

Book Review

By JACK TAYLOR

"TROTSKYISM is the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. . . That is why the attempts of certain 'literateurs' and 'historians' to smuggle the disguised Trotskyite rubbish into our literature must encounter determined resistance from the Bolsheviks."—Joseph Stalin, Questions Concerning the History of Bolshevism, 1932. International Publishers.

"Determined resistance" does not and cannot dispose of the real history of the October Revolution and of the perspectives of the Bolsheviks when they decided upon the seizure of power in 1917. From many sources and in many ways the Leninist interpretation of revolutionary events and perspectives of the October Revolution reach the surface. To label the Leninist interpretation of the revolutionary events and perspectives as "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism" did not, as the documents show, prevent Stalin from taking the road of "counter-revolution" in his earlier interpretation of the revolutionary events.

Who Is Counter-Revolutionary?

In 1932 Stalin asks: "Who gave the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie its intellectual weapon against Bolshevism in the form of the thesis of the impossibility of building socialism in our country. . . ?" In looking for the answer to this question, let us turn to page 48, Stalin's "The October Revolution."

Says Stalin: "The fact of the matter is that the seizure of power by the proletariat occurred under peculiar conditions, domestic and foreign, which placed their imprint on the entire work of the party after it seized power. In the first place, Russia is economically backward; it cannot of its own strength set aright the transport system, develop industry and electrify the urban and rural industries. . . . If Russia had as a neighbor a big, industrially developed Soviet state or several Soviet states, it easily could have established co-operation with such states on the basis of an exchange of raw material for machinery and equipment. However, so long as this is not so, Soviet Russia and our party. . . are forced to seek forms and means of economic co-operation with hostile capitalist groups of the West in order to acquire the necessary technique pending the victory of the proletarian revolution in one or several industrial capitalist countries. . . . Failing these, there is no use even thinking of serious economic construction, of electrifying the country."

This was written in the early years of the Revolution, when ideas were still fresh in the minds of all, when the Stalin falsifiers did not yet find it possible to distort the perspectives of October. The above quotation is from an article by Stalin originally published in Pravda, No. 190, August 28, 1921.

"Socialism in One Country"

As we see, the question of socialism in one country was considered impossible, especially since "Russia is economically backward." But we are anticipating a bit, for Stalin in those days (1921) did not yet approach the question of socialism in one country. Stalin in those days clearly stated: "Russia cannot of its own strength set aright the transport system. . . . How far removed from Stalin's theory of Soviet Russia's economic self-sufficiency. According to Stalin, in 1921, the economic resources of Russia did not permit the 'settling aright' of the transport system without economic collaboration with hostile capitalist groups of the West, 'pending the victory of the proletarian revolution in one or several industrial countries.'"

How fresh and far removed from the reactionary theory of socialism in one country. But perhaps this was incidental due to "alien" influence upon the mind of Stalin. Not so. For Stalin in those days considered it necessary to take into account the question of international economic cooperation on the "fraternal principle" between the "progressive (industrial) countries and the backward (fuel and raw material producing) countries (in place of the principle of robbery of the latter by the former)." This is precisely why an international proletarian revolution is needed. . . . However, in order to begin (at least begin!) instituting a correct world economy, the victory of the proletariat in at least a few advanced countries is necessary. So long as this has not been achieved, our Party must seek circuitous paths of cooperating with capitalist groups in the economic arena." (Joseph Stalin, The October Revolution—p. 49.)

How far removed from the theories of "economic self-sufficiency" and "socialism in one country." The earlier international perspectives of the Bolsheviks as indicated in the above quotations from Stalin are today taboo. Internationalism is labeled "counter-revolutionary ideology" and revolutionists are exiled and shot by Stalin's and Yagoda's G.P.U. for refusing to relinquish the international traditions of Bolshevism.

In his role of falsifier of the history of the Revolution Stalin says: "Trotsky, who was a relative newcomer in our Party in the period of October, did not and could not have played any special role in the party or in the October uprising." The same Trotsky whom the world knows as Lenin's collaborator and as the organizer of the insurrection of 1917 "did not and could not play any special role in the October uprising."

"Let us," says Stalin, "take the minutes of the meeting of the central committee, on October 16, 1917. . . . A practical center is elected to take charge of organizing the uprising. Who is elected to this center? Five were elected to it: Sverdlov, Stalin, Dzerzhinsky, Bubnov and Uritsky. . . . Comrade Trotsky did not get on the practical center, which was called upon to lead the uprising. How can this be reconciled with the current notion about Comrade Trotsky's special role?" (Stalin's October Revolution, p. 71.)

We are at liberty to ask the falsifiers of the history of the Revolution how it is that Trotsky, who did not get on the "practical center" was able to "direct"—as Stalin says—"all the practical work in connection with the organization of the uprising"? A truthful man need not fear saying two different things at two different times. Only falsifiers have the quality of contradicting themselves at every turn. For Stalin, you see, tells us on page 71 of the above mentioned work, that Trotsky "could not and did not play any special role in the October uprising," forgetting that on page 30 of the same work he tells us the exact opposite: "All practical work in connection with the organization of the uprising was done under the immediate direction of Comrade Trotsky, the president of the Petrograd Soviet. It can be stated with certainty that the party is indebted primarily and principally to Comrade Trotsky for the rapid going over of the garrison to the side of the Soviet and the efficient manner in which the work of the Military Revolutionary Committee was organized."

History will have its revenge! And when it does, Stalin's role of falsifier and grave-digger of the Revolution will meet the fate reserved for it by the onward march of the international proletariat. Already we hear the steady tread of the iron battalions of the Fourth International.

Differences with Lenin

By placing the mystic halo of infallibility upon the head of Lenin the falsifiers hoped to extend that infallibility to themselves. Infallibility does away with lots of "explaining" about the differences between Lenin and the October central committee. Since the central committee was infallible, and hence could make no mistakes, how could serious differences arise between Lenin and the central committee on the question of the seizure of power?

Speaking about the October days, Stalin says: "The question of the transfer of power to a new class becomes the burning question of the hour. . . . Were there any differences of opinion within our party at that time? Yes, there were. But they were exclusively of a practical nature. . . ." (Stalin's October Revolution, p. 79.) Only slight differences "of a practical nature"; nothing political involved; so says Stalin. And some of us wonder: what are the falsifiers trying to hide now? What is Stalin trying to hide?

Behind "infallibility" Stalin tries to hide his own opposition to Lenin in the October days. Stalin attempts here to hide his own sabotage of Lenin's directives to the central committee in the October days. For proof let us turn to Lenin: "To refrain from seizing power at present, to wait, to 'chatter' in the Central Committee. . . means to ruin the revolution. . . . Seeing that the Central Committee has left even without an answer my writing insisting on such a policy since the beginning of the Democratic Conference, that the Central Organ (Stalin was editor—J.T.) is deleting from my articles references to such glaring errors of the Bolsheviks as the shameful decision to participate in the parliament, as giving seats to the Mensheviks in the Presidium of the Soviets, etc., etc.—seeing all that, I am compelled to recognize here a 'gentle' hint as to the unwillingness of the Central Committee even to consider this question (seizure of power—J.T.), a gentle hint at gagging me and at suggesting that I retire. . . . I am compelled to tender my resignation from the Central Committee, which I hereby do. . . ."

Crystal clear! Lenin wanted to resign from the Central Committee because it tended to "refrain from seizing the power" and because the central organ of the party, with Stalin as editor, "deleted" and delayed the publication of Lenin's directives to the party in connection with the seizure of power.

How devastating to Stalin! To continue to exist politically it became necessary to falsify the history of the Russian Revolution. To usurp the power it became necessary to slander and to persecute

and to bound the "organizer of the October insurrection" and those revolutionists who refuse to relinquish the revolutionary traditions of Bolshevism.

But the truth will out! Already do the Stalinists find it difficult to stuff the cracks. Here and there the real history of October seeps out. Some of the pages of Stalin's "October Revolution," when they reach the contradiction point, simply reek with "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism!"

The Death of the Little NRA

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the death of the Guffey Bill. They point to the Supreme Court as the sole culprit and ignore the role of Roosevelt and Congress as accomplices in the crime.

The Triple Play

Thus the Guffey Bill was put out as the result of a triple play between the President, Congress, and the Supreme Court. Rarely has there been a clearer case of the manner in which the executive, legislative, and judicial arms of the government work together to deceive the workers and deprive them of their demands. What the government appears to give the workers with its left hand, it takes away with its right. Roosevelt proposes, Congress enacts, and the Supreme Court disposes.

The American system of bourgeois democracy must operate in this fashion. The President and Congress, being elected officials, are compelled to yield now and then to the pressure of the masses and concede part of their demands. They act as a buffer between the rulers and the ruled. The Supreme Court, appointed for life and practically irremovable, can turn a completely deaf ear to popular clamor. They need listen only to their master's voice.

What Now?

The lesson to be drawn from this decision of the Supreme Court is so clear that even William Green, with rare flash of class-consciousness resembling the last flicker of consciousness in the brain of a dying man, could not miss it. "After all," he said, "we must rely on our own economic strength. If we can not enact legislation of this kind in an orderly way, we will irresistibly be drawn to use our economic power; that can be done only through complete and thorough organization; the more thorough and complete it is the greater will be our economic power."

Green does not of course intend these words to be taken seriously, but he inadvertently hit upon the right note. Only through their organization and militant action, and not by reliance upon the bounty of the capitalist state, will the miners be able to obtain their demands—and to keep them.

The soft-coal industry is a dying industry. Other sources of power are steadily cutting into its market. The history of the English coal mining industry shows that no amount of regulation or state subsidy can save it from continued decline. The manifold social problems that arise in the lives of the miners out of the decay of the coal industry can only be solved under Socialism.

Meanwhile, the bituminous miners can prevent the operators from relegating them to the scrapheap and from reducing their wages to starvation levels only by the strong, organized and militant action, and not by reliance upon the bounty of the capitalist state, will the miners be able to obtain their demands—and to keep them.

New Sitdown At Goodrich

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and dues of twenty-five cents per month. The next is "The Rubber Club," an organization "made up of persons in all walks of life and . . . interested primarily in promoting civic welfare." The organization, with a fine spirit of thoughtfulness too often lacking in this wicked, commercial world of ours, deprecates the sit-downs, and three days ago addressed a plea to the United Rubber Workers of America to "return to the principles of the American Federation of Labor for collective bargaining through accredited representatives and to end mass bargaining and intimidation."

The last organization—at least, at the instant of writing—is a "recreation" club designed to make men out of red apple boys and to beat up trade unionists, who reputedly too often do not rely on formal logic in reasoning with company union members.

In the meanwhile production in the rubber industry is slackening off; the rubber plants have already begun to lay off men. Tension in the plants is acute. In an effort to lessen it the Firestone local is presenting the company with a plan for spreading the work. Should this be refused, or even should it be accepted, no one would dare predict when a new storm will break.

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Jobless Hit Pa. Relief

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Board members, to lead them in the fight.

121 Million Declared Imperative

The conference then got down to business, adopting various resolutions affecting the conditions of the workers, to be brought before the legislature. A relief appropriation of \$121,000,000 against the Democrats under Governor Earle and the \$43,000,000 proposed by the Republicans was declared to be absolutely imperative, on the basis of the cut-to-the-bone budget of 64 cents per person per day, to tide the unemployed over until the beginning of next year. The conference unanimously recommended this figure as an air-tight minimum to the governor and the legislature. The presiding committee was instructed to interview the governor and to demand spokesmen before the legislature, to present the case for the organized unemployed. Committees were also elected to present grievances to the State Emergency Relief Board and to the state WPA administration.

All the delegates—men, women and children—were housed and fed at the expense of the government during their entire three days' siege. The impressive turn-out and the serious conduct of the conference had forced the hand of the administration.

Committee Interviews Earle

On Monday afternoon, the presiding committee was received by Governor Earle for an audience. David Lasser, John Muldowney, Sam Gordon, Charles Spencer and a Negro woman delegate from Philadelphia, Margaret Johnson, argued the case of the unemployed before the chief executive for more than two hours. The governor was very generous with his typically vague promises and his hypocritical assurances of concern over the plight of the jobless in his state, but would not make any definite commitments. Beneath the thin veneer of his Rooseveltian liberalism penetrated a right strongly indicative of the real feelings of this latter-day "friend of the people." Side by side with a portrait of F. D., there was displayed on his mantelpiece, an autographed picture of none other than Engelbert Dollfuss, the butcher of the Austrian workers!

Upon a challenge from delegate Gordon, that the \$70,000,000 figure was woefully insufficient and was not based upon the actual needs of the unemployed, the organizations of the jobless never having been consulted as to their estimates which were based on actual contact with the workers' needs, Mr. Earle in a flurry of excitement offered the WAA delegation a representative on his public committee on unemployment. The delegation finally extracted a promise from him that he would not use the state troopers to molest the demonstrators in any way in the mass meeting they planned at the state house in the evening.

Crowd Swarms Legislature

At 6:30 the huge delegation lined up in front of the Farm Show Building and, headed by the officers paraded through the streets of Harrisburg down to the state house. Lester Heckman, of Allentown, presided over the open air demonstration that was staged there and at which David Lasser and numerous other speakers addressed the crowd which had by then swelled to several thousand. A spokesman for the presiding committee rose on the improvised platform to inform the gathering that both houses of the legislature had been petitioned to hold a joint session and to hear the leaders of the WAA. He announced that both houses had agreed to submit to the request and the crowd thereupon streamed en masse into the galleries.

Lieutenant Governor Thomas Kennedy opened the joint session shortly thereafter and called upon John Muldowney, the chairman of the delegation, to introduce the spokesmen. Muldowney warned the legislators that unless they provided for adequate relief, unemployed steel workers and silk workers would follow the example of the unemployed miners and start up bootleg steel mills and silk mills just as the coal-diggers had started up bootleg mines.

Demands 6 Billion Appropriation

He was followed by Charles Sandwick. Sandwick urged the representatives and Senators to memorialize congress for the passage of the Marcontano Relief Standards Bill, which provides for a \$6,000,000 appropriation to aid in subsidizing state relief and WPA agencies. Sandwick gave some telling arguments for this measure from the experience of the unemployed in the state.

Margaret Johnson, a young Negroess from Philadelphia, told the joint session of the tremendous suffering, the discrimination and the intolerance which the workers and the unemployed of her race were subjected to and warned the legislators that the Negro people of the state were watching their action alertly, and that they would draw their conclusions soon enough.

Sam Gordon, the secretary of the delegation, started the fat-bellied

A Lexicon of Revolution

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This book is no abstract thesis on the impossibility of socialism in one country. It is, rather, a richly concrete history of the Communist movement both inside and outside Russia from 1923 to 1928. In order to illumine his criticism of Stalin-Bukharin's draft programme for the Comintern, then about to be "submitted" and adopted by the Sixth Congress of the C.I. in 1928, Trotsky found it necessary to tell the story of the major events of the years since Lenin died. The story of the circumstances surrounding the failure to make the German revolution in 1923; the tale of the preposterous Peasant International created by Stalin and which disappeared without even an obituary; the American Farmer-Labor party fiasco of 1924; the Stalinist alliance with the British trade union bureaucracy—Purcell and Cook were going to defend the Soviet Union but instead the prestige of the Soviet Union covered Purcell and Cook's betrayal of the British General Strike; the development of the Stalinist bureaucracy, leaning for support on the backward peasantry—all this is clearly sketched. The forty pages of explanatory notes round out the historical detail so that a newcomer to the revolutionary movement can follow the argument understandingly.

Special mention must be made of the "Summary and Perspectives of the Chinese Revolution" which, together with the explanatory historical notes, provides the reader with a succinct introduction to the whole history of the Chinese movement from 1923 to the present time. The general features of the history of the Communist International since 1928 are given in Max Shachtman's fifty-page introduction, so that this 400 page book can serve as an introduction to the history of the Comintern up to the present time. Indeed, until the further volumes of this series of "Selected Works of Leon Trotsky" are published, this first volume will remain the best study of the Communist movement that has yet appeared.

Rebel at Slave Wage in South

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H. L. Mitchell, Executive Secretary, Box 5515, Memphis, Tenn.

There can be no doubt that once this strike gets under way, lynch law and mob violence will become a daily routine of the planters to crush the sharecroppers. This terror will be organized in the bailiwick and with the connivance of Joseph P. Robinson, Roosevelt's whip in the Senate. A significant commentary indeed on the policy of Lewis, Green, Dubinsky, et al who support Roosevelt because of his liberalism! And also, by the way, on the Daily Worker, which ascribes all of Roosevelt's reactionary moves to "pressure from Wall Street!"

Senators and representatives with a cutting remark that "boondoggling" was hard work compared to the insipid conduct of which they were guilty in their so-called work. Speaking over their heads to the gallery, he hailed the example of the Allentown WPA strikers last month, who, disgusted with the antics of the capitalist parties had marched down to the courthouse in a body from their picketlines to register Socialist. He warned that unless they took immediate action to break the legislative deadlock that was threatening the unemployed with starvation, thousands more would be called into the capitol.

David Lasser, speaking for the national organization of the Workers Alliance, wound up the presentation with a picture of WAA actions in Illinois, Wisconsin, New Jersey and St. Louis, assuring the politicians that the national organization was wholeheartedly behind this Pennsylvania demonstration and that the WAA would back the unemployed of the state to the limit in their fight for adequate relief and against their criminal petty politics.

The session was concluded amidst a volley of cheers from the unemployed, who filled the gallery to the rafters.

The next day both the house and the senate voted for an immediate appropriation of \$3,300,000 to prevent the shutting off of relief, before continuing their debate on the larger figure for the balance of the year.

The delegates returned to their homes inspired by their achievement but conscious of the fact that mass action was needed more than ever to provide adequate relief. They pledged their determination to continue rallying the masses of jobless back home and to prepare them for emergency action. Steps are now under way to set up a state organization of the unemployed units affiliated with the national office of the Workers Alliance.

Whitewash Lynchers in Tampa Flogging Trial

BARTOW, Fla., May 17—The first smear of whitewash was applied to the Tampa floggings Saturday when Judge Robert T. Dewell ordered the acquittal of R. G. Tittsworth, former chief of police, and Robert Chappell "for lack of evidence" and threw out three of the four counts in the information.

The defense motion for a directed verdict of not guilty for the other five defendants, made by Pat Whitaker immediately after the state rested Tuesday, was denied. The counts knocked out by the judge are conspiracy to imprison falsely, false imprisonment and conspiracy to kidnap. The charge of kidnaping Eugene F. Poulnot, Chairman of the Florida Workers Alliance, remains.

The defense is not expected to take more than two days to present its side. The case will probably go to the jury this week. The indictments against Chappell as a principal and Tittsworth as an accessory in the false imprisonment and kidnaping of Dr. Sam J. Rogers and in the second degree murder of Joseph A. Shoemaker, still stand.

The freeing of Tittsworth, who was on trial as accessory after the fact, followed Judge Dewell's refusal to admit damaging testimony against the former police chief and was in the face of vital evidence that had been admitted earlier in the trial.

"Shirking His Duty"

Whitaker, during the course of the two-day-argument on his motion, contended that the information was "fatally defective" because it failed to specify secret intent as provided in the Florida statute on which the charges were based.

The information was drawn by Hillsborough County Solicitor C. Jay Hardee whose removal was recommended recently by a grand jury on the grounds that he is using bling ring and "is guilty of shirking his duty" in the floggings cases. Hardee was chief assistant to State Attorney J. Rex Farrior during the preparation of the case and during the unsuccessful attempt to obtain a jury in Hillsborough County. From the beginning, however, he has been regarded unfriendly to the prosecution.

The alleged defectiveness of Hardee's information need not be ascribed to ignorance or accident. Faulty informations which are thrown out by the trial judge are a standard device used here to protect paying or powerful criminals and at the same time permit the prosecuting attorney to go through the motions and avoid criticism.

Governor Dave Sholtz has refused to act on the 17 specific grand jury accusations against Hardee under the general charge "incompetency, malfeasance and misfeasance in office and neglect of duty." He has announced he will "let the people decide" through the Democratic primary elections in which Hardee is running for renomination.

State Often Overruled

The state spent its last week in a futile effort to get before the jury some vital testimony against Tittsworth. Whitaker made long frequent and impassioned objections to admitting this evidence. The court sustained him on the ground that "no sufficient overt act" had been established as to Tittsworth.

The testimony ruled out included conversations held by Tittsworth with Matt C. Beasley, assistant chief of detectives, and H. L. Russell, a former policeman. Beasley testified that Tittsworth had tried to get him to say that he had received a telephone call which led him to order defendant Smitty Brown and his men to raid the meeting of Modern Democrats at the Herald home.

Russell testified that when he told Tittsworth that he was withholding the truth from the state attorney and was afraid of getting into trouble, his chief told him that he could not help him if he changed his story and advised him to "stick to" his original lies.

Refuses to Testify

One of the state's last witnesses was Manuel Menendez, Tittsworth's former stenographer who is also under indictment as accessory after the fact but against whom charges have not yet been pressed. On Whitaker's advice, Menendez declined to testify because he might have incriminated himself. Judge Dewell did not even allow Menendez's refusal to testify to be made before the jury.

The fact that such testimony against Tittsworth was inadmissible because "no sufficient overt act" had been established was apparently an afterthought with Judge Dewell. He had already permitted much damaging evidence against Tittsworth to get before the jury over Whitaker's objections.

He allowed W. D. Bush, chief of detectives, to testify that when he told Tittsworth what he knew about police participation in the kidnaping, Tittsworth "blowed up, told me not to let it get to the Mayor and that was the end of it right there."

The judge also permitted Lieut. J. L. Eddings to tell the jury that Tittsworth had assured him that he did not think Poulnot and Rogers had been flogged and if they had, "it was probably no more than they deserved anyway."

The jury also heard a series of witnesses tell how the badge number of defendant John P. Bridges was changed from 39 to 140 after Tittsworth had learned that the state attorney had evidence that a policeman answering Bridge's description and wearing badge number 39 was involved in the kidnaping.

Other policemen testified that, although Tittsworth knew they were on duty the night of the kidnaping, they had never been questioned by him about what they saw or knew.

The Bull's Hunch

In the meantime, the testimony revealed, Tittsworth was writing a letter to Mayor Chancy in which he exonerated the police and suggested that Poulnot and Rogers themselves murdered Shoemaker and also making a public statement declaring that his "own investigation" had "conclusively established" that the police were innocent.

Tittsworth's acquittal in the face of this mass of evidence indicates that, as one of the "higher ups," he testimony had revealed that Smitty received special protection. The Brown, ex-traffic sergeant who led "the boys" in the raid, was Tittsworth's pet in the department.

Police witnesses also testified that traffic cops had never before made any raids and that it was unusual for them to be in the police station at all on a busy Saturday night when traffic is heaviest. The raid occurred on a Saturday night.

Obviously the arrests and the kidnaping were not Smitty Brown's own idea. Tampa is now asked to believe that Tittsworth—Brown's boss and mentor—did not know what his protege was up to.

The state closed its case after four weeks of testimony by 34 witnesses without once touching the question: "Who ordered this whole thing done?"

The state's evidence against all defendants except Chappell is overwhelming. Even Chappell, who was freed with Tittsworth, was identified among those who arrived at the police station with the arrested Modern Democrats and among the men standing outside while Poulnot was being kidnaped.

But these defendants, with the exception of Tittsworth, are small fry. Behind them are the citrus growers with their machine guns and barbed wire, the phosphate corporations and their convenient, water-filled pits, the shipping magistrates and their stool-pigeons, the crooked politicians and their gambling gunmen.

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