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ALEX BITTELMAN, Editor

EDITOR'S NOTES

By ALEX BITTELMAN

THERE was a time, not very long ago, when to speak of American imperialism was tantamount in the eyes of the rulers of our land to insulting the national flag. These days are fast disappearing. The phrase "American Imperialism" is coming to be accepted even by apologists of capitalism as a perfectly proper expression of present day capitalism in the United States.

And along with this goes a comparatively frank defense of the extension of American imperialism. Says the Michigan State Journal:

"Never before in the history of America did we have such a grand total of investments abroad as we have at present. The chances are the tendency is now merely under way and that capital and our enterprise will go abroad in an increasing way."

Which is quite fair though not a complete statement of the case. And further in the same paper:

"This condition is bound to be expressed in international relations. It is being so expressed. (You betch your life it is—A. B.) Our little difficulty in Mexico and in Nicaragua are symptoms. From now on, America, whether it will or not, is bound to expand its influence. We may as well begin to think straight about such expansion."

"Our LITTLE difficulty in Mexico and in Nicaragua" . . . Isn't that a peach of a statement?"

Senator Borah, being more inclined to champion the interests of the smaller independent manufacturer rather than those of trustified industry and banking, which are primarily responsible for the imperialist policies of the American government, takes a different though not very consistent view of American imperialism. Speaking before the American Jewish Congress the other day, he said:

"China, Syria, Nicaragua and Mexico all present the same problem and reveal the same sinister policy. It is not war between the great powers, but spoliation of the weak nations. Are we to adopt such methods and such means of adjusting the controversies as will insure settlement upon the basis of justice rather than upon the basis of force?"

We, too, like justice—justice to the oppressed and weak nations. We admire very much the justice practised by the Soviet Union in this matter. And we are particularly strong believers in the justice which is being put into effect by the oppressed nations themselves when they rise against their oppressors. What we mean is some such justice expedition like the one at present engaged in by the Chinese revolutionary armies.

But at the same time we are firm adherents of the policy of struggle right here, at home, against the imperialist robbery of our "own" capitalists. But we demand real, energetic struggle and not mere words. Call it justice, if you must, but get the American military forces out of China, Nicaragua, Haiti, the Philippines, etc., compel the American government to keep its hands off these weak nations, do something about it that will bring results instead of creating the illusion that by talking about justice one can make our imperialists behave in a just manner.

While Senator Borah is philosophizing on justice, the American imperialists, who are not philosophers, but men of action, are establishing themselves in full control of Nicaragua. They call it a protectorate, but we all know what it means.

What is the conclusion? Liberal senators and kind-hearted opponents of imperialism generally should give this matter just a little bit of thought.

SUPER-POWER is fast revolutionizing industry and is preparing the basis for a still more radical revolution in social relations. The recent Midwest Power Conference at the Coliseum in Chicago is very instructive from this point of view.

Engineer Kane of Swift & Co., spoke with great enthusiasm on the prospects of super-power and its possibilities. He said:

"I prophesy that the meat-packing plant of the future will operate every power-driven piece of machinery, whether it be for manufacturing, pumping, refrigeration, transportation, lighting, or heating, from the monster-turbine of a super-power station.

This is no dream, although the vested interests of monopolistic capital will continue to resist effective technical progress whenever and wherever the latter comes into conflict with its control of markets and prices.

But assuming for the moment that Kane's prophesy will come true under capitalism, what will it mean in terms of the well-being of the masses and society as a whole? Of this spoke another engineer, W. Sykes, consulting engineer of the Inland Steel Company. According to him, here is what is happening as a result of super-power development:

"With each great improvement in power development and distribution there has come an increase in production of the steel industry, improvement of working conditions (?) and standard of living of its 470,000 employees."

We fully agree as to increase in production, but



PICKET LINE.

Three hundred men and women
Boys and girls
Stamping their feet upon an ice-clad sidewalk

To keep their bodies warm
And their toes from freezing;
Circle in kaleidoscopic motion
Around the entrance of
The brick colored textile mill,
And shout

Solidarity forever!
And the vapor coming from their mouths
Is like sky-writing to the other workers

Who take it up

And answer
Solidarity forever!

And three blue cops
With deformed faces
Wield their night-sticks
And shout

Break it up!
And three hundred men, women,
Boys and girls lift their voices

And shout
Solidarity forever
For the union makes us strong.

—MAX GELTMAN.

demand proof for the alleged "improvement of working conditions and standard of living" of the half-million steel workers. In the last ten years production in the steel industry had increased 36 per cent per man, but how about the real wages for the overwhelming majority of workers? How about the speed-up and squeeze-out methods that are making life a misery for the workers, and the growing oppressive weight of centralized capitalist government, imperialist rivalries and the ever present danger of new wars?

The further development of super-power holds out incalculable possibilities for the improvement of conditions and the raising of the standard of living of the masses. But these possibilities will not be realized under capitalism. It will require a proletarian revolution to make super-power serve humanity instead of a small clique of capitalist monopolists.

IN commenting upon Coolidge's proposal for "further" limitation of naval armaments (New Magazine, Feb. 19, Editor's Notes) we advanced the idea that the whole business was a piece of brazen hypocrisy which will result not in decrease but in INCREASE of naval armaments by American capitalism. Only, thanks to Coolidge's offer, which, as was known beforehand, was going to be and has been rejected by the European powers, now we can blame the other fellow. This is actually happening. The Army and Navy Journal, a government publication, carries an editorial on the matter in which it says the following:

"Obviously without the participation of France and Italy in the proposed naval disarmament conference, there is but one course for the United States to pursue. That is to proceed instantly (mind you, INSTANTLY—A. B.) with the construction of a sufficient number of cruisers and fleet submarines to place our country upon the same level of strength as other nations signatory of the Washington treaties.

This is a great game. It would appear on the surface as if the right hand did not know what the left one was doing. But in the center of it all stands the Big Boss of the show. Big monopolistic business is his name, and it is him who is directing the whole affair for the greater power and glory of American imperialism.

THE labor organizations of Shanghai, China, have declared a general strike. The masses of workers have responded to the call in a splendid manner, and the strike is growing daily. It is a great strike with great objectives. It represents the mobilization of working class power in Shanghai against the reactionary rule of Marshal Sun Chuan-Fang, against the oppression of foreign imperialists and for the victory of the Chinese revolutionary movement.

The forces of Marshal Sun are seizing strike pickets and beheading them right on the streets of the city. Which is supposed to be part of the "humane" campaign of British imperialism against Bolshevism. Capitalist culture and civilization served to the Chinese workers on the swords of Sun's mercenaries.

But the Chinese workers—the real backbone of the revolution—are learning fast how to fight and conquer. Despite the loss of many and many valuable heads and lives that the revolutionists will suffer in the course of the struggle, the CAUSE that will be beheaded eventually will be that of the imperialist oppressors and their Chinese flunkies.

WHAT was it that Queen Marie said about her American hosts and entertainers? Vulgar . . . Servile . . . Flock of swine . . . Anything else?

Well, let the American aristocracy defend its honor if it feels offended. Our wealthy and powerful did all they could to make themselves look cheap and ridiculous in the eyes of every honest American worker. And if there is anything to be said to the noble queen, let the ruling class of our land do the saying. We spoke our minds when the delicate creature was in our midst. Now—nothing to add or subtract.

China Faces The Philippines

By HARRY GANNES

IT was not so very long ago that General Chang Kai Shek, in an interview with an American newspaper correspondent, called the attention of the Filipinos to the fact that the road to complete independence lay in a definite anti-imperialist struggle against the United States. With the continuing success of the nationalist forces in China the truth of this assertion becomes indelibly clear.

Since the zeal of the United States for fair elections has forced it to go to the expense of dispatching marines to Nicaragua, and since the recent tilt with Mexico, the question of the Philippines has sunk into the background. The Thompson report with its excuses for unlimited retention of the islands under American domination, however, safely rests in the presidential files for future reference; and no occasion will be lost to use it at the proper time.

But just as the Strawn report on extra-territoriality was so much waste paper at the time it was printed due to the entirely changed situation in China by the time the learned Chicago lawyer reached home, so the Thompson report is more than slightly affected by the very same shift in Asiatic politics. With a unified, nationalist China the importance of the Philippines as a spearhead of United States imperialism is magnified tremendously. Manila, as an imperialist stronghold under the complete domination of the United States, assumes an added importance as a Pacific port, as foreign control on Shanghai lessens. Whatever the outcome of the Chinese civil war the foreign military control of Shanghai must wane, and the imperialist nations must shift their base to new quarters. England has Hong Kong. For the United States there is Manila. Manila occupies a commanding position in regards to the entire Orient. Within a radius of 1,700 miles of Manila, it is estimated that there are 126,000,000 people; while within a large circle (a radius of 3,500 miles) 800,000,000, or about one half of the world's population live.

A lifting of the imperialist bond from China means a tightening of United States control on the Philippines. The Chinese nationalists have foreseen this turn of events. That is why Chang Kai Shek called upon the Filipino nationalists to declare their sympathy with the Cantonese struggle against world imperialism. So far the Filipino politicians have not been able to grasp the importance of the world anti-imperialist struggle to the extent to lend moral and material aid to a struggle that has for its aim the breaking of the backbone of imperialism at its most vital juncture.

Of course, it has been the proud boast of the more pro-American of the Filipinos such, for instance, as Aguinaldo, that after all the Filipinos are the Christian vanguard among the Asiatics, and, therefore, do not precisely fit into the anti-imperialist picture. But they forget that even the nickname of "the Christian general" did not prevent Peng Yuhsiang from aligning with the Canton forces in an effort to wipe out the domination of their whiter-skinned co-religionists. If necessary, even the bible can offer sanction for driving out the money lenders.

The relation of the Philippines to China and the rest of the Asiatic world will become more apparent when the status of China becomes fixed as an independent nation. Even some of the bourgeois journalists have become aware of the correlation of the anti-imperialist feeling in the colonies of the world. Kirby Page in an article on the Philippines, "The Danger of Drifting," (The World Tomorrow, Feb. 1927), says:

"All over the Far East there is a rising tide of resentment and hostility toward the peoples of the West. . . . The relations between the Orient and the Occident are steadily getting worse. The policy of force has already broken down in China, is functioning very badly in India and is more and more dangerous everywhere in the East. If we stay in the Philippines against the wishes of the Filipinos,

we will simply pour oil on the flames of Oriental hatred."

But the fact remains that, on the contrary, the United States is preparing for a long siege in the Philippines; and the growing class and race consciousness in other parts of the Orient will tend to weld the grip of the United States on the Philippines—unless the Filipinos shift the base of their independence campaign from one of a long-drawn out legal appeal and a reliance on American bounty to the more solid and fruitful base of world alliance with the anti-imperialist forces, and particularly affiliation with the victorious Chinese nationalists.

There is no doubt that the victories of the Chinese armies must stir the Filipino masses, the majority of whom after all are farm laborers, or poorly paid factory workers. The repeated political general strikes in Shanghai must have some meaning for them. There is constant communication with China. It takes about two and one half days to reach China from Manila and more than fourteen to reach the United States. Commerce between China and the Philippines ante-dates the Spanish conquest. And at the present time there are 45,000 Chinese in the Philippines and but 5,574 American imperialistic representatives and their retinue. In fact, there are more Chinese in the Philippines than any other race besides Filipinos. In short, there is a basis for a strong bond of union between the two nations.

Furthermore, there is nothing that the Supreme Council in the Philippines could do more effectively to advance its independence campaign and force leather-necked Governor General Wood out of the islands than by coming out with an open declaration in favor of Chinese nationalism and a declaration of sympathy and a promise of material aid. China will undoubtedly reciprocate; and the unity of political aim between the victorious Cantonese and an anti-imperialist, nationalist Philippines will undoubtedly bear more palatable fruit for the Filipinos than a reliance on paper promises.

The Last Words of Four Communists

By ANTON BIMBA

BRAVE were the comrades who died in the hands of the Lithuanian fascist executioners. They went to death in the prime of their lives. Still they would not refuse to pay the highest for their ideals—for the ideals of the working class. As long as there was a spark of life in them they continued to challenge the fascist murderers and to hail the struggle of the proletariat for its emancipation.

The four comrades who were executed in Kovno on December 27th, shortly before they were shot down by the fascists wrote the following address to the workers:

"Comrades! We four Communists, Karl Pozela, Kazys Giedris, Josef Greifenberger and Rafael Tchorny, were sentenced to death by the field court. Only comrade Faivusch Abramovitch was sentenced to prison for life and Comrade Sheluga to eight years imprisonment.

"We have addressed a request to the president, that our case should be transferred to the district court or the tribunal, pointing out that the time in question is under amnesty.

"However, the fact that we have been tried by a field court makes it certain that we will be executed.

"The best wishes to all our comrades! Live, work and attain your aim, comrades."

In his last letter to the comrades on Dec. 25th, Comrade Pozela wrote:

"On Dec. 24, 1926, four of us, Karl Pozela, Joseph Greifenberger, Mazys Giedris and Rafael Tchorny, were sentenced to death by the field court. The process of the trial showed that the government had decided in advance to exterminate us in spite of everything. They tried us for the past times which had been covered by the amnesty law and they did not even follow their own laws. The accusation alleging that we are supposed to have conspired to overthrow the government on Christmas or on New Year's is a pure provocation. All the state witnesses, Norvaisha, Shavinis, Tamashauskas and others, who did not even know how to play the role of provocateurs well, were secret service men. We exposed the provocative character of their charges during the trial, especially pertaining to the accusation that we made preparations to overthrow the government on Christmas. As to the charge alleging that we fought against the independence of Lithuania, we pointed out that we were exactly the ones who fought against those who wanted to sell out Lithuania to the imperialists of Poland. But our speeches were unnecessary, because as it appears, the verdict was prepared in advance. As soon as the verdict was declared they proposed to us that we write to the president begging him for pardon. But we decided not to beg for pardon. Instead we wrote a statement demanding to transfer our case to the army court or to the Supreme Tribunal in view of the fact that we were condemned for that period of our activity for

which according to the laws of Lithuania we could no longer be prosecuted. I think that our statement will mean nothing because the farce of the trial shows that the decision was made long ago.

"All comrades heard the verdict calmly and courageously. Saying nothing about others, Comrade Tchorny also is holding out heroically.

"Greetings to all. Work and win, comrades." Comrade Kazys Giedris wrote on Dec. 26, 1926, as follows:

"Dear comrades, today I am addressing you my last word. My path of struggle for truth and for the interests of the oppressed and exploited has ended—the field court which took place on Dec. 24, 1926, condemned me to be shot. But I will die full of hope that this struggle will not stop until it is won. I have nothing to regret, except that I did not accomplish much, that there were moments in my life which I did not know how to fill with work. Therefore my only wish is do not have moments not filled with work; struggle and win. I step to my death courageously and firmly; you, comrades, be firm and brave also."

Comrade Joseph Greifenberger in his last letter written on Dec. 27, 1926, 2 p. m., among other things says the following:

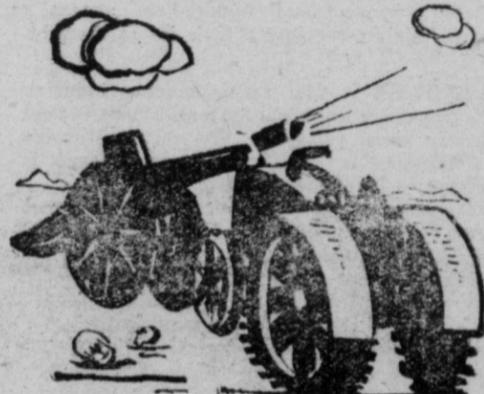
"... If the ruling bourgeoisie would satisfy itself with the blood of only four comrades, it would not be much to worry about. But this is only a beginning. The dungeons are filled to overflowing not only in Kovno but also in all other parts of the country. Hand in hand with the persecution of the active workers goes the destruction of all the class organizations. The working class will realize the whole weight of the burden only then when its organizations will be destroyed and when it will be weakened and left without a leadership. The bourgeoisie will snatch from the workers all the improvements, as small as they are, which were won by the workers during the last few months. The economic pressure will increase enormously. The terrible suffering of the unemployed, the hardships of winter, the yoke of taxation—all of these problems will not be solved by the ruling parties; they will not show even a desire to solve these problems in the interest of the toiling masses. And all this happened on account of the dastardly treachery of the parties of the petty bourgeois populists and social democrats. The present deplorable events of the last few days before the coup d'etat proved beyond a shadow of doubt that the petty bourgeois parties are hopeless. They were warned against the approaching danger again and again. Any rank and file worker could see the danger clearly, but the leaders of the social democrats did not want to see it. The tragedy of the petty bourgeoisie is also in the fact that it poses as a government while it has no ground under its feet. This fact has been clearly demonstrated by the ease with which the coalition government was overthrown.

"In their desire to appease the rising reaction they persecuted the militant workers and their organizations. They cleared the road for the reaction of the big capitalists, for the bourgeois dictatorship by tattling about "democracy."

"And it must be said that it is very clear now that the leaders of these parties such as the Slezeviches and the Kairysis are perfectly satisfied with the events. In order to satisfy the masses they should have severed their relations (with the bourgeoisie) and fought the capitalists, but they could not do this for their very petty bourgeois character would not permit them to do it. This explains their dastardly treachery. They did not use any means whatsoever to defend themselves. Even more than that; they did the best they could to restore the innocence of the constitution which had been trampled upon and raped by the fascists. But the innocence cannot be restored in politics just as it cannot be done in medical surgery.

"The masses are thinking. They did not get rid of their democratic illusions that have bound them hand and foot yet. But this lesson, as hard as it is, will not pass in vain. After having learned the character of the petty bourgeoisie and the role of their parties and after having broken themselves loose from their influence, the masses will clear the road to their final emancipation from the yoke of capital."

The blood of the four communards was not spilled in vain. We will continue their noble work. Their courageous death in the hands of the fascist murderers for the cause of the suffering humanity, will be cherished and remembered in the hearts of the multitudes long after their executioners have been forgotten. New fighters are taking the places of those who have fallen. We bow our heads before the grave of Pozela, Greifenberger, Giedris and Tchorny and solemnly declare that we will not rest in our struggle until the fascist hangmen of Lithuania as well as of other countries will be brought before the bar of proletarian justice and forced to pay the full price for their crimes.



A Quack's Panacea

By WILL DE KALB

THE world is becoming educated. What better evidence could I offer than a letter, printed in the Woman's Home Companion for February, typical of thousands of other letters, the essence of which is "What can we believe?"

The dark clouds of ignorance, produced by intense-burning exploiters, are gradually being penetrated by the strong clear winds of science. People who never thought of doubting the tenets of religion and economics are beginning to wonder and ask "why."

OF course, in a periodical so narcotic and soporific it is natural that the question is referred to Mr. Bruce Barton, the gentleman who signed Jesus up for his local Rotary Club, to answer. Any well read man of science could have informed the inquiring editor of the Companion that the answer has already been written several times over by Messrs. Joseph McCabe, Chapman Cohen, Joseph Whelan, Luther Burbank, and many others. But none of these, unlike Brother Barton, are purveyors of sweetness and light. So the diplomatic advertising man, famous as the "discoverer" of Jesus and the Bible, was paged.

THE problem of religious belief confronts every man when he is suffering from the birth-pangs of intellectual as well as social emancipation. One by one he sees his castles in Spain topple to dust; he is overwhelmed by the complexities of religious differences; his brain is bewildered by the abstractness of the whole subject.

But, as he is nearing the apex of emancipation, he comes to realize that religion is only born of ignorance, and exists through ignorance only; that the sole reason for the existence of religion is man's inability, as yet, to master the great scientific mysteries of the universe. Religion was born of ignorant assumption; so soon as science, which demands only the truth based on acid-tested fact, entered the field, the death knell of religion was sounded.

2.

IN answering the letter, which reveals that the correspondent is bewildered by the religious controversies reflected in the daily press, Friar Bruce begins with "There are three things to be said before we turn directly to answering this letter." But does he mean "said"? Mr. Barton would have been less hypocritical and apologetic had he frankly stated there were three premises to be established, with the consent of the opposition, on which his treatise would be based. An examination of his next three paragraphs reveals that the desired consent could not be forthcoming.

He starts out with the assertion that the church is very much alive, proving it with an anecdote around the hackneyed phrase "Nobody kicks a dead horse."

THAT the church is alive, I admit, with regret. But if Barton had taken the trouble to examine microscopically the status of the church today, and compare it with previous epochs in ecclesiastical history, he might be willing to admit that I am justified in contending the church is a dying institution. And may I also remind the scholarly (sic) advertising expert that it is quite a practice to kick a dying horse, to ascertain whether his apparent illness is only pretended.

"DISCUSSION and even disagreement are inherent in the very nature of Christianity," he continues, citing the fact that Jesus of Nazareth had no more bitter opponents than the highly organized and very pious church of his day. This I will admit with gusto, even going so far as to sup-



Aimee's Pious Pose.

ply the causes thereof, which Mr. Barton very advertently omits. There were dissenters in the church from the beginning because, in spite of its inquisitional discipline, the church has never been able to stifle the loud protests of thinkers against its idiocies. Heresy after heresy rankled the church; the foundation that was supposed to be built on solid rock was imbedded in sandstone—every storm left its pillars more disintegrated than ever.

THAT Jesus was opposed by the organized and pious church of his day is significant. Biblical scholars have found that Jesus had no intention whatever of founding a new religion. The only evidence that could be so construed is found in gospels written years after his death, in some cases by men who never saw him, and which were altered, even forged, by the priesthood succeeding Peter.

THIS literary hack, who might be putting his time to better avail writing advertisements for the august Lydia Pinkham, says we can take great satisfaction in the steady growth of tolerance, a christian victory. Ideed! The entire history of christianity is a record of cruel intolerance, a christian victory. Ideed! The entire history to the present day. Has this religious diplomat been ignoring the news that appears under Mississippi and Tennessee date lines? And does he ever glance over the pages that are foolishly devoted every Monday morning to reports of sermons? The expressed beliefs and actions of the majority of our clerics give the lie to any such statement.

3.

HAVING attempted at the outset to make things easy for himself by establishing false premises, Mr. Barton gets around to the business at hand, the answering of the letter. He does this by presenting the spiritual biography of a typical, and what he considers thoughtful, American woman, who had passed through the various stages of religious doubt and "found a sure footing."

She was the daughter of a small town Methodist deacon, and before she went to college had religious beliefs, which, condensed, read like this: "God is a man, very powerful, who sits on a jeweled throne in a palace in Heaven, which is a city with solid gold streets and high walls studded with diamonds and rubies. The gate of the city is tended by St. Peter who shuts the door against nearly all comers. The recording angel has a desk near the throne and looks down at the world continuously, noting every mistake which mortals make. God is very stern and depressed by the wickedness of the world. He created Adam and Eve, and gave them a chance to lead perfect lives, but they sinned, and this made god so angry he condemned the whole human race. Every man, woman and child born into the world thereafter was damned. Jesus, the son, had a kinder heart, so he came down on earth and sacrificed himself to appease god's wrath. All who confess the name of Jesus and are baptized inherit eternal life; all others, even babies dying in infancy, were still under the curse of Adam's fall."

SOME belief! Barton says the case is typical of thousands; of this I am positive. Imagine the horror of it, civilized human beings, believing in so pernicious a creed. I will not, for the sake of my gentle-natured readers, repeat the infamies of such a dogma—I shall only call attention to the phrases in black print.

But that intolerant, ignorant, inhuman belief is held by the majority of those who consider themselves good churchmen. Truly, there is great need for a messiah, but a rationalistic one.

THEOLOGIAN Barton's heroine, he tells us, gradually came to revise that credo into seven simple, definite beliefs, through the good offices of a white-haired professor she consulted at college. They reasoned the matter out, he says, and came to the following conclusions:

"Somewhere and somehow back of this vast universe there is an intelligence, a god. She simply could not conceive of a universe that just happened; it seemed to her far more incredible than a universe that was planned." Here we have in a nutshell the age-old argument supporting the dogma, There Is A God. Ever since the evolution of the mind from thropism to reason, man has been seeking the first cause.

GRANTED, for the sake of argument, that there must be some ruling factor in the universe, some intelligence, let us call it, where is there any evidence that it must be personified? Or that it is more than natural law? Or that it must be worshipped, or can be influenced, or has human likes, dislikes and prejudices?

He attempts to prove God's existence by the facts that a watch must have a maker, a cathedral a builder. He says "is it any the-less revolting to the intelligence to stand out under the stars and believe that they gathered themselves out of the vapors, that they determined their courses, settled the cycle of the seasons and are spinning away in



Joy Flees With Sin.

space without plan or motion—a senseless merry-go-round of motion, doomed at last to destruction?"

HIS absurd attempt at absurdity is indeed laughable. I am no astronomer, and neither is he, but I can recommend a book to him that will enlighten his mind in this particular, provided it can be enlightened. It is "The Child's Book of Astronomy," and all libraries carry it. —I would advise him to procure a copy.

If he reads this and similar books, he will learn that natural laws have governed the evolution of the world. How these laws came to be, even the most learned scientists, not including Mr. Barton, do not know. They are here, that is all; of their origin we are ignorant. Perhaps natural laws govern all progress because nature has a tendency to progress in an orderly, natural way. But that is only a hypothesis, and I will not follow Mr. Barton's example in presenting an assumption as an established theory. It is not necessary to find the first cause, if we are not yet familiar with all its effects.

THE "thoughtful" woman presumes that God must be as good as she is because he created her, and the less, she says, cannot create the greater. Sardonicly, I might ask "And is he?"; but I will content myself with remarking how discouraging that great thought would be to a certain Mr. Nietzsche, and his doctrine of the Superman.

And so her beliefs continue. She disregards the miracles because there is a lack of biblical evidence. I wish she were just as rational on other points, for her own sake. She believes in the church, while admitting its fallacies. It represents, she claims, the ideals of the finest character the earth has known. I must ask her to reconsider the doctrines of heaven and hell, the punishment of the damned, the exalted state of celibacy, and all the other perversions dispensed under the label of religion. Perhaps she might change her mind.

BUT of its benevolence, she asserts, have come our colleges, our hospitals, and charities. Benevolence? If these are good works, it is incumbent upon the church to further them, it is not benevolence. The record of the church in suppressing learning throughout the ages does not bear out this statement. And the clerical system of charities is a social evil, invented by the handmaidens of the exploiting ruling classes, to aid in the continuity of such exploitation. Enough. Any clear thinking person could punch enough holes into this panacea for religious doubt of Mr. Barton's to make its structure even less solid than that of the proverbial sieve.

THE ego, the vanity in man does not permit him to see or recognize the fact that in his innermost thoughts, his conclusions are reactions to his desires. This life is short, therefore he creates an eternal future one; this life is miserable, therefore he looks forward for a reward for his misery in that future ideal existence. His thoughts, in all cases, mirror his desires.

Our present existence we can shape as we will. And only so soon as men realize that their Heaven must be brought to earth, and the present social system reconstructed so that it will bring happiness where there is none, and eliminate needless misery and suffering, will mankind cease to look beyond the horizon and above the skies for a first cause, and seek, and even find it, here on earth.

After the Imperial Conference

By R. PALME DUTT (London)

THE essential problem of British imperialism at the present stage is the problem of maintaining the unity of the empire under British hegemony in the face of the disparate tendencies of the different parts, consequent on independent capitalist development, and the growing economic and strategic weakness of the British centre. This problem takes different forms according to the character of the parts: in the case of the conquered colonial races, where the control is directly military and autocratic, and the local bourgeoisie weak, the principal menace is the menace of mass revolt; in the case of the emigrant White colonies or Dominions, where there is a strong local bourgeoisie with many ties with the British, the control is necessarily less direct, taking the form of alliance, concessions of autonomy, financial domination etc., and the struggle of interests take more subtle forms. The imperial conference, as the conference of white exploiters, concerns itself directly only with the problems of the latter group; in relation to the subject colored nations, constituting six-sevenths of the whole, the British and dominions bourgeoisie maintain a united front, as the single session on colonial and mandates problems showed.

British hegemony over the White Dominions rests on three factors: first, the economic supremacy of Britain as the principal industrial workshop and customer of dominions products; second, the financial supremacy of Britain as the source of new capital for development; and third, the strategic supremacy of Britain as the protector against foreign attack and maintainer of sea communications.

The weakening of British hegemony over the dominions follows on the weakening of the above factors: the industrial decline, financial inability to maintain sufficient supplies of new capital, and the passing of naval supremacy since Washington; second, on the invasion of a new and stronger candidate for these functions in the shape of the United States; and third, on the independent development of the dominions towards their own industry, accumulation of capital and even their own military and naval forces.

The solution of this situation for British imperialism would depend on, first, a complete economic reorganization of the empire in accordance with new realities and the weakened position of Britain; and second, a closer alliance with the colonial bourgeoisie. Such a reorganization is, however, beyond the powers of British capitalism in decline; and both these tasks come in conflict with a thousand developing forces, both inside and outside the empire, which make their realization impossible. Hence the failure of the successive efforts at empire development and unification, which nevertheless remains the principal line of policy of the British bourgeoisie (and consequently of the reformist labor leaders who follow them) as the sole solution of the economic crisis.

In the 1923 Imperial Conference the attempt was made to achieve a simple economic unification on the lines of imperial preference. This policy broke down on the divergent economic interests: the dominions, while nominally granting imperial preference, have actually raised their tariffs against both British and other foreign goods; British manufacturing and commercial interests were not prepared to penalize two-thirds of their trade for the sake of one third. The Baldwin government, introducing the program of tariffs, fell at the general election of 1923; and subsequent developments in this direction have been on the whole limited.

The three years between 1923 and 1926 saw a growth of separatism, as well as of American economic penetration of the dominions. This separatism gave rise to acute political problems: questions of separate diplomatic representation, of a separate foreign policy, a constitutional crisis in Canada, demands for independence in South Africa, repudiation of war obligations by all the dominions, repudiation of the Locarno Pact.

The 1926 Imperial Conference was principally concerned with this political crisis. When the imperialists speak of the conference as a "success," they mean that the immediate acute points of this political crisis were successfully faced—or evaded—without a break-up. The character of such a claim as a "success" sufficiently reveals the delicacy of the situation.

The political document in which the constitutional agreement is registered exists in the Report on Inter-Imperial Relations. This report, which is the principal public document of the conference, is nominally a character of dominions autonomy, proclaiming their fullest independence and equality with Britain. A closer examination will show that this appearance is deceitful, and that while the document concedes no right to the dominions that they have not already won in practice, its drafting is cunningly devised to strengthen—so far as constitutional form goes—and reaffirm British hegemony. In this sense the report on Inter-Imperial Relations is a diplomatic victory of the British bourgeoisie.

The report defines the mutual relations of Britain and the dominions as that of "autonomous communities within the British empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the crown, and freely as-

sociated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

In this magic formula, already, the dog lies buried. The dominions are solemnly freed of all allegiance to the British government; instead, they only owe "allegiance to the crown" i.e., the British king. Who is the British king? As everyone knows, the paid servant of the British government. Throughout the document, relations to the British government are substituted by relations to the British king. By this means as the king is supposed to be "non-party" etc., the constitutional instrument of British control in time of crisis, e.g., in case of war, is strengthened. As "Augur," the foreign office spokesman in the Fortnightly Review, remarks with cynical satisfaction, no one suggested that the Civil List (the king's pay) should come from any one but the British government.

But the British hegemony is in fact more explicitly laid down in the report. For after the formula of freedom and equality comes the limitation: "but the principles of equality and similarity, appropriate to status, do not universally extend to function";



and this limitation is made more explicit in the sentence which "Augur" acclaims as the "crown" of the report: "In the sphere of foreign policy as in the sphere of defense the major responsibility rests now and must for some time continue to rest with His Majesty's Government in Britain."

Thus in the sphere of foreign policy and war which is precisely the principal political question facing Britain and the dominions, the effective hegemony of Britain is maintained, while at the same time the dominions retain their right of repudiating specific obligations such as Locarno. What is the consequence in case of war? "The King" cannot be at war and not at war at once, at war in respect of, say, England and Australia, and not at war in respect of Canada and South Africa. The empire must go to war as a whole or break up. This crisis remains unsolved; but the British bourgeoisie undoubtedly hope to solve it in the moment of crisis by their effective hegemony in the manoeuvrings leading up to a war crisis and by the appeal of loyalty to the king, etc.

What results the conference actually reached in respect of foreign policy and war, and the preparations for the next war, it is not possible to say, as the whole of these proceedings and decisions, constituting the most important part of the conference, remain secret. The whole of Chamberlain's speech on foreign policy, as also the speeches of the military, naval and air chiefs, and subsequent discussions remain secret. In 1923 the major portion of Curzon's speech was published. In the 1911 imperial conference, Grey's famous speech to the Colonial Premiers, outlining the inner policy of the Entente, was kept entirely secret. Thus 1926 returns to the position of 1911. The increasing secrecy, as also the heavy stress placed on questions of armaments, and the carefully staged and imposing military, naval and air displays, all bear witness to the increasing imminence and urgency of war conditions. Whether any secret understandings or commitments between the respective governments were reached at this conference can only be matter of surmise at present.

Certainly it is essential that the working class forces both in Britain and the dominions should conduct the most active campaign against secret commitments for the next war reached as a result of the conference, as well as demand complete publicity of the whole proceedings. In Australia left wing working class propaganda has actively taken up this question. In Britain the servile labor party leaders have not even challenged the secrecy of the proceedings, thus affording a true measure of their concern for "democracy" in the most vital issues of

war, peace and governing policy, affecting directly one quarter of the human race.

Whatever diplomatic victories, however, the British bourgeoisie may have secured with the aid of their superior experience and manoeuvring ability, an examination of the realities of the position will show that none of these have changed, and that the actual gulf between the interests and policy of the dominions and Britain remains unbridged. Even in respect of foreign policy, all the tangible results, in regard to the most acute questions, are negative.

Thus on Locarno, the dominions "congratulate" the British government on the work achieved, but show no signs of accepting any of the responsibilities themselves; on the contrary, by the very character of this "congratulation," they ostentatiously mark the pact as a sole concern of the British government.

In the same way, on Singapore, Australia and New Zealand "note with special interest" the work done towards developing a naval base, but regret their inability to shoulder a share of the "heavy expense."

Still more conspicuous is this position on armaments expenditure. According to an official statement in March, 1926, the naval expenditure per head amounted in Britain to 26/—, in Australia to 13/—, in New Zealand to 8/—, in South Africa to 1/9, and in Canada to 15 cents or 7½d—a fairly accurate scale of values. The report on defense notes with "regret" the failure of schemes of armaments limitation, and registers the "formidable expenditure" necessary for naval development. But no proposal is made to share out this formidable expenditure.

Finally with regard to diplomatic representation, the existing separate representative of Canada and Ireland at Washington are confirmed, and the right to appoint others recognized, while the only limitation is a pious wish that it is "very desirable that the existing diplomatic channels should continue to be used." On this the American government organ, the Washington Post, has immediately drawn the moral:

"The United States must deal separately hereafter with the nations of the British commonwealth."

If the gulf is thus visible even in questions of diplomacy and war, it is abundantly more visible in the underlying economic questions. Here the conference made no attempt to touch the position. There was no Imperial Economic Conference as in 1923. In the sessions devoted to economic questions, the gloomy facts of increasing economic disassociation were set out, but no solution was proposed. The British government representatives endeavored to put on an optimistic tone, and boasted that British trade with the empire had risen in proportion to total trade from 37 per cent before the war to 44 per cent in 1925, and that the total value of exports to the empire in the same period had risen to 48 per cent. But the boast was obviously hollow, as the dominions nominal value of 48 per cent (actually, allowing for the change in money values, equivalent to a stationary or even declining total) was outstripped by the United States increase of exports to the empire in the same period by 108 per cent; while finally in the figures of dominions trade the British proportion was diminishing.

A liberal observer of the school of Lloyd George, McCurdy in the Contemporary Review, has remarked, as the most striking feature of the conference, the fact that for the first time the dominions representatives appeared as public critics of the economic stability of Britain. To this it might be added that the comparison to Britain's is favor was almost invariably with the United States. The significance of this needs no stressing.

On the crucial question of migration, of decisive importance alike for unemployment in Britain under capitalist conditions and for the British development of the dominions, no progress was reported, nor any hopes held out.

The results of the Empire Settlement Act of 1922, already declare that the 1923 conference "incommensurate with the needs of the situation," showed no improvement: 36,000 in 1923, 40,000 in 1924, 39,000 in 1925—this for the territory of the dominions represent one seventh of the globe! Nevertheless the 1926 report recognizes that it is "impossible" to look for "mass movements" of migration, in view of the urban industrial character of the British population and the agricultural needs of the dominions. Here, too, is so far deadlock in the plans of British capitalist development of the empire.

In view of this whole situation, what is the "unity" which the British and dominions bourgeoisie have proclaimed to the world? To answer this question, it is necessary to differentiate the situation in the main dominions, as the dominions are not a unity.

In Canada non-British influence are strongest. Here United States influence is already predominant, as shown in the recent election, and in the figures of industrial holdings and trade. Canada could not participate in any war against the United States. But British influence is still strong, especially in the eastern states, in landholding, railroads and banking. The Canadian bourgeoisie would not wish any sudden break with Britain, although fearful of any external commitments or entanglements, and insisting on their own independence of action. Thus Canadian participation in the empire remains a passive one, refusing any obligations, but

(Continued on Page 6)

Ship Committees On Soviet Vessels

By J. CANTY

THE tasks of the ship committees, as the primary organizations of the union on board the ships, are determined both by the statutes of the Water Workers' Union of USSR and by the general tasks with which the working class of the Soviet Union became confronted ever since the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship.

The fundamental and immediate task of the ship committee is the protection of the economic interests of the ship's crew and of their working conditions, as well as the satisfaction of their cultural needs.

For these purposes the ship committee:

1.—Looks after the faithful observance of the collective agreement and of the wage agreements, both on the part of the administration and crew of the ship;

2.—Looks after the proper hiring and discharging of crews on the basis of the collective agreement signed between the parties;

3.—Sees to the timely payment of wages, to the observation of all the rules concerning labor protection and social insurance on the part of the administration, takes care of improving working and living conditions aboard ship, looks after the quality of the crew's food, and also co-operates with the labor inspectors in their work, and

4.—Carries on cultural and educational activity among the crew, assists in the illiteracy campaign, by arranging during leisure hours: talks, readings, courses, lectures, etc., looks after the activity and content of the ship's wall-newspaper, and takes charge of the ship's library.

In the domain of professional organization, the task of the ship committee is: to get the workers on board the ship to join the union; to develop the revolutionary class consciousness among the members of the crew; to make propaganda for organizational proletarian discipline; to represent the members of the crew before the various organizations and institutions, including the organs dealing with any conflicts arising between members of the union and the administration.

Furthermore, on ships owned by the Soviet government it is also one of the tasks of the ship committee to encourage in every way the profitable running of the ship, to assist in promoting efficiency and labor discipline.

The last task arises from the fact that the working class, during the period of the proletarian dictatorship, has for its important purpose to take part in the building of the socialist commonwealth, and in the first place, in the organization and improvement of the state industries and transports. In this connection the trade unions of the USSR, incidentally, furnish a school for the management of socialized industries.

Of course, this last task does not in any way concern the ship committees on board ships owned by private people or by concessionaires. Aboard such ships the only task of the ship committee is to look after the economic interests of the members of the union and to take charge of cultural and general educational work.

Thus, the ship committees, although only constituting the primary organs of the union, are charged with very responsible, complex and varied tasks and functions. Of particular importance becomes the activity of the ship committees aboard oceanic vessels going out on long journeys, where

the members of the crew are for many months detached from the direct influence of the leading organs of the union.

These tasks are not only recorded on paper, but in the overwhelming majority of cases are being carried into effect by the ship committees of the USSR, in which they are aided to a considerable extent by the labor legislation of the USSR—the world's first proletarian state—which encourages in every way the consolidation and growth of the trade unions. A further contributing factor is furnished by the centralized industrial structure of the union which embraces 95% of all the workers employed on the water transport. On the water transport there is no other trade union organization besides the Water Transport Workers' Union, and this ensures unity of action in protecting the economic interests of the members.

Organizational Structure of Ship Committees.

The ship committee is an elected body composed of from 3 to 5 members and 1-2 candidates, elected at general meetings of the ship's crew.

Part is taken in these elections by all those working aboard ship who have the right of becoming members of the union, whether they are members or not. On the other hand, only members of the union may be elected on the ship committee, and not under 18 years of age.

The election meeting is considered valid if attended by not less than two-thirds of all the people employed aboard the ship. Those are considered elected who obtained an absolute majority of the votes, i. e. 51% or over, of all the votes recorded in the meeting. The election is carried out by means of personal and open voting. In this respect the principles of trade union democracy are fully applied.



The term of office for the ship committee aboard ships navigating throughout the year is for 6 months, and on board ships engaged in seasonal navigation, the term is for the duration of the period of navigation.

On a request being made by not less than one-third of the members of the crew, the question of re-election of the ship committee before the expiration of their time may be raised at a general meeting of the crew.

In order to audit the finances of the ship committee an auditing committee is elected at the same meeting of the crew in the same manner, composed of three members, and serving for the same period as the ship committee. The auditing committee examines the financial activity of the ship committee at least once a month, and furnishes its report both to the general ship's meeting and to the leading organ of the union.

The ship committee chooses its officers, consisting of the chairman, secretary and treasurer.

In order to cope with its tasks, the ship committee may organize sub-committees for labor protection and educational activity, composed of 3 to 5 people each. Furthermore, on large sea vessels and dredges owned by the state, a production committee may also be organized, having for its purpose the discussion of problems relating to the best organization of work aboard ship, and so on. The members of this committee are chosen by the ship committee from among its members and from among the more active and efficient members of the crew. The production committee is an auxiliary organ of the ship committee working under its guidance.

The ship committee carries on its work during the time that they are free from their regular duties on board. For any additional work upon the ship committee, either all the members or those that are most charged with work, are getting a special compensation of from 8 to 22 roubles per month, according to the size of the crew.

The funds for the maintenance of the ship committee and for the conduct of cultural and educational activity are obtained from the ship's administration in the shape of contributions of from 1% to 3% of the total wages paid to the crew, according to the terms stipulated in the collective agreement.

In 1926 the Water Workers' Union of the USSR had 706 ship committees, which organized over 2,000 sub-committees and attracted about 8,000 people into active work in the union.

In the capitalist countries the living conditions of the seamen are different from those prevailing in the USSR. In those countries the trade unions are hampered by the ship owners at every step in the conduct of their work. But the seamen must insist on the formation of ship committees aboard every ship. Only the ship committees will help them to become organized, only under the existence of the ship committees the seamen will be able to build up the organization in the proper way and on sound democratic principles.

On the other hand, none other than the ship committee can look after the faithful observance of the working agreements, the labor protection rules, etc., on the part of the administration.

The organization of ship committees aboard the Soviet ships should serve as an example for the seamen of all countries to emulate.

AVERAGE COTTON MILL WAGE \$17.48 PER WEEK; MUCH VARIATION IN DIFFERENT STATES

How you lived on that wage is not explained in the report just issued by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, but the fact that that was all you got is shown by elaborate tables of figures taken from cotton mill payrolls and records from 151 mills in the 12 cotton textile states. These states—Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama and Georgia—contain 92 per cent of all the workers in this poverty-making industry.

Women Lowest.

Men's wages were slightly less miserable than those paid to women. Both were forced to accept a reduction in weekly pay in the period from 1924 to 1926, and the reduction in weekly pay from 1920 to 1926 was 30 per cent. At the same time the working hours were increased by 2 per cent.

Male workers in all occupations in the industry received an average weekly wage of \$20.87 in 1924, and they worked 53.5 hours. In 1926 the male workers received only \$18.67 and worked 53.8 hours.

Female employees in 1924 got \$18.15

for 52.3 hours, and in 1926 they had to accept \$15.89 for 52.8 hours of work in the mill.

Many Children.

That a great many employees were children is indicated by some of the figures, given for different jobs in the mills. Thus the male spool tenders in 1924 got only \$10.56 for 55 hours' work, and in 1926 they got \$11.25 for 59.2 hours, while female workers at the same job got \$15.19 for 53.3 hours in 1924, and \$13.19 for 53.6 hours in 1926. These male workers must have been boys, and the female workers grown women, with a considerable number of girls in 1926.

Wages Vary.

How wages vary from state to state is shown by a comparison of earnings and hours worked in seven selected occupations in the industry, for male and female workers separately. Alabama pays the lowest wage in most cases. Thus, for picker tenders, male, the rates are: Alabama, \$12.40 for 56.6 hours; Connecticut, \$18.84 for 51.9 hours; Georgia, \$12.21 for 56.8 hours; Maine, \$19.06 for 54 hours; Massachusetts, \$19.35 for 49.1 hours; New Hampshire,

\$21.03 for 54.2 hours; New York, \$18.73 for 48.4 hours; North Carolina, \$14.70 for 55.7 hours; Pennsylvania, \$22.44 for 53.3 hours; Rhode Island, \$19.59 for 50.5 hours; South Carolina, \$13.81 for 55 hours, and Virginia, \$13.85 for 55.4 hours.

Lower in South.

Male speed tenders get \$16.09 in Alabama, \$16.17 in South Carolina and \$16.70 in Georgia. Female speed tenders get \$13.81 in Alabama, \$14.69 in South Carolina and \$15.60 in Georgia for a week of 55 and 56.1

hours. Female frame spinners get less than \$12 a week in Alabama and South Carolina, while female weavers are prosperous at \$15.21 in Alabama, \$15.18 in South Carolina, \$16.19 in Georgia and \$19.18 in Connecticut, with \$17.54 in North Carolina, which claims leadership of the South.

The highest wage mentioned in the study is \$36.15 for loom fixers, male, in New Hampshire, working 54.2 hours. In New York the same job, at 50 hours, paid \$32.85, while in South Carolina, at 55.3 hours, it paid \$20.85 to the aristocrats of the mill.

RIVET PASSER

Poised on his lofty spider-web of steel,
I saw him stand against the blue of day
And saw him catch, a mere young boy at play,
A white-hot rivet—catch and swiftly kneel
And place it in the girder there, then wheel
And catch another. He would never sway.
The gang below would draw its breath and say
"The fool'll kill himself!" but seemed to feel
His life was charmed, and yet one day it came—
The rivets, hissing meteors, were flung
To him and quickly placed and made to stay
By singing hammers—like a speck of flame
One rivet flew—an awful instant hung
In space his body—then we turned away.

HENRY REICH, JR.



Young Comrade Section



LAST WEEK'S PUZZLE

The answer to last week's puzzle No. 2 is WE THE CHILDREN OF THE WORKERS DO NOT THINK THAT GEORGE WASHINGTON IS OUR HERO LIKE LENIN, LIEBKNECHT, AND DEBS WHO FOUGHT AND DIED FOR THE WORKING CLASS. Well! Well! This week we received quite a few correct answers. Here are the names of those who were right:

Blanche Auerbach, N. Y. C.
Julius Bravin, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Morris Rosenblatt, N. Y. C.
Abraham Israelite, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Harry Eisman, N. Y. C.
David Israelite, Brooklyn, N. Y.
S. Skamaliusky, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Esther Gershon, N. Y. C.
Joseph Goldberg, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Reuben Wolk, N. Y. C.

Elianora Ivanoff, all the way from Post Falls, Ida., answered puzzle No. 1 correctly. Better late than never, isn't it?

The best answer to the Picture Puzzle was given by Esther Gershon who said "China is telling America and Great Britain to GET OUT!" Only one other comrade, Reuben Wolk, answered correctly. Try this week's Picture Puzzle, it's great fun.

THIS WEEK'S PUZZLE

No. 3.

Try and solve this puzzle. The answer is a word in six letters meaning to fight against the bosses by stopping work.

My first letter is in *SOME* but not in *MANY*,
My second is in *CENT* but not in *PENNY*,
My third is in *RUN* but not in *WALK*,
My fourth is in *SING* but not in *TALK*,
My fifth is in *KILL* but not in *DIE*,
My sixth is in *EAR* and also in *EYE*.
Together, I'm something that workers use
Against bosses, to get better wages, conditions, and
less abuse.

Send all answers to the Pioneer Editorial Committee, care of the Young Comrade Section, 33 E. 1st St., New York City, giving your name, age, address, and the number of the puzzle.

Do You Believe Her?



Do you believe your teacher when,

She says that Soviet Russia is a terrible place?
She says that all children should belong to the Boy and Girl Scouts?
She says that strikers are lazy people?
Don't believe her, for it's all a FAIRY TALE.

ALL CHILDREN



will be just as pleased to receive

The Young Comrade

It's only 50 cents for a whole year.

Fill in this blank and send it to:
Pioneer Editorial Committee,
Care of Young Comrade Section,
33 E. First Street,
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Here is Fifty Cents for the Young Comrade.

Name
Street
City State

After the Imperial Conference

(Continued from page 4)

avoiding a sharp break. In practice Canada is already half outside the empire, but the position awaits a crisis to be brought out.

In South Africa, on the other hand, where British influence has been financially strong, but lacking any broad basis, being linked up with the Rand financial oligarchy against both the Boer farmers and the colored four-fifths of the population, a change in the situation has brought an actual increase in imperialist influence. The Boer nationalists, represented by Herzog, have closed ranks with the British. This undoubtedly reflects the growing agitation and organization of the colored majority, which has manifested itself in many ways during the past two years (notably during the Prince of Wales' visit, and in the protest against the Bloemenfontein massacre), and resulted in a steady weakening of the old intransigent republican policy of the nationalists. This process reached its culmination at the imperial conference; Herzog publicly ate his words amid the jubilation of the imperialists at the one positive success of the conference: the whites closed ranks, and a fusion of parties may follow. Here the "unity" is simply the counter-revolutionary unity of the white exploiters against the colored 80 per cent of the population, who will inevitably carry forward the fight for independence to victory.

Finally in Australia and New Zealand, British connections and financial control are still close and strong; the American invasion has only just begun; and the anti-Asiatic policy involves strategical dependence on the British navy. This is reflected in the close present alliance of Britain and Australia, as shown in the role of Bruce at the conference, and in the scale of armaments contributions. But Australia has developed a strong independent bourgeoisie (as Bruce pointed out, over half the total Australian debt is now held in Australia), and is becoming a principal battleground of British and American influence.

This has been vividly shown in Bruce's visit to America and Coolidge immediately after the imperial conference, in the playing off of Wall Street against the City of London as a source of new capital, in the rapid American commercial invasion, and in the visits of the American navy as the sign of the new protection. With the transference of the centre of world politics to the Pacific and the weakening of London as a financial centre, Australian orientation inevitably turns increasingly to the United

States.

Summing up the situation, the "unity" which has been "saved" at the imperial conference represents an unstable equilibrium in which the total of forces is steadily accumulating against British hegemony but in which the various upper-bourgeois elements of the different states hang together, partly on the basis of definite common interests, partly for fear of the consequences of disruption. Only a crisis will show fully the actual array of forces.

The policy of the British bourgeoisie in the face of this situation is to endeavor to carry through a far reaching process of empire development or re-organization on the lines of the propaganda of Mond and others for the development of the empire as a "single economic unit." This conception runs like a single thread through the whole home, foreign and financial policy of the British bourgeoisie in the present period. Such a policy, however, can no longer be conducted on the old conception of the development of Britain as the industrial centre of a predominantly raw-materials-producing empire. It has, on the contrary, to build on the new fact of the industrial development of the dominions, and to endeavor to build up the new economic structure of the empire on the basis of the transference of industrial development under British financial control to the dominions and India, leaving Britain to more highly specialized, secondary and luxury industries. If this process can be developed on a large scale, then the "mass migration" of the unemployed in Britain to industrial employment in the dominions, still bringing profit to their masters, becomes possible, and a new basis would be reached. But this process requires a series of years of undisturbed development, and during this period a large scale financing from London, such as can only be achieved by extracting enlarged profits from the declining British industry, that is, by driving down the British workers. These factors give the key to conservative policy in the present period.

Will the British bourgeoisie be likely to be able to succeed in this new line of policy of empire development? The answer to this question lies in the whole character of the existing British and world situation.

The policy of empire development comes into conflict with the central contradiction that it depends on the enlarged financial and capital-exporting power of Britain, just when that financial and capital-exporting power is declining. This decline inevitably continues with the home industrial decline, which cannot be solved within capitalist conditions. The attempt to raise enlarged profits out of the declining industry involves wholesale attacks on the workers, intensified class struggle and the revolutionizing of the British workers. At the same time

THE LITTLE GREY DOG

(Continued)

In one of the Negro huts arrived the little grey dog who had been born in the splendid stable, and this is how it happened.

Once when the rich man walked through the stable, he noticed the little grey dog who was playing in the straw. He examined the little dog, and said angrily to the coachman, "What is this ugly little creature doing here in my beautiful stable? Take it out, drown it in the river."

The coachman promised to do this; indeed he pitied the lively little animal, but the master was strict and he did not dare to disobey the command. He called the little dog, who came running joyously, and started toward the river. As he came near the homes of the slaves, a little black boy ran out of one of the huts and cried, "O, the lovely little animal! Where are you taking it?" And he ran quite close to them and patted the dog, who mischievously jumped at him, barking.

(To Be Continued)

THE WORKERS' FLAG

By HENRY SOMPOLINSKY.

There is a flag of red hue,
The bravest flag that flieh
Whose folds wave o'er hearts full-true
As no worker can deny it.
Here's to the workers—their cause so dear,
Here's to the soil that carries it!
Here's to the hearts so far or near,
That love the flag of the Soviet!

Workers! Your red banner fling!
For the cause beneath its folds
Your anthem loudly sing
Beneath the flag, the red flag,
The brave flag that we love.
Workers! Workers! We stand to do or die,
Beneath the flag, the red flag
That waves for victory nigh.

Some Rooster!

HELEN PENTALLER

The capitalists had a rooster,
They put it on the fence,
The rooster crowed for the workers,
Because it had some sense.

the independent colonial bourgeoisie, untrammelled by these complications, develop more rapidly than they can be controlled by Britain finance. Finally the seat of world economic and financial power rests with the United States, which has all the advantages in these respects and is effectively endeavoring to take over into its own hands the development of the British empire in the new period. From this situation a host of crisis and conflicts may arise; but what is certain is that British capitalism has no longer the power to carry out the development of the empire under its control, and the attempt to do so will only hasten the development of the revolution in Britain.

Nevertheless this policy necessarily remains the grand objective of the British bourgeoisie, and imperialist propaganda will play a large and increasing part in the years immediately in front, not only from the side of the bourgeoisie directly, but within the labor movement. The imperialist penetration of the upper strata of the labor party, both right and so-called "left" (the Clyde and Lansbury groups) is developing with increasing momentum—witness the "Forward" campaigns for empire development in support of Garvin, Baldwin, etc.; the growth of the "British Commonwealth Group" in the parliamentary labor party to a majority of the membership; the foundation of the "London Weekly" as a "non-party" empire weekly under the editorship of a prominent labor member, Haden Guest, with the cooperation of Amery, conservative colonial secretary, and similar signs of abundance. This development is inevitable. Reformism, bankrupt at home through the economic decline, turns increasingly to the propaganda of empire illusions as the sole alternative to revolution. The propaganda of imperialism goes hand in hand with the propaganda of class peace.

In consequence in the coming period it is necessary in Britain to redouble our anti-imperialist propaganda, to show the hopeless and illusory character for the British workers of the schemes of empire development, to show the meaning of the development of Britain as a parasitic centre, to show the connection of imperialism and the attack on hours and wages, to show the connection of imperialism with armaments and the next war, and in consequence to show the unity of interests of the white and colored workers and peasants in the empire against the British and dominions' bourgeoisie and in unity with the international working class, and to show the line of development of Britain, not as the decaying centre of the empire, but along the line of the socialist revolution as part of the United States of socialist Europe and so eventually as an integral healthy part of world socialist economy.

DRAMA

BROADWAY BRIEFS

(Continued from page 8.)

"A Woman in the House," a new comedy co-starring Louis Mann and Clara Lipman, comes to the Bronx Opera House on Monday night.

The play, the work of Samuel Shipman and Neil Twomey, will bring back to the stage after a retirement of fifteen years, Clara Lipman, in private life Mrs. Louis Mann. The players are Franklyn Farnun, Marion Stokes, Mary Loane, Robert Williams, Marie Reichardt and Jeanne La Mott. "Daisy Mayme" will be the attraction beginning March 7.

Another company of the "Night Hawk" is now in rehearsal under the direction of Arthur Hurley. It is booked to open in Rochester and thence goes on to Boston.

Tonight marks the two hundredth performance of "2 Girls Wanted" at the Little Theatre.

Bertha Kalich will appear in "Magda" and "The Riddle-House Woman" in New York this spring.

J. P. McEvoy has completed the sketches for the second edition of "Americana," and the revue is scheduled to go into rehearsal the middle of May. Kenneth Macgowan and Sidney Ross are slated to produce the piece this year.

Judith Anderson, who is at present appearing in Sydney, Australia, will be seen early next season in a new Willard Mack play, "The Empty Cradle," written especially for her.

Michael Kalleser is planning to produce a new play called "Bed and Board," by Barbara Chambers and himself.

The cast of "Menace," a play by Arthur M. Brilliant, due on Broadway soon, includes Jack Roseleigh, Pauling MacLean, Eva Cassanova, Tom Reynolds, Joseph Granby, Tom Burroughs, Maud Durand and Wyrley Birch.

Jeanne Eagels's company for "Her Cardboard Lover," in which she will star under the joint management of Gilbert Miller and A. H. Woods, will include Leslie Howard and Valerie Wyngate.

Martin Beck has bought the rights to "The Showman," a musical comedy by Dave Stamper, Joe Laurie, Jr., and Paul Gerard Smith.

Gwen Lowry, James Norval, Genevieve Williams and Schuyler Smith have been engaged for the cast of

ELVIRA GIERSDORF



In "Bye Bye Bonnie," Lawrence Weber's musical show at the Ritz theatre.

"Ain't Love Grand?" by Willis Maxwell Goodhue.

Gustav Blum's next production will be a mystery play by E. M. Schoenberg and Milton Silver, titled "The Mystery Ship." It will open March 14 at a Broadway theatre.

Sylvia Sidney and Chester Morris both appearing in "Crime" at the Eltinge Theatre, have been placed under a long term contract by A. H. Woods.

"Closed Doors" is the new title for Mercedes de Acosta's play formerly known as "Jacob Slovak," which Joseph P. Bickerton will soon produce. Jose Ruben, Florence Eldridge and Robert Strange are in the cast.

"March Hares" by Harry Wagstaff Gribble will be performed on Friday and Saturday nights, March 4 and 5, by the Washington Square College Players.

L. Lawrence Weber and John Golden will be associated in the forthcoming production of "Burly-Q," the play by George Manker Watters, which was formerly called "Burlisque."

William A. Brady is considering a revival this spring of "Bunty Pulls The Strings." The play was seen on Broadway some seasons back.

Roll in the Subs For The DAILY WORKER.

The New Plays

MONDAY

"WE ALL DO," a new comedy by Knud Wiberg and Marcel Strauss, will be presented by George Macfarlane Monday night at the Bijou Theatre. The cast includes: H. Reeves-Smith, Charles Richman, Anne Shoemaker, Orlando Daly, Kathryn Livney, Herbert Clarke, Carleton Hildreth, Raymond O'Brien and Virginia Williams.

"MONEY FROM HOME," Frank Craven's latest comedy, comes to the Fulton Theatre Monday night, sponsored by A. L. Erlanger. Mr. Craven heads the cast, which also includes: Shirley Warde, Leo Donnelly, Camilla Dalberg, Frederick Graham, Adora Andrews and John Ravold.

WEDNESDAY

"LOUD SPEAKER," by John Howard Lawson, will open at the 52nd Street Theatre next Wednesday night; staged by Harry Wagstaff Gribble, scenery designed by Mordecai Gorelik and with incidental music by Eugene L. Berton. The cast includes Margaret Douglass, Agnes Lombard, Seth Kendall, Romney Brent, Porter Hall, Hilda Manners, Reba Garden, Benjamin Osipow, Maurice Fein, Isobel Stahl, Alvah C. Bessie, Bernard Gottlieb and Benjamin Kamsler. This is the initial production of the New Playwrights Theatre.

THE AMERICAN GRAND GUIGNOL PLAYERS at the Grove Street Theatre will give a new program of one-act plays next Wednesday night. It will include Louls N. Parker's "The Minuet," "The Maker of Images," by Arthur Caesar; "Casualties," by Martin Flavin, and "We're All in the Gutter," by Elfreda and Clarence Derwent.

MUSIC

Musicians to Get Ten Dollars an Hour for Special Work

Payment of \$30 a day for three hours' work is the wage scale fixed by the American Federation of Labor for musicians employed in Vitaphone productions, according to Joseph N. Weber, president of the Musicians' Union, who has advised the San Francisco local to this effect.

For working two shifts per day of three hours each, the wage is to be \$50. Overtime is to be at the rate of \$10 per hour. Leaders and members contracting for bands are to be paid double these rates per day, or \$60 and \$100.

The rate for a week of 33 hours, not more than two shifts a day, is to be \$200. A week is rated as five and one-half days.

METROPOLITAN OPERA

"L'Amore dei Tre Re" and "Gianni Schicchi" will open the eighteenth week of the Metropolitan Opera Monday evening, the former sung by Bori, Bonetti, and Johnson, Tibbett; the latter with Vettori, Howard, and Tokatyan, DeLuca.

Other operas next week:

"The Tales of Hoffman," as a special performance, Tuesday evening, with Bori, Talley, and Chamlee, Tibbett.

"Gioconda," Wednesday evening, with Larsen-Todsen, Claussen, and Cigli; Danise.

"Lucia," Thursday evening with Talley, Egner and Tokatyan, DeLuca.

"Die Walkure," Friday afternoon with Larsen-Todsen, Mueller, and Kirchoff, Schorr.

"Traviata," Friday evening, with Bori, Egner, and Chamlee, Basiola.

"Faust," Saturday matinee, with Mario, Dalossy, and Johnson, Tibbett.

"Madame Butterfly," Saturday night, with Mueller, Bourskaya, and Tokatyan, Scotti.

With the Orchestras

NEW YORK SYMPHONY

Otto Klemperer's last three concerts as guest conductor of the New York Symphony Orchestra are scheduled for this Sunday afternoon in Mecca Auditorium, Friday evening, March 4, in Carnegie Hall, and Sunday afternoon, March 6, in Mecca Auditorium. Klemperer will then hand over the baton to the new guest conductor, Fritz Busch, who will appear on Thursday, March 10, in Carnegie Hall.

Joseph Szeigeti will be the soloist this Sunday afternoon in Mecca Auditorium. The program:

Overture to King Stephan, Beethoven; Concerto in D for violin with

orchestra, Beethoven, Mr. Szeigeti; Iberia, Debussy; Three Dances from "Otello," Verdi.

The program for Friday evening in Carnegie Hall will include: "Sinfonietta" by Janacek; Symphony in C minor, Mozart; Five German dances, Schubert; Carnival Romain, Berlioz.

PHILHARMONIC

For its second membership concert of the season on Tuesday evening at Carnegie Hall, the Philharmonic Orchestra will give an all-Wagner program with Wilhelm Furtwaengler conductor, and Ernestine Schumann-Heink as soloist. The proceeds will go to the Orchestra Pension Fund.

Thursday evening and Friday afternoon at Carnegie Hall, Joseph Szeigeti will appear as soloist. He will play the Prokofieff Violin Concerto. The balance of the program includes the Bach Brandenburg Concerto No. 3 for strings, the Beethoven "Leonore" Overture No. 2, and the Cesar Franck symphony.

This Sunday afternoon at the Brooklyn Academy of Music Paffl Kochanski is the soloist in the Brahms Concerto for Violin and Orchestra. The program also includes the "Coriolanus" Overture, Tchaikovsky's "Romeo and Juliet," and the "Tannhauser" Overture.

MUSIC NOTES

Martha Graham in her dance recital at The Guild Theatre this Sunday night will present a program to music by Rachmaninoff, Ravel, Debussy, Block and Scriabin.

Artamon Moskalensky, Russian violinist, will make his debut at Aeolian Hall Wednesday evening.

Isador Gorn, pianist, will appear in a recital at Aeolian Hall Monday night.

Roxy's symphony orchestra of 110 musicians for his new theatre, which is scheduled to open in March, met for its first rehearsal yesterday morning under the direction of Erno Rapee.

Katherine Bacon will give her sixth pianoforte recital of Beethoven Monday evening at Steinway Hall.

The Long String Quartet will give a week of Beethoven music at Aeolian Hall, beginning March 7, and continuing through Saturday afternoon, the 12th. The first five performances will be given in the evening, and the final on Saturday afternoon.

Robert Goldsand, Viennese pianist, at his debut at Town Hall Monday afternoon, will give a program of Beethoven, Grahms, Chopin and Liszt.

MUSIC AND CONCERTS

PHILHARMONIC

FURTWAEGLER, Conductor
at CARNEGIE HALL
Tuesday Evening, March 1, at 8:30
Second Membership Concert
(Benefit Orchestra Pension Fund)
ALL-WAGNER PROGRAM
Soloist: SCHUMANN-HEINK
Tickets at Box Office 25c to \$2.50

Carnegie Hall, Thur. Evg., Mar. 3, at 8:30
Friday Afternoon, March 4, at 2:30
Soloist: JOSEPH SZIGETI, Violinist
BACH: Brandenburg Concerto No. 3 for strings. PROKOFIEFF: Violin Concerto. BEETHOVEN: "Leonore" Overture No. 2. CESAR FRANCK: Symphony.

Carnegie Hall, Sun. Aft., Mar. 6, at 3:00
WEBER: "Freischuetz" Overture. SIBELIUS: Overture to "The Tempest." STRAUSS: Don Juan. BRAHMS: Symphony No. 1.
Arthur Judson, Mgr. (Steinway Piano)

Violin Recital (Debut) ARTAMON

MOSKALENSKY

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N. Y. SYMPHONY

KLEMPERER, Guest Conductor
MECCA AUDITORIUM, Sun. Aft., Feb. 27
(Box office 11 A. M., Sunday)
SOLOIST SZIGETI
JOSEPH SZIGETI
Beethoven, Overture to King Stephan; Beethoven, Concerto in D for Violin with Orchestra; Debussy, Iberia; Verdi, Three Dances from Otello.
Tickets at Steinway Hall, 113 W. 57 St., Room 1001. GEORGE ENGLER, Mgr. (Steinway Piano.)

TOWN HALL, Mon. Aft., Feb. 28, at 3
Robert Viennese Pianist

GOLDSAND

Haensel & Jones, Mgrs. Knabe Piano

LOUDON CHARLTON Announces
AEOLIAN HALL, Tue. Eve., Mar. 1, 8:30
Third and Last Concert of Season

Flonzaley Quartet

DRAMA

White Hope of American Drama

By MICHAEL GOLD.

MAYBE I'm prejudiced, but I think the most interesting theatre in New York is going to open its doors Wednesday, March 2, when John Howard Lawson's "Loud Speaker" will be played at the 52nd Street Theatre.

I think every labor man, every revolutionist, everyone fascinated by the machine age, by the noise and hope of modern life will go to see this play.

Lawson is the brilliant white hope of the American theatre. He knows labor and he knows the modern stage. He has a close affinity to the work of Maierhold and his revolutionary theatre in Moscow. More than anyone, Lawson has caught the spirit of industrial America. Most of our so-called "modern" writers, like Sherwood Anderson and Waldo Frank, are frightened to death of industrial America. They seek refuge in the bible, in Dostoiwesky, in the soul, in Greek tragedies and what-not. But Lawson moves freely among the subways, skyscrapers, steel plants and proletarian hells of America. He is not trying to escape, but assimilate.

His play, "Processional," was the finest, and perhaps the only real working-class play ever produced in America. It was the story of a West Virginia coal miners' strike, done in a jazz technique. It established almost tradition in American theatre art. The new play will create another such precedent.

"Loud Speaker" is concerned with the humors and hypocrisies of a Babbitt who is running for Governor of the state, and who makes his campaign on the platform of the sacredness of the home. At the same time he is messed up in the most awful domestic situation of his own. The play is a farcical cartoon, which punctures all the fake and hokum of our fat capitalist politicians. It is in the spirit of Robert Minor and Art Young, and if I were governor of the state of New York I would suppress it.

The New Playwright's Theatre, under whose auspices "Loud Speaker" is being produced, is a new organization. Most of our art theatres in New York have become timid and bourgeois. They are afraid to experiment. They are afraid of guts and passion and revolutionary harshness in the theatre. They like to produce dainty little costume trifles, and decadent European problem plays, and mystic highbrow morbidities.

The New Playwright's Theatre is to get away from all this. It will try to break down the walls that separate the street from the theatre. It will be prejudiced against drawing room plays, and sophisticated cream-puff tragedies. It will try to get close to the earth, to the fields, factories and mass-life of America. It will be afraid of nothing.

In Lawson's play New Yorkers will have the first chance to see a real constructivist set such as are now used in most of the revolutionary theatres of Soviet Russia—in the Proletcult theatres, and the Maierhold theatres.

There will be two other plays in the two weeks following. One of them is a tragedy of Negro religious hysteria, called "Earth," by Em Jo Basshe. This young writer edited a paper called "Facts" opposed to the war, and was active in the People's Council and the old Socialist Party. It is his second play.

The third play will be a comedy of the Mexican revolution, called "La Fiesta," by myself. Maybe that's why I am prejudiced in favor of this theatre, because it is possibly the only one in New York that will produce plays of this kind, where revolutionary problems are thrashed out on the stage. The Mexican play opens about March 26.

There are five playwrights direct-

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW



Author of the brilliant satirical comedy "Pygmalion," now playing at the Guild Theatre.

ing the theatre. They are Em Jo Basshe, Francis Edwards Faragoh, who used to be the dramatic critic of Pearson's magazine when Frank Harris ran it, and whose play "Pinwheel" is being done at the Neighborhood Playhouse; John Dos Passos, who wrote the finest anti-war novel in America, and writes regularly in the New Masses; John Howard Lawson, and myself.

We are trying hard to give radicals a theatre of their own in New York. It's to be a hard-boiled theatre which is to get far away from that silly and decadent thing called art in bourgeois circles. We want to write and produce plays for the workers, who are the best audience. We don't want bored dilettantes, or the idle rich and patronizing. We want our audience to have a good time in the theatre and not to be bored with all the fake problems of the intelligentsia. We are going to interpret modern America, as The DAILY WORKER and the New Masses interpret it, not as Vanity Fair does, or the American Mercury.

The time is not yet ripe for a real workers' theatre like the Proletcult in Moscow, but the New Playwright's theatre is going to be the nearest thing to it in America. That's all one can promise just now.

If this theatre can be a bridge to the real workers' theatre that will come when we have a mass revolutionary movement in America, I, for one, will be satisfied.

We are going to do our best to get all the young talent we can. If there are any Communist playwrights in America, this theatre will be the first to give them their chance, for next season we are to put on eight more plays by young writers. Harbor Allen is writing a play for us among others, and Alfred Kreymbork and E. E. Cummings. I can honestly say I believe this theatre deserves the support and attention of every radical. There is so much of the fake, the arty, the conservative and downright trashy in the New York stage, that this theatre, whatever it does, deserves support for its intentions.

The theatre is located at 52nd street and 8th avenue, and there will be seats as low as 50 cents. We are going to arrange some kind of discounts, perhaps, for trade union groups.

BROADWAY BRIEFS

Paul Green, whose first play, "In Abraham's Bosom," is now playing at the Garriek Theatre, will soon have the second of his dramas of Carolina life on Broadway. Edwin

AMUSEMENTS

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Mon. Eve., Feb. 28.... "Cradle Song"
Tues. Eve., Mar. 1.... "Twelfth Night"
Wed. Mat., March 2,
"John Gabriel Borkman"
Wed. Eve., Mar. 2.... "Cradle Song"
Spec. Mt. Thurs., Mar. 3, "Cradle Song"
Thurs. Eve., Mar. 3.... "La Lacondiera"
Fri. Eve., March 4.... "Cradle Song"
Sat. Mt., Mar. 5, "The Master Builder"
Sat. Eve., Mar. 5, "The Three Sisters"

WEEK OF MARCH 7
Mon. Eve., March 7.... "Inheritors"
Tues. Eve., March 8.... "Cradle Song"
Wed. Mat., March 9.... "Inheritors"
Wed. Eve., March 9.... "Cradle Song"
Thurs. Eve., Mar. 10, "Master Builder"
Fri. Eve., March 11.... "Cradle Song"
Sat. Mat., March 12.... "Three Sisters"
Sat. Eve., March 12.... "Inheritors"

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Wolff is casting "The Field God," a play of North Carolina "poor whites," and it is scheduled to go into rehearsal next week under Wolff's direction.

Edwin Justus Mayer, who will be recalled by his first play, "The Firebrand," has taken enough time off from his scenario writing to finish a new play, "Jonathan Wild."
(Continued on page 7.)

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