

THE NEW MAGAZINE

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ALEX BITTELMAN, Editor



The Day They Celebrate By T. J. O'Flaherty

ON July 4, 1776, there was published a document known as the Declaration of Independence, which served notice on the world and particularly on the British government that the thirteen American colonies would henceforth be known as the United States of America.

This document claimed among other rights that all governments derived their just powers from the people and that whenever a government ceases to serve the people it is supposed to represent, it is the duty of the people to put it out of business.

This healthy doctrine flourished for decades in the United States and the chin shrubbery of every patriotic American banker, of the days when hirsute adornment was a sign of respectability, would tremble with patriotic pride when a barrel-voiced Fourth of July orator pulled the stops on the revolutionary declaration that was taken as a signal of revolt wherever the heel of the oppressor dug into the face of a subject people.

But those days are gone by and a fervent admirer of the Declaration of Independence today had better watch his step if he wants to keep out of the clutches of the present day patriots who look on the revolutionary document as a skeleton in the political closet, in much the same light as a modern society lady would regard the indiscretions of a buccaneering ancestor.

Much water has flowed by the historical bridge since 1776 and the United States that was then fighting a revolutionary war against the British Empire and offering a haven of refuge to those fleeing from tyranny is today the most imperialistic country on earth with its flag flying over millions

of exploited slaves, this flag no longer the symbol of struggle against oppression but the banner of the predatory interests of Wall Street.

During the World War, in which the United States participated to protect the millions of Morgan and Company invested on the side of the allies, several workers were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for publishing excerpts from the declaration of independence.

In those hectic days when our monied aristocracy was engaged in a crusade to save the world from German militarism and make it safe for Wall Street investments, the ghosts of the authors of the Declaration of Independence were only invoked by the radicals. Not that the revolutionists were deluded into the belief that they were the inheritors of the fruits of the 1776 revolution or that the "fathers of this country" had the slightest regard for the interests of the exploited industrial and land workers of those days, but because the revolution struck a blow at the infant imperialism of Great Britain and pushed the hands of the clock of social evolution forward on the dial of time.

In the sense that the revolutionists of 1776 fought on the side of progress, they are the revolutionary ancestors of the revolutionists of today. The rising bourgeoisie of colonial days found themselves economically hog-tied by the legislative restrictions placed upon them by the British parliament. So they took steps to break the chains that bound them and they were not finicky as to methods.

Let those paid and voluntary patriots who rave today about the Communist contention that no ruling class in the history of the world relinquished its power without a physical struggle and that a

(Continued on Page Six)

The Fifth Party Conference of the C. P. of China

Political and Organizational Report of the Central Committee

THE first part of this report bears the heading "The Tactics of the Party in the Course of the Last Two Years." In this respect, Comrade Chen Tu Su distinguishes four periods.

1.—First Period: From the 4th Party Conference of the C. P. of China to the Rebellion of Kuo Sun Ling (in December, 1925). This stage is characterized by the rise of the Communist movement, which reached its highest point in the events of May 30th, 1925 (shootings in Shanghai). In the period in question, the proletariat was fighting for the hegemony in the revolutionary movement, a development which led to emphasizing class differences. We could then observe the beginnings of bourgeois defaction, the bourgeois ideology being interpreted in Tai Tsi Tao's book, "The Philosophical Foundations of Sunyatsenism." In southern China it still proved possible to maintain a united front with the bourgeoisie against the two militarist leaders, Li Chen Hui and Yang Shi Min, but the Hong-kong strike was already waged altogether under the slogan "The labor movement must be combined with the national movement, the dominating role of the proletariat in the latter being fully maintained."

In this first period the Communist Party of China committed no mistakes. It waged determined war against the tendencies voiced by Tai Tsi Tao and maintained the principle of a union with the left wing of the Kuomintang for the purpose of a common fight against the right wing. The same policy was observed at the Second Party Conference of the Kuomintang. The accentuation of opposition to British imperialism must be regarded as a step in the right direction on the part of the Communist Party.

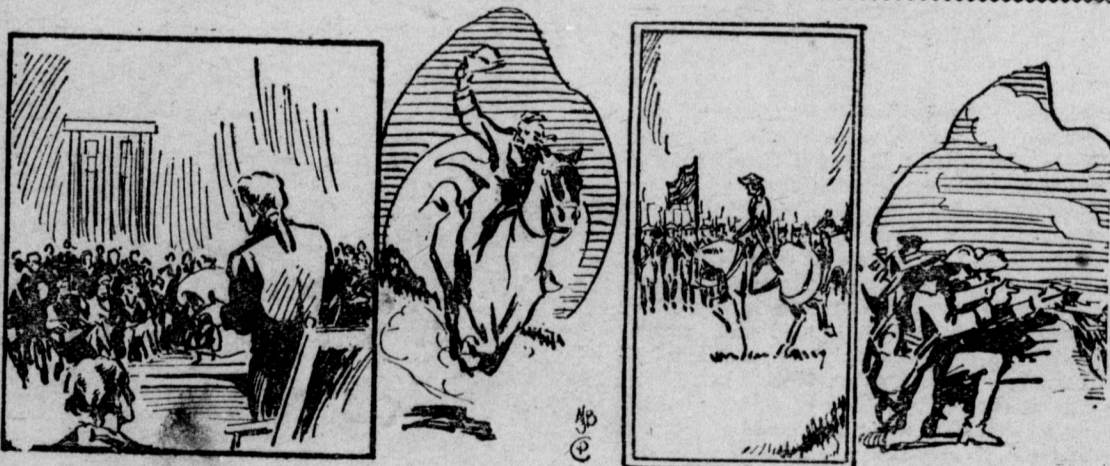
2.—Second Period: From the rebellion of Kuo Sun Ling in December 1925 till the retreat of the National army from the heights of Hankow. This period is mainly remarkable for the recession in the revolutionary movement and the strengthening of the reaction. At the commencement of the second period, southern China saw the continuation of the fight against feudalism, which found expression in the murder at Canton on August 25th, 1925, of Lao Chun Kai, minister of finance to the Canton government (killed by the accomplices of the feudal lords) and in the fights which followed it. The struggle against the bourgeoisie also grew in vehemence during this period. The bourgeoisie was engaged in organizing its political parties.

In this period Chiang Kai-shek played the part of an "armed Tai Tsi Tao." The events of March 20th, 1926, were no mere coincidence. (We here refer to the armed demonstration organized by Chiang Kai-shek at the head of his troops against the government of which Wang Tsin Wei was at the head and against the workers' strike committee, a development which led to dismissal of Wang Tsin Wei, to the temporary weakening of the influence of the left Kuomintang members and the Communists in the Kuomintang and in the army, and to the strengthening of the reactionary elements in the province). Chiang Kai-shek rendered apparent the tendency of the bourgeoisie to secede from the revolution, this desire being mainly promoted by the increasingly obvious divergence of class interests among the various groups engaged in the National-Revolutionary movement. The Canton conference of the Kuomintang on May 5th, 1926, was wholly under the influence of Chiang Kai-shek.

With reference to the events of March 20th, there were at that time within the Communist Party considerable differences of opinion as to the advisability of an assault or a retreat. The retreat of the Communist Party was occasioned by a lack of forces and the omission of the Party to make adequate preparations. It must be admitted that considerable mistakes were allowed to occur at Canton.

At the close of the second period the differences in the camp of the militarists were aggravated, the Mukden clique opposing the clique of Chihli. At

(Continued on Page Two)



The Fifth Party Conference of the C. P. of China

(Continued from Page One)

the same time there were greater differences among the foreign imperialists, a fact which was reflected in the course of the Customs Conference.

3.—Third Period: From the commencement of the Northern Expedition till the occupation of Shanghai by the National troops. This section was characterized by a renewed rise of the revolutionary movement. It saw the development of the workers' movement and the establishment of a broad foundation for a movement among the peasantry. At the same time, the struggle against foreign imperialism increased (occupation of the British concessions at Hankow and Kiukiang).

The session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party at Peking in February 1926 sanctioned the project of an expedition to the north. Although there were subsequently some differences of opinion on various heads, one cannot speak of great mistakes having been committed during this period.

The expedition to the north was the result of collaboration between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. At the close of the third period, however, the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie was aggravated, especially in connection with the attempts made by the bourgeoisie to exploit the military expedition solely for its own ends. This struggle led to the complete rupture, at Shanghai, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the latter revealing pronouncedly anti-revolutionary tendencies.

4.—Fourth Period: Since the coup of Chiang Kai-shek at Shanghai. This last section is altogether different from the preceding ones. The bourgeoisie has seceded from the revolutionary front. The true nature of the forces which had taken part in the national struggle has become apparent, and their attitude throughout the developments becomes increasingly obvious. The result is a consolidation of the united front of the proletariat, the peasantry, and petty bourgeoisie. The dangers lurking within the revolutionary movement itself have been greatly lessened.

The prospects for the near future figure as follows: Accentuation of class differentiation; growth of the forces of the proletariat, peasantry, and petty bourgeoisie and of the military resources of the revolution, the further development of which thus appears assured.

The second section of the report bears the title: "The Role of the Bourgeoisie in the Revolution." From a historical point of view, the defection of the Chinese bourgeoisie is no new departure. In history, the bourgeoisie betrayed every revolution. The Chinese bourgeoisie is opposed to the militarists but favors a compromise with the foreign imperialists, from whom it hopes to receive rewards and favors. The Chinese bourgeoisie is not only opposed to the proletarian revolution, but is not even able to carry out a bourgeois-democratic revolution. After taking part in the revolution for a short time, the Chinese bourgeoisie became counter-revolutionary. Chiang Kai-shek represents the left bourgeoisie, which turned pronouncedly counter-revolutionary after April 12th, 1927. The right wing of the Chinese bourgeoisie, the so-called "Compradores," it is hardly worth while to mention in this connection.

The third part of the report is entitled: "The Relation of the Proletariat to the Petty Bourgeoisie." The participation of the petty bourgeoisie in our revolution has been characterized throughout by vacillations. The proletariat must make concessions to the petty bourgeoisie for the sake of having its support. In this connection we have not been able properly to carry out the resolutions of the C. C. of the Chinese C. P. passed at the plenary session of July 1926. In the provinces many mistakes have been made in this regard. Our task now consists in drawing the petty bourgeoisie into the Kuomintang.

The fourth section of the report bears the title: "The Land Question." The main work in this question after the fourth Party Conference of the C. P. of China held in January 1925, consisted in organizing the peasantry and in the fight for the reduction of the rent of the land. This movement is now passing over to a higher stage and is being



converted into a fight for the land. The peasantry is making an elementary upheaval and wishes to solve the land question itself. The agrarian revolution is now already no longer a question of theory, but of practice. In the province of Hunan a struggle is proceeding for the equal distribution of the land; this fight is directed not only against the big landowners, but also against the small landowners and the big lessees. The struggle is proceeding in an elementary manner.

We have conducted an all too peaceful policy. The big landed estates must now be confiscated; at the same time concessions must be made to the small landowners who have to be reckoned with. At present the alliance with the small landowners is still necessary. We must not fall into ultra-left errors, but must pursue a middle course. Nevertheless, even for the confiscation of the large and middle landed estates, it is necessary to await the further development of the military actions. The only correct solution at the present moment is to deepen the revolution after it has first been spread.

The fifth section of the report bears the heading "The Hegemony of the Proletariat." This hegemony is becoming a fact. The strike committee at Canton had governmental authority and exercised great influence among the left members of the Kuomintang. It was, as a matter of fact, a parallel government. In the province of Hunan, the influence of



In the reeling shed of a silk filature at Shanghai. Note the steam and the small children who work standing up in the atmosphere of a foul Turkish bath for 12 hours or more per day.

the proletariat is likewise strong; the petty bourgeoisie and the left Kuomintang in this province are under the leadership of the proletariat. In northern China the Communist Party also plays the leading role in the revolutionary movement. At Shanghai the proletariat was often isolated, but since May 30th the fight has been waged under the auspices of the proletariat.

The proletariat does not yet aspire to full authority; it is not yet in possession of decisive power. Nor has the Communist Party as yet sufficient armed forces at its disposal to seize the reins of government. The treachery of Chiang Kai-shek means the defection of 99 per cent of the big and middling bourgeoisie. Together with the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie, the proletariat must create new forces.

The question of Shanghai is also a problem of the mutual relations of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The proletariat of Shanghai fought splendidly, but it must be borne in mind that the city is not only a centre of the proletariat but also a very important stronghold of the bourgeoisie. Even combined with the petty bourgeoisie, the proletariat of Shanghai is insufficiently strong. The opinion prevails that Shanghai cannot become the basis of the national revolution. Indeed, it is said that it will only be possible to deal imperialism at Shanghai a decisive blow when the national revolution has taken firm footing all over China. This essentially mechanical theory of determinism is not devoid of certain elements of truth. Nevertheless, I consider this argument mistaken. At Shanghai there are even some

liberal bourgeois groups which are not yet wholly lost for the cause of revolution.

The sixth part of the report is entitled: "The Military Factor and the Social Basis of the Chinese Revolution." The military forms of the national movement did not originate in the revolutionary masses themselves. The armed force of the people is not yet organized. The present armed forces of the national government have developed out of the old militarist army and consist partly of peasants and partly of the mob. The commanders of these forces are descendants of the landlords class. Therefore the army is a doubtful force. For the revolutionary army it is essential that the proportion of riff-raff in the ranks and the proportion of landlord's sons among the commanders be materially reduced. The vacillations of the army have their social bases.

The seventh portion of the reports treats of "The Territorial Foundation and the Line of Progress of the Revolution." The general impression is that the revolution is now progressing in a northwestern direction and not towards the southeast, which is a stronghold of imperialism. This question deserves to be elucidated from all standpoints. It is not right that we should be asked to leave it altogether to the Kuomintang. Such a policy would be tantamount to tying ourselves to the apron-strings of the Kuomintang.

The eighth part of the report refers to "The Relations of the Communist Party to the Kuomintang." The Kuomintang is a revolutionary association, a revolutionary league of many classes. Therefore the proletarian party had likewise to enter it. At present the Kuomintang is a union of three classes, the workers, the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie. This union will be strong as long as it is in a position to satisfy the requirements of the classes it represents, and the peasant class in particular, and provided that the bourgeoisie under Chiang Kai-shek does not succeed in subordinating it to its influence.

The ninth portion of the report is called "The Reorganization of the Army." This does not merely mean the reformation of the army or the introduction into it of new political factors. Political propaganda in the army alone is insufficient. The army must be brought nearer to the workers and especially to the peasantry. The proportionate number of members of the landowner class among its leaders must be diminished. Without a change in its social foundations there can be no reorganization of the army.

The tenth part of the report deals with "The Establishment of Revolutionary-Democratic Power." The regime of the national government is naturally no regime of militarists. But we are still far from a revolutionary-democratic order of things. This fact must be admitted even by the left members of the Kuomintang. We are faced with the task of starting to erect a really revolutionary-democratic authority as soon as the situation in regard to the national government has changed and the threat of foreign intervention and a militarist offensive has disappeared.

The national government can look back on an eventful history. At present it is the government of an alliance of the left Kuomintang and the proletarian party, some of the ministers in the cabinet being Communist proletarians. We may, however, not cherish the illusion that this government is already a realization of the principle of revolutionary-democratic dictatorship. This would be a mistake. And wherefore is the present government not yet a realization of that principle? Because it is not yet a government of the masses of workers and peasants but only a block government of their leaders. On the other hand, the present government must by no means be under-estimated, for it undoubtedly represents a step forward on the way to a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship. This stage must be exploited if we are to arrive at a government which is controlled by the masses, i.e., at the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the workers, the peasantry, and the petty-bourgeoisie.

The eleventh section of the report is called "The Financial and Economic Situation." Formerly we were little interested in the problems of financial and economic construction. We had not enough determination to take part in the government. In future we must occupy ourselves more with these matters. We must pay attention not only to questions of the mass movement, but also to financial and economic factors, if we desire to consolidate the foundations of the revolution.



Headquarters of the All China Labor Federation at Canton.



Headquarters of the Kwangtung Peasants' Union.

Are 'We' Getting Bribed by Prosperity?

By
E. B. Jacobson

"THE American workingclass is being bribed by prosperity!" This is a phrase that is being bandied about today with a dangerous disregard for truth. Even supposedly well-informed workers are deceived by its defeatist ideology. Intriguing as the phrase is, how long does it stand under the scrutiny of facts? Let us see!

In 1926, according to the National Bureau of Economic Research, the "current income of the American people" was over 89 billions of dollars. In 1921, the same bureau reports a national income of 62 billions. So the "American people" have made 27 billions more in 1926 than in 1921. "We" are getting richer—almost 33½ per cent richer!

Do All Share Alike?

But do we all share alike in this gain—in fact, do some of us share at all? Where, for instance, do the workers come in—the millions of semi-skilled and unskilled, the unorganized, the women, colored workers—even those within the American Federation of Labor? How much are they "bribed"?

The economic bureau reports that 44,600,000 people were "gainfully employed" in 1926. Dividing the 89 billion dollar income by the 44½ million employed, we find that if all shared proportionately



in the increase it would mean an average yearly income of approximately \$2,000.

How Many Get \$2,000?

How many workers get \$2,000 a year? Do the farm laborers? Do the cotton pickers, shoe workers, textile operators, steel workers, lumber jacks? Do the soft coal miners, the employes of packing houses, biscuit factories, knitting plants, laundries? Does the average worker get \$2,000?

According to the economic bureau, the earnings of the factory workers in the state of New York for 1926 averaged \$29 a week. This means \$1,500 a year if the full 52 weeks were worked, which would be a very exceptional case. And this applies only to New York State, which pays higher wages than Illinois, Ohio, Georgia, Mississippi, Texas, California, Massachusetts or Pennsylvania. The iron foundries, stock yards and coal mines of Illinois are estimated to pay a weekly average of only \$27. And the seasonal nature of this work, shut-downs and lay-offs cut into this wage disastrously.

"Prosperity" Down South.

In the South, the lowest level of annual income is reached, with a drop to \$1,089 in Texas; in Missouri to \$754 and in Georgia to the inhuman level of \$671. With the expanding industrialization of the South, competition with the North is bound to result in an even lower standard of living for northern workers.

Even now, however, the North feels the demoralizing effects of this, due to the influx of Negro workers. Their use in the coal fields and steel mills of Pennsylvania has lowered the wage average there to \$25.00, according to labor bureau statistics. In Massachusetts, the unorganized textile and shoe factories go below even this starvation pay, forcing their employes to put wives and children to work to eke out the men's average wage of \$23.00. Quite evidently it is none of these workers, either colored or white, who are being "bribed" by prosperity.

Are Women Workers Bribed?

And how about the women workers? Their conditions are even more deplorable than the men's; and worse than that, are a continual threat to the national standard of wages. In a pamphlet recently issued by the Women's Bureau of the U. S. department of labor, the following facts are pointed out: In the 14 states investigated, only one state, and that in a peak year, was found to pay wages as high as \$16. Even in that one state—Rhode Island—the average wage of all women investigated was only \$16.85 a week.

Medians in other states ranged from \$8.60 in Mississippi to \$14.95 in New Jersey, with the remaining eleven as follows: Ohio, \$13.80; Oklahoma, \$13.00; Georgia, \$12.95; Missouri, \$12.65; Kansas, \$11.95; Arkansas, \$11.05; Kentucky, \$10.75; South Carolina, \$9.50 and Alabama, \$8.80.

Since these figures represent capitalism's "bribery" of the great masses of unorganized, unskilled and semi-skilled workers, men and women—then capitalism can expect no returns for its "bribery" except bitter antagonism, wider spread discontent and more militant striving for the betterment of labor conditions. Such pittance wages in our basic industries, such debasing of the famous "American" standard of living does not breed class-collaboration; it makes the soil fertile for intensified class struggle. Can such an industrial situation turn the workers to the "right"? Surely it is a curious method prosperity has chosen to "bribe" the proletariat!

Nevertheless, the question must be answered—Is any section of the American labor movement "going to the right"? Capitalism is sufficiently class-conscious to understand the need for a rear-guard. It wants "peace" at home. Besides, certain industries such as the building and printing trades are not under the pressure of international competition as are, for instance, the coal, textile and steel industries.

It is in these more sheltered trades that we must look for "bribery." The building and printing trades now play a predominant role in the American Federation of Labor, and it is under their pressure, as well as pressure from the capitalists and the great pressure of capital invested in industry through la-

bor banks, etc. that the A. F. of L. bureaucracy is corrupted. Of the 23,000,000 industrial workers in the United States (over half of the entire population listed by the census as "gainfully employed"), the A. F. of L. has scarcely more than 2½ million organized in its ranks. Twenty million workers, the great bulk of the American workingclass, are completely unorganized and being forced to the left.

But let us even take those workers now organized in the A. F. of L. It is well known that the coal miners, particularly in the bituminous fields, have been anything but favored by prosperity, which factor accounts for the tremendous influence of the left wing in that industry. Today they are locked out in order to force a wage reduction upon them.

Neither can the organized needle workers, particularly in the East, despite slight wage increases be said to have benefitted by prosperity, as their actual working seasons have been so shortened that their average income today ranges from \$800 to \$1400 a year. Then we have the machinists, and the railroad employes within the A. F. of L. and outside, and here too prosperity talk becomes ridiculous. In addition there is the process of sectionalizing work that is constantly going on, and the efficiency schemes, etc. Indeed, the ranks of the so-called labor aristocracy are being rapidly narrowed down.

Under these circumstances to talk of bribery by prosperity, and of the labor movement moving to the right, means to have been doped by the bourgeois prosperity propaganda—a typical social-democratic reaction.

It is true that the dwindling ranks of the labor aristocracy in a few trades, can be said to "be bribed" and to be moving to the right. But the broad masses of the workingclass are being subjected to increasing, rather than decreasing exploitation. The A. F. of L. bureaucracy more and more tend to ignore these workers, and prove its acceptance of American imperialism's bribe by continuing to orientate itself on the surviving skilled mechanics. A be-paunched A. F. of L. leadership, is covered with the cloak of sanctity by erratic S. Pites—a united front between the labor-fakers and the petit-bourgeoisie—lawyers, merchants, bootleggers, and ham politicians. It is this motley crew that is rushing its forces to the right, though not by any means in unbroken ranks. It is the retreat of a minority, even inside the A. F. of L.; and its guilty confusion will serve to stimulate the rank and file of the labor movement to realization of the dangers confronting the labor movement, and to make them realize the need of following the left wing leadership, and of drawing new strength into the unions by the organization of the millions outside the unions, for whom "prosperity" means only intensified exploitation.

To A Young Poet Worried About Aesthetes

My child, the next time that you,
Feeling the weight of the class struggle
New upon your shoulders,
Come face to face with some unimportant
aesthete
Taking his pleasure with his music, rhymes
and cocktails,
Don't bother us with such things.

We are not troubled by a bourgeois conscience;
We're not afraid to enjoy music, books and art
Whenever we have time.
And meanwhile we don't give a damn
Whether your aesthete friend
Knows anything about our strikes or not.

—N. S.

Poems and Themes

Dear N. S.,

I'm sorry if I bothered you with my juvenile discovery. You may not believe me, but I had no intention whatever of doing so.

As you very wisely point out in your second stanza I was bothering myself. That is, I was troubled by what you—a hardboiled "proletarian"—are pleased to call a bourgeois conscience.

That was a year ago. Since then I have attained proletarian serenity and remain untroubled by aesthetes discussing Stravinsky over cocktails.

You may very pertinently ask me why I published the poem. The reason is this: Even though the mood expressed in the poem is the product of a troubled bourgeois conscience and is no longer true of me, it's a pretty good poem.

But perhaps you disagree with that.

Yours for the aesthetes,

HARRY FREEMAN.

EDITOR'S NOTE: If the internecine warfare between our favorite poets continues we shall be obliged to lay down certain rules governing the conditions under which the belligerent rhymsters may be permitted to conduct their poetical polemics.

We consider it unfair in civilized warfare for a power well supplied with poison gas, mustard gas and laughing gas to use those lethal chemicals against a foe equipped only with low-powered fire crackers. We also consider it unmanly for Comrade Freeman to take advantage of his intimacy with the acting-editor of the New Magazine to hurl a deadly piece of prose at a defenseless hostile poet. Had Freeman's pros(e)aical retort been delivered by the mailman it might have never seen the light of day, but what can you do with a fellow who comes up to your desk with his concoction and while admitting his errors hands you something with which you agree?

A reformed poet to us is the sweetest thing that blows into our editorial sanctum and when you run into a poet who really admits that his poetry is worthy of publication, such a rare find should not be allowed to blush unseen.

Now boys, keep within the rules of free verse and don't sock below the eyes.

POLICE WERE PLACED IN
THE FOUR DISTRICT TO
PROTECT AND KEEP ORDER
(NEWSPAPER CAPTION)

OH JUSTICE!
HOW IMPARTIAL
AND STATELY
YOU LOOK!



Looking Forward

By THURBER LEWIS

SCIENCE! What a word to conjure with. It has come to have a sort of hallowed meaning like HOLY GHOST of old. What SCIENCE has done, will do, can do and may do is being awfully conjectured about in much the same way as the wonder workings of HIM were piously broadcast in the age of needle-dancing angels.

The gamut of miraculous power with which this new shibboleth is clothed runs from the complete blotting-out of the race to a mechanized paradise for billions of synthetic super-humans. It extends from the gushing imagination of H. G. Wells to the dark forebodings of a genuine thinker like Bertrand Russell. In between, you find thousands of Sunday supplement blurbers, "scientific" magazine hacks and news-gap stoppers hailing the day when you can fly to work in an air-lizzy and carry your lunch in a capsule.

But what they all forget because they don't know any better or choose to forget because they do know better is that science has not yet become divorced from society. Their efforts to make their haloed men of science into cloistered wizards working miracles with test-tubes, radio-activity and ductless glands quite uninfluenced by social conditions and historical processes harks back to the day of the ALMIGHTY who was likewise much too important to be touched by such inconsequential things.

But this making a religion of science may not be as silly as it sounds. Mightn't there be a sort of purpose behind it? The old time religion is going to the bow-wows. The immaculate conception is, as it were, falling before contraception; transubstantiation doesn't sit well on a stomach fed with calories and vitamins; nor can the voice of the lord hope to compete with the loud-speaker. The saw-dust trail gag is so much on the wane that a new kind of narcotic is plainly needed—and being supplied.

The Jesus shouters can no longer deliver the goods with the old pie-in-the-sky stuff. The slaves won't swallow it in large enough doses to make them forget or not to see that their condition of wages servitude is a far more pressing problem than the hereafter. Operative 1375 in the nut and bolt turning division of Fordson plant, Detroit, Michigan, ain't the man his dad used to be. He was far more absorbed in Lindbergh's hop than his grandfather ever was in the coming of the lord.

So they rearrange the sky for him and serve up a different kind of pie. He is made to see, instead of angels, white tuniced, sharp-beaked, big-domed SCIENTISTS working out his salvation in laboratories. "It won't be long now!" they whisper. "The time is coming," "Have faith." Then they paint the picture.

Methuseleh will be a kid along side of you when you've only had your second pair of glands—you'll side-slip onto the factory landing field in your new helicopter, be whirled to your station on a speed conveyor, tend to your buttons and switches to get the plant going and glide home to your dinner of concentrated cubes consumed while you are watching what's happening, if you like, in Timbuctoo or Albany.

In the meantime, you are, of course, turning nuts and bolts for Mr. Ford, who is now starting his second billion.

In the other direction there are some otherwise level-headed thinkers of great cerebral repute like Prof. Haldane, who have already begun bleating about SCIENCE getting so far ahead of mere man that humanity is certain to commit hari-kari with the tremendous power that will be at its disposal. This is simply the reverse of the medal which on the other side shows a heavenly picture of radio-activated sweetness and monkey-glandular light. And rests on the same misconception of what real science is all about.

For all the tremendous advances in knowledge and scientific achievement showing on the credit side of the ledger in the last half century, wage slaves still lurch to the job on traction magnates' run down, nickel-snatching flat-wheelers; you still go hungry if you can't get a boss to do you the favor of letting him exploit you; when you go to war, you get murdered much more cunningly and in far greater numbers, but you still get murdered; your exploiters are able to enjoy their profits in a much more intensive and pleasurable way than they used to but they are still parasites; innovation follows innovation, discovery becomes commonplace but there is still as little anxiety to discover a way to eliminate the profit system as there ever was—in a word, the class-war is still on.

So that if a worker can withstand the barrage of dream inspiring, wonder-science sermonizing long enough to take a quick look about him he will discover that he is still very much of a wage slave and that science, like everything else, is the property of the capitalists. The URGE behind this feverish scramble of invention and discovery is primarily PROFIT. Some of the most remarkable scientific achievements, in themselves, of course, all to the good, have been made in the laboratories of the American Telephone and Telegraph Co. and Westinghouse. The radio has already become a mint-like monopoly for a comparatively few profit-rakers. Television awaits the same fate. The development of aviation means the development of a new source of income. Scientists are by no means gods or demi-gods.

They are part of the system. No fear of them getting too far ahead. They will be held in check if they show a disposition to get too cantankerous. Their genius will continue to be diverted into channels that will show new ways of making profits or create new machines for the subjection of revolutionary Chinese, Indians and WORKERS.

What solid scientific progress is being made under capitalism will not be lost to the world. Its accumulation of mechanical and chemical creations will be a much deserved bequest to an order in which science will not be hamstrung by social division and private gain. Let the scientific revivalists do their Billy Sunday act—and let the wage slaves remember that the class war has still to be fought out and won.



The Night

I
I have heard of so many
who can shut out the
cadence of trains and
all the night's noises,
and of so many others who
are content to cloister
themselves in a small room,
unaffected by anything
at all;
who can sit alone,
altogether alone,
most of the time,
even when a June night
experiences the singular
beauty of emerging
from its virginity.

II
I cannot understand
how any man or woman
can be always
alone.

III
That one must
be sterile,
unimaginative,
cannot have been an adolescent,
nor passed adolescence.

IV
To sit alone tonight,
to walk the streets
as I have done this last
hour, to be
completely alone,
—dear comrade—but it hurts—so
much—so much—
dear comrade—but it hurts.

V
You don't know, my dear,
(I wish you could!) how it is
to come to a city
and move into a room,
and then move out of that, after
a few months,
into another
exactly as monotonous,
cold—yes, and bare.

VI
I hate small rooms
where one is quite
strange, where
you cannot come in
and talk to me.

VII
When leaves sweep the air
then, in a rush, an electric light
is superfluous. . . . Turn off
the light. . . . See?—I don't
complain now. I am
a social creature and dislike
solitude.

VIII
I have heard of so many
who can shut out the
brushing of trees and
all the night's noises.

IX
But I can't. These things
should not be shut out and
I must not be
altogether deserted.

X
For the night is
very sweet; but is also very
painful
without you.

—OSCAR RYAN.



The Day They Celebrate

(Continued from Page One)

revolution unaccompanied by violence is not on record, hearken back to the Boston Tea Party and to the activities of the dignified smuggler John Hancock who was elected president of the Continental Congress in 1775 and the first governor of Massachusetts.

Hancock, whose name now graces the letterhead of a big insurance company was "the prince of contraband traders" according to Lalor's "Encyclopedia of Political and Social Science" and with John Adams as his counsel, was appointed for trial before the admiralty court in Boston, at the exact hour of the shedding of blood in Lexington, in a suit for \$500,000 penalties alleged to have been incurred by him as a smuggler."

All honor to Hancock for his lack of scruples in dealing with the foreign tyrant, but there is a noticeable absence of eulogy of this side of his character in the patriotic effusions that tear the atmosphere on the national holiday.

Today, when every bawdy capitalist rag in the country uses columns of space exposing the Communist disregard for the niceties of capitalist constitutionalism, it is in place to point out and to prove to the American workingclass that the men who led the revolution that culminated in the expulsion of Great Britain from the colonies did not hesitate to use every available method to accomplish their purpose.

Smuggling today is considered an unpatriotic avocation in the United States, but to the men who established the bourgeois government known as the United States, smuggling was a highly patriotic business, in the days before British power was broken in the colonies. It was a revolutionary weapon.

This might serve as an object lesson to misguided workers who place counter-revolution against the Soviet government on the same ethical level as revolution against the former czarist government or against any capitalist government. The aim is what determines the character of action and not the method employed. The same rule applies to the methods employed by a workingclass government to defend itself against its enemies. The revolution-

ists of 1776 did not hesitate to make life miserable for their enemies and the historian, Beard, tells us of loyalists hanged without trial, others tarred and feathered, blacklisted and one fellow was given a preferred position on a cake of ice "until his loyalty to King George might cool."

According to Charles Stedman in his, "The History of the Origin, Progress and Termination of the American War," we are told that Hancock cared little for legal forms but unhesitatingly used whatever methods seemed most feasible to him. A. M. Simons in his "Social Forces in American History," says, "When his (Hancock's) sloop, Liberty, was endeavoring to run the customs, he first tried to bribe the officials, and, this failing, locked up the guard in a cabin and unloaded the sloop under the protection of a gang of thugs secured for the occasion."

There is no intention here to cast the slightest reflection on Hancock's moral character. He was fighting for his own class interests and was justified in employing whatever methods seemed most suited to the purpose he had in view. But 151 years after the publication of the Declaration of Independence, the government which has the declaration as a preamble to its constitution, is busily engaged framing laws to strangle the development of the power of the workingclass and perfecting the necessary suppressive machinery to keep the workers in subjection, not even stopping at the contemplation of legalized murder, as in the Sacco and Vanzetti case.

One hundred and fifty-one years after the American colonists adopted their charter of liberty, which meant liberty only for the owing class minority of the population, this government is preparing a colossal program of imperialist development with its corollary: a gigantic naval and military program.

The world conflicts between the rival imperialist powers is manifesting itself alongside the sharpening of the struggle between the industrial workers and the exploited colonial and semi-colonial peoples on one hand and world imperialism on the other.

We see the USSR assailed on all sides by open foe and quondam friend in the imperialist world, and supported by the enlightened and progressive sections of the workingclass everywhere. The Soviet Union stands as a mighty bulwark of the oppressed and is the nucleus of the future world labor state. It is hated by the executive organs of the capitalist

powers but their greed for profits and their clashing interests prevent them from coming to an agreement to wage a united war against the Workers' Republic.

More than a century and a half since British power was broken in the American colonies we see the giant imperialism that rose from those disunited states again challenging the power of the British empire, this time not to throw off a foreign yoke but to contest for world commercial and political supremacy. In the coming struggle as in the revolutionary war, the workers will be the pawns. They will be asked to fight for "their" country, but in reality for the Morgans, Rockefellers and Mellons.

On this holiday, when the patriotic gas of bourgeois oratory will pollute the air with its poison, the workers of this country should pledge themselves to fight against imperialist wars, to oppose the imperialistic policies of Wall Street, to defend the Soviet Union against attack, to rally to the defense of the Chinese masses who are shedding their hearts' blood in defense of the right to be masters in their own land and to free themselves from the thralldom of foreign exploiter and the native militarist, to organize politically thru a mass Labor Party in this country and to enroll the workers in trade unions, with an eye on the goal of a Workers' and Farmers' Government, that will write a new Declaration of Independence which will sound the death knell of exploitation at home and abroad.



The COMRADE

Edited by the Young
A Page for Workers'



Young SECTION

Pioneers of America
and Farmers' Children

Answers to Last Week's Puzzle

The answer to last week's puzzle No. 20 is: DECORATION DAY IS USED BY THE BOSSES TO MAKE THE WORKERS AND THEIR CHILDREN PATRIOTIC TO THE BOSS AND THE GOVERNMENT. The following have answered correctly:

Elsie Melniker, Ferndale, N. Y.; Clara Ogulewicz, Paterson, N. J.; Mae Malyk, New York City; Mae Feuer, New York City; Hilda Wolf, Baltimore, Md.; Leah Scharf, New York City; Evaline Leven, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Peter Rimkus, Utica, N. Y.

More Answers to Puzzle No. 18

Solly Klein, Los Angeles, Cal.; Ulm Caminker, Los Angeles, Cal.

THIS WEEK'S PUZZLE NO. 21

This is an addition and subtraction puzzle. Try and solve it.

WORRY+E-RYE+K+HER-H= ?

Send your answers to the Daily Worker Young Comrade Corner, 33 First St., New York City, stating your name, age, address and number of puzzle.

CAMP NEWS

Next week the Young Pioneer Camp will open. What a wonderful time is in store for the workers' children who are going there! They are going to swim in a wonderful lake. They will go hiking and climb mountains. There will be countless games to play, baseball, punchball, football, volley ball and many, many more. Do you want to be in on all this fun? If you do, tell your father that you want to go to the Young Pioneer Camp. The office is Room 41, 108 East 14th St., N. Y. C.

FREEDOM — THEN AND NOW

On July 4, 1776, a small group of men, including such famous fighters for liberty as Thomas Jefferson, John Hancock, Benjamin Franklin and John Adams met at Independence Hall in Philadelphia and drew up a famous document. It was called the Declaration of Independence. This document declared that all men were created equal. It also said, "That whenever any form of government becomes destructive, it is the right of the people to alter or to ABOLISH it and to institute a new government." And these men of 1776 did not only talk of freedom, but, with the help of the workers and farmers, also fought for it until they drove their oppressors (the British bosses) from off the American soil.

One hundred and fifty-one years have passed. Many things have changed. The Thomas Jeffersons, the John Hancocks and the other fighters for liberty have died a long time ago. Trade and commerce that was just a baby in 1776 became a giant in 1927. And with this great change there was also created a great change among the American people. A small group of bosses, thru robbery and other means became the owners of almost everything. The big mass of people became the slaves of the bosses and owned nothing. And that is not all. The rich bosses controlled the government thru bribery and forced the American people into many wars such as the World War, where thousands of workers and poor farmers were killed and wounded. And this was done to make more money for the bosses.

In Central America, in a little country called Nicaragua, the workers and farmers revolted against the tyrants who oppressed them, just like the Americans did in 1776. What did the American government do? Why, they sent many battleships and soldiers to put down this revolt and to protect the property of the American bosses in that country. The same thing is now being done in China, where the people are fighting for freedom. This is what America has come to. If Thomas Jefferson were alive today he would say, "Now is the time to put the Declaration of Independence into effect, since our government no longer serves us, we must abolish it." What do you say?

YOUNG COMRADE

By MARY VAINAUSKAS.

Look out everyone! Here I come,
Hurrying, scurrying on the run,
I'm hurrying home to be on time
So I can get my Young Comrade.

2.

Always truthful, always sure,
Always having some new lure
And when some people read this rhyme
I hope they will send for the Young Comrade.

RUTHENBERG SUB BLANK

What have you done to spread the truth among workers' children? What have you done to show the workers' children that what the teacher says about workers is wrong? Do you know that the place to find the truth is in the Young Comrade, the newspaper for workers' children? If you do, subscribe and get subscribers for it. Fill out this blank and send it to Daily Worker, Young Comrade Corner, 33 First St., N. Y. C.

1-2 year sub 25c—1 year sub 50c.

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Issued Every Month.

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Despite police, gangstres and all the forces of reaction, the Furriers continue their valiant struggle.



The Mouthpiece of British Imperialism.

Cartoons
OF THE WEEK

By JACOB BURCK



Black Jack Makes His Promise in Paris to Sacrifice More American Workers in the Next War.



The Capitalist Sea Serpent of the Mississippi Hood.

DRAMA

The Moscow Stage

II.

Outside of Meierhold, there is another important factor in the new theatre of Soviet Russia—Alexander Tairov. He too is a pioneer. Tairov once summed up his artistic credo in the following statement: "The Art Theatre tells the actor that he must forget that he is on the stage; and we tell him that he must remember it during every moment of his performance."

Based on this theory that the actor must first of all express himself, the Kamerny Theatre attaches extraordinary importance to the details of costuming, posturing, and gesticulation. It prides itself on the versatility of its actors, who can pass from classical tragedies, such as Oscar Wilde's "Salome" and Racine's "Phedre," to the lightest form of musical comedy with no apparent effort.

The Moscow Art Theatre is still the citadel of a classical drama in Russia; and it is doubtful whether any theatre can boast such a group of magnificent actors. Perhaps the most serious problem confronting the Art Theatre to-day is the difficulty of finding an adequate repertory. Chekhov and Dostoevsky are out of favor; the former because of the bourgeois waverings of his characters and the latter because of his mystical and religious tendencies. Except for occasional performances of "Uncle Vanya," these two authors have vanished from the Art Theatre programmes. The classical comedies of Gogol and Ostrovsky and Griboyedov's old-fashioned problem play, "The Grief That Comes from Thought," are faultlessly and brilliantly given, but do not by themselves constitute an adequate repertory. And young playwrights with works suitable for Art Theatre production have not appeared on the scene since the Revolution.

During the last season more than half the evenings at the Art Theatre were given over to the production of "Days of the Turbins," by Mikhail Bulgakov; and this play, together with "Lyubov Rarovaya," which was played constantly before crowded houses in the Maly Theatre, must be considered one of the two popular successes of the season. Both these plays take their plots from incidents in the Revolution but the authors treat their themes from decidedly different angles.

Tairov is also responsible for the mounting of two of Eugene O'Neill's plays at the Kamerney; "The Hairy Ape" and "Desire Under the Elms." The latter especially received high praise, not only for the author but for its director. The press was very enthusiastic. Sagorsky in "The Programme of the Academic Theatres," said that, "Desire Under the Elms" can be counted as one of the best and most interesting plays of the season; while another reviewer added, "the seriousness of this piece, the moving power of the problems treated by O'Neill, the clear dramatic form, and the great work of the Kamerney—all this was duly greeted by the audience."

The New Plays

TUESDAY

"PADLOCKS OF 1927," a revue by Ballard MacDonald, Anton Scibilia, Billy Rose, George D. Weist and Lee Howard, with Texas Guinan featured and Helen Shipman, Bobby Watson, Connie Almy, Jans and Whelan and Bert Hanlon in the cast, will open Tuesday night at the Shubert Theatre. Duo Art Corp. is the producer.

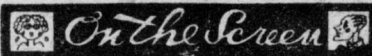
WEDNESDAY

"MADAME X," a drama by Alexandre Bisson, will be revived by Murray Phillips at the Earl Carroll Theatre Wednesday evening, with Carroll McComas in the title role. Others in the cast are Rex Cherryman, Charles Waldron, Reginald Goode, Mabel Montgomery, Wilfred Lucas, Douglas J. Wood, Betty Lawrence, Miriam Stewart, Gus Forbes, Ed. Russell, Arthur C. Ross, and Donald Campbell.

LYNN FONTANNE



Gives a brilliant performance in "The Second Man," S. N. Behrman's interesting play at the Guild Theatre.



"Streets of Sorrow" Opens at Cameo Today

Another European film, titled "Streets of Sorrow," will have its first American showing at the Cameo Theatre today. The picture, which has been shown on the continent, and which has caused wide discussion, is a dramatic story of post-war Vienna, and will be presented by the Films Arts Guild.



ETA GARBO

In "Das Freudlose Gasse," George W. Pabst, the famous German director, has painted in uncompromising, black colors the actual conditions which existed in war stricken Vienna. Aply assisted by a large cast of renowned continental artists, he has taken this story by Hugo Bettauer and given it the intense significance the picture deserves.

The actual story revolves about two young girls both living in the same house on Melchior Gasse in Vienna and how the conditions affect each intimately. Through their young lives, caught in the confusion and frenzy of these horrible conditions, we see the lives of the other people on Melchior Gasse. The director has drawn the contrasts in a very vivid way and at the end we see the suffering people of Melchior Gasse rising in riots against the war-rich and driving them out of their haunts of vice.

The featured players are Greta Garbo, who has since become a famous American star, Asta Nielson, who was last seen in America as "Hamlet." Werner Kraus, the great German artist, of "Caligari," "Scherben," etc., adds another unique characterization to his large gallery of achievements, and Jare Furth.

AMUSEMENTS

The Theatre Guild Acting Company in

"The Second Man"

GUILD THEATRE 52nd Street, West of Broadway. Evens at 8:30. Matinees THURSDAY and SATURDAY at 2:30.

"The Silver Cord"

JOHN GOLDEN THEATRE, 58th St., East of B'way. Matinees THURSDAY & SATURDAY. CIRCLE 5678

AND THEY ROSE IN REVOLT— THE PEOPLE OF THE 'STREETS OF SORROW'

attacked the war-profiteers of Vienna who thrust them into unbearable suffering
See this remarkable film-sensation of Europe with a great cast including
GRETA GARBO ASTA NIELSEN WERNER KRAUS JARO FURTH
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LOW PRICES

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THE LADDER

CORT Theatre 48th St., E. of B'way No Performances Saturday

First National's newest Milton Sills production, "Framed," will be shown at B. S. Moss' Broadway Theatre beginning Monday. The photodrama is adapted from George W. Sutton, Jr.'s "Dawn of My Tomorrow," and has its locale in the Brazilian diamond mines. The cast also includes Natalie Kingston, E. J. Radcliffe, Charles Gerard, Edward Peil, Burr McIntosh and John Miljan.

MUSIC

Stadium Concerts Begin Next Wednesday Night

The Stadium Concerts will begin their tenth season at the Lewisohn Stadium Wednesday evening and continue nightly for eight weeks. Willem Van Hoogstraten, who is leading the Philharmonic Orchestra at the stadium for the sixth consecutive year, will conduct the concerts of the first three weeks.

The opening program begins with a novelty—Elgar's transcription of an overture in D minor by Handel. The rest of Wednesday's program includes Debussy's "Fetes," the Prelude and Liebestod from "Tristan and Isolde" and Beethoven's Fifth Symphony.

Tchaikovsky's Fourth Symphony will head Thursday's evening program. Strauss' "Don Juan," Debussy's "Afternoon of a Faun" and the Polovetzian Dances from Borodine's "Prince Igor," are the other numbers.

Friday's program will include: A Dance Suite, arranged from compositions of Gretry by Felix Mottl; the Second Roumanian Rhapsody of Georges Enesco; "Tannhauser" Overture, and Brahms' Fourth Symphony.

Saturday: Cesar Franck's D minor Symphony; Mozart's "Eine Kleine Nachtmusik," Rimsky-Korsakoff's "Bumble Bee," Sibelius' "Valse Triste" and the Magic Fire Scene from "Die Walkure."

B. S. MOSS' Beginning
B'WAY AT 41ST. MONDAY
MILTON SILLS
in A Powerful, Actionful
Melodrama of the
Diamond Mines
"FRAMED"
AND EXCELLENT BILL OF
KEITH-ALBEE ACTS

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COLONY "The First Auto"
B'way at 53rd with Barney Oldfield
Continuous on the screen and
Noon to in person
Midnite and New Vitaphone

Little Theatre GRAND
44th St., W. of B'way. STREET
Evenings at 8:30. FOLLIES
MATINEES TUES. AND THURSDAY, 2:30

"Aida" will be the first of the series of free open-air opera performances to be given at Starlight Park Stadium beginning July 7. The cast will include Alma Dormagen as Aida; Martha Melis, as Amneris; Salvatore Sciaretta, Rhadames; Giuseppe Maero, Amonasro; E. Palazzi, Ramfis; L. Dalle Molli as the King; Maud Webber as the Priestess and P. Calvini as the Messenger.

The Florentine Polyphonic Choir, directed by Sandro Benelli, will come here in the fall for a ten weeks' tour of the United States and Canada. The organization comprises sixty men and women. Its repertory includes both secular and religious music, from Palestrina to contemporary composers.

A. S. Woods expects to start his season early in August with "Mr. What's His Name," Seymour Hick's French farce, which is now playing in London. Lynn Overman and May Vokes will be in the cast.