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the convention for the organization of the Communist Party which opened the following day. Thus on August 31-September 1, the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party came into existence, of which the Workers (Communist) Party is the lineal descendant.



MACHINISTS HALL
Convention Hall of the Socialist Party and the Communist Labor Party, 1919.

During the two years that followed a number of shifts in the alignments took place in the efforts to unite the two parties. This was finally achieved in May, 1921. A new division took place over the question of the formation of the Workers Party. This was liquidated in 1922. In 1923 the underground Communist Party went out of existence and the Workers (Communist) Party became the organized expression of the Communist movement in this country.

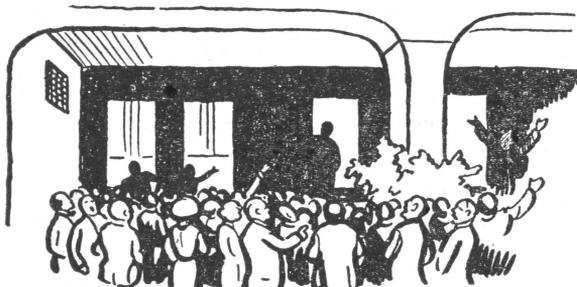
The Party in 1919.

WITH this brief sketch of the movement leading up to the organization of the Party, we can turn to the development of the Party during the seven years of its participation in the class struggle in this country. The article will deal rather with the intellectual development of the movement, that is, the development of its policies and its tactics rather than with a presentation of the various struggles in which it participated.

The Communist Party was born in a period of revolutionary struggle. The Russian Proletarian Revolution had been victorious. The Hungarian Soviets were in power. Revolutionary struggles were raging in Germany. In Italy the workers were on the march. The issue on which the left wing carried on its struggle within the Socialist Party was the interpretation of these events—that is, on the basis that life itself was proving that Socialism could only be established thru the overthrow of the capitalist state power and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat which would reconstruct the economic system.

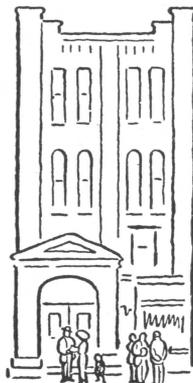
It was to be expected under these circumstances that this question would play a big part in the life and work of the Party and so the Communist Party in 1919 was little more than a propaganda society teaching the lesson of the proletarian revolution to be learned from the experiences of the workers in the European countries.

It is true that the Party endeavored to connect this



The Left Wing Singing The International.

propaganda with the events of the struggles of the workers in this country. Thus, the Communist Party, during the four months of open existence which the government permitted it in 1919, entered actively into the struggles of the workers—the great steel strike and the miners' strike of that period. It did not, however, enter these struggles with a program of fighting the immediate battles and aiding the workers to win their fight but rather to use the event of the struggle for the purpose of carrying on agitation to show the necessity of the overthrow of the capitalist state power and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat.



"SMOLNY"
Communist Party Convention Hall, 1919.

The Communist Party of 1919 stood outside of the labor movement, endeavoring to draw the workers into its ranks thru agitation

and propaganda which pointed to the necessity of a revolutionary Party fighting for the overthrow of capitalism.

The bitter onslaught of the government against the Communist Party at the end of the year 1919 deepened the tendency for the Party to become merely a propaganda society. During this persecution, nearly four thousand members of the Party were arrested and held for deportation and imprisonment. This persecution drove the Party underground and the immediate result of its being forced into an underground existence was to intensify the tendency to become a propaganda society of the principle of revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist government without concerning itself with the immediate present day struggles of the workers.



Jack Reed hitching up his pants in preparation for a speech.

The Struggle Toward a Communist Policy.

The struggle out of this sectarian position was a hard and long one. It lasted thru the years 1920 and 1921.

The first phase of this struggle was expressed in the new orientation of the Party in relation to work within the trade unions. The Party, in 1919 and during 1920, was isolated from the trade union movement. The Party had not yet learned the necessity of organizing its members for systematic penetration of the trade unions in order to win the mass organizations of the workers for the revolutionary struggle against capitalism. In 1921 the Party revised its trade union policy and adopt-

ed the correct Communist policy of working within the existing trade unions.

The second phase of the struggle for a correct Communist policy found its expression in the struggle within the Party over the question of the organization of the Workers Party and finally in the form of the struggle in regard to the liquidation of the underground Communist Party. Behind all these different issues which arose in regard to these questions, was the fundamental issue of the participation of the Party in the class struggle as



REED

GERBER

Left and Right,
Chicago, 1919.

it manifested itself in the present and in formulating programs and policies which would enable it to make its starting point in moving the workers towards a revolutionary struggle the present development of class consciousness among the American workers.

The Communist Party Today.

Today the Workers (Communist) Party no longer stands outside of the labor movement and the manifestations of the class struggles of the workers in this country. It has become part of these struggles. It has learned that there is no phase of the fight of the workers in relation to their present situation that the Party should not have a part in, should not formulate programs for, and use to develop class consciousness of the workers and teach them the need of a militant revolutionary struggle against the capitalist system.

The Party has not only learned this correct Communist policy but it has reorganized its forces so that it can effectively apply its strength in the class struggle. In place of the isolated, territorial and language branches, it has organized shop and street nuclei and in addition to these, trade union fractions, the language propaganda fractions, fractions in co-operatives and fraternal organizations and wherever the workers gather together in organizations in their industries.

Seven years of experience has taught the Party that it must be the steel rod running thru and combining all forms of workers' organizations; that it must be the initiator of a common policy for these workers' organizations; that thru its nuclei and fractions it stimulates into common action, workers, organized in trade unions, in co-operatives in shop councils, in fraternal organiza-

tions and concentrates their combined strength against the capitalist class and the capitalist government.

The Party has learned that it must utilize every form of opposition to the capitalist system and the capitalist government in aid of the revolutionary struggles of the workers.

It has learned the need of work among the farmers in order to ally them with the workers in the struggle against the capitalist class and government. It sees the need of organizing the Negroes for the struggle against racial discrimination and to ally this struggle with the struggle of the workers against the capitalists. It has become the exponent of the foreign born workers in their fight against the foreign born exception laws. It is stimulating the struggle against American imperialism by aiding in organizing opposition to the imperialist adventures of the American capitalists in the West Indies, Central and South America.

Today, the Workers (Communist) Party participates in and organizes and drives forward all these phases of the struggle against the capitalist class and the capitalist government. It does so because it understands that only from these beginnings, thru the consolidation and concentration of all phases of the struggle against the capitalists will ultimately develop that revolutionary force which will overthrow the capitalist government and set up the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The goal of the Communist Party remains what it was in 1919. It has learned, however, that the way to reach that goal is not only thru propagating the idea of a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism but by participation in the present struggles of the workers, stimulating them to more aggressive struggle, teaching the workers in the process of these struggles the necessity of the proletarian revolution and thus generating the force



The Platform at the 1919 Convention of the Communist Party.

which will actually achieve the goal for which the Communist Party is fighting—the overthrow of the capitalist class and its government and the establishment of the Soviet government and a proletarian dictatorship.

lized around issues quite apart from those raised by the Church conflict.

What can the United States want from Mexico regarding the oil and land laws? The government declared months ago that it was satisfied with President Calles' regulations modifying their enforcement. In these regulations Calles gave practically everything that was immediately asked. What is then the issue with the Mexican government?

The revolution is the issue.

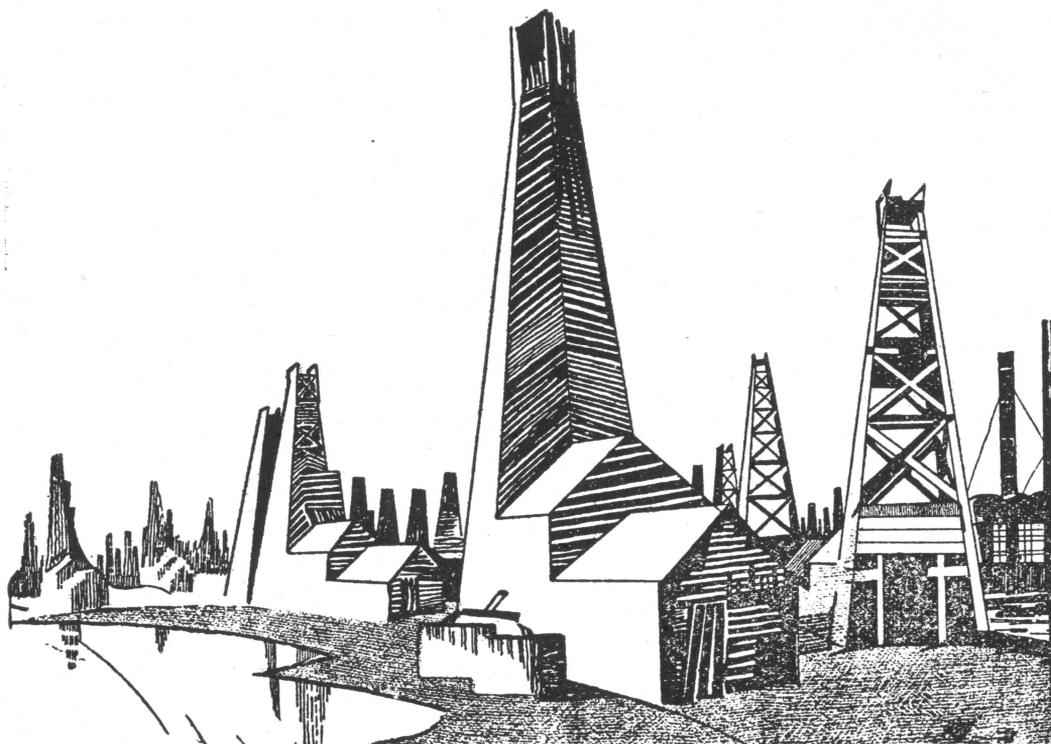
Mexico is a relatively small nation bordering on the most powerful imperialist country in the world. The maintenance of a national-revolutionary program in Mexico is a challenge to the most cherished imperialist aspirations of Wall Street, which include nothing less than the complete subjugation of the republic lying across the Rio Grande.

The latest note to Calles' government may be just an isolated thrust or it may be followed by a general assault against Mexican sovereignty. But whether or not the note is followed immediately by others it cannot properly be regarded as an isolated one. It is part

of the general ever-intensifying push forward of American imperialism against Mexico, in alliance with whatever counter-revolutionary forces are allowed to gain strength there.

It is not likely that there will be any more direct U. S. intervention in the present crisis. The Catholic rebellion failed to split the revolutionary forces and thereby create a favorable situation for imperialism.

The Mexican government will be strengthening the revolution in the face of all its enemies, native and foreign, if it acts with energy in the present crisis. Unless there is a rapid shift in developments the Church will emerge from the present conflict with its prestige badly shattered. The government must grasp this opportunity to remove clericals from strategic positions everywhere, to put out of harm's way all those who have taken an active part in support of the clerical rebellion to root out every remaining vestige of clerical power—and to base itself more and more decisively upon the toiling masses who must be the backbone of its support. The extent to which Calles adopts such a course will determine its true revolutionary character.



OIL!

gram which will save the union and put it again in a fighting position.

Defeat the Lewis Machine.

The accomplishment of this vitally necessary program requires the sweeping away of the corrupt Lewis administration. Fortunately an opportunity to do this presents itself in the union elections now approaching. The masses in the miners' Union are against Lewis his policies. Every time they have an opportunity they prove this. In the last national union election they voted, according to Lewis' own official report, 66,000 for the rank and file left wing miner, Voyzey, against 134,000 for Lewis. But in reality the vote was much more favorable for Voyzey. There is every reason to believe that he actually secured a majority. Lewis unquestionably stole thousands of votes from him. Lewis never dared to publish the tabulated vote of the election, by local unions, as required by the union constitution. He could not show a majority.

In the present elections John Brophy, president of

District No. 2, a man long associated with various progressive movements in the Miners' Union, has announced himself as a candidate against Lewis. In his official statement, published in the daily press, he states that the union is in peril and will be ruined unless the unorganized are organized. He also stresses the necessity for nationalizing the coal mines. In his fight for the existence of the U. M. W. A., Brophy is joined by Stevenson of District 24 as vice-president and by Brennan, former president of District 1, as candidate for secretary-treasurer. The struggle between the Brophy forces and Lewis will be a fight between the forces of progress and those of destruction in the union. Upon the outcome depends the very existence of the organization. Notwithstanding differences of opinion upon many subjects, the body of progressives, radicals, and revolutionists in the union must make common cause against the corrupt Lewis machine in this election. The victory of Lewis would be the death of the Miners' Union. The great masses of honest rank and filers will support the slate headed by Brophy.



the appointee and representative of an outside power? Why is Canada still in leading strings? In other words, the "Constitutional Issue" is the issue of the constitution itself. This is an issue which the workers cannot afford to ignore. They are vitally affected by the regime of the British North America Act. It does matter to the workers whether the country in which they carry on their class struggle for social freedom is still a colony or has achieved complete sovereignty. The workers are confronted not only with capitalism but with capitalist-imperialism. Not only are they interested that they shall not be the pawns of British foreign policy and imperialist wars, but that the concessions they wring in the way of immediate social legislation shall not be at the mercy of the British North America Act or of the interpretation of its powers and jurisdiction by

the Privy Council in London. The Senate killed the Old Age Pensions Bill passed in the House of Commons. But assuming it had carried even in that Rich Old Men's Home the right of the Federal Government to pass such legislation might still have been questioned on appeal to the Privy Council. Despite all statements to the contrary, Canada is still a colony of Great Britain, a part of the British Empire, one of the greatest political machines for the exploitation of the working class and subject peoples in the world. That is why the Labor Party, in its Ontario Section at least, takes a position in favor of the complete self-determination of Canada and why the left wing of the Labor Party headed by the Communists takes a more specific position for the annulment of the British North America Act, the separation of Canada from the Empire, and Canadian Independence.



ordinary text-book economics of the bourgeois economist. Surely we want to propagate Marxism—but surely we are not going to teach the whole of “Capital” or even parts of it in the original form. We must make a distinction between the training of Party cadres and mass propaganda. Why cannot we do as the bourgeois specialists: make a list of the fundamental propositions of Marxian economics we want to propagate and demand of each proposition that it justify its inclusion by contributing to the aims we have in view?

The second lesson we can learn as regards content is the matter of **formulation** of the fundamental propositions that lie at the basis of our economic propaganda work. The propositions must be carefully formulated without technicalities, in terms of the “concrete practical facts and interests” of the workers’ everyday life. A good deal depends upon the felicity of formulation.

c. Methods of propaganda. If anything more were necessary, the study of “employee education in economics” would convince us of the absolutely **basic nature of the shop** in any activity of reaching the workers, especially in our propaganda work. From the shop we must extend to other places “where workers gather in groups” (trade unions, workers’ clubs, fraternal and sports organizations, etc.). Our organizational system of shop nuclei and fractions is justified again thru the experiences of the bourgeoisie.

If it is true that the shop is the basis for our propaganda work then we must admit that we have not given sufficient thought to **forms and methods of propaganda work in the shop**. Here, too, we can learn a great deal from the experience of the bourgeoisie. We have made some beginning in the matter of **shop papers** but what have we done to utilize to the full the advantages that **shop bulletin boards** offer us? Of course, we cannot put up official notices or clippings the way the bosses can—but what is to prevent us from putting up stickers surreptitiously, clippings with some propaganda material, quotations, drawings, graphs, pictures, etc.? Before these stickers can be removed by the authorities they will be seen and read and discussed by many workers. Have we utilized sufficiently the distribution of special **propaganda leaflets**—we are not speaking here of agitational leaflets but of leaflets devoted to the propaganda of certain economic propositions based, of course, on certain events? Have we ever systematized and organized so powerful a form of propaganda as **noon day discussion**? It is impossible here to go into further detail in these matters but they should be made the object of careful study and investigation by the agitprop apparatus of the Party.

Above all: **careful investigation and analysis, systematization, rationalization, and organization**—in these lie our strength.



forerunner of the Russian revolution—there is a wide gulf between these two conceptions.

Leninism has its roots in the proletarian movement of the capitalist epoch; Bakunin, however was, in spite of all his radicalism, an exponent of the elementary revolutionary character of the pre-proletarian period of the Russian and the European revolutions.

Our quarrels with Bakunin are past history. There is, however, one feature which brings Bakunin nearer to us than, for instance, Herzen or any other politician of our past. In spite of all the differences and all the hostility which stood between Bakunin and Marx, one com-

mon passion, one common feeling brought them nearer together; both wished that the social revolution should occur as rapidly as possible, both strove for the same end, for the final victory over that order of society which is characterized by exploitation, force and distress.

Both these passions bring him nearer to our Leninist generation also. In this sense it can be said that there is something of "Bakuninism" in our revolution and in Leninism.

But this "common factor" is the same which brought Marx and Bakunin nearer together and without which there can be no revolution.



tion of Yessenin and fussed about him as about a real treasure. I am not an admirer of the journal "On the Literary Post," for this publication, following the traditions of its not too worthy predecessor, "On the Post," makes more noise about being naughty than it actually convinces. But a writer who cannot stand even an unjust criticism has no capacity for life. He who writes, fires and goes to be fired at. And as for aiding and subsidizing literature, we certainly spend much more on literature than our resources permit. The point at issue is not here and one should investigate not the Communists but himself.

Actors Not Spectators!

In a period of the most subversive social change, the writer cannot be spectator. While fishing, one can sit on the bank of a languidly flowing stream and observe. But just try to come out on the battlefield with an umbrella in your hand, when artillery pounds on both sides, when shells fly in all directions, and then try to observe. There is no room for the spectator in that milieu. You must sit in the trenches with a rifle in your hands and be ready to be killed or to start an attack. During a great historical change there is no room for the spectator. The only alternative left is to hide like a bed bug behind the wall paper. The storm, however, will kick him up helter-skelter. Tossed out into the air by the storm, he will break his skull against the stones.

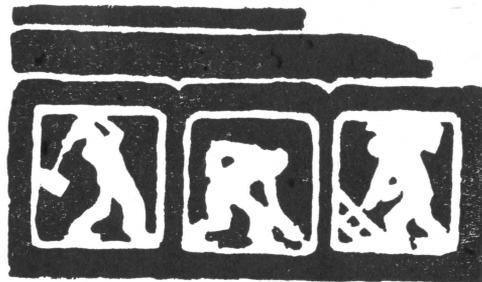
Left behind the wall paper, he will die of boredom or lack of spiritual food.

A Step Forward.

The time of the Soviet writer's describing how good was the civil war in which he did not participate is coming to an end. The Soviet writer must make a step forward, a step toward communism. But this requires not only the reading of books and contemplation wither humanity is going. It requires direct participation in the social struggle—work in the ranks of the struggling masses of the people. In order to be a good writer, it is not enough to be a good Communist. But he who will not be a Communist in the U. S. S. R., a Communist not on the basis of a party book in his pocket, but a Communist on the basis of deep inner convictions, a Communist who daily verifies himself on the performance of his social task—he will not be able to be a Soviet writer, for he will be incapable of comprehending the great and significant about him.

To be sure, the fellow-travellers will not change at once. Many of them will continue to be fellow-travellers until the final victory of the revolution. But in consequence, their art will fade. Of course, it is not easy to become a Communist. But this is a question of life and death for a Russian writer.

This is what we should be thinking about at the graves of Yessenin and Sobol.



of the churches on a national basis. A brief suggestive remark on the stimulus given to anti-Calvinist sects during the Revolution (because of their more democratic and equalitarian features) concludes this chapter.

To the Marxian reader nothing is so striking about this book as its vagueness and the lack of precision, definiteness and clarity of its concepts and formulations. This is not the fault of the author who is an unusually clear writer. It is inherent in any bourgeois history that is not the purest bourgeois apologetics and makes any claim to scientific objectivity. Why? Because the investigations of the historian, especially the historian of revolutions, are certain to lead him to "intellectual Bolshevism," the recognition of the validity of the methods and results of Marxism. But the class prejudice, conscious and unconscious, of the bourgeois historian cannot permit him to go too far in such a direction. So he is left half-way and, in order to save himself from his ambiguous position, he falls straight into the arms of compromise. Hence the self-contradictory absurdities and the confusing and obscurantist ideological eclecticism so characteristic of the "advanced" and "liberal" bourgeois historians of whom Professor Jameson is an example. They are caught in the toils of the basic contradiction of modern life and thought. To gain freedom means to cut themselves loose from their class and throw in their lot with the proletariat who can afford to look history straight in the face for in the laws of history it sees the conditions of its own triumph. The future of history like that of science lies with the proletariat.

—Apex.

"The Glory That Was Greece"

CLOUD CUCKOO LAND, WHEN THE BOUGH BREAKS, THE CONQUERED, by Naomi Mitchison, Harcourt Brace and Company, New York.

SEVERAL authors in the last few years have turned to Ancient Greece for their material. This is a mine of great wealth. The life of those tiny city states, each a few miles square and with a few thousand inhabitants, is briefly but well pictured by Ben Wheeler in his history, "Alexander the Great."

There was intense and enduring city patriotism and a kaleidoscope of alliances and realignments. All spoke Greek but each city had a distinctive dialect. In spite of their cities' smallness, their slave civilization reached a high level in architecture, drama, oratory, philosophy and science. No Greek owed any duty at all to other Greeks or to Greece—it was entirely proper for a Greek to serve in a "barbarian" army even against Greeks or to hold Greeks as slaves. Even Alexander the apostle of Pan-Hellenism, sold the Thebans into slavery and held Athenian slaves himself. The Spartans destroyed Messene and held the citizens in slavery for three hundred years. The standard of civic duty was low—Alkibiades, for example, commanded an Athenian expedition; deserted to Sparta and showed them how to smash Athens; returned to Athenian service, was again entrusted with command and again deserted, this time to serve Persia.

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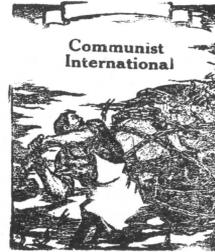
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ABOUT 1,000 B. C., the primitive communism of the gens began to crack; men were beginning to be distinguished as "rich" and "poor." Men lived by farming, cattle rearing and slave raiding. As technique developed and wealth increased, the importance of trade—shipping and shipbuilding—grew with giant strides. This favored Athens, which had a splendid harbor. The gentile system (described in Engels' "Origin of the Family") was abandoned and neighboring tribes leagued themselves together in the new city states.

A free man's whole interest centered in his civic life. He spent his youth in its militia, being trained in arms; in manhood his social interests were city politics, alliances, debates, public dramatic exhibitions and singing or athletic contests. His religion was woven round his city gods. He knew the politicians and generals personally—heard them debate two or three times a week.

Such minute units were fetters on the growing productive forces and bitter struggles were waged between cities as a result. Early in the fifth century the enormous Persian empire was beaten back in three big victories—Marathon, Salamis and Plataea (490 to 479 B. C.).

Greek military methods were simple—their reliance was on heavily armored hoplites, with light armed footmen and cavalry as auxiliaries. The hoplites, three or four deep, advanced slowly with the spear. The light armed Persians, using short spears and the bow proved helpless against them. Discipline was poor even among the Spartans.

Athens dominated commerce and Greek society for half a century. She collected about \$1,000,000 a year as tribute from her "allies" (the Greek island cities) and spent it on her fleet and her beautiful temples. Then she was embroiled in a trade war with Corinth, who drew Sparta in as an ally. The Peloponesian war dragged on for thirty years. The strategy of Athens was rotten and her tactics nearly as bad. She frittered away her resources but so long as she ruled the sea and could import grain from the head of the Aegean, she could carry on.

Since its defeat the Persian Empire had used its limitless financial resources to foster strife in Greece. At this time she subsidized Sparta, who was enabled to build a big fleet, hire well-paid sailors and so wear down and, in the end, wipe out the Athenian navy (in 404 B. C.). On land Sparta and her allies were never in serious danger.

Sparta ruled the roost for thirty years but she did not take kindly to "modern" warfare (hiring professional soldiers) and she had no commercial weight, so her decay was inevitable. A military genius of Thebes, Epaminondas, grasped the fact that if his troops advanced thirty deep, in a dense column, they could smash thru a six-deep line. Once the formation of a Greek army was broken the struggle was over and the massacre began. He illustrated his views in 370 B. C. at Leuctra, wiping out a Spartan army and Spartan prestige.

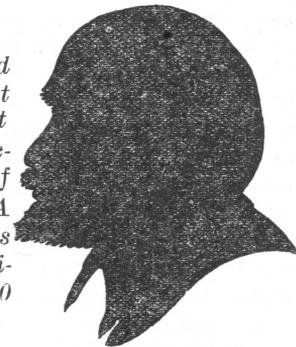
Thirty years before, 10,000 Greek Hoplites had hired out to a Persian usurper, marched into the heart of Asia, defeated there half a million strong army and then, their commander and officers killed, pondered what to do. They offered to enlist under their late enemies.

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ABOUT 1,000 B. C., the primitive communism of the gens began to crack; men were beginning to be distinguished as "rich" and "poor." Men lived by farming, cattle rearing and slave raiding. As technique developed and wealth increased, the importance of trade—shipping and shipbuilding—grew with giant strides. This favored Athens, which had a splendid harbor. The gentile system (described in Engels' "Origin of the Family") was abandoned and neighboring tribes leagued themselves together in the new city states.

A free man's whole interest centered in his civic life. He spent his youth in its militia, being trained in arms; in manhood his social interests were city politics, alliances, debates, public dramatic exhibitions and singing or athletic contests. His religion was woven round his city gods. He knew the politicians and generals personally—heard them debate two or three times a week.

Such minute units were fetters on the growing productive forces and bitter struggles were waged between cities as a result. Early in the fifth century the enormous Persian empire was beaten back in three big victories—Marathon, Salamis and Plataea (490 to 479 B. C.).

Greek military methods were simple—their reliance was on heavily armored hoplites, with light armed footmen and cavalry as auxiliaries. The hoplites, three or four deep, advanced slowly with the spear. The light armed Persians, using short spears and the bow proved helpless against them. Discipline was poor even among the Spartans.

Athens dominated commerce and Greek society for half a century. She collected about \$1,000,000 a year as tribute from her "allies" (the Greek island cities) and spent it on her fleet and her beautiful temples. Then she was embroiled in a trade war with Corinth, who drew Sparta in as an ally. The Peloponesian war dragged on for thirty years. The strategy of Athens was rotten and her tactics nearly as bad. She frittered away her resources but so long as she ruled the sea and could import grain from the head of the Aegean, she could carry on.

Since its defeat the Persian Empire had used its limitless financial resources to foster strife in Greece. At this time she subsidized Sparta, who was enabled to build a big fleet, hire well-paid sailors and so wear down and, in the end, wipe out the Athenian navy (in 404 B. C.). On land Sparta and her allies were never in serious danger.

Sparta ruled the roost for thirty years but she did not take kindly to "modern" warfare (hiring professional soldiers) and she had no commercial weight, so her decay was inevitable. A military genius of Thebes, Epaminondas, grasped the fact that if his troops advanced thirty deep, in a dense column, they could smash thru a six-deep line. Once the formation of a Greek army was broken the struggle was over and the massacre began. He illustrated his views in 370 B. C. at Leuctra, wiping out a Spartan army and Spartan prestige.

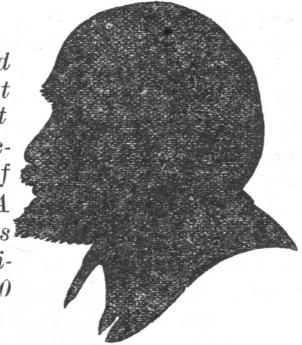
Thirty years before, 10,000 Greek Hoplites had hired out to a Persian usurper, marched into the heart of Asia, defeated there half a million strong army and then, their commander and officers killed, pondered what to do. They offered to enlist under their late enemies.

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caused the collapse of Athenian economics and Athenian power. The Athenian artisan, unable to live by labor, became a parasite, supported by his pay as juror, voter, soldier or sailor. This pay had to be first extracted from the slaves or from Athen's "allies." This explains why the Athenian "democracy" favored war whether against Sparta or Macedon, while the "oligarchy" were for "peace at any price." Naturally! In time of war the surplus value whipped out of the rich man's slaves was taken by the city to pay the soldiers, who were poor men. In time of peace the rich man kept it and the poor man darn near starved.

It may be remarked that not only novelists write on the Greek theme. Our dear friend Clemenceau has recently published a life of Demosthenes to warn the French that just as the Athenians, fickle, short-sighted and unwilling to fight were reduced to vassalage by Macedon, so the French, unless they listen to their jingoes, will be conquered by Germany—or England—or Russia—or America. The enemy matters not so long as the profiteer prospers!

From the literary viewpoint Clemenceau is an honest old fool, ("Surprises of Life" is delightfully acid, spicy reading—his novel, "The Strongest," is utter trash, however) but his history is as dumb as his politics or his finance. The Athenian democracy was willing to fight in the fourth century—how else could it earn a living? But Athenian economics were even worse off than modern French, so the Athenian "democrats" went abroad and enlisted under the tyrant of Persia (hot dog!), who could feed and pay his troops. Clemenceau can not even do simple arithmetic. The citizen population of Athens was never over 100,000—10,000 fighting men at most. Her war fleet had been 300 ships—30,000 sailors—and she needed an army of 10,000 to 20,000. These were not Athenians but mercenaries paid out of the eight million dollar war chest, which Athens had built up, and the million dollar tribute she squeezed from her "allies." Even bourgeois history sets forth that Athens was smashed to a political cipher by the Spartan—Corinth alliance long before Demosthenes was born. Such is bourgeois wisdom!

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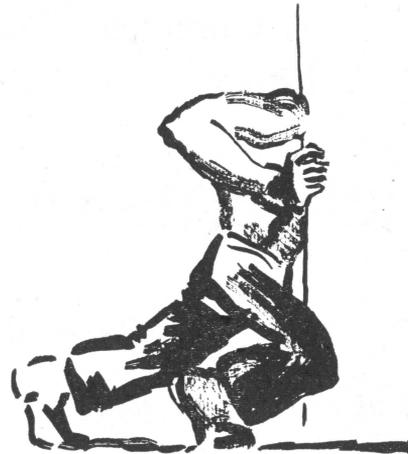
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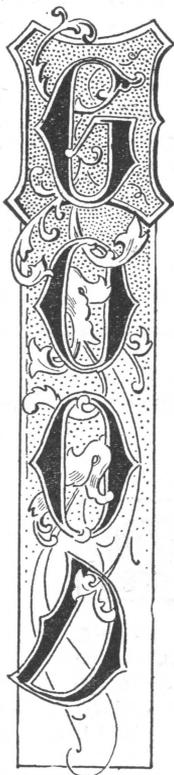
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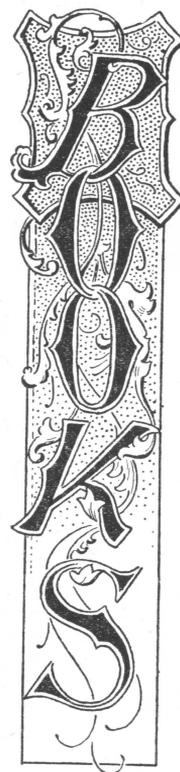
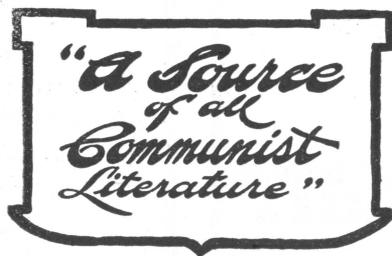
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