.

(1) The first is the problem of which kind of law, civil or military, is applicable. This question has involved both the defense and the prosecution in all sorts of legal arguments.

In addition, Pabon, in a preliminary session between the lawyers for the prosecution and for the defense, made the point that his clients could not be tried under a law passed after their alleged crimes.

(2) The second reason for the

FROM the October 14 issue of the Madrid paper, C. N.T., authoritative organ of the National Confederation of Labor...

"Despite everything that its enemies may say, the P.O.U.M. is growing stronger every day in Catalonia."

delay is the fact that Pabon is still in France and refuses to return to Spain unless the government assures him of protection against arrest and incarceration.

Pabon, who is a deputy from Zaragoza, has already been attacked by the communist press for his

(Continued on Page 3)

By Lambda

WORLD TODAY

The Situation In China And The Role Of The Kuomintang

London, October 20, 1937.

THE reports of the victories of the Eighth Army (the former Red Army) in the province of Shansi and of the stiff resistance put up by the Chinese at Shanghai...

The Japanese have conquered a section of China twice the size of Germany in two months.

These facts indicate clearly that Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang are incapable of rallying the necessary military and moral forces to check Japan...

By a strange turn of fate, the Roosevelt administration seems destined to follow a course similar to that followed by the Wilson administration.

THE ELECTION IN FRANCE

The run-off elections in France did not materially change the results of the primaries. There was, nevertheless, a decided swing to the right on the part of the masses within the People's Front.

The statistics analyzing the elections compiled by Le Temps are quite revealing. Just 223 Radical-Socialists and Republican-Socialists were elected with the support of the right wing...

What effect will the election results have on the political set-up of France? 1. The Chautemps-Blum regime will continue in power and swing to the right.

THE SECOND WORLD WAR IS HERE

By Bertram D. Wolfe

(This is the first article of a series of three that, in their entirety, constitute a condensed version of the stenogram of the report delivered by Bertram D. Wolfe to a recent membership meeting of the I.C.L.L. in New York, opening a discussion on the war situation.—The Editor.)

THE Second World War in reality has already begun. Its flames are burning inward from the periphery of our world towards its center where they will meet in a general conflagration.

As in 1911 to 1914 it was in the Balkans and Northern Africa, so today in the Mediterranean and the Far East, the war is already on.

By a strange turn of fate, the Roosevelt administration seems destined to follow a course similar to that followed by the Wilson administration.

It is becoming fashionable to argue that Marxism is un-American, that it is inapplicable to American conditions and problems.

America Ripe For Socialism. From the historical angle, Marxism maintains that capitalism moves toward socialism. It does so in two ways: by preparing the objective economic conditions for socialism—socialization of the means of production within the relations of capitalist production itself...

The Chicago Speech

The Chicago speech of President Roosevelt is a call for the country to arm. The stirring words, the brilliant phraseology, with which that policy is enveloped, are new, but the policy there advanced was actually discussed and decided upon as a long-range policy for American imperialism prior to the inauguration of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

It was discussed in a conference between Roosevelt and Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of State of the Hoover administration, while Hoover was still in office and while Roosevelt was the President-elect.

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In order to guarantee the continuity of imperialist policy, Norman Davis, Morgan agent, was appointed by Herbert Hoover in his closing term, or in the closing months of his term, and was continued as ambassador-at-large and representative plenipotentiary of the House of Morgan and the government of the United States at the same time.

However much the New Deal may represent a change in domestic policy as between the Republican and Democratic administrations, there has been no change whatsoever in fundamental foreign policy.

The fundamental meaning of the Chicago speech does not lie in its fair-sounding words. The primary

Marxism and . S. Labor

By LYMAN FRASER

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rights of employers in the enterprises of the nation, a foreshadowing of the complete abolition of those rights when the working class becomes master of industry and society. The C.I.O. and its industrial unionism are further limiting those rights.

concern of the American government is not a concern for the fate of small nations. If you have doubt as to that, you need only recall the attitude of the Roosevelt administration in Ethiopia or you need only consider the unilateral boycott in the Spanish civil war.

The central concern of the Chicago speech is the concern of the head of a great imperialist power with the interests of American capital in the Far East.

Diplomatic Background Of The Chicago Address. Let us examine the background of the Chicago speech. Last Spring, President Roosevelt called the representatives of the Navy and the State departments into a single joint conference—a most unusual affair. He asked the heads of the Navy to prepare a strategic plan to block Japan's advance into China.

The admirals present answered him by proposing a naval blockade to be run jointly by England and the

United States. This blockade, they said, might avoid war if sanctioned by either the League of Nations or by the signatories to the Nine-Power Pact!

The plan was adopted in principle at that time but Roosevelt correctly judged that the public was not yet ready for it. He decided to wait for a strategic moment and we must say, to his credit, that he selected his moment with great skill.

Why was the State Department present at this conference? The State Department was present because it had the task of transmitting the plan to Great Britain. But the British admiralty has since objected to the whole proposal.

How does the stock-market analyze the Chicago speech? I quote from the financial page of the New York Times: "A strong wave of opinion that President Roosevelt's speech in Chicago . . . represented a warming up to an approaching extensive rearmament program swept the financial district yesterday."

How is it that stocks did not shoot up? The Times analyst asks. And he answers: "It naturally would take some months for a rearmament program to be formulated, coordinated, enacted into law and carried into effect. It would, therefore, be a long time before mills began rolling steel for new battleships, cannon or other armaments that might be required."

This, then, is the political significance of the recent Chicago speech which has pleased Earl Browder and the editors of the Daily Worker so well.

(The second article in this series will appear next week. —THE EDITOR.)

WHY THE DELAY IN POUM TRIALS?

(Continued from Page 2)

willingness to accept the case of the P.O.U.M. prisoners. Some time ago, Pabon, in an open letter to the editors of the Communist Party paper, Frente Rojo, answered their charges by insisting that he had accepted the defense responsibilities for the sake of justice, since in that way he felt that he was serving the cause of the war and the revolution.

Recent unconfirmed reports that the labor lawyers have been released encourage the hope that Pabon will return to Spain and that the trials will proceed without further delay. In addition, the news of the release of several of the lesser P.O.U.M. leaders seems to indicate the possibility that popular pressure, since the murder of Nin, has prevented the complete annihilation of these groups and individuals not in total political sympathy with present governmental policies.

Yet American Marxism should be leashed by an uneven development in

The Marxist Quarterly

in its Winter Issue presents:

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CHANGING NATURE OF MONOPOLY CAPITALISM by G. Reimann
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# THE U. S. S. R. AFTER TWENTY YEARS

## Vast Social Achievements and a Bureaucratic Scourge

By M. S. MAUTNER

THE celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the Russian Revolution only too often tends to assume merely its literal aspect of commemorating a single event now two decades old. The realities of the present day Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics and the twenty years of its history are belauded in their significance by the bewildering manifestations of crisis and degeneration that have made their appearance during the past two years. Grave doubts as to the validity of Marxism and the soundness of the Bolshevik road to socialism are beginning to assail sections of the labor movement; whose general political trend is towards the Leninist doctrine yet waxes apace in that direction is blocked by what appears to be the practice of Leninism in the U.S.S.R.

For the orthodox Stalinist, there is, of course, no problem for there is no crisis in the Soviet Union—save that the presidents or premiers of all but one of the constituent republics, seventeen leading commissars in all branches of economic life, practically all of the heads of the trade unions and other social organizations, together with thousands of state and party functionaries, have suddenly been discovered to be traitors in the pay of Japanese imperialism or German fascism! For the orthodox Trotskyite, too, there is not much of a problem: the Thermidorian reaction triumphed over ten years ago and now you have its belated, yet legitimate, fruits. But, for the advanced worker who does some thinking for himself, the problem lies precisely in the fact that the same Stalinist regime which is now leaving destruction and demoralization in the wake of its campaign of political terror only yesterday led the Russian people in the great socialist offensive of the Five-Year Plan. The identification of "Stalinism" with socialist construction is

at once historically correct and historically limited and this contradiction frequently leads either to the denial of socialist economics or to the repudiation of socialist politics.

**What Has Been Achieved In The Soviet Union?**

What has been achieved in the Soviet Union that is of fundamental economic significance? It is mere malicious superficiality to see in what has been accomplished nothing but the erection of factories in a land of waving grain, or the replacement of primitive sources of power by electricity. It is a crude misconception that "Russia, under the Bolsheviks, has simply achieved what capitalism and the capitalists did for Western Europe fifty or more years ago." Why, then, did capitalism and the capitalists fail to do the same in Russia? Industrialization in the U.S.S.R. is not merely the erection of plants and the mechanization of agriculture under conditions of modern technology, leaving fundamental social relations untouched. The whole achievement of the October Revolution and its twenty years of development since, consists precisely in that it made possible the regeneration of backward, feudal Russia by a complete and basic transformation of social and property relations. The real justification of the Russian revolution lies in that only the proletariat, in alliance with the poor peasantry, could accomplish in Russia the modernization of the country—but only on a new class-economic basis, only on the basis of socialism.

The achievement of Soviet rule, no matter what may yet be in store for it, is indelible: the creation of modern means and forms of production on the basis of the new socialist order. "Even if the Stalinist bureaucracy should succeed in destroying the economic

foundations of the new society," declares Leon Trotsky, the most inveterate opponent of the present Soviet regime, "the experience of planned economy under the leadership of the Bolshevik party will have entered history for all time as one of the greatest teachings of all time."

**A Bourgeois Estimate Of The Soviet Balance-Sheet**

Writing in the *New York Times* (November 7) to provide the American bourgeoisie with a sober estimate of the Soviet balance-sheet, Calvin B. Hoover makes the following evaluation:

"Finally it is possible to say that Russia under Stalin is a socialist society? Private ownership of the means of production has practically ceased to exist. The old class lines have been almost wholly abolished. The inequality of compensation which exists is not inconsistent in principle with the early stages of socialism as visualized by Marx, Engels and Lenin. Capitalism, as it existed in any previous historical manifestation, is certainly not being reestablished."

manent duty in the government of the state, in addition to attending the meetings of the soviet; and in the fact that the whole population to a man should be gradually brought both to take part in soviet organization (on condition that they submit to the organizations of the toilers) and to serve in the government of the state.

The accomplishment of these tasks demands:

In the political sphere: to develop the Soviet Republic.

Advantages of the soviets (Proshchenko pp. 13-14) (six points).\*

The extension of the soviet constitution, in the measure that the resistance of the exploiters ceases, to the whole population.

A federation of nations as a transition to a conscious and closer unity of the toilers who have learnt voluntarily to rise above national enmity.

Ruthless suppression of the resistance of the exploiters is essential; the standards of "general" (i.e., bourgeois) democracy must be subordinated to this aim and must make way for it:

"Liberties" and democracy not for all but for the toiling and exploited masses for the purpose of their emancipation from exploitation; ruthless suppression of the exploiters.

Emphasis to be transferred from formal recognition of liberties (as was the case under bourgeois parliamentarism) to actually ensuring the enjoyment of liberties by the toilers and those who have overthrown the exploiters, e.g., from the recognition of freedom of assembly to the transfer of all best halls and premises to the workers; from the recognition of freedom of the press to the transfer of the best printing establishments to the workers, etc.

A brief enumeration of these "liberties" from the old minimum program. . . .

(The arming of the workers and disarming of the bourgeoisie.)

Transition thru the soviet state to the gradual destruction of the state by systematically enlisting an increasing number of citizens, and then all citizens to a man, in the direct and daily share of the burden of governing the state.

\* This refers to a section of Lenin's pamphlet "Can the Bolsheviks Retain Power?", first published in October 1917 in the Bolshevik journal, *Prosvetshenie*.

\*\* In the old social-democratic program, there was a section on civil and political liberties, including freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of coalition (labor organization), etc.

the historical epoch of world revolution!

### The Two Phases Of Stalinism

We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that this new society of which world-historical significance, was erected, to a considerable degree, at least, thru the driving force and the political leadership of the Stalin group. This is not to be denied; Trotsky himself declares that "it would be criminal to deny the progressive work accomplished by the soviet bureaucracy. . . . Its roots are imbedded in the nationalized means of production and it is compelled to safeguard and develop them." But it is equally true that this progressive mission has been completely exhausted and that, even in accomplishing its social work, Stalinism simultaneously consolidated a bureaucratic regime in state and party that is dangerously undermining the foundations of the soviet power: itself. In the past, its positive and constructive aspects predominated: it was the builder of socialism. Today, it has entered its negative and destructive phase: it is undermining, degrading, endangering its own achievements.

It is, then, with the profoundly significant achievements of the twenty years in the forefront, that we approach the new stage in the history of the Soviet Union and the Bolshevik party. For the first time in the thirty-four years of its struggle, the top leadership of that party is pursuing a course directly in opposition to the historical needs and interests of the masses. And the present course of the Stalinist clique assumes its reactionary character precisely because of the essential soundness and success of its policies of yesterday. The terrific drive for heavy industrialization and collectivization of agriculture, with which Stalin has been identified, stands

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## Lenin On Soviets

(The following theses on the soviet power are from the draft of a program for the Russian Communist Party presented by Lenin to the eighth congress of the party in March 1919. These theses are of fundamental significance in the light they cast on Lenin's conceptions of the nature, structure and tasks of the proletarian state after the experiences of nearly a year and a half of revolution. Lenin's theses were accepted with minor changes and were incorporated in the party program.—The Editor.)

THE consolidation and development of soviet government as a form—already tested by experience and advanced by the mass movement and the revolutionary struggle—of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the poor peasantry (semi-proletarians).

The consolidation and development must consist in the accomplishment (the widest most general and systematic accomplishment) of the tasks which historically fall to this form of state power, to this new type of state, namely:

1. The union and organization of the toiling and exploited masses oppressed by capitalism—and only of them, i.e., only of the workers and poor peasants, the semi-proletarians—with the automatic exclusion of the exploiting classes and the wealthy representatives of the petty bourgeoisie.
2. The union of the most energetic, active and class-conscious part of the oppressed classes, their vanguard, which must train the whole toiling population to a man for independent participation in the administration of the state, not theoretically but practically.
3. The abolition of parliamentar-

## Stalin On Lenin

(We publish below some very interesting passages from an article by J. Stalin entitled "Lenin—The Mountain Peak." It is perhaps not surprising that this article does not appear in either the English or American editions of Stalin's writings. It is to be found in the *Workers Monthly* of March 1926. We earnestly recommend it to the study of the devoted Stalinists of today, those worshippers at the altar of the "Great Leader.")

—THE EDITOR.

ONLY afterwards I understood that the simplicity and modesty of Lenin, his striving to remain unnoticed or, at any rate, not to become conspicuous and not to emphasize his high position—that this is one of the strongest traits of Lenin, the new leader of the new masses, the simple and ordinary of humanity. . . .

There were times in the history of our party when the opinion of the majority or the momentary interests of the party came into conflict with the fundamental interests of the proletariat. In such cases, Lenin, without hesitation, stood resolutely for principle against the majority of the party. Moreover, he didn't fear in such a case to come forth literally alone against all the rest, relying on the fact that, as he often expressed it, "the policy of stern adherence to principle is the truest policy."

The following two illustrations are especially characteristic of this attitude.

1. In the period of 1909 to 1911, the party, shattered by the counter-revolution, passed thru a period of complete disintegration. . . . Lenin was then the only one who did not succumb to the general contagion

## Stalin On Lenin

and held aloft the banner of our party organization, rallying the dissipated and scattered forces of the party with marvellous patience and with unheard of tenacity, fighting against any and every anti-party tendency within the labor movement, defending the party principle with unequalled valor and perseverance. . . .

2. The period from 1914 to 1917, the period of the heat of the imperialist war, when all or nearly all social-democratic and socialist parties succumbed to the general madness of patriotism and gave themselves up to their native imperialism. This was when the Second International lowered its banner before capitalism, when not even such people as Plekhanov, Kautsky, Guesde and others withstood the wave of chauvinism. Lenin was then the only one, or nearly the only one, who raised a resolute fight against social-chauvinism and social-pacifism, who exposed the treachery of the Guesdes and Kautskys and who branded the half-heartedness of the wavering "revolutionists." Lenin knew well enough that he had an insignificant minority behind him but that he was of no decisive importance to him for he knew that the only true policy, the only one which could succeed, was the policy of consistent internationalism. He knew that the policy of stern adherence to principle is the truest policy. . . .

"The policy of stern adherence to principle is the truest policy"—this is the formula with the aid of which Lenin took by storm new "unassailable" positions, capturing the best elements of the proletariat for the cause of revolutionary Marxism.

# EIGHT YEARS OF LABOR STRUGGLE IN WORKERS AGE

By D. S.

1929-1930

THE year was the year when the Big Money reached its dizzy climax; fell down, downnn, downnnn to dizzier depths. . . . and in Moscow a man named Stalin crashed down his fist and party majority and party policy in America were overturned. . . . and so was born

**THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE**  
Vol. 1, No. 1, Nov. 1, 1929. Issued by The Communist Party, U.S.A. (Majority Group)

to record for the following year the sordid history of the smashing of the American communist movement. Exclusions in the I.L.D., the T.U.U.L., the N.T.W.U., the N.T.W.I.U., the N.M.U., the Y.C.L., the U.C.W.W., the I.S.W.C., the C.P.U.S.A. . . .

As the black pall of Depression settled on the land, as the breadlines, job-lines, relief-lines lengthened. . . . never had American workers so needed the leadership of a sane Communist Party, never had the Communist Party shown so little sanity. . . . been so isolated. . . . so sectarian.

And the "Majority Group"? Groping. . . . painfully, slowly working toward clarity, still enchained by too, too many of the Comintern fatalities. Asking. . . .

**"WHAT WAS THE CLEVELAND T.U.U.L. CONVENTION?"**  
**"IS THE VI CONGRESS BEING REVISED?"**  
**"HAVE COMMUNISTS THE RIGHT TO THINK?"**  
**"WHAT ABOUT THE NEEDLE TRADES?"**

1931-1932

**REBUILD THE LEFT WING!** was the slogan under which the Communist Opposition emerged from isolation; reentered the unions as the spearhead of progressivism.

**THE TEXTILE WORKERS NEED UNITY!**  
**MARINE WORKERS NEED UNITY!**  
**MILLINERY WORKERS NEED UNITY!**  
**LEFT-WING STRUGGLE DEVELOPS IN THE ANTHRACITE**

**REBUILD THE LEFT WING IN THE NEEDLE TRADES UNIONS**  
Appeal of the United Progressive League of Needle Workers to the Workers of the Entire Industry  
And there were victories!

**MERGE PATERSON TEXTILE UNIONS**  
Amalgamated Silk and U.T.W. to Fuse As Preparation for Big Drive

**MARINE WORKERS WIN THRU UNITY!**  
**LEFT-PROGRESSIVE BLOCK SWEEPS LOCAL 1 VOTE IN BIGGEST ELECTION EVER HELD! PROGRESSIVE IN LOCAL 22 WIN!**

But the headlines told another story, too. . . . of a decrepit capitalism shifting its burdens to the workers. . . . of wage cuts. . . . unemployment. . . . protests. . . . terror. . . .

**HOOPER PREACHES SELF-HELP**  
340 WAGE-CUTS REPORTED BY LABOR DEPT FOR MARCH  
**JOBLESS PARADE IN NEW YORK BUILDERS TO CUT WAGES BY 25%**

1933

**HITLER IN POWER—ONLY UNITED FRONT CAN SAVE LABOR**

## U.S.S.R. Twenty Years After the Revolution

(Continued from Page 4)

historically justified—but its justification lies in the present possibilities it has created for a better life, for more ample freedom, for broad collective self-activity of the masses unthwarted by bureaucratic restrictions, for unrestrained cultural and economic development. The period of intense socialist offensive called for many sacrifices on the part of the masses, and the toleration, the acceptance of the Stalin regime with all its consequences was among the heaviest of these. The very success of this offensive made the oppressive regime no longer necessary or useful; for the greatest economic advances call for corresponding advances in political and social life. But the Stalin regime stands obstinately in the way, desperately determined to perpetuate itself and preserve intact its special status and privileges, altho all historical justification for its existence is gone.

In a Blind-Alley

Thereby the Stalin regime comes into clash with the deepest aspirations of the masses, and so powerful and universal is the discontent

Nazi Terror Sweeps Germany  
"Fascist reaction has vaulted into power in Germany . . ."

**THE "NEW DEAL" BEGINS**  
The Bank Holiday and the New Banking Laws

Rivera painted "Portrait of America" in 1933. . . . painted from life a working class emaciated from three years of hunger, bludgeoned by the specter of fascism. . . . a working class rising from the blows and beginning to strike back with a mighty fist.

**GENERAL DRESS STRIKE IN NEW YORK**  
I.L.G.W.U. in Big Struggle For Workers Demands

Sixty thousand dressmakers in a reborn union wrote their code on the picket line while

**50,000 SILK WORKERS IN GENERAL STRIKE**  
U.T.W. Leads Workers As Movement Spread . . . and in Boston and thruout New England

**AMALGAMATION WINS SHOE UNIONS**  
"December 11, 1933, will be a historic date for the workers in the shoe industry. . . . the convention to amalgamate the three unions in the industry into one. . . ."

The Workers Age reflected as it led the rising tide of struggle. . . . while the withering T.U.U.L. unions were a cancer that ate deep into the sickly Communist Party.

1934

Important event (in retrospect) in 1934 was the renaissance of Lenin's "Left Communism" in the Workers Bookshop. Jack Stachel and Ben Gold made speeches and the Communist Party moved A. F. of L.-ward. . . . slowly. . . .

In February there burst

**CIVIL WAR IN AUSTRIA**  
"For five days the socialist working men of Vienna, arms in hand, waged a heroic battle against the bloody Dollfuss government. . . ."

500,000 STRIKE AGAINST AUSTRIAN FASCISM  
50,000 Demonstrate at Garden—C.P. Disrupts Meeting In June, Jay Lovestone was quoted—

**LEFTWARD WINDS IN THE SOCIALIST PARTY**  
Militants Capture Party  
". . . the grand battle came over the Declaration of Principles. . . . The Old Guard fought. It did not surrender but it will now begin to die out. . . ."

San Francisco saw a great general strike, William Green repudiated it with alacrity and

**ZIMMERMAN SCORES GREEN FRISCO STRIKE REPUDIATION**  
Says "Green Lacks Union Loyalty"

And in September . . .

**U.T.W. CALLS GENERAL COTTON STRIKE**  
Silk and Wool Men To Follow

"A general strike in the cotton industry has been called for Saturday, 11:30 P. M. . . ."

**BOSS TERROR IN TEXTILE STRIKE**  
Keller Issues Warning On Arbitration Pitfalls

Out in San Francisco, at the A. F. of L. convention, John L. Lewis introduced a resolution and

**A.F.L. MEET ENDORSES VERTICAL UNIONISM**  
. . . . Nobody then took it very, very seriously.

Boy, oh boy! What a year that was!  
The A. F. of L. met in Atlantic City—the C.I.O. was born!

The seventh world congress of the Communist International met. The Daily Worker started quoting a famous American progressive, Daniel Webster. Earl Browder debated Thomas at Madison Square Garden and foreshadowed his role of defender of imperialism, war and capitalist democracy. The People's Front was born.

**THE OLD FEDERATION OF GMPERS IS GONE!**  
. . . . announced the Workers Age and it was right.

**THE COMINTERN IN DANGER OF DEGENERATION!**  
. . . . announced the Workers Age and it was right. . . . far, far more right than it knew then. . . . only too sadly right.

Spain . . .  
Spain . . .  
**SPAIN! SPAIN!**  
. . . . In February, March, April, May . . . the Age demanded

**A PROGRAM OF ACTION FOR SPAIN**  
Estimated . . .  
**FORCES MAKING FOR REVOLUTION IN SPAIN**  
Denounced . . .  
**SPAIN AND THE LIBERAL REGIME**  
Recorded . . .  
**BANKRUPTCY OF PEOPLE'S FRONT IN SPAIN**  
Until in July . . .  
**PROLONGED CIVIL WAR THREATENS SPAIN**  
Workers Hold Mountain Passes; Fascists Threaten Siege.

1936

**THIS YEAR**  
Faster, faster, faster, hurried America and the world, hurried labor and fascism, reformism and imperialism. . . . History was telescoped as the all were rushing to complete the cataclysm. . . .

With the New Year came the auto sit-down. . . .  
**GENERAL MOTORS BLOCKS NEGOTIATIONS: UNION THREATENS TO SPREAD STRIKES**  
**FLINT STRIKERS TELL STORY OF GM VIOLENCE**

**AUTO WORKERS VICTORY SPURS DRIVE OF C.I.O. IN MASS PRODUCTION INDUSTRY!**  
Inspiration flowed from the auto workers thruout the labor movement. . . . brought new millions to the C.I.O. . . .

**C.I.O. DRIVES SWEEP MASS PRODUCTION INDUSTRIES: STEEL OPEN-SHOP ENDED**  
**C.I.O. GAINS IN STEEL, SHOE AND TRANSPORT**

Reaction marched, too, its hob-nailed boots crushing the dreams of the masses, taking a mighty toll of life. . . .

**ENGLAND, FRANCE TO LET NAZIS, ITALY AND FRANCO UNHINDERED**  
**FASCIST POWERS PREPARE NEW AGGRESSIONS AGAINST SPAIN**

Italian Blackshirts captured Gijon, the Japanese bombed and slaughtered hundreds of thousands. . . . But strange things were happening and reaction was finding new allies. On August 14, 1937 the Workers Age announced . . .

**ANDRE NIN, POU MURDERED WITHOUT TRIAL!**  
Story of Escape Circulated to Cover Month-Old Murder; Hand of C.P. Seen . . . This is still an unfinished story . . .

perhaps altogether different forms will be developed in search for such safeguards. The problem still remains.

**The Balance-Sheet Of The Revolution**

This, then, is the balance-sheet on the twentieth anniversary of the November revolution. Capitalism and pre-capitalism destroyed—the foundations of a socialist economy in industry and agriculture laid down—the framework of genuine popular and democratic government erected in the soviet system—but all distorted, undermined and, in part, even nullified by a bureaucratic regime that persists in maintaining itself despite the complete exhaustion of its progressive role!

What is the way out? Wherein lies the hope of regeneration? In the forces being created by the new social order arising in the Soviet Union and in the forces of the socialist revolution outside! For it is out of the significant successes of socialist construction that the possibility of a better and freer life for the soviet masses emerges; it

(Continued on Page 8)



## SURVEY REVEALS BIG VALUE OF C.I.O. PACTS

The National Industrial Conference Board, employers' statistical service organization, has made public a study of the types of contracts signed by the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. in the past year, revealing sharp differences in services rendered to labor by the new and the old organizations.

Out of the 38 A. F. of L. and 52 C.I.O. contracts, 31.5% of the Federation's agreements call for the closed shop, while only 9.6% of the C.I.O.'s agreement have this clause. It is not necessary to look beyond the N.I.C.B.'s report itself to see the reality behind these curious figures. Declares the report:

"One is led to wonder how much this result is due to success and irresistible pressure from the A. F. of L. unions and how much is caused by a relatively willing compliance on the part of management—a willingness springing from the hope that a closed A. F. of L. shop will serve as a bulwark against the C.I.O. invasion."

That this is the underlying reason for the friendliness of employers towards the A. F. of L. is further substantiated by the relative increases achieved in the living standards of the workers of the two organizations. Here is the very crux of unionism; the workers who have been rushing into the unions in recent years, judge their organizations primarily on the basis of the material gains made.

Wage increases were provided in 73% of the C.I.O.'s contracts as against only 50% of the A. F. of L.'s. Minimum wage scales were included in about 60% of the agreements of both. Where the A. F. of L. got time-and-a-half for overtime in 50% of the contracts, the C.I.O. won this provision in 75% of theirs. Further, while both make the 40-hour week and 8-hour day standard, the A. F. of L. contracts had far many more loopholes permitting excess work-time during peak production periods. The importance of this is more far-reaching than the immediate circumstances it affects, for the C.I.O. agreements, by insisting on maintaining the contractual standard, tend to distribute work and lessen the distress caused by sharp seasonal fluctuation of employment.

The very real superiority of the C.I.O. contracts, compared to the usually very dubious gains of A. F. of L. type of closed shop, becomes even clearer when the industries covered by these contracts are examined.

The A. F. of L. contracts covered public utilities (such as the in-

famous company-union agreement in Consolidated Edison in New York), paper manufacturing, food products, electrical manufacturing and metal working—the last two named being two old craft strongholds of the Federation. That is, where the contracts were not merely anti-C.I.O. insurance for the employers, they were consummated in the old crafts with a tradition of collective bargaining.

The C.I.O. contracts, on the other hand, not only made real wage and hour gains for the workers covered, but brought unionism to many of them for the first time. The contracts studied in the report were those of the auto-workers, steel workers, textile workers, rubber workers and men's clothing workers—exclusive of the last named, involving those millions of mass-production workers that have only been, and could only have been, organized by the Committee for Industrial Organization.

### Knitgoods Drive On Sweatshops

Over a thousand members of the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union stopped work during the afternoon of Armistice Day to demonstrate against the sweatshop conditions in the Ridgewood area of Brooklyn. The demonstration was also aimed against actions of District Attorney Geoghan's office which has sent union members and organizers to jail, while permitting scabs who had assaulted union members to go scot-free. At a meeting after the parade, Manager Nelson warned the District Attorney's office to stop acting as an agency for the sweatshop bosses and the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce.

In addition to the two shops on strike in the Ridgewood district, the Scharff and Bright and the Friendly Knitting Mills at 35 Meadows Street, the union is also conducting strikes in other parts of the city.

The union by its successful mass demonstration has served notice on the employers that the decision to carry out the organization drive will be carried through, that these mass demonstrations, if necessary, will be repeated again and again until all the shops settle with the union. The enthusiastic parade clearly demonstrated the union's determination that the industry shall provide a decent livelihood for every knitgoods worker.

### S. BARON JAILED IN SPAIN

ACCORDING to reports in the New York Times and confirmed by the Socialist Call, Sam Baron, American socialist leader, has been arrested by Stalinist police somewhere in loyalist Spain.

This action against Sam Baron is believed to have been taken because of his articles, under his own name and jointly with Liston M. Oak, in the American socialist press severely criticizing the reactionary policy of the Stalinist-Negrin regime. The report of his arrest came to this country thru Paris with which Baron had communicated by means of a code.

A movement has been started in New York to rally labor organizations to demand that the loyalist government release Sam Baron without delay.

### Soviet Union After Twenty Years

(Continued from Page 5)

is from here, too, that they draw their strength to fight to liberate themselves from the crushing burden of the Stalinist regime. And it is the international socialist revolution alone that can break the fatal isolation of the Soviet Republic in the world of imperialism, to which so much of what is unhealthy within may be traced. The international proletarian movement, which Stalinism has done so much to weaken and demoralize, may yet become a decisive factor in helping the Soviet masses rid themselves of an obsolete and oppressive regime that is holding back the forces of socialist advance!

On this twentieth anniversary of the November Revolution, we celebrate the magnificent accomplishments of the Soviet masses in constructing a new social order which, with all its shortcomings, constitutes an achievement of vast world-historical significance. On the twentieth anniversary of the November Revolution, we also greet the forces arising to sweep away the present obstacles to further socialist advance, to the progressive development of Bolshevism!

### NAVY HEADS ATTACK WAGE-HOUR BILL

The whole idea of wage-hour legislation was threatened last week by Secretary of the Navy Swanson's blunt declaration that such a measure would be a "menace to national defense," that is, to the rearmament program contemplated by the administration.

The attack, made public in statement on November 7, was so sharp that the possibility was suggested that a different set of rules may be established in the wage-hour bill to apply to concerns handling material for the army and navy armament programs. This would seriously cripple the effectiveness of the bill.

Greeting from

LOUIS (LINN)  
RESTAURANT  
207 E. 14th Street  
New York City

## ADVANCES REPORTED BY MEXICAN GROUP

(We publish below a brief report of the recent activities of the Marxist Workers Block of Mexico, a revolutionary socialist tendency adhering to the general line of the International Communist Opposition.—THE EDITOR.)

October 18, 1937.

Dear Comrades:

We have not written you sooner because we waited to see what the final results would be in our plans of unification with some of the socialist groupings of the C.T.M. (Mexican Confederation of Labor). Now we know the results. Unification is not possible at this time because of the work of sabotage carried on by Rodrigo Garcia Trevino. We were also hindered by the fear of the reformist and Stalinist trade union leaders. They do not want to let us come any closer to the working masses.

We also made a mistake in tactics. We put our cards on the table

too soon. We talked too much and too widely and we tried to hurry the situation. Nevertheless, after the defeat of our efforts at unification, our retreat was successful, because we were able to continue the relationships we had established and we were able to build up a favorable atmosphere. We were also able to give the lie completely to the false rumors which the Stalinists tried to spread everywhere about our group.

Another important fact which I ought to relate is the following: Since the formation of our group, the Trotskyites have continued losing ground. Their mistakes become clearer every day. Many people who were developing in their direction have stopped to examine our position and are being drawn towards us. This has given us new confidence. At the beginning, the Trotskyites treated us in a most hostile manner; today, after a series of mistakes which have resulted in losses for them in the trade unions, they treat us with a certain amount of deference.

Our influence in the trade unions remains firm in the positions we had already taken and increases considerably in the unions of state employees.

With fraternal greetings,  
Gustavo de Anda

### Hyphenate Danger In the Freiheit

"How would it be if we were to declare: The National-Socialists (Nazis) and, let us say, the socialists are two tendencies of one and the same philosophy? That would be dangerous tomfoolery."

These words appeared in an article by Wm. Abrams in the September 12 issue of the Freiheit, Jewish organ of the Communist Party. Apparently, they have escaped the vigilance of the loyal Stalinist censors—yet it should not be difficult to detect what Wm. Abrams is really implying!

For who is identified with the doctrine that fascism and social-democracy are "two tendencies of one and the same philosophy"? Who championed this doctrine as the purest "Marxism-Leninism"? Who heralded it thruout the world under the name of "social-fascism"? Why, who else but Stalin and the official spokesmen of the Stalinist Comintern? Just two examples of the hundreds that may be piled up:

"Fascism is a fighting organization of the bourgeoisie dependent on the active support of the social-democracy. Objectively, social-democracy is the moderate wing of fascism. They are not antipodes but twins" (J. Stalin, September 1924).

"Social-democracy is evolving thru social-imperialism to fascism, or rather, to social-fascism" (E.C.C.I. report at the tenth plenum, July 1929).

Is it not plain what Abrams's

little game is? He is probably a hidden "hyphenate"—a disguised Trotskyist-Bukharinist-Nazi-Japanese-wrecker-diversionist-Gestapo agent and bandit. Unable to come right out and call Stalin a "fool" directly, he does it by means of a transparent subterfuge—and in the sacred columns of the Freiheit too! This is intolerable! We are compelled to ask: Who are the "hyphenates" on the Freiheit staff who turn their heads away and pretend not to be looking while Abrams carries on his dirty work unmolested?

### OPEN MEETING

BERTRAM D. WOLFE

The Present Situation  
in Spain

SAT., NOV. 20th, 11:30 a.m.  
131 W. 33rd St., 7th Floor

Auspices: Cloakmakers' Unit,  
Independent Communist Labor League.

Admission Free

### Some Individual Greetings

#### GREETINGS FROM FUR WORKERS

Schleifer	L. Muchnik	M. Feldman
W. I.	H. Chartin	Keizer
Goldman	Kaplowitz	Kessler
Colenberg	Schneider	Komarov
Intrator	S. Rosenstein	A. Gorok
Copperman	C. Spindler	S. Landau
Kass	Littman	H. Orlove
S. Gross	A. Teitleman	L. Cantone
S. Goldstein	M. Kay	C. De Macio
	M. Raffkin	

#### GREETINGS FROM KNITGOODS WORKERS

M. Tatz	R. Siegel	Florence Smith
L. Marmorino		A. Friend

#### GREETINGS FROM TEACHERS

G. Wilen	E. Lind	Leopold
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#### GREETINGS FROM

Ann Ramsay	N. Godovnick	Spivak
Victor Cibulsky		B. Antonoff

## GOLDEN BOY

A New Play by CLIFFORD ODETS

BENEFIT FOR THE ANTI-FASCIST FUND

NOV. 22

Monday Evening

BELASCO  
Theatre

44 St. E. of B'way

TOP PRICE

\$2.20

For \$3.30 tickets  
in the Orchestra.

Others at similar  
reductions.

Brooks Atkinson says: "Although Clifford Odets 'Golden Boy' has been a long time in the making it is worth waiting for."

Tickets at WORKERS AGE, 131 W. 33rd St. - Phone: BRyant 9-0127

# PUT IT OVER THE TOP

## The Big \$10,000 Drive Money—Subs—Members