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290

"Tear Bombs and Gas Masks"



No, this is not a scene from the Paris Commune! Fred Ellis, the talented cartoonist of The DAILY WORKER, shows here a scene from the every-day life of the striking textile workers of Passaic, New Jersey, United States of America. One of the horrible weapons of the World War is being used against the workers—TEAR BOMBS are being thrown at the strikers by the bosses' police on the streets of New Jersey's towns! Some of the pickets, veterans of the "War for Democracy," have put on GAS MASKS to protect themselves from the poisonous fumes. This is an omen of the future.

Lessons of the Paris Commune

By MANUEL GOMEZ.

I.

ON the eighteenth of March of every year, regular as clock-work, the social-democratic parties of the Second International remembered the Paris Commune—much as they might remember a flood, or a festival, or the birthday of one of their leaders. Anniversary mass meetings were held thruout Europe, at which the speaker of the evening repeated the story, especially re-learned for the occasion, of the seizure of the cannon on the heights of Montmartre, the ringing of the church bells, the spontaneous outpouring of the National Guard, the violent death of Thomas and Lecomte, the election of the Commune, the delayed sortie against the Versailles, the activity of Thiers' spies, the stealthy entry of his troops into the undefended southwest end of Paris, the barricades, and the terrible butchery at the *mur des federes*—the "same old story," as it came to be known. With few exceptions, the social-democratic leaders made no serious attempt to analyze the Commune in its relation to the development of the class struggle. They were, in fact, bewildered and embarrassed by the great proletarian tradition of 1871, which did not seem to have a place in their world of parliamentarism; they limited themselves to contrasting the ferocity of the Thiers reaction with the "generosity" and leniency of the Communards. The one lesson they drew was that the principle of "democracy" had been vindicated in the elections to the Commune, held March 26.

Only the anarchists kept alive in some measure the spirit of the Commune, tho of course, they followed Kropotkin in presenting it merely as a step toward the creation of an autonomous system of "free communes." In the United States it is not too much to say that the Commune was ignored except for the purpose of tableau and theatrical entertainment. Sometimes the Socialist Party was too busy even to remember the date.

"Marx, however," as Lenin pointed out in his work on The State and Revolution, "was not only enthusiastic about the heroism of the Communards—'storming heaven' as he said. In

the mass revolutionary movement, altho it did not attain its objective, he saw a historic experiment of gigantic importance, a certain advance of the world proletarian revolution, a practical step more important than hundreds of programs and discussions. To analyze this experiment, to draw its lessons in tactics, to re-examine his theory in the new light it afforded—such was the problem as it presented itself to Marx."

Immediately upon the fall of the Commune Marx presented his Address of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association, now known as The Civil War in France, which is not only a passionate defense of the Commune, but an analysis of its historical significance, its accomplishments and the mistakes that were responsible for its final defeat. Lenin calls attention to the important fact that the only "correction" which Marx thought it necessary to make in the Communist Manifesto was made on the basis of the revolutionary experience of the Paris Communards.

"The last preface to a new German edition of the Communist Manifesto signed by both its authors," Lenin reminds us, "is dated June 24, 1872. In this preface the authors, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels say that the program of the Communist Manifesto is now "in some places out of date."

"Especially," they continue, "did the Commune demonstrate that the 'working class cannot simply seize the available ready machinery of the state and set it going for its own ends.'"

The Paris Commune of 1871 was the first attempt of the workers to break up the bourgeois state and to transform existing society. Despite the element of vague republican sentimentalism, it was essentially proletarian. At the very beginning, on March 20, the *Journal Officiel* declared:

"The proletarians of the capital, in the midst of the failure and treason of the governing classes, have realized that the hour has arrived for them to save the situation by taking over the direction of public affairs. The proletariat, in the face of

(Continued on next page—page 2)

LESSONS OF THE PARIS COMMUNE.

(Continued from page 1)

the permanent threat to its rights, of the absolute refusal of its legitimate aspirations, and of the ruin of the country and all its hopes, understood that it was its imperative duty and absolute right to take its destiny into its own hands and ensure victory by seizing power."

In form the Commune was a dictatorship, notwithstanding its superficial aspect of democracy. True, a general election was held, but this was after the rich bourgeoisie had either fled to Versailles, or gone into hiding and was, for all practical purposes, disfranchised. The Commune showed clearly as much in its failure as in its success, that a dictatorship is necessary to destroy the opposition of the bourgeoisie. How long this transitional period of dictatorship would have to last was not fully appreciated by Marx or Engels, or by Lenin. The experience of 1871 was too limited to indicate. It required the experience of the Russian Revolution to show that the dictatorship of the proletariat is, indeed, an entire epoch.

II.

THE lessons of the Commune of Paris fall naturally into two main categories, the general, the tactical. The most important general lessons have already been referred to. Others that must be mentioned are the following:

a. The Commune, like every great revolutionary upheaval, showed more clearly than before the essentially repressive feature of the state, as well as its class basis. It is precisely this that makes it necessary to break up the bourgeois state, to "shatter it" as Marx says, before a proletarian rule can be established.

b. The Commune revealed the inner rottenness of bourgeois nationalism. Prussians and Versailles, who a few weeks before had been facing each other on the battlefield, co-operated freely in the struggle against the Parisian proletariat. The Commune in its turn was international in its outlook. Not only did it admit foreigners to citizenship, some of them (as for instance Leo Frankel) being active Communards, but it proclaimed the universal fraternity of all labor and spoke in the name of the "Universal Republic."

c. The Commune showed that, with the development of an independent working class, every bourgeois revolution places immediately upon the agenda the question of the proletarian revolution. This had already been faintly indicated in the struggles of 1848-50, especially during the February and July days when the independent demands of the working class were really the central point at issue. In 1871 the fall of Napoleon III found the rich bourgeoisie unable to stabilize its own revolution thru fear of the proletariat, which thereupon seized power. In a much more conclusive way this lesson is confirmed by the more recent revolutions in Russia, Germany, Austria and Hungary. Who can doubt that the Japanese revolution, when it comes, will reveal the same phenomenon?

d. "The Commune taught the workers to consider concretely the problems of revolution." This is Lenin's phrase, and his own work is sufficient commentary upon it.

In glancing even briefly at some of the tactical lessons of 1871, we get a closer view of the historic uprising of the Communards. Tactics are not something apart from the medium in which they are applied; they are limited by and conditioned upon it. One readily recognizes that the mistakes made by the Commune may be explained by the conditions in which it developed, by the elementary stage of the evolution of productive forces, by the political immaturity of the proletariat as a class, the great lack of separate proletarian traditions, etc. Nevertheless, it would be foolish for a revolutionary party today to refuse to learn from those mistakes. Not to look at the Commune critically, to praise indiscriminately the good and the bad after the manner of religious enthusiasts, would be to spurn the greater part of our precious heritage of revolutionary experience.

The accomplishments and failings of the Paris Commune teach us the following:

a. Any "people's" revolution (involving the movement of real masses) places before the proletariat the problem of revolutionary alliance. Only because of the united front between the Parisian workers and a considerable section of the bourgeoisie was the Commune possible. This does not mean that the social composition of the Commune of 1871 was a correct pattern. Far from it. The workers dominated the alliance of all revolutionary elements but they were incapable, under the conditions prevailing, of securing unquestioned and complete control. Some of the reasons are given below. However, the Commune did show the importance of allies for the proletariat.

b. A not inconsiderable section of the lower middle class will follow the revolutionary lead of the workers. This was definitely proved by the experience of the Commune. It is scarcely necessary to add that such support will be much smaller under present conditions than in the Paris of 1871.

c. The Commune made the mistake of underestimating the importance of a union with the peasantry, altho as Lenin reminds us it was making its way toward such a union. This mistake was fatal in a country with a predominantly peasant population. Ephemeral revolutionary "communes" sprang up in some of the other cities of France but nevertheless Paris remained virtually isolated. The experience of the Hungarian workers' republic, in our own time, also shows us the importance of winning over the peasantry. The Bolshevik Party of Russia, under the leadership of Lenin, avoided the mistake made by the Hungarian comrades. Soviet Russia is a workers' and peasants' republic and the alliance with the peasantry is one of the foundation stones for the success of the first lasting proletarian dictatorship.

d. It is necessary not only to shatter the bourgeois state apparatus but to replace it with the workers' state—the pro-

letarian dictatorship. The Communards did break up the old machinery of bourgeois rule more or less effectively: They abolished the standing army and replaced it by the nation in arms, and they struck powerful blows against the bureaucracy by abolishing parliamentarism (in the sense of the old "talking shops") and by the decree lowering the pay of all state servants to the level of workmen's wages. But they failed to organize in a firm and centralized way the state powers of the workers. The state apparatus was loosely knit, under no uniform control and frequently in chaos. The basis of this defect, which cost the Commune dear, was that altho the Commune was in fact a dictatorship it was not a conscious dictatorship. Comrade Trotsky points out in his book on Dictatorship vs Democracy that the central committee of the National Guard, which was the sole governor of Paris in the early days, neglected to order an immediate march on Versailles because of the impossibility of holding elections with the flower of the proletariat out of the city.

"The central committee," says Trotsky, "appointed March 22 as the day of elections for the Commune; but, not sure of itself, frightened at its own illegality, striving to act in unison with more 'legal' institutions, entered into ridiculous and endless negotiations with a quite helpless assembly of mayors and deputies of Paris, showing its readiness to divide power with them if only an agreement could be arrived at. Meanwhile precious time was slipping by."

e. The Commune did not show sufficient energy and firmness in dealing with its internal as well as external foes. This mistake, in the failure to organize a satisfactory apparatus, was due to the fact that it was not a conscious dictatorship. The bourgeoisie, meantime was steadily at work preparing the downfall of the Commune. Events themselves finally forced the Commune to take its stand in principle on the path of intimidation. "The creation of the Committee of Public Safety," says Trotsky, "was dictated, in the case of many of its supporters, by the Red Terror." The committee was appointed "to cut off the heads of traitors" and "to avenge treachery." To stop the murder of prisoners by the Versailles, a decree was passed that for every prisoner murdered three hostages would be shot from among the anti-Communards remaining in Paris. The decree was not carried out. No prisoner or unarmed man was killed by the Communards thruout the siege from April 2 to May 23.

f. Most of all the Commune showed the need of a consistent revolutionary theory embodied in a strong, centralized, disciplined leading organization—the party of the proletariat. Insufficiency of leadership and program was the outstanding weakness of the Commune. The virtues and defects of Blanquism were plainly revealed. On the one hand it was shown what an important role can be played by a disciplined "militant minority" and on the other hand it was proved that this militant minority must have its roots deep in the masses of the working class, that it must be a party equipped with revolutionary science, that it must know the road along which it is to travel.

III.

AT the beginning of the present article I stated that the gentlemanly leaders of the Second International had devoted very little attention to the Paris Commune of 1871. In English, if we except Marx's Civil War in France, Engels' commentaries and the writings of Lenin and Trotsky, the only works worthy of consideration are Lissagaray's History of the Commune of 1871, Belfort Bax's History of the Paris Commune and the interesting but often misleading researches of Postgate. It is entirely characteristic of Kautsky, who, as Lenin pointed out, had neglected the Paris Commune, did begin to write about it in 1919, not to draw revolutionary lessons from it, but to attack Soviet Russia. In contrasting the Soviet regime with the Commune, Kautsky passes hurriedly over the virtues of the Communards in order to praise them for their shortcomings, which alas, he does not find exemplified in the wickedly successful Bolsheviks.

No! Our Russian comrades learned well the lessons of 1871. They fortified themselves in the revolutionary traditions of the Commune, but they did not repeat its mistakes as Kautsky hints they should have done. And while the Paris of the Commune was overthrown after scarcely two months of life, the Soviet power is already in its ninth year and is more firmly established than ever, which is the whole source of Kautsky's abiding woe.

Despite the defeats that are inevitable along the road, turning the experiences of its defeats into lessons for future victories, the proletariat of all countries advances towards its emancipation. "The Soviet power," said Lenin, "is the second step of the world revolution, the development of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Paris Commune is the first step."

To France of the Commune

RALPH CHAPLIN.

MOTHER of revolutions, stern and sweet,
Thou of the Red Commune's heroic days;
Unsheathe thy sword, let thy pent lightning blaze,
Until these new bastiles fall at thy feet.
Once more thy sons march down the ancient street,
Led by pale men from silent Pere Lachaise;
Once more La Carmagnole—La Marseillaise
Blend with the war drum's quick and angry beat.

Ah, France—our France—must they again endure
The crown of thorns upon the cross of gold?
Is morning here. . . ? Then speak that we may know!
The sky seems lighter but we are not sure.
Is morning here. . . ? The whole world holds its breath
To hear the crimson Gallic rooster crow!

The Boss Class Won at Brockton

By J. LOUIS ENGDALH.

THE outcome of the prosecution of Anthony Bimba, Communist editor of the Lithuanian daily, *Laisve*, of Brooklyn, New York, before the courts of the "open shop" shoe manufacturers of Brockton, Mass., was a victory for the labor-hating predatory interests of New England.

The enemies of the workers, with their church lackeys, the priests and the preachers, could have hoped for nothing better than the acquittal of Bimba on the blasphemy charge.

The Butler textile czardom, that covers New England with a blanket of black reaction, with its loaded judicial dice couldn't have called for a better decision than the conviction in the sedition case.

IT is well for the workers of the whole nation to understand this situation, which is a call for new struggles, both in the industrial field and in the realms of religious controversy, especially in New England, where the church has a stranglehold on great masses of the working class population as it feeds the multitudes with its repulsive narcotics to numb labor's brain against clear thinking.

The blasphemy statute still lives altho it has aged with the passage of 229 years, and dates back in its antecedents to the year 1646, only 20 years after the first white settlers set foot in New England. That is the meaning of the court decision, that recognizes no change altho the nation has swept thru a national revolution and civil war.

Bimba declared his belief that, "there is no god!" and challenged the court to convict him, which meant an appeal to the higher courts to decide whether the law still stands, or whether it should be stricken from the statute books.

The court rejected the challenge. It was easier and more convenient to find Bimba "not guilty" which permits the law to live undisturbed, at least temporarily. The court, Judge C. Carroll King, a unitarian, and the unitarian church itself denies the divine origin of Jesus Christ, thus placed its approval on this law handed down by the religious intolerance of the early 17th century. "Death!" was the penalty decreed in 1646, as shown in the reproduction in another column of the statute passed in that year. One year in prison or a \$300 fine and the acceptance of a gag to observe the law in the future, was the penalty imposed by the statute of 1697, also reproduced here. It was the statute of 1697 under which Bimba was tried. Only one conviction had been secured under it, that of Abner Kneeland, editor of the Boston Investigator, an atheist, sent to prison for 60 days in 1838, nearly a century ago. The Kneeland case decision was made by a divided court, Judge Carroll claiming that he sympathized with the minority decision. But he refused to permit the Bimba case to go to a higher capitalist court for its ruling in this century.

The result is that any Communist speaker in Massachusetts in the future may be arrested under the same statute on the flimsiest of charges. The church hirelings of the shoe and textile barons may invade any meeting and have the speaker arrested on the merest pretext that their god is being assailed.

IT was clearly brought out that Bimba, at Brockton, Mass., on Jan. 26, had had no intention of discussing religion and the Communist attitude toward it. He came to Brockton to speak on "the white terror in Lithuania." It was in denouncing the "clerical-nationalist-socialist" government of that country, in exposing the crimes of the priests in imprisoning, torturing and putting to death workers suspected of radicalism or the slightest sympathy toward Communism, that he denounced the church and declared his belief that, "there is no god!"

Evidently the court concluded that if god had been outraged by Bimba's remarks, it was god in Lithuania and

Ask Death For All Blasphemers

Statute of 1646

Against Blaspheming Ye Name of God

"ALBEIT faith be not wrought by ye sword, but by ye word & therefore such pagan Indians as have submitted themselves to our government, though wee would not neglect any dew helpe to bring them on to grace, & to ye meanes of it, yett wee compell them not to ye Xtian faith, not to ye pffession of it, either by force of armes or by poenall lawes, neuthelesse, seeing the blaspheming of ye true God cannot be excused by any ignorance or infirmity of humane nature ye aetaernall power & God-head being knowne by ye light of nature & ye creation of ye world, & common reason requirath evey state & society of men to be more careful of preventing the dishonor & contempt of ye Most High God (in whom we all consist) then of any mortall princess & magistrates, it is therefore ordered & decreed by this Courte, for ye honor of ye aetaernall God, whome only we worship and serve, that no pson withing this jurisdiction, whether Xtian or pagan shall wittingly and willingly psume to blaspheme his holy name, either by wilful obstinate denying ye true God, or reproach ye holy of God, as ift were but a polliticke devise to keep ignorant men in awe or deny his creation or government of ye world, or shall curse God, or shall utter any other eminent kind of blasphemy of ye like nature and degree; if any pson of psons wtsoever, within our jurisdiction shall breake this lawe **THEY SHALL BE PUTT TO DEATH.** By Both."

not in Massachusetts that had really suffered. The Bay State statute provides against anyone "contumeliously reproaching god." There was a court battle over the meaning of the word "contumeliously." The dictionary declares it means the use of contemptuous, abusive, rude and insolent language in an attempt to disgrace. The church itself, neither catholic, protestant or of any other creed came into court to charge that its god had been disgraced. All of the nine witnesses for the prosecution, with two exceptions, admitted they did not belong to any church. It was clear that the blasphemy charge had been brought in to bulwark the sedition complaint.

THIS case also brings to light the alacrity with which the local police in the factory cities hastens to the assistance of the reactionary elements in the foreign colonies. The Lithuanian colony in Brockton was clearly split on the conditions in the old country. The white guard Lithuanian government has its supporters in Brockton. It is opposed by the radical elements organized into the Lithuanian Workers' Literary and Educational Society. The Brockton police, prosecutors and courts threw all their support on the side of the white guardist Lithuanians doing the work in this country of the terror in the old country. The prosecutor himself is Lithuanian by descent.

It is clearly evident that the situation growing out of the presence of the blasphemy law on the statute books must be bitterly fought. Meetings must be held at which the Communist position toward religion must be clearly and definitely stated. If prosecutions result, then the fight must be made to wipe this hoary survival of past centuries out of existence, or the New England mill barons be forced to admit that their capitalist government today insists on cringing servility to subsidized religion. Massachusetts adopted an amendment to its constitution in 1835 declaring the state separate from the church. The existence of the blasphemy law

Wealth and Want



They Always Attend the Dance Together.

means that the church is a part of the state and defended by it.

The prosecutor, a renegade Lithuanian Jew turned unitarian, stated the situation clearly when he declared that belief in god is the foundation upon which the government rests. "Destroy the belief in god and you destroy the government," he said.

That fight is still on!

THE sedition charge on which Bimba was found guilty grew out of alleged answers that Bimba is supposed to have made to provocative questions asked by interrogators purposely placed in the audience in an attempted frame-up. Every Communist speaker is faced with a similar situation. The foreign-born reactionaries are always on hand to champion the cause of reaction in the old countries and thus divide the workers in the struggle in this country. The employers could wish nothing better. The shoe bosses realized this in Brockton and subscribed handsome sums in support of the Lithuanian citizens' club, a nest of Lithuanian reactionaries, organized to fight the Lithuanian Workers' Literary Society, a nation-wide organization with thousands of members and an extensive book publishing business, striving to educate Lithuanian workers in this country.

The guilty decision against Bimba on the sedition charge is another indication showing that the employers do not intend to lessen one bit the effectiveness of this kind of legislation that exists today in 35 states. The state sedition laws, that came into existence immediately following the war, and which even the judge at Brockton admitted were out of date, will continue to be used in industrial disputes against the spokesmen of labor.

These laws have been declared constitutional in the Gitlow case in New

Law Defends God, Christ and Ghost

Statute of 1697

Under Which Bimba Was Prosecuted

"WHOEVER willfully blasphemeth the holy name of god by denying, cursing or contumeliously reproaching god, his creation, government or final judging of the world, or by cursing or contumeliously reproaching Jesus Christ or the holy ghost, or by cursing or contumeliously reproaching or exposing to contempt and ridicule the holy work of god, contained in the holy scriptures, shall be punished by imprisonment in jail for not more than one year, or by a fine of not more than \$300 and may also be bound to good behavior."

York, in the Whitney case in California, and in several other instances, while the Ruthenberg case, in Michigan, is now on appeal to the United States supreme court. The industrial czardom in Massachusetts is glad to use the Bimba case to have its sedition law also declared constitutional.

Bimba's lawyers have taken an appeal. The guilty verdict will be fought out in the higher courts. Labor in Massachusetts and thruout New England can and must be aroused to the danger of this insidious attack against them by their class enemies.

The employers triumphed in the decisions of their capitalist court at Brockton. The workers must struggle, thru unity and intelligent action, to overturn those decisions.

The Paris Commune and the Problems of the Democratic Dictatorship

By Lenin

This article was written by Comrade Lenin in July, 1905, and published in the "Proletarian," July 4. "Iskra" was in the hands of the Mensheviks, one of whose foremost mouthpieces was Martinov (who, some years ago, recognized his mistakes and entered the Communist Party.) It is curious to note that the Mensheviks were against participation in the revolutionary government together with the petty bourgeois revolutionists, and Lenin was in favor of it. The irony of history showed in 1917 that the Mensheviks participated in the fake revolutionary government and Lenin showed in practice what he had meant by his slogans.

THE position of "Iskra" on the question of the admissibility of the social-democrats taking part in the provisional government is one of the utmost confusion. In favorable circumstances there will be possible, even in the opinion of the disciples of Martinov, such a swing of the revolution, as will serve as an immediate preface to the grand social revolution, but the party itself, its will, its work, its plans, seems to be unprepared. "Have faith in god, but don't make mistakes yourself," says the proverb which aims to make religious fatalism less harmful. "Have faith in circumstances, in the processes of history," we say, "but don't make mistakes yourself!" Otherwise you will become an economic fatalist, but not a social-democratic revolutionist. In the resolution of the Menshevik conference, I read: "Only in one event should the social-democrats on their own initiative direct their efforts toward seizing power and keeping it in their hands as long as possible—namely, in the event that the revolution spreads to the foremost countries of Western Europe, in which conditions have already reached a degree of ripeness for the realization of socialism."

First of all, you unwillingly ask yourself: Is it possible to "direct your efforts" toward something without your own initiative? And second, suppose we turn this phrase about as follows: "Only in one event will the revolution in Russia spread to the foremost countries of Western Europe, even if the social-democratic labor party of Russia succeeds in seizing power and keeping it in its hands for a long time." If you are making suppositions, why not that? The maximum of energy is never harmful. But, by the way, nobody has spoken of the seizure of power by the party. There has been only the question of participating, if possible a leading part in the revolution,—at such a moment as the power will be in its hands (if such a moment comes) and when there will be attempts to wrest it away.

In connection with the question of the possibility and the permissibility of such a democratic dictatorship of the proletariat, it is interesting to make some historical inquiry into the Paris Commune, which was a revolutionary power and made the revolution not only from below but even from above.

Was the Paris Commune the dictatorship of the proletariat? Engels' introduction to the third edition of Marx', "The Civil War in France," ends with these words: "In recent times the Philistines again began to display horror at the words, 'the proletarian dictatorship.' Would you know, worthy gentlemen, what this dictatorship is? Look at the Paris Commune. That was the proletarian dictatorship."

But there are dictatorships and dictatorships! Perhaps this was the real, pure, proletarian dictatorship in the sense of the pure social-democratic make-up of its membership and the character of its practical tasks? Not at all. The conscious proletariat (and at that only more or less conscious), that is, the members of the International, were in the minority; the majority in the government was composed of representatives of petty-bourgeois democrats. One of the latest investigators (Gustav Eck) says it quite unequivocally. In the central committee of the national guard, for instance, there were 35 members and in all two socialists (that is, members of the International), but they (Varlin and Avouin) had great weight among their colleagues in power.

About that committee Lissagaray writes: "Were the members of it well-known agitators? Social-

ists?—Not at all,—all unknown names: petty-bourgeois, store-keepers, clerks." But in spite of that Varlin and Avouin entered such a committee. Later there also entered the committee Pindy, Ostyn, and Jourde. The "New York Workers Gazette," the organ of the International, wrote in an article of July 18, 1874, as follows: "The Commune was not the creation of the International; they are not at all identical, but the members of the International accepted the program of the Commune, at the same time broadening it out far beyond its original framework, they were its most fervent and faithful defenders, for they understood its significance for the working class."

The "General Council," at whose head stood Marx, as is known, approved these tactics of the Paris Section of the International; in its manifesto it is stated: "Wherever, in whatever shape, and under whatever conditions the class struggle obtains any consistency, it is but natural that members of our association should stand in the foreground." But our predecessors, the members of the International, did not wish to fuse themselves with the Commune, and all the time they defended their own special purely proletarian party organization. Eck writes: "The federal council of the International was able to maintain its delegates in the revolutionary government." An excellent proof of the individuality of the proletarian organization of those days in the participation of its representatives is the following invitation: "Next Saturday, May 20, one o'clock sharp, there will be an extra session of the federal council of the International Workingmen's Association. The members of the Commune belonging to the International are invited to be present. They will be expected to give a report on what position they have taken in the Commune, and what is the source and the real nature of the differences which have arisen in it. A membership card is necessary for participation in the session." And a still more interesting document,—the decision of the extra session: "The International Workingmen's Association in its extra session, May 20, passed the following resolution: "After hearing the report of the members, at the same time members of the Commune, recognized their stand as one altogether loyal and decided to request them also in the future to defend with all their means the interests of the working class, and also endeavor to preserve the unity of the Commune in order to fight the more strongly against the Versailles. And moreover, the meeting recommends to them that they endeavor to obtain complete publicity of the sessions of the Commune and an annulment of the Paragraph 3 in its Manifesto, as incompatible with the right of the people to control the actions of the executive power, in this case the committee for the public safety."

Six members of the Commune took part in the meeting. Three sent excuses. March 19, Lissagaray counts in the Commune twenty-five representatives of the working class, but not all of them belong to the International; the majority was then also of the petty-bourgeois.

This is not the place to tell the history of the Commune and the role of the members of the International in it. We mention only that in the executive committee were sitting Duval; on the finance committee Varlin, Jourde, and Beslay; in the military committee Duval and Pindy; in the commission on public safety Assi and Chaleine, in the committee on labor Malon, Frankel, Theisz, Dupont, and Avrial. April 16, at the new elections, there entered still more members of the International, (among them the son-in-law of Marx, Longuet), but there were in the Commune also open enemies of it, for instance, Vesinier. At the end of the Commune its finances were under the supervision of two highly talented members of the International, Jourde and Varlin. Exchange and labor were supervised by Frankel,—post, telegraph and mint and direct taxes were also administered by the socialists. But still the majority of the most important ministries, as Eck remarks, were in the hands of the petty-bourgeoisie.

Also, it is altogether unquestionable that Engels, when he called the Commune a proletarian

dictatorship, had in mind only the participation, and even the ideological leadership, of the proletariat in the revolutionary government of Paris.

But perhaps the immediate aim of the Commune was complete socialist upheaval? With us, supposedly, there can be no such illusion.

But in fact, in the famous manifesto of the general council on the Commune, which was undoubtedly written by Marx, is said: "The Commune was therefore to serve as a lever for uprooting the economic foundations upon which rests the existence of classes, and therefore of class rule." But the manifesto continues: "The working class did not expect miracles from the Commune. They have no ready-made utopias to introduce par decret du peuple. They know that in order to work out their own emancipation, and along with it that higher form to which present society is irresistibly tending, by its own economic agencies, they will have to pass thru long struggles, thru a series of historic processes, transforming circumstances and men. They have no ideals to realize, but to set free the elements of the new society with which old collapsing bourgeois society itself is pregnant."

All measures, the entire social legislation of the Commune, had a practical and not utopian character. The Commune realized what we call "the minimum program of socialism." In order to sum up just what the Commune accomplished, we will quote from Engels' introduction:

"On March 26 the Paris Commune was elected, and proclaimed on March 28. The central committee of the national guard, which had hitherto carried on the government, abdicated its functions into the hands of the Commune. On March 30 the Commune abolished the conscription and the standing army, and all military forces except the national guard, to which all citizens capable of bearing arms were to belong. It remitted all rents from October, 1870, to April, 1871, such rent as had already been paid to be applied to future quarters; and returned gratis all pledges of necessitous persons in the public pawning establishment (*Mont-de-Piété*). The same day the foreigners elected onto the Commune were confirmed in their functions, since it was declared "the flag of the Commune is that of the Universal Republic." On April 1 it was decided that the highest salary of a functionary of the Commune, whether a member or otherwise, was not to exceed 6,000 francs (240 pounds) a year. On the following day was declared the separation of church and state, and the abolition of all state payments for religious purposes, as also the transformation of all ecclesiastical wealth into national property. As a consequence of this, on April 8 all religious symbols, dogmas, prayers—in short, "all things appertaining to the sphere of the individual conscience," were ordered to be banished from the schools, an order which was carried out as quickly as possible. On April 6 the guillotine was fetched out by the 137th battalion of the national guard, and publicly burnt, amid loud popular applause. On April 12 the Commune ordered the column on the Place Vendôme, which had been constructed by Napoleon I after the war of 1809 out of captured cannon, to be overthrown as a monument of national vanity and international jealousy. This was accomplished on May 16. On April 16 the Commune made an order for a statistical account of all factories and workshops which were not at work, and for the elaboration of plans for their utilization by and for account of the workmen hitherto engaged in them, who were to be formed into co-operative societies for the purpose, and, further, for the amalgamation of these societies into one great co-operative organization. On May 20 they abolished the night work of bakers, as also the register-office for procuring employment, which, since the second empire, had been the monopoly of certain scoundrels appointed by the police, exploiters of the worst kind. The matter was henceforward placed in the hands of the mayoralties of the twenty arrondissements of Paris. On April 20 it decreed the abolition of pawnshops as being incompatible with the right of workmen to their tools and to credit. May 5 it ordered the

Women

By I. STEPANOV.

THE new type of relations between man and woman that made the woman into a comrade of the man certainly had great effects in the work of the Commune and in the defense of Paris. Women fought for the Commune with the same devotion as the men. The proletarian women entered upon the revolutionary scene from the very beginning—they played an important part in saving the cannon from the Prussians.

On March 18 when the attempt was made to deprive the national guard of its artillery the women were the first to raise the alarm. The determined fight of the women, their attack on the soldiers, helped materially in bringing about an outcome favorable for Paris.

Nor did the proletarian women spare themselves in the bitter struggles of April and May. In the very heart of the battle, amidst the rain of bullets of the Versailles, they would rescue the wounded, they would penetrate the most dangerous places and thru their heroic example would give courage to the tired and strength to the weak. In the most difficult moments they never lost their usual cheerfulness and brot many a fighter back to the struggle with a hearty word, with a friendly look, with a merry joke. . . . Many of the women themselves fought on the barricades with guns in their hands or stood by the cannon. Entire battalions of women were organized.

The participation of the proletarian women in the struggle forms one of the most beautiful chapters in the history of the Commune.

In their devotion, in their heroic indifference to danger and death only the youth and the children could rival the women. In the remembrances of those who participated in the Commune are indelibly recorded instances after instance of heroism on the part of the women, the youth, and the children, the like of which has never been seen.

The Versailles realized this. And so in the blood bath they organized in Paris, in the murders that took place with or without "trial," in the deportations and in the imprisonments, no exception was made in the case of the women or the youth.

Would it only have been possible, these bourgeois hangmen would not have hesitated to root out all of proletarian Paris with its men, women and children—the whole of Paris, with its new manner of life, with its new morality, with its new spirit that was a death-warrant for the entire bourgeois society.

destruction of the chapel erected in expiation of the execution of Louis XVI."

As is known, the Commune, partly because of its mistakes and extreme generosity, did not succeed in subduing the reaction. The Communards perished. But did they bring shame to or compromise the proletarian cause, as Martinov is croaking in speaking of the possibilities of the future revolutionary government in Russia? Obviously not. Marx wrote about it:

"Working men's Paris, with its Commune, will be forever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminator's history has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priest will not avail to redeem them."

It seemed to us that our little historical inquiry has not been without its lesson. It teaches us, before all, that the participation of the representatives of the socialist proletariat, together with the petty-bourgeoisie in the revolutionary government, is wholly in principle, and in certain circumstances a direct duty. It shows us further that the real task which had to be fulfilled by the Commune, was above all the realization of the democratic, not the socialist, dictatorship, the carrying out of the "minimum program." And last, this reminds us that in drawing lessons from the Paris Commune, we should not imitate its mistakes (they did not take the Bank of France, did not attack Versailles, did not have a clear program, etc.), but its successful practical steps which hinted at the right way. It is not necessary to take the word "Commune" from the great fighters of 1871, not repeat blindly their every slogan, but carefully select programmatical and practical slogans, which apply to conditions in Russia and which are now formulated in the words, "The revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasants."

The White Terror After the Paris Commune

By Lissagaray

ORDER rules in Paris! Everywhere ruins . . . corpses . . . bitter groans. The clang of the officer's sword rings impudently thru the streets. Everywhere soldiers; some exhausted by the slaughter sleep right out on the sidewalks; others are cooking their dinner and singing songs . . . The Versailles emigres, those shameless mobs, are celebrating their victory. Since Wednesday they have been flooding the boulevards. See how these gentlemen throw themselves upon the convoys of prisoners! See how these ladies kiss the boots of these bloody soldiers! Outside of the coffee houses among thick crowds of women the officers are recounting their deeds and the others follow suit—invent the most wonderful fairy tales. One of them who has never passed beyond the Rue Montmartre tells how he himself shot down twelve of the defenders of Chateau d'Eau! Ladies gaze with contemptuous curiosity at the corpses that litter the streets. Playfully they poke them with their parasols . . .

"Liberated Paris" is handed over to the tender mercies of the four generals. The state of siege abolished by the Commune is again established. The army rules Paris!

After the battles of Sunday, May 28, the several thousand people made prisoners were taken to the prison La Roquette. The head of the battalion stood at the entrance of the prison, examined each prisoner from head to foot, and boomed out, "Right! Left!" Right—that means the death penalty. No delay; the pockets of the condemned are immediately emptied; they are stood up against the wall and shot! No delay! Somewhere off on the side are two priests murmuring prayers.

In the period from Sunday till Monday morning 1,900 people were slaughtered in La Roquette alone. The same massacre took place at the military school, at the Parc Monseau, at the Luxembourg . . . At Luxembourg the exhausted soldiers were no longer able to hold up their guns and so they had to fire with their rifles pressed hard against the bodies of their victims! The walls against which the condemned were murdered are covered with thick chunks of human brain! The soldier-hangmen trudge deep in blood!

No words are wasted in these massacres! Some of the captured are brot before courts-martial with which Paris has been full since Monday. The members of these courts-martial are sitting quite at their ease, cigars in their mouths. The examination lasts a quarter of a minute. "You took to arms? You served the Commune? Show your hands!" If the behavior of the accused is

full of determination, if his face does not please them, the "court" does not even ask his name or profession. His case is not even entered in the records.

"He is dangerous! Now you . . ." That is all! And so on till all of the prisoners are "disposed of." Sometimes thru some capricious accident the judgment is, "Oh, he is an ordinary one . . ." and the prisoner is held for trial at Versailles. There are no acquittals! The "dangerous" ones are handed over to the military and taken to the barracks. There the gendarmes lock all gates, divide the masses of prisoners into groups, and fire right into them! It often happens that some who were only wounded would begin running about in despair and agony. The gendarmes would then start chasing these miserable ones and beat them down with the butts of their guns . . .

Scenes of a similar kind were enacted at the Polytechnic School, at the Duplex Barracks, at the railroad stations, at the botanical gardens and elsewhere. In Luxembourg there was a little variation. The victims of the court-martial were first of all thrown into a long cellar resembling a sewer to which air could only enter thru some narrow cracks.

The officers held their court-martial on the third floor in a room full of traitors with the tricolor on their sleeves, with police agents, with privileged bourgeois . . . As everywhere, here also, there was no investigation. After the sessions the prisoners were either returned to the cellar or they were immediately taken to the garden. There they were shot without the least ceremony. Here also the walls reeked with human brains; here also the soldiers walked ankle high in blood.

Not all, however, had the "good fortune" to be judged by the courts-martial. Many were simply killed in court-yards, on the thresholds of their houses, in the public squares . . . Bands of armed murderers roamed the streets led by savage traitors with the tricolor on their sleeves. The first passer-by who didn't please these bloody murderers was put under "suspicion" and finished up on the spot. Corpses . . . blood . . . groans!

TWENTY thousand men, women and children were slaughtered in those awful days. Thousands condemned to years of imprisonment and deportation! Seventy thousand women, children and old men left without any support or driven from France! Over one hundred thousand victims—such was the revenge of the big bourgeoisie for the two months' revolution beginning March 18!

The Organ of the Fat Boys

By John Bernard.

ARE there any workers still so gullible as to believe that the overgrown tapeworms who pose as American labor leaders, and who thrive and fatten within the body of organized labor, are not the deliberate, conscious agents of Big Business?

If there are any such workers, they will do well to spend an evening reading the February issue of the American Federationist. This is the official organ of the American Federation of Labor. President Wm. Green is its editor. Here are a few gems taken from his editorials. "In making investments members of trade unions should be on guard against non-voting classes as well as speculative values." This is probably good advice for fat fakers with equally fat salaries, and will likely be heeded by the wiser ones who realize that their weaning time is not so far distant. But the real workers in making their "investments" must consider whether their can derive more strength from beans than from meat, because their wages are usually too small to invest in both.

TO the farmers he hands a lot of blah-blah about co-operative organization. He says: "Many business men and bankers realize the fundamental value of co-operative organ-

ization for farmers, and are helping to that end." This will be very comforting to the farmer who has been kicked off his farm by the banker who held the mortgage.

IN speaking of the loyalty of the striking anthracite miners, he says: "We honor the crusading spirit of the anthracite miners and pledge them unwavering support." Since Green wrote the above the strike has come to a close and these creatures of capital ran true to form. Their support was unswerving, but all in the interest of the operators.

FOLLOWING the editorials are various articles by economists, professors, and nondescript shysters in which the workers are given the "low down" on such matters as international debts, insurance, reducing the cost of production by the elimination of waste and various other subjects.

UNDER the heading, "The Fight Against Monopoly," the following drastic remedy is suggested: "The American people need to evolve a public policy to cope with it (monopolistic control) in order that the underlying population may have a semblance of protection."

OF course the customary snarl at the terrible reds is not missing. In this case it is a silly attempt to

discredit the official report of the British Trade Union Delegation on conditions in Soviet Russia. After a lot of rambling blather the sap who writes it arrives at the remarkable conclusion that instead of going to Russia to get the facts first hand, the delegation should have gone to the contemptible counter-revolutionist Abramovitch for their information.

IF, after reading the contents of this "organ of Labor," any worker is still undecided as to whether it is Big Business broadcasting, let him turn to the advertising section. Here he will find his old friend the enemy stripped of all disguise. Page after page of advertising, by whom? Well, here is a partial list of the most familiar ones: Standard Oil Co., General Electric, American Telephone and Telegraph Co., Western Electric, Utility Security Co., Henry L. Doherty & Co., Investments, Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, Proctor and Gamble, and dozens of others.

FAR be it from us to disturb the serenity of those big, jovial, "labor" boys who are doing this work, but I can remember, back on the farm, when dad used to sort out certain hogs and move them to the fattening pen, we kids felt mighty sorry for them.

Chang-Tso-Lin, Manchuria and Japan

By KARL RADEK.

IN all probability the rule of Chang Tso-lin is at an end. His flight from Mukden means the loss of that basis upon which he had set up his power. This is not a defeat like that which he sustained in 1922, when he was beaten by Wu Pei-fu, or like that which Wu Pei-fu suffered in 1924 when he was beaten by the troops of Chang Tso-lin. In these two cases, both Wu Pei-fu and Chang Tso-lin advanced beyond the borders of the three Manchurian provinces and had attempted to seize possession of the whole of North China. Wu Pei-fu, however, had left the central provinces of China in order to make himself dictator of the entire country. After their defeats they both retreated to their provinces, and there reassembled their forces in order, after a short space of time, to begin the war afresh.

The recent defeat of Chang Tso-lin commenced in the same manner as that of the year 1922. Driven from Shanghai, he retreated towards the north. Here then commenced the new feature that characterizes his defeat, simultaneously with the collapse of his basis, there occurred the mutiny of Kuo Sun-lin. What does this mutiny mean? It became possible thanks to the regrouping of the material and moral forces among the troops of Chang Tso-lin. A part of his soldiers had been exposed to the influence of the atmosphere of Shanghai and had become unreliable. The provisions and supplies which were to have been despatched to Manchuria proved to be insufficient. The generals whom Chang Tso-lin had been able to gather round him during the eight years of his rule in Manchuria became convinced that the policy of Chang Tso-lin constitutes a danger to the ruling clique in Mukden.

THIS situation rendered possible the mutiny of Kuo Sun-lin. Kuo Sun-lin does not differ from Chang Tso-lin as regards political opinions. But it is not the opinions of Kuo Sun-lin which are of importance in estimating the situation, but the fact that Kuo Sun-lin, or some other general who succeeds Chang Tso-lin, can no longer base himself upon a resistless Manchuria and upon the apparatus which Chang Tso-lin has created by many years of work.

In this sense we are faced with a great change in the situation in Manchuria, which at the same time means a change in the fighting forces of China.

Whence did the rule of Chang Tso-lin originate, and what does it mean? Chang Tso-lin is usually represented as being a leader of the robber bands of Manchuria, who, with the assistance of the Japanese, has seized power and conducted a policy in the interests of Japan. This is the view that is commonly held; but it does not take into account the far-reaching changes which have taken place in Manchuria during the last twenty years. The construction of the East China Railway and the Russo-Japanese war constitute the reasons why this most backward province of China has become one of the most advanced parts of the Chinese state from the point of view of economics. The influx of Russian money, which was followed by an influx of masses of people who had to be fed, gave a powerful stimulus to the development of agriculture in Manchuria. In 1923 Manchuria produced 534 million puds of food-stuffs, of which 390 puds were consumed in Manchuria. The export from Manchuria amounted to 124 million puds in 1923.

THIS export—wheat, beans, soy beans, oil cake—which goes to Japan, America and Europe, is the basis of the industry which supplies commerce and agriculture in Manchuria. The huge number of modern equipped mills, factories and banks which undertake the purchase and export of products, the commercial apparatus, which has been set up in Manchuria—all this has completely changed this province. These conditions have created the class of commercial bourgeoisie, that basis upon which Chang-Tso-Lin relied for support.

During the Russo-Japanese war,

Chang-Tso-Lin was as a matter of fact the leader of a division of Hunhuses, fighting against the Russian army. After the war he entered the service of China and became the chief of the Mukden division. Chang-Tso-Lin took advantage of the decay of the state apparatus of the Manchu dynasty, ousted the two military governors of the two northern provinces of Manchuria and united the power in his hands; whilst during all these years he employed the money obtained from the country in order to develop its commerce and industry. He became one of the chief shareholders of the Japanese bank in Manchuria. A considerable portion of the mills and export undertakings belong to him. His attempt to penetrate beyond the Great Wall and to subject to his influence the province of Shantung, as well as Tchili along with Peking, constitutes a combination of the personal efforts of the military clique and of the young commercial bourgeoisie of Manchuria to extend their rule beyond the frontiers of the three Manchurian provinces.

AS, apart from the proletariat engaged in the coal mines and on the railways, there are no working masses in Manchuria, the basis of Chang Tso-lin was fairly secure. The commercial bourgeoisie, everywhere and at all times, supported the absolute power which aimed at extending its sphere of influence. The general staff of Chang-Tso-Lin held in its hands the full administrative power over Manchuria. The limitation of the power of Chang-Tso-Lin was not due to the population, but to Japanese imperialism. After the Russian defeat in the Far East, Japanese imperialism obtained possession of the Southern Manchurian Railway, introduced its troops into this territory in order to protect the railway and, taking advantage of the world war, began to oust from North Manchuria the Russian bourgeoisie which, until the war, had imported 60 per cent of the manufactured goods, 100 per cent of the petrol, 75 per cent of the sugar and 70 per cent of the tobacco into this territory.

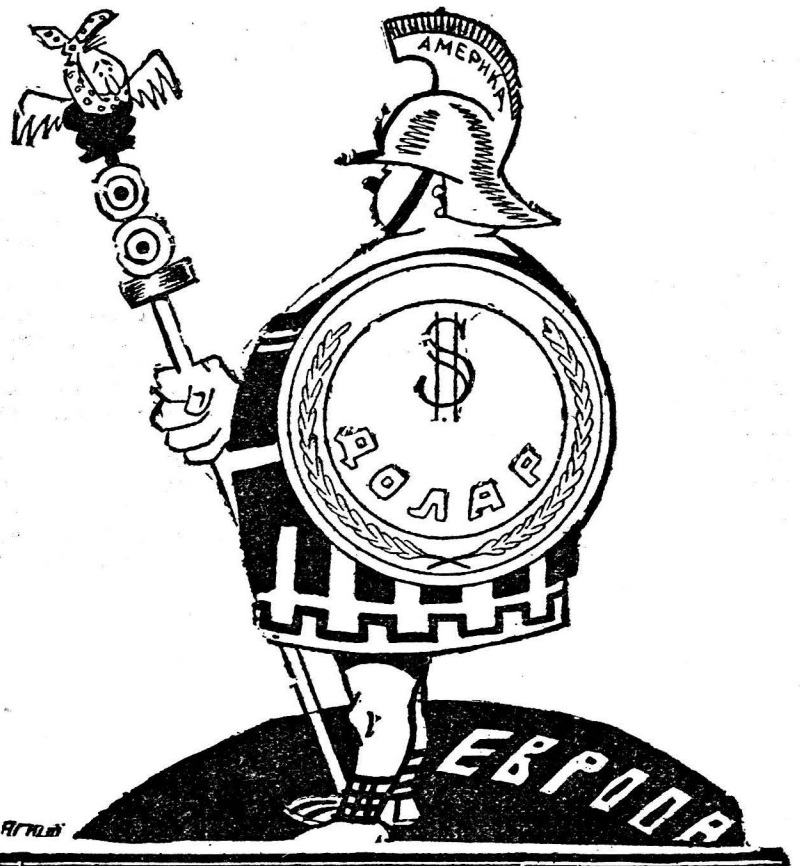
THE cessation of Russian exports in Manchuria, the cessation of the influx of Russian capital, facilitated the attempt of Japan to take possession of this territory. As she could not do it openly, for fear of America, Japan supported Chang-Tso-Lin as her tool. But in supporting him she attempted at the same time to dictate her will to him. The troops of Chang-Tso-Lin were trained by Japanese instructors. The Japanese attempted to penetrate into all branches of the Manchurian administration, and desired at the same time to seize possession of Mongolia in order to threaten Chang-Tso-Lin's possessions not only from the south, but also from the north and west.

The home police of Chang-Tso-Lin and his dependence upon Japan rendered more hopeless every month his efforts to play a role thruout the whole of China. The democratic movement is growing in the whole of China. It finds expression not only in the Kuomintang party, but also in a number of independent organizations of intellectuals and of the working class (organizations of teachers, physicians, engineers and workers), in a great movement to improve the elementary schools, to set up a system of people's high schools, and in the women's movement.

THIS movement is weakest in Manchuria. The mere fact of the existence of a great number of Russian and Japanese traders in Manchuria prevented the formation of a broad, compact Chinese bourgeois mass. Manchuria was the most backward province of China from a cultural point of view. It therefore lacks a broad mass of intellectuals which is so characteristic of the remaining parts of China. The proximity of Siberia, with its civil war, strengthened the reactionary tendencies of the bourgeoisie.

As a result of all these conditions, the rule of the generals in Manchuria was more obvious than in any other part of China. For the mass of the

The Watchman of the World.



This cartoon from the "Proletarska Pravda" of Kiev, Ukraina, shows America as the Roman guard, his shield made of the dollar, standing watch over Europe.

people in China, Chang-Tso-Lin became the symbol of the rule of reaction. The open arbitrary rule of the Japanese in Southern Manchuria made Chang-Tso-Lin, in the eyes of the masses, a tool of Japan. His efforts to seize possession of Northern China in order to advance into Central China, was regarded by the mass of the people as an attempt on the part of Japan to obtain possession of China. Thus, Chang-Tso-Lin, in his endeavors to play a role in all China, encountered greater opposition than anybody else.

THE defeat of Chang-Tso-Lin renders Japanese imperialism, for whom Manchuria represents a very tasty morsel, very nervous. If Manchuria, with a population of 12,000,000 millions, is able to export more than 100,000,000 poods of wheat, that is one-fifth of the prewar export of Russia, what could it supply with an increase of population? The increase in the population of Manchuria is very great. Northern Manchuria is 30 per cent larger than Germany. Hundreds of thousands of peasants in China are striving to emigrate to Manchuria. In the event of war, Manchuria would be able to constitute a basis of supplies for Japan. It also contains considerable coal beds. From this point of

view the fear of the Japanese imperialists regarding Manchuria is perfectly intelligible.

But Manchuria does not play a separate role in Japanese policy: it is at the same time a bridge to China. China is in need of foreign capital. Thanks to her familiarity with Chinese conditions, Japan possesses enormous possibilities of development on the Chinese mainland, which, in the event of international complications, would secure her not only the assistance of Manchuria, but also that of China. But these possibilities cannot be based exclusively on bayonets. Japan cannot venture on a war with America and China at the same time. China, driven into the arms of America, would in the future find the strength to annihilate Japan. Hence, the liquidation of the Chang Tso-Lin clique confronts the Japanese government with the all-important decision: Will its policy be directed towards winning the friendship of China, towards cooperating with those elements which desire to create an independent China, or will it be directed against China?

IN the latter case this would mean the final defeat of Chang Tso-Lin and the beginning of the complete defeat of Japan in the Far East.

No Bloodshed—No Violence!

By HENRY ROENNE.

ONLY no bloodshed, comrades, no violence please,
That is the bestial way Liberals call wrong;
Better the way our "Christian" masters follow,
The way that makes the killing slow and long—
This is the human way to keep men humble,
To stop mere slaves from dying with a song,
This is the way to keep their backs bent over,
The way to keep the power with the strong.

AND till the crisis comes, remember
We have no arms, no sword of any kind—
Yet sharp is every bayonet against us,
The bullets from each rifle are quite blind.
But even should the soldiers join us, comrades,
Yea, even should an arsenal we find,
O better far to die obedient bondsmen
Than live as bloody freemen unresigned!

FOR if we die as grateful vassals, comrades,
We'll enter into heaven all aglow
And play nice harps forever with the angels
And never mind the slaves we left below;
While if we knock our masters from their perches
There's no real telling to what hell we'll go!
And when it comes to picketing hell or heaven—
It should be heaven every time—you know!

The Outside Agitator - By Mary Heaton Vorse

(From the Textile Strike Bulletin, Passaic, N. J.)

THERE is an outside agitator at the bottom of the Passaic strike. His name is John Roubish and he has been agitating for two years.

He's been agitating ever since he's been born. He is two years old. If you don't believe he caused the strike you ask his mother, Mrs. Roubish. She stands there with him on her arm, a wide woman, a thick woman, a whale of a woman, just a grand woman, in fact. She has to be like that because she has eleven children. This outside agitator, John Roubish, is the youngest. There's a girl of fourteen who is the oldest of the eight children at home.

"Sure," she says, "I got to support all these kids. I got to support them all alone. My man's been dead for two years. Yes and I've got to pay \$26.50 a month to the building loan. What do I make? I make \$17.50. Seventeen fifty," she proclaimed in a deep, loud voice with a gesture to the universe, "ain't enough for nine people to live on." In real wages Mrs. Roubish is making \$11.55. She lives in a very nice house. It is the result of twenty-three years' hard work. Twenty-three years ago as a bride of sixteen she came to this country. For twenty-one years Roubish worked hard. In this time she had eleven children. They managed to buy their house. He died. God knows how she manages to keep this house, but she does, this strong, powerful woman. She is bound to keep it. She has a fine cook stove. It is grey enamel and nickel. There is only one thing the matter with that cook stove. There isn't one thing in that house to cook on it. Nor there wasn't before the relief workers got there. She stated it as a fact.

"A woman alone with eight kids, she don't get credit long. First they gave me something, now they only give me mean looks.

"Sure I'd go out on the picket line. Sure I'm on the picket line every day from five o'clock. I got to win my strike. You look at my baby. You see how strong he is; he's a big fellow." The agitator looked calmly at us with large blue eyes. He smiled in a secret way to himself. He was an entirely serene person. "I want to keep my baby like this. The nurse, she comes, she says, 'You want your baby strong, you give him orange juice, milk, fresh vegetables.' I do like what she says. If I wasn't to eat nothing but bread I'd get for him an

orange to make him strong. I want my children to get it better than I get it. That's what we strike for. When they cut us ten per cent we got to strike." For \$17.50 is nine-tenths of what Mrs. Roubish used to get. They docked her one-tenth. "That means an awful lot when you got eight kids," she explains. "It's bad enough you should be left alone to bring them up. My little girl she had to go to school. Her papa was dead and somehow I got to make money for them. I worked at night. I worked a long time on the night shift. Now she's fourteen and she can stay home. I work daytimes. I tell you work daytimes is good after you work night shifts and got kids too." She explains this tranquilly with sweeping gestures, a woman sure of her strength.

A few of the eight came in. They had red cheeks and blue eyes. Their hair was pale gold. They were what is known as the pure Nordic type and they were whales for their age. Their eyes swept questioning around the room. Their hands explored the empty bread box. She threw at them:

"All right, all right. By and by I'll get you something. You run out now and play. Right off I'm going to the store. You go and play in the yard!" There was a tiny yard in front and one behind. But yet the yard and house was just as clean as a pin, no confusion, no litter, nice things, plain things, clean paper on the shelves, glasses that shine. Not an extra thing, but order and cleanliness, giving a sense of peace that amounted to luxury. Did you ever try to keep things spick and span when there were eight children from two to fourteen? How did she do it? She moved calm and majestic with the agitator always on her arm. Someone said:

"You're lucky to have a house." "I got to have a house," she answered and she laughed. "What do you think they say when I go to try and hire a place when I say I've got eight kids. They say, 'Jese, beat it.'"

"DO you have many cases like this?" the relief worker was asked.

"Oh, this ain't nothing," he answered. "This is a fine case. These folks aren't poor. There's nothing the matter here, only there ain't no eats. This here is the best case I got yet. But they're for the same thing. They're striking for their kids." At this the agitator smiled wisely again.

From authentic sources it appears that he has numberless confederates. The strikers' children are linked in a

"Let it Rain, Let it Pour!"



Old Andy Merlon doesn't have to worry about charges of shady ways of getting money thru his Aluminum Trust. He's protected.

monster conspiracy against the stirring up their parents for years bosses. They've been agitating and past.

If I Were an Artist - By Pauline Schulman

IF I could draw, the first thing I would portray would be the shop in which I have been working recently. The shop in itself is the average dingy factory with windows that have not been cleaned for the longest time, and which in all other respects differs very little from the average shop. But the exception was that here not only was the employer ruling over his workers, but his wife, Mrs. S., was also a very determined "queen."

This Mrs. S. is the first figure that I'd like to paint if I were an artist.

She is one of the very short and stout women who while walking resembles a large barrel rolling about. Her tiny eyes were hidden away in her fleshy cheeks. Her short, thick neck terminates in a sizeable hunk of fat in the nape, while her short waist drew the eyes at once to her rounded shoulders. Her lofty bosom contrasted with her short piano-like legs. Her full arms and large hands formed themselves into little pillows. Heavy diamond rings pressed deep into the flesh of almost every finger. On the whole she presents a spectacle fit for an exhibition.

This Mrs. S. criticized severely the girls at the machine for being lazy, the girls, who reminded one of a bouquet of flowers, fading because of lack of sunshine and fresh air. Mrs. S. approaching the girls shrieking in a voice as shrill as a policeman's whistle the following sentiments:

"A bunch of good-for-nothings, that is what they are. They don't care to work. Money, money, give them—that is what they want. (Looking at her non-ringed fingers.) If you girls would let down one nickel on the garment we could take in another order. (Quietly to herself.) One nickel less on each garment would make so much and so much on the whole." With this additional profit she might be able to furnish with jewels the remaining unequipped fingers without encroaching on the usual profits.

Mrs. S. (continuing her calculation): "If they would work one hour more besides the eight hours per day, in the course of a few months I could get that pretty necklace, too, that I saw at A—'s. (Looking at another garment.) If I could squeeze down another dime here, why in a very short while I would be able to move to Riverside Drive where all the better class people live and would not have to remain among the 'kikes.'"

Mrs. S., in her imagination, saw herself among those people for whom a funky in uniform opens the hall door. "It is true I will have to learn the English language when moving up the Drive, but what of it?"

Then she would get the girls accustomed to work the entire day Saturday instead of merely half a day. Thus she surely would be soon in a position to buy a "swell" car, not a Ford, but a Studebaker, and have

chauffeur of her own.

BUT the girls could hardly wait that 5 o'clock bell. With a sigh of relief they arose from their seats and tried to straighten their backs.

All of them were anxious to be out as soon as possible. One was hurrying away to a meeting, another to enjoy the thrills of a serial picture she was following in the movies; a third girl, about thirty-five years of age, who had been ceaselessly chattering all day long, manifested a complex due to the suppression of the sex urge and was in a greater haste than the others. This time she was determined to speak to him—to the druggist whom she met recently. "He says that he likes me but cannot marry me. I should live with him like that . . . but if after a short while he should leave me, and if I should meet someone else who would be willing to marry me—would he do so if he discovered I was no longer a virgin?"

The struggle within her left its marks on her thin, pale face and nervous eyes. Her tall and slender figure personified one who tried to combat the natural law.

If I were an artist I should paint a symbolic picture of a narrowed mind involuntarily but firmly imprisoning her body in a stifling cell.

MRS S. was enraged when the girls were about to leave. "Why are you rushing, girls? What is the matter? Can't you work another hour?"

Look at all the money you are losing, and what do you say, can we take in another order? You know that we don't care, but it is for you girls, we want you to have steady work and plenty of it."

The girl who was in a hurry to go to the meeting in a stern tone of emphatic determination retorted: "No! Neither will we let down the nickel nor will we work overtime. Eight hours a day are more than sufficient to work."

Mrs. S.' lofty bosom began to heave in rapid majesty. She was on the verge of a nervous breakdown. Her substantial body plumped down on a chair. With both hands she clutched at her throbbing temples, bellowing to her husband in a hoarse voice, "We will have to break their stiffness."

Looking down at her hands and noticing those orphaned, diamondless fingers, she began to yell at the top of her voice.

"If you don't like to work get out of here and let others make a living! Plenty of people are starving."

In her excitement, her miniature eyes burning like the fires of Hell, her greasy face flashing in flaming crimson red, reminded one of a roasting pig. "Oh! How I hate those 'kikes.' They wouldn't let me live."

She cried out aloud. Large tears rolled down her face, the tears of emotional release.

Yes, if I were only a painter.

Workers' Education at the Turning Point

By Bertram D. Wolfe.

THE fate of workers' education is hanging in the balance. The Carnegie corporation, the largest of the many funds created out of the millions wrung out of the American steel workers by the late Andrew Carnegie, is openly out to buy up and corrupt, with the philosophy of class collaboration, the entire working class movement of the United States. It has already given to the Workers' Education \$25,000 at a clip for a publication fund, and its resources for the corruption of the first beginnings of a workers' education movement in the United States appear to be unlimited.

The consciousness of this fact hung like a shadow over the Third Annual Conference of teachers engaged in workers' education, called by Local 139 of the American Federation of Teachers, at Brookwood College, February 19, 1922. The agenda of the Conference seemed to promise a more or less platonic discussion of the relatively non-essential matters connected with workers' education. Questions of psychology, of the maintenance of interest, of the development of a demand for workers' education, of promotion and maintenance, of the use of the drama, etc.—such were the formal subjects scheduled for discussion. But, running thru every paper and every general discussion was always the underlying preoccupation with two fundamental questions: Why is workers' education? and how shall we resist the financial octopus that threatens to engulf it? The manner of deciding both of these questions will determine the fate of the movement for workers' education in America.

As I expressed it in a conversation with Lloyd M. Cosgrave, secretary of the Workers' Education Bureau, "Working class education in America has a great future but no past." It is, in fact, in its infancy. Hitherto the American labor movement "has always been interested in education, but it is only within recent years that it has become interested in its own education" and it has still to determine what character its own education shall take.

THE representation at the conference ranged all the way from university professors who wanted to extend the benefits of bourgeois "sweetness and light" to the working class, to coal miners who thought that the purpose of workers' education was to teach the workers how to get more of what they produced and take over the government and the mines.

Thus the field of workers' education in America is at present a battleground between these warring tendencies and one of the most heated discussions at the conference was precipitated when I attempted to define the class basis of workers' education. I pointed out that the university extensionists, the cultural philanthropists and the open shoppers were united in claiming that "the moment it (education) attempts to impose a certain curricula (sic) as representative of the needs of wage earners, it must defeat its own purposes and the interests of its supporters." (Law and Labor, Vol. 8, No. 1—Jan., 1926—Law and Labor is the legal organ of the open shoppers.) I tried further to point out that education, controlled by the workers, financed by the workers and permeated with their point of view was as necessary as were unions, controlled and financed by the workers and expressing their point of view or as newspapers so controlled and so financed.

This elementary concept, that all workers must hold, was attacked by people at the conference as "ugly, brutal and damnable." One speaker went so far as to declare, "Education for the workers is not education at all," and another: "I hate the phrase 'the workers.' I hate all generalizing phrases. I hate this phrase to get into our general vocabulary. They always tend to make us feel that the workers are a specialized class, that they are the other fellow."

THIS conflict, thru which British workers' education went a little earlier, is now being fought out ideologically in the infant education movement of the American workers. But, before the conference was over, there was not the shadow of a doubt but that the majority of those present accept the view that workers' education must be controlled and financed by the workers and must serve their class interests, altho there was wide difference of opinion as to what these class interests really are.

But the question which dominated the conference and gave to the often futile discussions a vague background of historic bigness, was the question of how to defend workers' education from the enveloping movement which had been begun by the powerful Carnegie Corporation.

Again and again vague references were made to the question of "taking money from the enemies of labor," but always in such a way as to leave the uninitiated in doubt as to whether this was really a vital question that had to be decided then and there, or whether it was an abstract theoretical discussion on the principle of financing workers' education. But, as the conference continued, the increased repetition of these references, in always more and more definite forms, gradually made it clear that the speakers were bothered by a living reality, by a danger which threatened the very life of the labor movement and its educational activity.

At last, on the final day of the conference, the vague doubts took definite form and the names of Rockefeller and Carnegie were brought into the sessions and tied up with the question of financing working class education. Many of the delegates still did not believe that this could really be so. Paul W. Fuller, educational director of Sub District 2, United Mine Workers of America, declared: "If any workers' institution ever got such funds and if it got to District 2, you could preach the funeral of that organization as far as the miners are concerned." A delegate, active in workers' education in Germany, thought the whole thing was a joke and said: "I do not know how it is in America, but in Germany it is hopeless to try to get funds from employers for workers' education. We do not have to worry about that."

A SHORT time before closing time of the final scheduled session of the conference a resolution was finally introduced by the secretary of the conference in the name of a group of delegates, reading as follows:

"Resolved, That the members of the American Federation of Teachers, invited to attend the conference on workers' education, in session at Brookwood Feb. 22, 1926, go on record as opposing the acceptance, by agencies for workers' education, of money or other assistance from institutions such as the Carnegie Corporation, the General Education Board or other organizations fundamentally opposed to the interests of the working class."

This resolution at last convinced every delegate that they were faced, not with an abstract discussion on finance, but a concrete question of the fate of workers' education. A desultory discussion started, but it lacked only a few minutes for the final adjournment of the conference. On my motion, a special session was called for the afternoon of the same day to consider exclusively this resolution.

This special session was carried on under a changed atmosphere. The air seemed charged with intensity as the delegates began their first discussion of vital significance. A. J. Muste and Arthur Calhoun, who had attended the conference called by the Committee on Adult Education of the Carnegie Corporation, in an unofficial capacity, reported their observations on that conference. Calhoun described the plan of the Carnegie Corporation as "a universal and limitless scheme for bringing workers' education under their control." "They have, at their disposal, limitless financial means and are ready to subvert any workers' education movement that will accept their support."

QUESTIONING of Calhoun, Muste and Spencer Miller, secretary of



A Sketch from Life by a Worker Correspondent, A. L. Pollock.

the Workers' Education Bureau, revealed that the Carnegie Corporation had called a preliminary conference in Cleveland in October 1925, to consider the question of adult education, including workers' education; that then a committee of seven had been set up to call regional conferences. This committee of seven had summoned a conference on adult education in New York to which they invited various representatives of workers' education movements, such as: Fania Cohen of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, A. J. Muste and Arthur Calhoun of Brookwood and others. (The Workers' School was not among the invited guests.) Some of these declined to attend and others had attended to investigate the matter. They found there representatives of university extension movements, of the motion picture interests, of the museums, of the public lectures, of the naturalization and Americanization activities and various other elements interested in one or another form of adult "education."

Cross questioning revealed that the committee of seven, which called this conference, included none other than Spencer Miller, secretary of the Workers' Education Bureau, himself. Thereupon, he took the floor and was subjected to a cross fire of questions as if he were on trial before the bar of justice (and perhaps more than he realized, he was on trial before the American labor movement.)

He admitted that the Carnegie Corporation had insinuated that it was ready to give money to the cause of workers' education and that his bureau had asked for \$25,000 in December which the Carnegie Corporation granted on Feb. 15 of this year. Then, one by one, the delegates expressed themselves, in no uncertain terms, as condemning the acceptance of this enormous sum from a source so hostile to labor. The opposition ranged all the way from that cautious

viewpoint that "the Workers Education Bureau would lose prestige among the workers if it did not keep its skirts clean," to the view that no working class movement can possibly accept finances from the Carnegie Corporation if there were not something wrong in the matter. "By accepting the money, the Workers Education Bureau has aided the Carnegie Corporation in its scheme to corrupt the workers' education movement and give that corporation prestige before the American working class," declared Calhoun. "We do not want the Workers Education Bureau to become financially independent of the labor movement," was Dana's point of view. David Saposs, one of the members of the Workers Education Bureau executive, revealed that he and Fania Cohen had voted against accepting the money, but that all the others, including James Maurer, (socialist) John Brophy, Matthew Woll and John P. Frey, had voted in favor. The eleven members of the executive include Jos. W. Perkins.

THE feeling of the conference was such that when I declared: "If the Carnegie Corporation has given us money for a publication fund, it should convince us that there is something wrong with the character of the publications that we have been putting out and it is time that we published some works of such character that only the workers could possibly support our publication activities," the applause was general.

The final result of the conference was a unanimous vote, 18 being recorded in favor and no one, not even Spencer Miller himself, voting against the resolution.

Thus, the conference marks a big step forward in the development of working class education, financed and controlled by the working class and giving their point of view and aiming to serve them in their struggle for emancipation.