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In the Wake of the News

By T. J. O'Flaherty

THOSE who have seen Lenin's body in the mausoleum in the Red Square can tell you that he looks like a healthy child asleep and there is even the suggestion of a twinkle in his eyes and a smile on his lips. A spiritualist would immediately jump to the conclusion that Lenin is inclined to laugh his head off at the troubles which beset the imperialist powers all over the world. Of course this would be nonsense, nevertheless were it possible for Lenin to step over to the headquarters of the Communist International on the other side of the Kremlin he would chuckle audibly, as he read reports of the situation in China, the upsurge of sentiment in Latin America against United States aggression, the continued vigor of the sentiment for independence in the Philippine Islands, the slumbering revolt in India and Egypt, the bitter clashes between the imperialist powers over a division of the loot, between Great Britain and the United States, Great Britain and France and to a lesser degree between Italy and Great Britain, between Italy and France, between the United States and Europe as a whole, and between the United States and Japan, between the United States and France, etc.

IT is true that the capitalist system is not as groggy today as it was a few years after the war but its pulse is low and its temperature is mounting dangerously. Only the United States of all the capitalist powers retains a healthy economic system, but let no one think that American capitalism will escape the fate that is overcoming the same economic system in other countries. Crisis follows crisis in quick succession in Europe. The military establishments are becoming a greater drain than ever on their resources and armaments mean only one thing, and that is war. The capitalists know that another war will be a Waterloo for them but they can no more avoid this fate than a person can avoid death.

THE two outstanding events of the year in the revolutionary struggle against capitalism have been the British general strike and the miners'

strike and the Chinese revolution. Both events hit British imperialism deadly blows. It is true that the miners lost because of the perfidy of the right wing labor leaders, but there was no victory for the British capitalists. The strike left them weakened and it also left a heritage of hate behind it that will come down on their heads in the near future like the stroke of doom. The weakening of British power resulting from the strike shackled England's ability to exert any considerable strength against the Chinese who have been amusing themselves kicking British soldiers all over the scenery, much to the indignation of the British settlers who have never seen such a thing happen before. It is true that British soldiers, when confronted with troops of industrial nations like Germany proved that they could run as well as the rest, which is nothing to their discredit since there is no glory in being brave fighting for capitalism. On the other hand the British working-class have proven themselves to be among the best soldiers of the international army of labor as they showed by the bulldog tenacity with which they held out for nine months in the great coal strike.

BUT the Chinese! How come that they should suddenly develop such combativeness? British, Japanese, American and French exploiters were having a picnic sweating profits out of Chinese bodies. And the Chinese dared not protest. To organize a labor union meant death to the organizers and to many of the rank and file as an example to others. Did the foreigners not have their own courts in which to try Chinese who disobeyed them? Did they not collect taxes and practically rule the country outside of allowing a puppet government to rule in Peking until the rise to power of the Cantonese, who are now pushing forward on the way to the unification of China.

IN this great turning point in the life of China the people of that down-trodden country had only one power to look to for a friendly hand: the great power of the workers and peasants of the

Soviet Union. While the capitalist powers were drawing the life blood out of the Chinese masses and humiliating them socially and diplomatically, the Soviet Union was abrogating all the old unequal treaties and placing the Chinese nation on a basis of full diplomatic equality with the Soviet Union by giving its representative in Peking the title of ambassador. The imperialist powers considered this act of decency a provocation and railed against Russia for spoiling their game. Today, there is every reason to believe that within a year the Cantonese troops will be in Peking and there will be nothing left to the foreign powers except their Manchurian base, granting that Chang-Tso-Lin survives the revolutionary whirlwind.

MOST important of all the gains of the year is the great strides made by the Soviet Union, economically and politically. The industries of the Workers' and Peasants' Republic have increased in productivity, the standard of living of the masses has increased and the political power of the Soviet government has gained internally and externally. Even the most optimistic of the paid anti-Soviet propagandists of imperialism no longer drone their monotonous predictions of impending Soviet disaster. The emigres who lived at the expense of wealthy reactionary American and British Soviet haters, no longer draw the pay checks. Their doleful dirges of alleged Soviet woes no longer poison the political atmosphere.

THE Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the brain and backbone of the Soviet government, has succeeded in overcoming all obstacles placed in the way of its greater consolidation. Even outstanding figures, some of them with names that had a conjuring effect on the masses a few years ago, came to grief before the iron discipline of the Communist Party. When the internal differences over questions of policy became acute, the hopes of the imperialist powers arose, only to fall speedily when they learned that those once-powerful leaders did

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The Youth and the Fight Against Militarism

By JOHN WILLIAMSON.

IT is not enough that we study and know of Lenin, only as the leader of the mighty Russian Revolution. We must study the contributions of Lenin, both in theory and practice and be able to apply them to our respective situations. One of these basic questions is the attitude of the working class to militarism.

Thru our knowledge of the very basis of capitalism with its historical growth and its intensified antagonisms in the present imperialist epoch, we know that WAR is inevitable. Today the clashing economic interests of Great Britain, the United States and the all-powerful capitalist countries are driving them rapidly to a struggle, which can only find its ultimate expression in WAR. The immediate situation in relation to Wall Street and Latin America is not a contradiction to this rivalry between Britain and America, but one of the symptoms of its development and the preparation of the United States for such an event.

At home we are acquainted with the internal preparations for such events. The rapid increase of 250 per cent in military, naval and aircraft expenditures within the U. S. A. from the years 1913 to 1925; the institution of C. M. T. C.'s on a growing scale each year; the R. O. T. C. system introduced into the public school system; the planned out scheme of economic reserves (factories, etc.) on a national scale and many other facts that could be piled up as proof.

"Pacifism" Raises Its Head.

The cries of "Disarmament," "Pacifism," "National Defense Only," etc., have found loud expression recently, just as we have in the past found this agitation the keener immediately prior to armed conflicts. History teaches us that these slogans and the people who advocate them generally "blow up" when confronted with concrete situations. In fact, the majority of them become the worst jingo and enemies of the working class, vying with each other to demonstrate their patriotism and the sincere elements continue to raise their false slogans which only can help to create illusions in the minds of their audiences. We need only remember the jingoistic social patriots during the last war.

TODAY in America this anti-militarist sentiment, has unfortunately found too much leadership in the petty-bourgeois liberal elements. Such organizations as the National Student Forum, The League for Industrial Democracy, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the American Federation of Youth and the dozens of other similar pacifist organizations have taken the helm. Our Communist Youth Movement partially fell into the mistake of allowing such elements to assume leadership in this activity—a most drastic mistake which must be changed.

What are the reasons for this popular anti-militarist crusade among the petty bourgeoisie. Primarily the fact that the burden of this great increase of armaments has been shifted, thru taxation, onto the shoulders of the working class and the petty bourgeoisie, and the latter have reacted more vigorously.

Other motives which contribute, are the general post-war horror of war and militarism, which especially finds expression in the ranks of the intelligentsia (students).

Amongst the unskilled workers, the fact that in every labor struggle, whether of local or national importance, the military is arrayed against them, creates resentment and bitterness.

As a last fact we must brand many of these efforts as a conscious policy of betrayal of the workers by presentation of fine phrases and slogans and promises which divert their immediate attention from a militant policy against militarism.

THE basis of this agitation conducted and led by the petty bourgeois liberal elements is pacifism. Such a theory treats militarism as some separate phenomena which can be abolished at will, without recognizing the basic truth that militarism is one of the main pillars of capitalism and cannot be attacked without attacking capitalism itself. Pacifism, theoretically and practically, is a utopia.

The Leninist Position.

IN the period of 1914-17 when the bulk of the Social-Democracy had capitulated and only a few left wing sections maintained their revolutionary program, the question of the attitude of the proletariat towards militarism was on the order of the day. At that time in the ranks of the revolutionary Socialist Youth movement, which was carrying on the attack against capitalist militarism under the leadership of Liebknecht, much confusion reigned. Today in our own Communist movement we can re-



The Fatal Bite.

cord the fact that the real Communist position towards militarism has received too little attention and no study by the militant workers.

In this period Lenin raised principal questions and today they represent the Communist position towards militarism:

1. Are we against all wars? Lenin answered, "Socialists cannot be against every war without ceasing to be Socialists." He went on to explain that in the period of imperialism the national minorities and colonial peoples are suppressed by force and they in turn must answer by force. Such wars must receive the support of the proletariat. A case in question would be the present defensive hostilities by the Nicaraguan republican forces against the U. S. armed forces. The working class of America must do everything possible to aid such resistance to the armed forces of American imperialism. (This is a concrete case where the liberal slogans became worthless and they in turn will support American imperialism).

Again there is the question of civil wars in those countries where the workers are seizing or have already seized power. The workers of Soviet Union have their Red Army in order to protect their revolution. The pacifist would have the workers and peasants of Russia lay down their arms and be drowned in blood, a la Finland, Hungary or Germany. The Communist, the working class position, has no such sophist illusions. The revolution must protect and guard itself by a better armed force as long as world capitalism exists. The Communist position is not a humanitarian one. As Lenin said, "An op-



pressed class which does not strive for the knowledge of arms, for the practice of arms, for the possession of arms, such an oppressed class is only worthy to be oppressed, maltreated and regarded as a slave class."

2. The inevitability of wars under capitalism, especially in the epoch of imperialism. The contentions of the Communists on this point that all wars have their economic basis, either in securing new lands for exploitation or spheres of influence for distribution of manufacturers' products or for cheaper raw materials, etc., is now even proclaimed in various degrees in the flood of new bourgeois literature concerning the relationship of America and Europe in connection with the last war. The pacifists in their propaganda neglect this completely, and propagate the possibility of abolishing militarism without mentioning capitalism. Thus they create illusions of the worst character in the minds of the workers.

3. Unmerciful unmasking of bourgeois pacifism. Connecting this with the immediate American situation, we must in relation to the previous paragraph, unmask such organizations as the openly imperialistic Y. M. C. A. when it talks "peace," and just as ardently expose the real character of the pacifists of all other brands.

4. Defense of the Fatherland. Experience has taught us that just these elements who raise pacifist meaningless slogans today, in time of crisis, are the conscious lackeys of big capital in mobilizing the workers for the slaughterfest between respective capitalist countries. At that time the slogan they use is, "Defense of the Fatherland." Such a slogan is a death warrant to the workers. The workers have no "Fatherland," under capitalism. Only by turning the imperialist wars into revolutionary civil wars will the proletariat have a workers' "fatherland" like the present Soviet Union, which they will defend with all means and at all costs. This point is the kernel of the whole Communist attitude towards war, in recognition of the causes of war and the historical connection of war with the present social system. In order to further this, the Communist position is not to run away from the army but to work inside the army. Lenin said, "To preach the 'demand' or better, the dream of 'disarmament,' at the present time, when obviously and clearly before the eyes of all of us the only legitimate and revolutionary war, the civil war against the imperialist bourgeoisie is preparing in the hands of the bourgeoisie itself, is but the expression of despair" and again (referring to work inside the army), "If one has not prepared such a propaganda in connection with the present war one should cease to mouth the great phrases about the revolutionary international, about the war against war."

The Communist Youth Movement is not alone interested in anti-militarism but together with the Communist Party conducts its activities in line with the policies of Lenin.

At this time the concrete application of these policies to America means work along the following general lines:

(a) The Y. W. L. as the leader of the working class youth must take the leadership of the anti-militarist movement out of the hands of the petty bourgeois liberal elements, such as the Students Forum, etc.

(b) In taking the leadership the young workers must be mobilized for the struggle together with the student elements but the first must be the basis.

(c) The policy of the Communist Youth Movement which it must never cease propagating must be that laid down by Lenin.

(d) United Front movements must be encouraged and promoted on a local scale on concrete issues. These must rally primarily the working class youth forces, either unorganized or thru the trade union movement.

(e) Continuation of a struggle against the C. M. T. C. and demanding in its place a four weeks paid vacation annually for all young workers. Oppose the R. O. T. C.

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not succeed in swinging the party from its Leninist moorings. With the differences in the Communist Party substantially smothered, with a surpassingly good grain collection and an increase of industrial productivity, together with the spread of Soviet influence in the Orient, there is reason to believe that the coming year will see the Soviet Union making strides forward that will surpass the most optimistic hopes of its friends. And this despite an almost complete financial blockade of the capitalist world. The Soviet Union has taken socialism out of the abstract heavens and brought it down to a concrete foundation.

FRANCE and Italy are growling at each other across the frontiers like two hungry wolves quarreling over a carcass. The former loving allies are now deadly enemies. Italy wants French colo-



Marshal Pilsudski.

nies in northern Africa and while England does not care who licks France or a strong Italy on the Mediterranean would not make things any safer for Britain's water route to India. No matter what those brigands do; no matter even if they were concerned over peace, they will always find themselves in those contradictions which are bound to sound the death-knell of the robber system. But those contradictions must be given assistance. The workers of the world must organize nationally and internationally to kick the system into the historical cesspool and build on its ruins the socialist state of the producers. Under the leadership of the Communist International, one of Lenin's great contributions to the workers of the world, the proletariat of all countries are forging the political weapons thru which the toilers will be able to free themselves from the thralldom of wage slavery. The third anniversary of Lenin's death finds Leninism more potent than ever, and the prospects for a complete victory of labor and subject peoples brighter.

Lenin's Greatest Legacy—The Soviet State

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE.

EVERY extension of the franchise in the Union of Socialist Soviet republics, every evidence of the further entry of the villages and the peasantry into more active participation in the government of the Soviet Union, is hailed by the socialist and capitalist press as proof of the disruption of the working class dictatorship.

Upon the basis of these phenomena, freely admitted by the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and initiated by them, the counter-revolutionists of the world build a whole structure of bouyant hopes to be realized when the "simple peasantry" has overwhelmed the "Communist Terror."

The "Marxians" of the second international, now in the camp of the capitalist class, hold out to their allies this will-o-the-wisp of the collapse of the workers' and peasants' government of the Soviet Union and today this is about the sole consolation the imperialists of the world have when they are forced to witness the growing might of this rich heritage Lenin left the Russian masses and the rest of the world's toiling millions.

Periodically we hear of "new concessions" forced from the government by the peasantry, of the extension of rank and file control of the unions, of a lessening of the restrictions on social activities, etc. The capitalist press rejoices and the socialist press publishes rapturous predictions of the downfall of the Soviet government.

On the anniversary of the death of Nicolai Lenin, whose genius rescued the revolutionary teachings of Marx and Engels from the revisionists of the second international, and who charted unerringly the course the workers' and peasants' government of the Soviet Union is following, it is of interest to show, as Lenin showed at a time when the safety of the Russian revolution, meeting invading imperialist armies on all fronts, hung in the balance, that the so-called concessions to the peasantry in the form of increased electoral participation, the new activity of the villages in political and cultural life, the extension of democracy in the unions, etc., represents not a growing weakness but a growing strength of the revolution.

The second international abandoned the revolutionary struggle against the capitalist state, twisted and distorted the Marxian teaching concerning the role of the state. To them government became a permanent institution which, by an evolutionary process consisting of securing minor reforms from time to time, would take on a socialist character.

Having decided that the role of the socialist parties was to work within the capitalist government, their last thought was of destroying this instrument of oppression.

As Bucharin says in his "Lenin as a Marxist":

"If these Marxist 'epigones' took into account certain new changes in the domain of the capitalist order, of the inter-relation between economics and politics, if they examine under their theoretical magnifying glass some new phenomena in the realm of current life, then they would on principle always take into consideration these new phenomena from one aspect, from the aspect of THE INCORPORATION OF THE WORKING CLASS ORGANIZATIONS INTO THE GENERAL SYSTEM OF CAPITALIST MECHANICISM IN AN EVOLUTIONARY MANNER. (Emphasis in the original.)

"Ultimately," continues Bucharin, "the whole revolutionary substance of revolutionary Marxism began to melt away."

When the Bolsheviks took power in Russia, the social-democratic leaders failed to recognize that here was the most powerful living example of applied Marxism. They charged everything from anarchism and Blanquism to outright aid to capitalism against the Bolsheviks and today, when the working class of Russia, aided by the peasantry, has ruled for ten years under the leadership of the Communist Party, they still refuse to recognize this proletarian power as the concrete expression of the Marxian formula:

The state, that is, the proletariat organized as the ruling class.

Lenin, especially in his "The State and Revolution," drove to cover the "Marxists" who had prostituted Engels' sentence, "The state will not be abolished; it will wither away," on which the social-democracy had built almost entirely its whole theory of "peaceful, evolutionary progress towards socialism," but he also disarmed the anarchists to whom the sacred character of the capitalist state visualized by the socialists had been of great value in their anti-state campaigns.

Lenin says in this great work:

"The first fact has been established with complete exactness by the whole theory of evolution, indeed, by the whole of science—a fact which the Utopians forgot, however, and which is now forgotten by the present opportunists, afraid of the socialist revolution—that is, historically, there must undoubtedly be a special stage or epoch of TRANSITION from capitalism to Communism. (Emphasis in the original.)

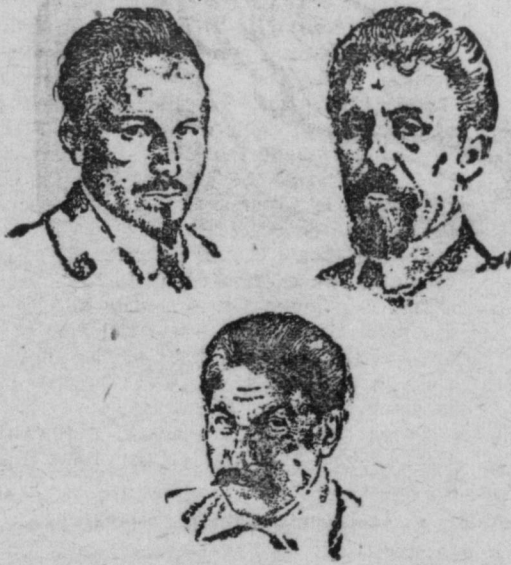
Then Lenin quotes Marx, whose teaching on this subject conveniently had been forgotten or hidden by the "evolutionary socialists."

"Between capitalist and Communist society, there lies a period of revolutionary transformation from the former to the latter. A stage of political transi-

tion corresponds to this period, and the state during this period can be no other than the REVOLUTIONARY DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT." (Emphasis in the original.) But Lenin was not content with quoting Marx. He explains how Marx came to this conclusion:

"This conclusion Marx bases on an analysis of the role played by the proletariat in modern capitalist society, on the FACTS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THIS SOCIETY and on the IRRECONCILABILITY OF THE ANTAGONISTIC INTERESTS of the proletariat and capitalist class." (Emphasis mine.)

The history of the whole struggle in and of the Soviet Union, where the revolution has been victorious, and in Germany, Italy, Finland and Bulgaria, where it has so far been defeated, since Lenin brot



Bucharin

Stalin

Rykoff

a re-birth of revolutionary Marxism, proves to the hilt the correctness of the conclusions of these twin giants of the class struggle.

It is a dictatorship of the working class supported by the peasantry that rules in Russia—democracy for the masses, rule of the most rigid kind for the enemies of the workers.

It is for this reason that there is so much rejoicing in capitalist and socialist circles when alleged evidences of a weakening of the working-class power are brought forward.

But we workers need pay attention to the mouthings of the workers' enemies only to laugh them to scorn. Lenin here too wrested revolutionary Marxism from the hands of its defilers and brought the Marxian teachings sharply to the attention of the conscious workers. He tore loose the deceptive veil with which the leaders of the second international had covered the Marxian theory of the state in the transition period, proved that only AFTER the working class headed by its revolutionary party has taken power does the state begin to "wither away."

Said Engels:

"The first act of the (proletarian) state, in which it really acts as the representative of the whole of society, namely the assumption of control over the means of production on behalf of society, is also its last independent act as a state. The interference of the authority of the state with social relations will then become superfluous in one field after another, and will finally cease of itself. The state will not be abolished; it will wither away."

But this withering away of the state does not take place while the revolution is still in combat with its class enemies—whether these be internal enemies—the remnants of the old ruling class—or external enemies in the shape of imperialist nations. In the Soviet Union the revolution has not yet been completed—it is in the transition stage and there is not full democracy for all members of society, but only for the working class.

Lenin says:

"... in using the term 'withering away,' Engels quite clearly and definitely refers to the period AFTER 'the taking over of the means of production by the state on behalf of the whole of society,' that is, after the Social Revolution. We all know that the proletarian form of the state is an absolutely complete democracy. But it never enters the head of any of the opportunists who shamelessly distort Marx that Engels deal here with the withering away of the democracy. At first sight this seems very strange. But it will only be unintelligible to one who has not reflected on the fact that democracy is also a state and that consequently democracy will disappear when the state disappears. Only a revolution can "destroy" the capitalist state. The state in general, that is, most complete democracy, can only wither away."

Is there alarm over the "withering away" even of democracy—that shibboleth of the capitalist class and its dupes? Does this seem to approach the wild dreams of the anarchists with their visions of the destruction of "the state" in one fell swoop and the ushering in of perfect freedom over night?

But Lenin was nothing if not clear. He comes back to what after all is the main point for workers at present—the role of the working class state in the transition period and says:

"Again, during the TRANSITION from capitalism to Communism, suppression is still necessary; but in this case it is the suppression of the minority of exploiters by the majority of exploited. A special instrument, a special machine for suppression—that is, the state—is necessary, but this is now a transitional state, no longer a state in the ordinary sense of the term. For the suppression of the minority... by those who were BUT YESTERDAY wage slaves, is a matter comparatively so easy, simple and natural, that IT WILL COST FAR LESS BLOODSHED THAN THE SUPPRESSION OF THE RISINGS OF THE SLAVES, SERFS OR WAGE LABORERS, AND WILL COST THE HUMAN RACE FAR LESS. And it is compatible with THE DIFFUSION OF DEMOCRACY OVER SUCH AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE NATION that the need for any SPECIAL MACHINERY will gradually cease to exist."

One has only to read the biased stories carried by the capitalist press about conditions in the Soviet Union to understand that there is less need for SPECIAL MACHINERY to suppress the capitalist class and its agents in Russia today, for instance, than there was when the workers, led by the Bolsheviks, took power in 1917. Arthur Darling, Yale University professor, writing in Current History for January on the economic report of the Soviet Union, says, for instance, that the burden of proof that progress is not being made in the Soviet Union will soon be upon its enemies.

Multitudes of similar utterances could be given, but it is necessary only to point to the abolition of "war Communism"—compulsory labor—to prove that there is a far wider measure of individual liberty than there was during the more critical days of the working class dictatorship.

The meaning of the relaxation of restrictions is NOT that the proletarian power is weakening but that it is growing stronger day by day—that it has a broader base of mass support and that sections of the population which were neutral or hostile during the earlier period now support the proletarian power without qualification. The general tendency in the Soviet Union is towards a broader democracy which will in turn "wither away." Only in periods of emergency, such as an armed attack by the imperialist nations, will there be a temporary halt in this direction. Socialism is being built in the Soviet Union, not only in the narrow sense of the socialization of industry but in the cultural field as well and together with the extension of the administrative machinery of the proletarian power is creating the finest sense of social responsibility that the world has ever seen.

What the tendency towards the extension of democracy to the widest possible masses of the population, beginning with the workers, portends, was explained by Lenin:

"Finally, only under Communism will the state become quite unnecessary, for there will be NO ONE to suppress—no one in the sense of a CLASS, in the sense of a systematic struggle with a definite section of the population... we know that the fundamental social cause of excesses which violate the rules of social life is the exploitation of the masses, their want and poverty. With the removal of this chief cause, excesses will inevitably begin to 'wither away.' We do not know how quickly and in what stages, but we know that they will be withering away. With their withering away, the state will also wither away."

And how will this come about? Not by a miracle but by a working class free to carve out its destiny in making over a whole world:

"Only in Communist society, when the resistance of the capitalists has finally been broken, when the capitalists have disappeared, when there are no longer any classes (that is, when there is no difference between the members of society in respect of their social means of production), ONLY THEN does the state disappear AND ONE CAN SPEAK OF FREEDOM... freed from capitalist slavery, from the innumerable horrors, savagery, absurdities and infamies of capitalist exploitation, people will gradually BECOME ACCUSTOMED to the elementary rules of social life, known for centuries, repeated for thousands of years in sermons... without the SPECIAL APPARATUS for compulsion which is called the state."

The above passage, which read in its entirety is one of the most beautiful expressions in any language, should be memorized by every class conscious worker. It gives the goal, the final goal of the Communist revolution.

Far from seeing a weakening of the revolution in the extension of democracy in the Soviet Union, it is the best guarantee of the unshakable strength of the proletarian power and an assurance, if any is needed, that the Soviet Union, under the leadership of the Communist Party, is driving straight down the path charted for it by Lenin—the most skillful wielder of the weapon of revolutionary Marxism.

THE PROSPECTS OF THE REVOLUTION

(Speech Delivered in the Chinese Commission of the Enlarged E. C. C. I. on November 30, 1926.)

BEFORE I enter into the question, I consider it necessary to say that I have not had at my disposal exhaustive material on the Chinese question such as would be necessary to unfold a complete picture of the Chinese revolution. I am, therefore, compelled to confine myself to a few general remarks of a fundamental nature which are directly con-



Joseph Stalin

ected with the question as to the main trend of the Chinese revolution. The theses of Comrade Petrov, the theses of Comrade Mif, two reports of Comrade Tang Ping Shan and the remarks of Comrades Rafes on the Chinese question are in my possession. In spite of their excellence, all these documents have in my opinion, the great defect that they evade a number of the fundamental questions of the revolution in China. I think that our attention should be above all directed to these defects, and for this reason my remarks will at the same time be of a polemical character.

1. The Character of the Revolution in China.

LENIN said that the Chinese would soon have their 1905. Some comrades took this as meaning that exactly what took place with us in Russia in 1905 would necessarily repeat itself in China. This is wrong. Lenin certainly did not say that the Chinese revolution would be a copy of the Russian revolution in 1905; he merely said that the Chinese would have their 1905. This means that, apart from the features which the Chinese revolution would have in common with the revolution in 1905, it would have its own specific peculiarities, which would stamp its special features on the whole revolution in China.

What are these peculiarities?

The first peculiarity is that the Chinese revolution as a bourgeois-democratic one is also a revolution for national freedom directed against the rule of foreign imperialism in China. This is the chief feature which distinguishes it from the revolution in Russia in 1905. The position is that the rule of imperialism in China expresses itself not only in

military power but above all in that the imperialists have the power of disposal over the main threads of industry in China, the railways, the factories, the mines, the banks, etc. The result is that the questions of the struggle against foreign imperialism and its Chinese agents play a predominant part in the Chinese revolution. This is exactly what links the Chinese revolution directly with the revolutions of the proletarians of all countries against imperialism.

Another peculiarity of the Chinese revolution arises out of this peculiarity and that is that the national large bourgeoisie in China is extremely weak, much weaker than was the Russian bourgeoisie at the time of 1905. This is easy to understand. If the main threads of industry are gathered in the hands of foreign imperialists, the national large bourgeoisie of China cannot but be weak and backward. In this respect Comrade Mif is quite in the right when he remarks that the weakness of the national bourgeoisie in China is a characteristic symptom of the Chinese revolution. From this results that the part of initiator and guide of the Chinese revolution, the part of leader of the Chinese peasantry must inevitably get into the hands of the Chinese proletariat, which is better organized and more active than the Chinese bourgeoisie.

Neither should the third peculiarity of the Chinese revolution be overlooked; it is that, in addition to China, the Soviet Union exists and is developing, the revolutionary experience and help of which cannot but facilitate the fight of the Chinese proletariat against imperialism and against the feudal-mediaeval remains in China.

These are the fundamental peculiarities of the Chinese revolution which determine its character and its trend.

2. Imperialism and Imperialist Intervention in China.

THE first defect of the theses before us is that they avoid or underestimate the question of imperialist intervention in China. If we read the theses correctly, we might imagine that there is at present in China no actual imperialist intervention, that there is nothing but a struggle of the North against the South or of one group of generals against another group of generals. We are apt to understand under intervention a condition in which foreign troops march into Chinese territory and, if this does not take place, then there is no intervention. This is a serious error, comrades, intervention is by no means exhausted by the entry of troops, and the entry of troops is by no means an essential characteristic of intervention. In the present circumstances of the revolutionary movement in capitalist countries, where the direct entry of foreign troops might rouse a number of protests and stir up conflict, intervention has assumed a more elastic character and a more masked form. In the present circumstances, imperialism prefers to intervene against the revolution by organizing civil war within the dependent country, by financing the counter-revolutionary forces against the revolution, by moral and financial support of its Chinese agents. The imperialists tried to represent the fights of Denekin and Kolschak, Yudenitch and Wrangel against the revolution in Russia as an exclusively internal struggle. But we all knew, and not we alone but the whole world knew, that these counter-revolutionary generals were backed by the imperialists of England and America, France and Japan, without whose support a serious

civil war would have been quite impossible in Russia. The same applies to China. The fight of Wu Pei-Fu and Sun Tehuang-Fang, Chang Tso Lin and Chang Tsun Chan against the revolution in China would be quite impossible were it not that the imperialists of all countries had inspired these counter-revolutionary generals and had supplied them with money, arms, instructors, "advisors," etc. How is the power of the Canton troops to be explained? By their having an ideal, a passionate enthusiasm, by their being inspired in their fight for liberation from imperialism, by their wanting to give China her freedom. How is the power of the counter-revolutionary generals to be explained? In that they are backed by the imperialists of all countries, the

PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE



owners of all possible railways, concessions, factories, banks and business houses in China. For this reason it does not depend alone, it does not even depend to any large extent on whether foreign troops enter the country, but on the support given to the imperialists of all countries to the Chinese counter-revolution. Intervention by using other people that is the kernel of imperialist intervention at present.

For these reasons imperialist intervention in China is an undoubted fact against which the point of the Chinese revolution is directed.

Anyone who eludes or undervalues imperialist intervention in China eludes or undervalues that which is most important and most essential.

It is said that the Japanese imperialists show certain amount of "good-will" towards the Cantonese and towards the Chinese revolution as a whole. It is said that in this respect the American imperialists are in no way behind the Japanese. This is self-deception, comrades. We must know how to discern the true nature of the policy of the imperialists, including the Japanese and American imperialists behind their mask. Lenin used to say that it was difficult to win over revolutionaries with a stick with fists, but that at times it is very easy to win them by kindness. This truth, spoken by Lenin should never be forgotten, comrades. In any case it is clear that the Japano-American imperialists have pretty well understood the significance of the truth. For this reason we must make a definite distinction between friendliness and compliments dressed to the Canton people and the fact that imperialists, who distribute their friendliness so liberally, cling most desperately to "their" concessions and railways in China, from which they do wish to be "liberated" at any price.

3. The Revolutionary Army in China.

THE second mark in connection with the theses before us concerns the question of the revolutionary armies in China. The point is that the question of the army is evaded or undervalued in the theses. This is their second defect. The advance of the Cantonese towards the North is generally regarded not as the growth of the Chinese revolution but as a fight of the Canton generals against Wu Pei-Fu and Sun Chuan Fang, as a fight for supremacy of one group of generals against another group of generals. This is a great mistake, comrades.



Pulling the Seat From Under the Boss

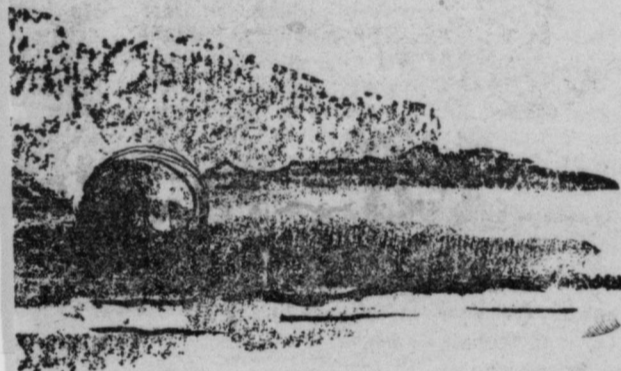
N IN CHINA

By Joseph Stalin

Revolutionary armies in China are the most important factor in the fight of the Chinese workers and peasants for their liberation. Is it then a mere coincidence that until May or June of this year the situation in China was regarded as the rule of the reaction which had set in after the defeat of Feng Yu Hsiang's army, but that in the summer of this year it was only necessary for the victorious Canton troops to advance northwards and occupy Hupe in order to change the picture fundamentally in favor of the revolution? No, it was not a coincidence; for the advance of the Canton troops meant a blow aimed at imperialism, a blow aimed at its agents in China, it meant the freedom of assembly, freedom to strike, freedom of the press, freedom of coalition for all the revolutionary elements in China in general and for the workers in particular. In this lies the peculiarity and the greatest importance of the revolutionary army in China.

In former times, in the 18th and 19th century, revolutions began in such a way that usually the people rose, for the greater part unarmed or badly armed, and encountered the army of the old regime. They made every effort to break up this army or at least to win it over as far as possible to their side. This was the typical form of the revolutionary explosions of the past. The same thing occurred with us in Russia in 1905. In China things developed on different lines. In China, it is not the unarmed people against the troops of their own government, but the armed people in the form of its revolutionary army. In China, armed revolution is fighting against armed counter-revolution. This is one of the peculiarities and one of the advantages of the Chinese revolution. This also explains the special significance of the revolutionary army in China.

It is therefore a reprehensible defect of the theses before us that they underestimate the revolutionary armies.



In consequence of this, however, the Chinese Communists ought to devote special attention to work in the army.

First of all the Chinese Communists must use every means in their power to intensify political work in the army and must succeed in making the army a real and model support of the ideas of the Chinese revolution. This is particularly necessary at the present moment because the Canton troops are being joined by all kinds of generals who have nothing in common with the Kuomintang, who join it as a force which overthrows the enemies of the Chinese people and who, by joining the Canton troops, introduce disintegration into the army. It is only possible to neutralize such "allies" or to turn them into genuine adherents of the Kuomintang by intensifying the political work and by organizing revolutionary control over them. Unless this is done, the army may get into a most difficult position.

Secondly, the Chinese revolutionaries, including the Communists, must make a special study of military questions. If they are to win military questions in China are at present the most important factor in the Chinese revolution. The Communists, must, with this object in view, study militarism in order to advance gradually and to be able to occupy some leading post or other in the revolutionary army. This will guarantee that the revolutionary army of China will follow the right path, will keep its eye steadily fixed on its aim. Unless this is carried out, it is inevitable that there would be vacillations in the army.

These are the tasks which the Chinese Communist Party has to fulfill with regard to the question of the revolutionary army.

4. The Character of the Future Power in China.

The third remark concerns the fact that, in the theses, the question as to the character of the future revolutionary power in China is hardly dealt with at all or altogether disregarded. Comrade Mif, on his credit, has closely approached this question in his thesis. But, when he was on the threshold of it, he failed to carry it out to the end, as though he had been frightened and did not dare to go further. Comrade Mif believes that the future revolutionary power in China will be a power of the revolutionary bourgeoisie under the leadership of the proletariat. What does this mean? At the time of the

February revolution in 1917, the Menshevik and social revolutionaries were also petty bourgeois parties and to a certain extent revolutionaries. Does this mean that the future revolutionary power in China will be a social revolutionary Menshevik power? No, it does not mean this. Why? Because the social-revolutionary Menshevik power was an imperialist power, while the future revolutionary power in China must be an anti-imperialist power. This is the fundamental difference. The MacDonald government was actually a "labor" power but it was at the same time imperialist, for it was based on the maintenance of England's imperialist power, for instance in India and Egypt. As compared with the MacDonald government, the future revolutionary power in China will have the advantage that it will be an anti-imperialist power. What is important is not the bourgeois-democratic character of the Canton government which forms the nucleus of the future pan-Chinese revolutionary power; the most important thing is that this power is an anti-imperialist power and can be nothing else, that every advance of this power is a blow aimed at world-imperialism and is therefore a stroke in favor of the revolutionary world movement. Lenin was right when he said that, if in former times, before the beginning of the epoch of the world revolution, national movements for freedom were part of the general democratic movement, now, after the victory of the Soviet revolution in Russia, and since the beginning of the epoch of world revolution, national movements for freedom are part of the proletarian world revolution.

This peculiarity was not taken into consideration by Comrade Mif.

I believe that the future revolutionary power in China will, in its character, resemble the power which was spoken of in our country in 1905, i. e., a dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, but with the distinguishing feature that it will be predominantly an anti-imperialist power. It will be a power of transition to a non-capitalist, or, to be more exact, to a socialist development of China.

This is the direction in which the revolution in China is likely to develop. This path of development which the revolution will follow, will be facilitated by three circumstances; firstly in that the point of the revolution in China, as a national revolution for freedom will be directed against imperialism and its agents in China, secondly in that the large bourgeoisie in China is weak, weaker than the national bourgeoisie was in Russia in 1905, which facilitates the hegemony of the proletariat, the leadership of the proletarian party as against the Chinese peasantry; thirdly, in that the revolution in China will develop in circumstances which make it possible to make use of the experience and the aid of the victorious revolution in the Soviet Union.

Whether this method will with certainty lead to victory, depends on many circumstances. One thing is clear, that it is the chief duty of the Chinese Communists to fight to prepare the way for the development of the Chinese revolution.

From this we may conclude what is the chief task of the Chinese Communists in the question of their relations to the Kuomintang and to the future revolutionary power in China. It is said that the Chinese Communists ought to secede from the Kuomintang. This is pure folly, comrades. It would be the greatest mistake for the Chinese Communists to leave the Kuomintang. The whole course of the Chinese revolution, its character, its prospects, undoubtedly indicate that the Chinese Communists ought to remain in the Kuomintang and intensify their work in it. But can the Chinese Communist Party take part in the future revolutionary government? It not only can, it must. The course of the revolution in China, its character, its prospects, speak eloquently in favor of the Chinese Communist Party taking part in the future revolutionary government of China. This is one of the necessary guarantees for the hegemony of the Chinese proletariat becoming a concrete reality.

5. The Peasant Question in China.

The fourth remark concerns the question of the peasantry in China. Comrade Mif believes that



Tan Yen Kai, Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of People's Government.

we ought at once to issue the slogan of the formation of soviets, of peasant soviets, in the open country. I believe that this is a mistake. Comrade Mif is in too great a hurry. It is out of the question to form soviets in the country and to leave out the industrial centers in China. The question of organizing soviets in the Chinese industrial centers, however, has not yet been raised. Furthermore, we must not forget that the soviets cannot be considered independently of their connection with the whole situation. It would only be possible to organize soviets, let us say peasant soviets, if China were passing through a period of a flourishing peasant movement which would break down the old power and create a new one, under the assumption that the industrial centers of China had already broken down the barrier and entered on the phase of forming a soviet power. Can it be said that the Chinese peasantry or the Chinese revolution as a whole has already entered on this phase? No, it cannot be said. It is therefore trying to outpace evolution to speak of soviets at the present time. At the present moment, we must not raise the question of soviets, but of the formation of peasant committees; I mean committees, elected by the peasants, which are capable of formulating the fundamental demands of the peasantry and of taking all the necessary measures for realizing these demands by revolutionary methods. These peasant committees should form the axis round which the revolution in the village can unfold.

I know that there are people amongst the adherents of the Kuomintang and even among the Chinese Communists who do not consider it possible to let loose the revolution in the village lest the enlistment of the peasantry in the revolution should disrupt the united front against imperialism. This is the greatest error. The anti-imperialist front in China will be all the stronger and more powerful the more quickly and thoroughly the Chinese peasantry is persuaded to join in the revolution. The authors of the theses, especially Comrades Tan Ping Shan and Rafee are perfectly right when they maintain that the immediate satisfaction of a number of the most urgent demands of the peasantry is an essential preliminary for the victory of the Chinese revolution. In my opinion, it is high time to do away with the indifference and "neutrality" towards the peasantry which is noticeable in the activity of certain elements of the Kuomintang. I think that both the Communist Party of China and the Kuomintang, including the Canton government ought, without delay, to pass from words to deeds and immediately to raise the question of satisfying the most vital demands of the peasantry. What

(Continued on page 6)



Chinese revolutionists having a good time burying the imperialists.

The Prospects of the Revolution in China

(Continued from page 5)

prospects open up in this respect and up to what limits an advance can and should be made—that depends on the course of the revolution. I think that it should finally be carried as far as the nationalization of the land. In any case we cannot dispense with the slogan of the nationalization of the land.

What path should be pursued by the Chinese revolutionaries in order to mobilize for the revolution the peasantry of China which numbers many millions?

I think that in present circumstances there are only three alternatives.

The first way is that of forming peasant committees and of introducing Chinese revolutionaries into them in order to influence the peasantry. (Interjection: "And the peasant leagues?") I believe that the peasant leagues will group themselves round the peasant committees or that the peasant leagues will turn into peasant committees possessing this or that competence which is necessary in order to carry through the demands of the peasants. This way has already been discussed, but this way is not enough. It would be ridiculous to suppose that the number of revolutionaries is sufficient to carry this out. The population of China is roughly 400 millions. Of these 350 millions are Chinese, and more than nine-tenths of them are peasants. It is a great mistake to assume that a few tens of thousands of Chinese revolutionaries are enough to permeate this ocean of the peasantry. Well then, we must seek other ways.

The second way is that of influencing the peasantry through the apparatus of the new national revolutionary power. It cannot be doubted that in the newly liberated provinces a new power will



The Peace of Versailles
—From Russian Paper

arise after the pattern of the Canton government. It cannot be doubted that this power and the apparatus of this power will have to satisfy the most urgent demands of the peasantry, if it wishes to advance the revolution. The task of the Communists and of the revolutionaries in China altogether is to penetrate into the apparatus of this new power, to bring this apparatus nearer to the masses of peasants and to help the peasant masses to satisfy their most urgent demands by means of this apparatus, whether it be by expropriating the landowners of their land, or by reducing taxation and rents—whatever the circumstances demand.

The third way is that of influencing the peasantry through the revolutionary army. I have already spoken of the extraordinary importance of the revolutionary army in the Chinese revolution. The revolutionary army of China is the force which first penetrates into the new provinces, which first becomes known amongst the bulk of the peasantry, and by which the peasant forms his opinion of the new power, of its good or bad qualities. The attitude of the peasantry towards the new power, to-

wards the Kuomintang and towards the revolution in China as a whole, depends in the first place on the behavior of the revolutionary army, on its behavior towards the peasantry and towards the landowners, on its readiness to help the peasants. If we bear in mind that there are doubtful elements in plenty which have joined the revolutionary army in China, that these elements may alter the aspect of the army for the worse, we shall understand the great importance of the political aspect of the army and, so to speak, of its peasant policy in the eyes of the peasants. For this reason the Communists and the Chinese revolutionaries as a whole must take all possible measures to neutralize the elements in the army which are hostile to the peasants, to preserve the revolutionary spirit in the army and to direct things in such a way that the army helps the peasants and mobilizes them for the revolution. It is said that the revolutionary army in China is welcomed with open arms, but that later, after it has established itself, there is a certain disillusionment. The same thing happened with us in the Soviet Union during the civil war. This is explained by the fact that the army, when it has liberated new provinces and established itself in them, is compelled to maintain itself in some way or other at the expense of the population of the district. We Soviet revolutionaries, usually succeeded in making up for these disadvantages by endeavoring to help the peasants against the landowners by means of the army. It is essential that the Chinese revolutionaries should also learn to make up for these disadvantages by carrying out a correct peasant policy with the help of the army.

These are the methods and the points of contact through which it will be possible to carry out a correct peasant policy in China.

6. The Proletariat and the Hegemony of the Proletariat in China.

THE fifth remark concerns the question of the Chinese proletariat. It seems to me that in the theses sufficient emphasis has not been laid on the role of the Chinese working class and its importance. Comrade Rafe asks: Towards whom should the Chinese Communists orientate—towards the left or the center of the Kuomintang? A strange question. I believe that the Chinese Communists should orientate themselves according to the proletariat and to those who are active in the freedom movement in China and in the end according to the revolution. Only then will the question be put in the right way. I know that among the Chinese Communists there are comrades who do not approve of strikes of workers for improving their material and legal position, and who dissuade the workers from striking. (Interruption: That happened in Canton and Shanghai). This was a great mistake, comrades; it was a serious underestimate of the role and of the specific gravity of the proletariat in China. This should be recorded in the theses as a decidedly negative phenomenon. It would be a great mistake should the Chinese Communists not take advantage of the present favorable situation to help the workers to improve their material and legal position, even though it be through strikes. Why in all conscience, have we a revolution in China? A proletariat which allows its members to be beaten and ill-treated by the agents of imperialism when they are on strike, cannot be a leader. This mediaeval abuse must be abolished so that the sense of power and the sense of its own dignity may be strengthened amongst the Chinese proletariat and that it may thus be made fit to hold the hegemony in the revolution. Unless this takes place, a victory of the revolution in China is not to be thought of. For this reason the economic and legal demands of the working class in China, which aim at a serious improvement of its situation, must be given the place they deserve in the theses. (Comrade Mif: they are spoken of in the theses). Yes indeed, they are spoken of in the theses, but unfortunately these demands are not sufficiently emphasized.

7. The Question of the Young People in China.

THE sixth remark concerns the question of the young people in China. Strange that this question is not considered in the theses, for the question of the young people is at present of first-class importance. This question is, it is true, referred to in a part of Tan Ping Shan's report, but unfortunately it is not sufficiently emphasized. The question of the young people is at present of first-class importance in China. The young people at the universities (revolutionary students), the young workers, the young peasants—all of them form a force which might drive the revolution forward with giant strides, if the young people were brought under the ideological and political influence of the Kuomintang. It must be borne in mind that there are none who experience the oppression of imperialism so deeply and so vividly, none who feel so sharply and so painfully the necessity of fighting against oppression, as the young people in China. This circumstance should be taken into consideration in every respect by the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese revolutionaries in order to bring about an intensification of work among the young people throughout the country. Youth must also have its place in the theses on the Chinese question.



The Lion Feels the Chinese Lash.

8. A Few Final Conclusions.

I SHOULD like to draw two final conclusions— with regard to the fight against imperialism in China and with regard to the peasant question.

There can be no doubt that the Chinese Communists will now no longer confine themselves to demanding the abolition of the unequal treaties. Even a counter-revolutionary like Chan Suen Lyan now advocates this demand. It is obvious that the Chinese Communist Party must go further. It must make the question of the nationalization of the railways its aim. This is necessary, and things must be directed towards that end. A further aim must be that of the nationalization of the most important factories. This raises above all the question of the nationalization of those undertakings whose owners have distinguished themselves by special hostility and special aggressiveness towards the Chinese people.

Further, the peasant question must be promoted by combining it with the prospect of the revolution in China. In my opinion, the final aim of the whole matter must be the nationalization of the land. Everything else is a matter of course.

To a Boss

This hatred for your class and kind
Is strange and terrible to me,
It never knows satiety,
And night or day nor lets me be,
This hatred for your class and kind
Is strange and terrible to me.

Against your own my strength would press
In anger burning me to dust,
Awakening such consuming lust
My wanton hands must grip you—must—
And break you, crush you, with the zest
Of anger burning me to dust.

O you so fat and sleek to view,
To whom all profits now accrue,
While slaves go hungry, gaunt and lean,
What does this burning hatred mean,
Unquenchable, within my breast,
Bidding you conquered, dispossessed?

—Henry George Weisa.

Hay Bales' Cartoons

are missing this week due to a clerical oversight. They will appear as usual next week in the usual place.



A Product of Capitalist Civilization





A PEEK EACH WEEK AT MOTION PICTURES



"WE'RE IN THE NAVY NOW."

Hear ye! All ye gullible, hear ye! "We're in the Navy Now" is not the funniest picture of the year. This solemn statement about a funny picture is made after thoughtful deliberation, accurate counting of laughs and weighing all evidence appended hereto.

And yet, we feel that with four bits to spare this picture showing at the McVickers wouldn't be a bad investment. Wallace Beery is a prize fighter and prize dumb-bell, whose equally dumb manager is played by Raymond Hatton. Beery particularly is a dead-ringer for the numerous heavy numb nannies that pass as prize fighters. If you have spent any time around a gymnasium you'll appreciate the acting. Chester Conklin has a minor part of little importance.

The sub-titles are snappy enough to entitle the writer to be put in electric lights as a co-star. You can't expect us to tell you the plot of a slap-stick comedy. It's about war and of course our dumb hero catches a German spy. They all do and they all get medals. The whole business is not designed to discourage recruiting for the navy altho the dignity of the navy also is subject to an occasional pot-shot of ridicule. However since you have not joined yet despite the premium of a free trip around the world (scrubbing decks) you're not likely to join after seeing this picture.

As a whole it is a little overdone, slightly long-winded, just a bit too clever—but you'll laugh alright. And you'll laugh often. Especially when you see Beery in a prizefight in which he gets hit just once, after which the sub-title tells us—"He was out all night without going anywhere." —W. C.

ALASKAN ADVENTURES.

Just a word on this scenic. For the first time we have heard an audience applaud a travel picture. Capt. Robertson and Art Young (not our great cartoonist), one of them a champion with a bow and arrow, make over a year's trip by all conveyance available thru Alaska. They have photographed the natural wonders of the country: Yukon river, ice break-ups in the spring, the salmon run, animal life, midnight sun and other things. It's a beautiful job, an interesting one and as a whole, one of the best educational pictures we have ever seen. We should have more of these.



...new picture "Twinkistoes," a story of the London Limehouse district, at the Chicago theater.

THE WAY IT IS DONE.

It will be interesting to watch how the producers will guess "What the public wants" in the case of the Russian movie actress Natalie Barrache, recently arrived. She has been rechristened. Natalie Barrache is now Natli Barr. If they will only give her the stories to act in which have almost ruined Pola Negri as an actress, the thing will be complete. In the meantime Natalie, beg pardon, Natli, is being cast in "a romantic dramatic role" by the First National Pictures.



Lois Wilson co-starring with Estelle Taylor and Ricardo Cortez in the new film, "New York" at the Oriental.

"NEW YORK."

There is this in its favor: the cast includes Lois Wilson, Ricardo Cortez, Estelle Taylor (Jack's wife) "Skeets" Gallagher and one or two other actors of ability.

And then they put this capable troupe thru a story a blurb tells us is: "A song writer's romance with a society heiress. Jazz songs and millionaires tangled by fate." (Oh ye Gods, who supervises movies when, oh, when will we hear the last of Irving Berlin's marriage?)

The story is cut on an ancient pattern and hasn't been changed since Columbus wore short pants. The hero repeatedly tells his sweetie his low birth on the East Side of New York doesn't make him good enough for her. But she has different ideas. Despite complications which are finally untangled, her diagnosis is correct. Honesty and noble ambition win out in the end. God is good—and the picture is terrible.

Lois Wilson particularly, and the rest of the troupe also, do all that the story allows. That means nothing. There is only this consolation you can get at the Oriental theater in Chicago where the show is on exhibition: the Paul Ash show is particularly good this week. And this isn't consolation. It's a treat.

A DOZEN IN BRIEF.

BARDELYS THE MAGNIFICENT—Gilbert does a handsome combination of athletic Fairbanks and passionate Valentino.
THE BETTER 'OLE—It is. With the Vitaphone (Woods).
WHAT PRICE GLORY?—We'll tell you: high priced—but worth it. (Garrick).
THE SCARLET LETTER—A good picture of a bad girl.
THE BLONDE SAINT—A bad picture of a good girl.
PARADISE—Far from it.
FAUST—Jannings, the little devil.
THE WINNING OF BARBARA WORTH—Horses!—on the desert.
THE BLACK PIRATE—Fairbanks on the high seas in colors.
THE TEMPTRESS—I'll say she is! Greta Garbo (Uptown).
LONDON—Vote no!
BREAKING CHAINS—Yes—by all means!



Victor McLaglen as Capt. Flag in "What Price Glory"

THE THEATER

THE WORKERS' DRAMA LEAGUE By MAX GELTMAN.

THE Workers' Drama League, characterized as the "first proletarian theater in America" is situated in the finest part of Greenwich Village. At 64 Washington Square it enjoys the distinction of being bounded on the west by the Provincetown Playhouse, on the north by Washington Square Park, on the east by New York University and on the south by what most characterizes the Village—its eating places. Enough of the external physical aspects of the league. What is the league doing? What does it intend to do?

The Workers' Drama League has just presented, as its initial production of its first reorganized season, "The Biggest Boob in the World," a fantastic melodrama of workers' life, by the young German writer, Karl Wittfogel, who may be remembered by readers of this magazine as the one who wrote the article on Bernard Shaw. The show was a tremendous success. It was shown three times at the Church of All Nations in New York. At the conclusion of the third performance requests came in to have the show performed in various parts of the city and Passaic. The play will be shown in Passaic sometime in January.

The Workers' Drama League is an organization made up entirely of workers in its "acting" body. That is all its actors are workers at various trades. For its realization as a true proletarian theater it uses professional people closely connected with the radical left movement of the country. On its executive committee are

such people as Michael Gold, Florence Rauh, Low Lozowich, Low Hartman, I. Tarnapol, Hugo Gellert and Harbor Allen. The director who made possible "The Biggest Boob in the World" is Jasper Deeter. Mr. Deeter is also directing the Provincetown Playhouse and Brookwood Labor College.

The league's plans for the future are many. It is already preparing production of Upton Sinclair's "Singing Jailbirds." The play will be produced some time in February. Another play it intends producing this year is Bunchi Friedman's "Miners."

But just merely the production of plays is not the only purpose of the Workers' Drama League. The league must spread its ideas not only from the acting stage, but also from the lecture platform. In intra-production periods, the league is planning a series of lectures on the theater from a sociological aspect. Some of the lecturers whom it has already invited for the purpose are V. F. Calverton, Michael Gold, L. Lozowick and H. W. L. Dana.

The most ambitious undertaking yet attempted by the league will be the holding of a symposium, the subject of which shall be, "Is a Workers' Theater Possible in America?" Many of the biggest actors on Broadway, playwrights, critics, directors and scenic artists will be asked to participate. This symposium (with the help of a few philanthropic comrades—address all checks payable to the Workers' Drama League, 64 Washington Square South, New York City.) should be held some time in February. This ought surely to prove one of the most interesting intellectual events of the new year.

Tell It to the Marines

By ADRY WOLFF

Uncle Sam's the benefactor
Of weaker nations; their protector
Ha, ha,
Tell it to the Marines!

Uncle Sam has no intention
Of any kind of intervention
Ha, ha,
Tell it to the Marines!

Not at all imperialistic
Uncle Sam is altruistic
Ha, ha,
Tell it to the Marines!

Uncle Sam is the good plain people
Not Wall Street of the golden steeple
Ha, ha,
Tell it to the Marines!



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Johnny Red, Assistant Editor.

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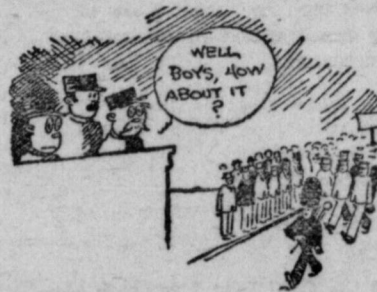
A FAIRY TALE
By Charmion Oliver, San Francisco, Cal.

A minister in our neighborhood said to his congregation one Sunday that the only place where the teachings of Christ were ever put into practice is Soviet Russia! Now what do you think happened when he said that? The congregation got up and gave him three cheers!

NOTE:

If you don't like this for a fairy tale you might use it as a "Bug House Fable."

Alright Charmion, this will do for either one. Send us in some more.



THE POLICE AND PASSAIC

By LEO SONKIN,
Chicago Spartacus Group
The famous textile strike
In which the workers fight
Is the cloth makers'
Great fight against the fakers.

The bosses thought they'd scare the workers
By using the policemen
But the workers were no shirkers
And fought them back again.

Altho the capitalist rules
The workers are no fools
They'll fight and fight
Till victory is bright.

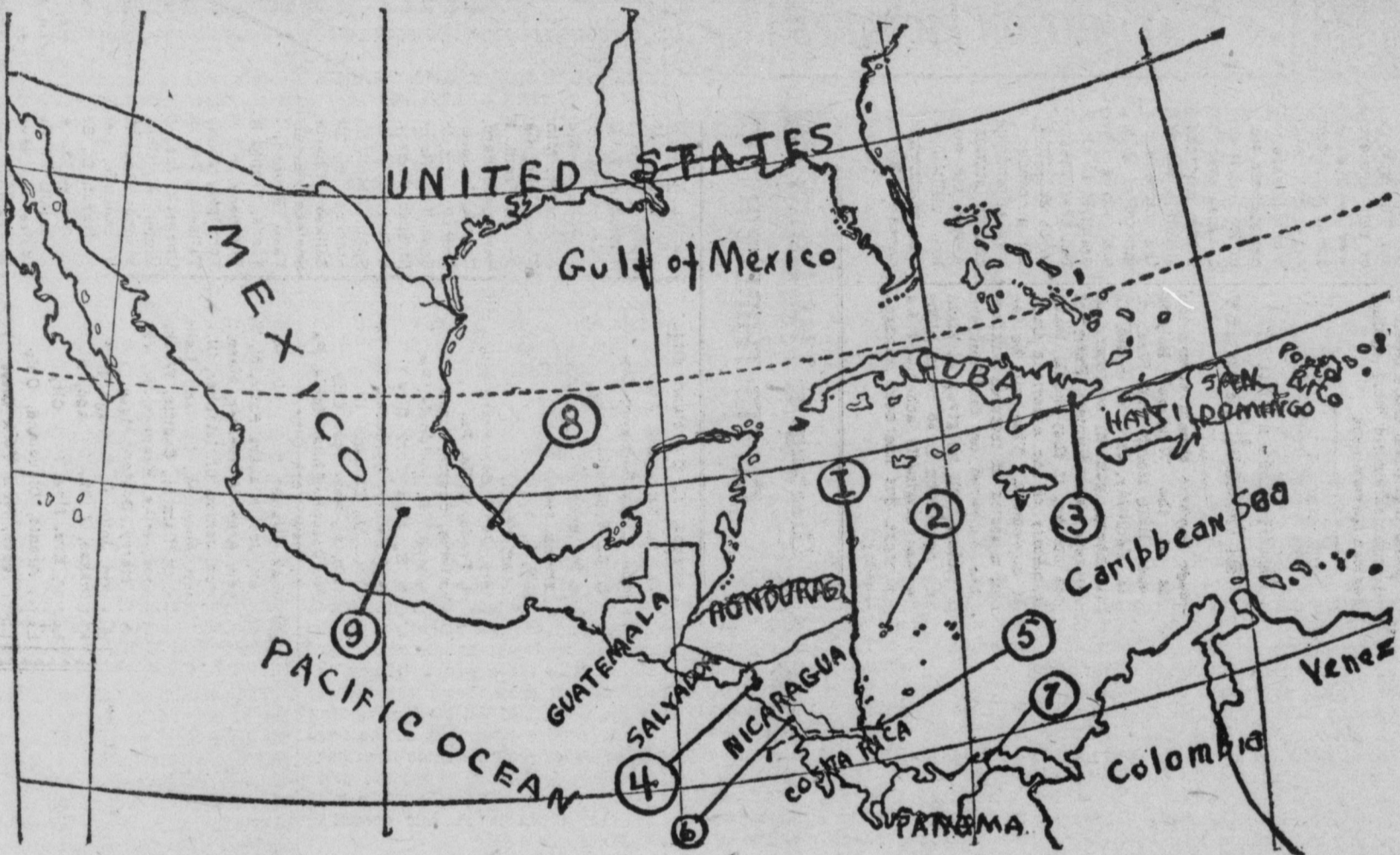
COOLISH CAL
By Henry Sampo-
linsky, Grand Rapids,
Mich.

In a little Vermont
village
Some forty years
ago,
Lived a boy named
Calvin Coolidge.
Now a great foe of
the working class
As all wise work-
ers know.

He went thru Am-
hurst College
And president he
became
Because he served
his masters
Who bought for
him his fame.

Good boy Henry,
You're not a great
poet yet but you
have the right
idea. Come again!
And hey, Hank,
where are all the
rest of the Grand
Rapids-Pioneers?

What Wall Street Wants In Latin America



By THURBER LEWIS.

Map by Thurber Lewis.

THE above map shows the disposition of United States strength in the Caribbean and Central America.

(1) Shows Puerto Cabezas, the headquarters of the liberal rebels under Dr. Sacasa. United States marines were landed here to hamper Sacasa's movements against the puppet President Diaz who is besieged in the capital, Managua (6) by the rebels. Later, the entire east coast of the country was blockaded by Admiral Latimer's fleet to prevent munitions and also food, from reaching the liberals.

(2), (3) and (4), respectively show the Corn Is-

lands, Guantanamo Bay, Cuba and Fonseca Bay, Nicaragua, in all three of which places, the United States has naval bases for the protection of the Panama Canal (7). There is a general mobilization of naval forces at Guantanamo at present. If the United States attacks Mexico, the first place to be occupied will be Vera Cruz, (8) her most important port, which was occupied by U. S. troops in 1914. (9) shows Mexico City, for which Vera Cruz is the port.

The strategic positions held by the United States in this region as shown above prove how ridiculous the charge is that Mexico "threatens" the Panama

Canal, itself strongly fortified. There are now 15 first class ships of war and 5,000 landing troops on both coasts of Nicaragua. They are not there for use solely against the small army of rebels who are fighting to regain the country from the American tool, Diaz, altho they are doing this as well. There is no doubt that Admiral Latimer's large force (being reinforced every day) is in Caribbean waters to intimidate Mexico and for possible use against that country if Washington so orders. There are more marines and blue-jackets off the coast of Nicaragua now than there are troops in the ill-equipped armies of both Sacasa and Diaz.

The Story of Leather Gloves

By Joel Shomaker

LONG while ago there was war in the United States. It was known as the War of the Rebellion. It was a struggle between armed forces of the North and the South. The cause of the trouble was human slavery. The Negro was bought and sold as a living chattel. So the people of the North fought the people of the South to maintain the union of states and set the black man free.

Abraham Lincoln became the hero of the nineteenth century. He was president of the United States, and issued the famous emancipation proclamation. His acts were sustained. The colored man received the gift of citizenship. He was granted all the rights and privileges and insured protection to life and property. The slavery question was settled. The Negro was free—to be lynched. But the twentieth century has the problem of setting the white man free.

THE worker was the real man in the war on human slavery. The manufacturers of the North objected to the competition of manufacturers of the South. It was claimed that employed labor was more expensive than owned labor. The capitalists of the North argued that they could not compete with similar operators of the South because of the difference in cost of hired men and chattel slaves.

When the Civil War ended real competition was introduced. The manufacturers tried to put the best material in the hands of competent workmen to produce the best finished articles. The cloth was all wool, all cotton or all silk. There was nothing just as good. The consuming public did not have to choose between the real and the substitute. The word imitation was unknown. We generally refer to that period as the time when men were honest.

IN the second year of the Civil War I came to the earth. My parents were poor farmers. They lived in the clay hills of Kentucky. Their money crop was tobacco. Once a year we could buy boots made of real leather. Our horses worked in leather harness. If it was leather we knew the product of the factory was good. It was guaranteed to last long and wear well. We did not have fellowship dealers for revenue only in those days.

Long while ago I grew to manhood and located in the West. When free homesteads became scarce men began to build towns and cities. Capitalism took possession of industry. The dollar was the accepted god of commerce. Competition gave way

to trusts and combinations. Prices for raw materials went down. Labor had to fight for just compensation. Sales prices of finished products went up to the limit of profiteering.

ABOUT one year in ten I saw some evidence of prosperity. In that year I could sometimes afford to buy a suit of clothes. It was during one of those fat periods that my folks decided to remember my birthday with a present. The gift selected was a pair of gloves. So I was escorted to a dealer in leather goods. The clerk was one of those high school retail selling boys. He gave me one of his class smiles and displayed the gloves.

"They are all leather," the youthful merchant suggested.

"But the price is too much for leather," I retorted.

"You know leather is leather nowadays," said the boy, while a line of wisdom crossed his brow.

"I know leather is leather but why ask so much for leather gloves?" I quickly shot back at the boy in training.

"The old farmers get big prices for their hides," he replied, as he straightened up and relieved his pointed shoulders.

"Say boy, the farmers are not shipping many hides. They do not care to get freight bills from

the buyers," I quickly volunteered the information. "Labor costs a lot. You know the unions must have big money for glovemakers," the little fellow suggested, while the boss listened in from the back end of the shop.

"Well, I'll take the gloves," I announced as the boy began to breathe more freely. "But, young fellow, listen to this. Have your boss give you another line of talk. I am an old newspaperman, I know a thing or two about the farmers and the union workers, who make gloves."

"I am listening," the boy whispered, as one eye turned a corner, to get a fair glimpse of the head storeman.

"The cost of the raw material and the union labor used in making those gloves would not amount to ten per cent of the retail selling price. It is not the rich old farmer nor the high paid union worker that gets the big slice of bacon, but the manufacturers, distributors and retailers that take the whole hog."

The gloves were almost without value to me. They were made to sell not to wear. The animal from whose hide the gloves were cut had suffered much poverty, for cracks opened and holes appeared in less than a month. My gloves were not worth pocket space.

SEN. BORAH IS SAID TO BE A "SQUARE SHOOTER"



HIS LAST MEAL.

The prison director asked the criminal, whose execution was to take place next morning: "What do you want for supper? You are allowed to eat and drink what and as much as you want."

"What a pity," the murderer replied. "If you had only asked me that three months ago! Then the murder would not have taken place!"

Can You Not Hear?

By HENRY GEORGE WEISS

They deem because the days in seeming quiet
Pass by with laggard feet,
Because there is no red rebellious riot
To tumult all the street,
That there is peace betwixt their class and ours,
That with this endless toll we are content,
That in its lair, divided, slovery cowers,
Shackled, bespent.

But listen close—can you not hear the rumble
As of volcanic forces underground,
Where in the hives of work, the meek, the humble
Go round and round?
Can you not hear the groaning and complaining
Of little children in the noisome mills?
Can you not feel the social structure straining
Under the pace that kills?