WOMEN AT ST. PAUL - By ANNA PORTER

IN the center of the picture, of course, were the members of the National Woman's party, because they were there as women, and with a distinct object. They had been told that sex equality was a fundamental principle with Communists and that the Communists would control the convention, and they were there to challenge this boasted principle and to see that it was emplanked in the platform.

The question unfortunately, is a complex one, and the various women's organizations themselves are at odds, because absolute equality means the abolition of the protective laws now in force, and some think these are necessary in the present stage of industry while others argue that they are a handicap, and even that they were deliberately placed there by the enemy man, to prevent "scabbing" of women by working for lower pay and longer hours, the theory being that without an open scramble, women could not compete. But none of these equality advocates whether of complete or protected equality have any patience with the Communist contention that women should organize as workers rather than as women, that there is little to interest the working woman in the object of the bourgeois women's parties and that the right to equal exploitation with her fellow victim, the working man, is not an object to struggle so madly for when there is the great array of women workers to be organized on the job.

There was a free evening at the convention when the hall was not available, and the Workers Party filled that in with a "banquet" at The Ryan Hotel. Incidentally the great majority of delegates seemed to be present in sympathetic accord, and the woman's party was represented by all its delegates. There were twenty-five speakers listed, but needless to say the program was closed near midnight with many speakers unheard. On the woman question, Julia Poyntz spoke for the Communists. Mabel Vernon followed with a spirited and rather scathing arraignment of the Communists' position charging them with inconsistency in struggling for the temporary right of free speech while minimising as a temporary measure the freedom of women.

When Joseph Manley reported at the convention for the resolutions committee, he announced dramatically, "Our committee was raided! Raided by the Woman's Party." And "raid" is perhaps the happy word to express their incursion, for while they are all very feminine and attractive gentlewomen, this group—Lucy Branham, Mabel Vernon, Alice Paul—they are very spirited and aggressive fighters for their cause. One is reminded a little by mother-tigers on a forage. The committee adopted a resolution declaring broadly for the principle of equality. We are now challenging the National Women's Party to support the only party which supports them.

There were present also with them, a group of local women, Miss Cane of the Minnesota legislature, Mrs. Calvin and half a dozen others of the city club where we were cordially welcomed. One sympathetic lone woman, is a member of the teachers' union of 400 members, affiliated with the A. F. L., therefore separate from the men-teachers' union. Another prominent woman remarked after listening to a fierce pre-convention debate, "I never supposed I was a Communist, but if I had to go with one of those groups after hearing them talk, I'd certainly go with the reds." Does it seem the women are getting on.

Most prominent naturally, were the two women who acted as secretary and assistant of the convention, Miss Daly, former teacher, scholar, politician, could match any man there for courage, eloquence and clear-sightedness as to the issue—a thoroly charming and sympathetic exponent of her sex whom no man would hesitate to welcome to equality. And it was not of the woman's, but of the workers' problem that she spoke so ably. Miss Kostner of the Washington legislature and the Washington forum, followed her with an equally sound address, and won the interest and admiration of all sides by her fine strong personality and her convincing presentation of the economic issue. Miss Daly's little circle of supporters from South Dakota were also a live and interesting group of women.

Then there was Lydia Gibson of the Liberator, clever artist and reviewer, fascinating Rose Pastor Stokes with her uncompromising message of workers' control of industry, and Comrade Gitlow, mother of Ben, as young as any in her enthusiasm for the cause. These two women represented the "United Council of Working-class Women," a strong organization of New York. The Stokes group had "hiked" from New York with 16-pound packs and Rose with her admitted 45 years, was girlish and jaunty in her knicker suit. It was a pleasure to Californians to find that Anita Whitney received her share of honor on committees and platform and played her role with initiative and force, not hesitating even to tilt a lance with her subtle colleague, Walter Thomas Mills. And that argues some courage. As a Californian, I must not omit mention of our loyal and militant Alice Park and our staunch little farmer delegate from Los Angeles, Esther Yarnell. That I saw no Negro women delegates, I regret to report.

Lastly, there was the green Irish chamber maid at the Ryan. I do not refer to her political color (all politics serve to be colored nowadays) but to the fact that she must very recently have escaped from the Emerald Isle, tho her mind seemed quite untouched by the economic political struggle. Her quaint attractive brogue was quite unintelligible to me, as my dialect appeared to be to her, so I confined my propaganda to repeating clearly again and again, "Tell your friends to vote the Farmer-Labor ticket." And thinking something concrete and personal might arouse more interest, I told her that the lovely lady across the hall was sent to jail for trying to help the workers. And if that is not a very intellectual exposition of the case, it is after all, the very essence of the situation and of the general truth.

Readers are asked to recognize and appreciate the restraint with which costumes are excluded from the report of a women's gathering, with the exception of the mention of knickerbockers, which would naturally appear in a New York delegation. Other artistic costumes were not absent.

: : MARIE : :

(Continued from page 7.)

and we responded with a flutter of a million desires to run far away from here into these new light vistas.

Marie came along and sat down opposite me, looking with her big, wistful eyes thru the little window of my hut towards the great forest. Silently we left the house, she took my arm, and I sense that her heart is beating very fast. "What is it, Marie?" I ask her. She looks up listlessly, silently, and we walk on to the forest, while she clings closer and closer to me, as if in mortal fear of something dreadful that is about to happen.

What a strange sight our two dark figures make up in this milky-white world, two lonesome, wandering souls, so near and so distant. Whither are we going? Hush, there are voices from afar, familiar voices. We suddenly wake from our dream, and presto! Marie, our dear Marie of old, is again before me. The sorrow has left her eyes, her melancholy is gone, and obeying a quick tug of her arm, I am running fast after her toward the voices. In a moment we are in the forest, and thru the trees perceive our colony camped out on a strip of land between the trees, covered here and there with sparse green patches. A big campfire fed by enormous logs and branches shoots out gigantic tongues of flame which cast grotesque, ribbon-like, purple shadows upon the snow. We are hailed with shouts. Our Grousinian comrade rises with a glass full of whiskey and drinks our health. There is a boiling samovar upon the ground, and in the center of the improvised camp a red flag strung up on a tall tree flutters quietly to the breeze in the midst of this wild, arctic nature where spring is still blended with winter and night with day.

In an instant Marie was at the flag surrounded by all the members of our colony. Some one hands her a filled glass, and all drink at one gulp. Then we sing all in chorus the "International," and our voices ring far into the depth of the night, and again Marie's voice rises over all of ours, just as it did that night at Petrograd.

We drink again. Marie loosened her tightly drawn hair and suddenly she whirls away in a southern dance across the field; we sing on, clapping hands and accompanied by two guitars and a harmonica. Soon the Caucasian and a few more of our group join Marie, and it seems as if the entire forest had joined them, the mighty old trees and the thick underbrush, all are moving and dancing to Marie, the queen. She danced away with the Grousinian ahead of the rest. Now and then they met, their arms interlocked and the harmonica and the guitars play faster and faster, a militant, boisterous march. Soon we are all swirling passionately, forgetful of all and everything in a mad "carahod."

"Fill up the glasses," Marie orders, and our dance continued with added fervor, until exhausted, our steps weaken, and we gradually quiet down. Even the campfire is slackening and the flaming tongues cast only pale reflections over the dark blue horizon. The forest too became melancholy, as if wrapped in sudden remorse. The guitars and harmonica give forth saddened, drawn-out sounds, and our Marie with her jet-black hair all over her shoulders and cheeks flushed, stands close by the tall tree upon which the red flag still swings tenderly, and staring at the dying campfire, bursts out into a crying Little-Russian melody. The sudden cry grips our hearts, our heads drop low, and as if mourning, we listen to the sighing melody, which flows like a river of sadness over our heads.

The harmonica and guitars are silent now; only Marie's voice fills the chastened air, and as she sings our hearts grow heavier. "Oh, dear, old home, dear friends and comrades, where are you now?" cries out each note of her song. Now as never before we perceive how deserted and lonesome we are, wandering here in the misty white world, between winter and spring, between day and night.

Fill up the glasses, quicker, quicker! Let us pour wine over our sorrow, our yearnings, let us forget, tho of a moment, our exile! But silence reigns and the plea is unheard and unanswered. Instead, a sob rings out, a real human cry. It seems so near, so unbelievably near to us. Who is this crying? She, she, our Marie. There she is sitting on a half-smoldering log of the campfire, her face buried in her hands.

The white night of the north had opened Marie's heart. She remembered for once that she was not merely the daughter of the Revolution, but the child of a loving, loyal mother. Her mother had died five years ago, and she, her only daughter, had not shed a single tear for her. There was no time, no place. The great cause had taken her all. Now the spring of tears had broken forth and Marie cried out that night all the sorrow of her young life. "Mother, mother!" her lips whispered, and we all wept with her. . . .

LENIN ON WAR

(Continued from page 1.)

necht was in agreement with us in essentials.

The split in the Second International as a means for the development of the revolutionary movement in the proletariat, civic war as the means of victory over imperialist war — these were the two leading ideas which Lenin endeavored to impress upon the minds of the advanced revolutionary elements of every country with which he was in connection.

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JULY 12, 1924.

LENIN ON WAR - - By KARL RADEK

Editor's Note:—By decision of the Fifth Congress of the Communist International, the working class of the world, is called upon to set aside the week from July 27th to August 4th for protests and demonstrations against war, militarism and social-patriotism. These demonstrations are not intended to be in any way similar to the pacifist social-patriotic affairs instigated by the liberal petty-bourgeoisie and Social-Democratic parties of the Second International. In the opinion of the Communist International, an opinion which has been substantiated by every important event since 1914, to prepare against capitalist war means to prepare for war against capitalism. In connection with the above, the opinions of Comrade Lenin on War and Social-patriotism are of great value to every class-conscious worker. The article given below deals with Lenin's opinions and made on me by the conversation with Lenin. I came from Germany for the purpose of establishing connections with the revolutionary groups of other countries. In Germany we unconditionally rejected the attitude of the social democratic majority from the very first day onwards. We rejected the idea of the defense of native country in an imperialist war. We were in conflict with Haase and Kautsky, who went no further than diffident opposition to the social patriotic leadership of the party, and only differed from this in sighing for peace. In our propaganda, carried on in the censored press and in hectographed papers, we agitated for revolutionary war against war. But for me—and thru my intermediation also for many German comrades—my conversation with Lenin signified a sharp turn to the left. The first question which Lenin put to me was the question of the prospect of a split in the German period of peaceful development of socialism and the period of storm and stress, that it was not merely a question of treachery on the part of leaders, but of the attitude taken by masses not possessing the power to offer resistence to the war, but subservient to the bourgeoisie; but that the burdens imposed by this policy would force the masses to break with the bourgeoisie and tread the path of revolutionary struggle. Lenin interrupted me by the words: "It is an historicism that everything finds its explanation in the changing epoch. But is it possible for the leaders of reformism, who led the proletariat systematically into the camp of the bourgeoisie even before the war, and who openly went over to this camp at the moment of the outbreak of the war, to be the champions of a revolutionary policy?" I replied that I did not believe this to be possible. "Then," declared Lenin, "the survivals of an outably adhered to the standpoint of this political definition, and held it to be a measure of revolutionary sincerity and logic, an evidence of the will to break with Social Democracy.

Lenin insisted with equal emphasis upon the slogan of civil war being opposed to the slogan of Burgfrieden (civil peace). Since our polemical discussions with Kautsky, we left radicals in Germany had become accustomed to formulate the slogan less clearly; our slogan was the slogan of "mass action". The lack of clearness of this slogan corresponded with the embryonic condition of the revolutionary movement in Germany in the years 1921 and 1912, when we regarded the demonstration made by the workers of Berlin in the Tiergarten, at the time of the struggle for universal suffrage for the Prussian Diet, as the beginning of the revolutionary struggle of the German worker. Lenin showed us that though this slogan

—Are you preparing for a new war? I have not forgotten yet the old one.

reaction during the black days of August, 1914. Let's study the experiences of those days and thereby prepare ourselves for effective struggle against new capitalist wars.

THE war breaks out. The dark day comes, the 4th August. Lenin, sojourning in the Carpathian district, receives the news of the complete betrayal by German and international Social Democracy. In the first moment he doubts the tidings, and hopes that it is merely a war manoeuvre of the international bourgeoisie; but he is speedily convinced of its tragic truth, goes to Switzerland, and takes up his fighting position at once. As early as the end of 1914, I had the opportunity of speaking with him, after his attitude had been firmly established in the historic manifesto issued by the Central Committee of the party, and in various issues of the "Social Democrat." I still remember very well the profound impression Social Democracy.

This question was like a dagger stab to the heart to me, and to the comrades standing at the left wing of the party. We had spoken thousands of times of reformism as of a policy pursued by the workers' aristocracy. But we hoped that the whole German party, after the first patriotic throwback, would develop towards the left. The fact that Karl Liebknecht did not vote openly against the war on August 4, is to be explained precisely by the fact that he still hoped that the persecution carried on by the government would induce the whole party to break with the government, and with the defense of the imperialist fatherland. Lenin put the direct question: what is the actual policy being pursued by the Second International? Is it an error, or is it treason to the working class?

I began to explain to him that we were on the borderland between the lived epoch, in the form of reformist leaders, must also be cast aside. If we want to facilitate for the working class its transition to the policy of war against war, of war against reformism, then we must break with the reformist leaders, and with all who are not fighting honorably on the side of the working class. It is only a question of when this rupture is to be accomplished.

The question of the organizatory preparation of this rupture is purely one of tactics, but to strive towards rupture is the fundamental duty of every proletarian revolutionist." Lenin insisted on the sharpest form of the ideological struggle against the social patriots, insisted on the necessity of openly emphasizing the treachery committed, especially the treachery of these leaders. He frequently repeated these words on later occasions, when we were working together; when drawing up resolutions he invariably might be suitable for the purpose of opposing the action of the masses to the parliamentary game played by the social democratic leaders before the war, it is entirely unsuitable in a period of blood and iron, in a period of war. "When discontent with the war has increased" — he said — "then the Centrists can also organize a mass movement for the purpose of exerting pressure on the government, and for forcing it to end the war with a peaceful understanding. If our goal, the goal of ending the imperialist war by the revolution, is not to be a mere pious wish, but a goal for which we really work, then we must issue the slogan of civil war, clearly and determinedly." He was extraordinarily pleased when Liebknecht, in his letter to the Zimmerwald conference, made use of the words: "Against the civil peace for the civil war". For Lenin, this was the best proof that Liebk-

(Continued on page 8.)

On Factory Nuclei - *By Communist International*

The Party organization must be adapted to the conditions and aims of its work. Under the reformist policy of the social-democratic parties, which endeavoured to exert an influence upon the bourgeois government by means of the ballot box, it was natural that attention should be chiefly directed to the organization of voters. The organization, therefore, was based upon electoral divisions and residential areas. The Communist Party inherited this form of organization from the social-democratic parties, but it is entirely opposed, not only to the final aims of the Communist Party, but also to its immediate tasks. The final aim of our Party is to overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie, seize power for the working class, and bring Communism into being. Its immediate tasks are to win the majority of the working class by active participation in the everyday struggles of the working masses, and to secure the leadership of these struggles. This can only be achieved by means of the closest contact between our Party organizations and the working masses in the factories.

It was from this point of view that the Third Congress of the Communist International decided that the basis of the Communist Party must be the factory nuclei. In the majority of the Sections of the Communist International this has not yet been carried into effect; and in many, the question of organizing factory nuclei has not even been concretely formulated. The experience of the German revolution, (at the end of 1923) once more clearly demonstrated that without factory nuclei and the closest contact with the working masses, it is impossible to draw the latter into the struggle and to lead them, that it is impossible to gauge their moods accurately and thus take advantage of the most fovorable moment for our action, and that it is useless to expect victory over the bourgeoisie.

The Fundamental Forms of Local Organization.

1. The Factory Nuclei form the Basis of the Party Organization. All Communists working in a factory must be members of the nucleus in that factory.

Note: Where there are only one or two Party members in a factory and therefore they cannot form a nucleus, they are to be attached to the nucleus of the nearest factory, which must conduct the work in all adjacent factories where there are no nuclei.

2. Communists who do not work in factories, workshops, -shops, etc., (housewives, domestic servants, house porters, etc.) form Residential Party Nuclei.

Note: Members of factory nuclei who live in other sections are obliged to register with the committee of the section (part of the town) where they reside. The section committee assigns them to residential nuclei. Members of Party nuclei of other sections who are assigned by Section Committees to residential nuclei, vote in these nuclei on questions which they have voted on in the factory nuclei, (questions of Party principle, election of Party delegates, etc.)

3. Unemployed members remain attached to the nucleus of the factory where they were formerly employed. In the event of protracted unemployment, with the consent of the section committee, they may leave their nucleus and be transferred to the subsection where they live, and be attached to another nucleus.

4. In small industrial centres, towns and villages, where the workers reside in close proximity to their factories, or farms, uniform nuclei are formed as far as possible around the factory or farm.

5. Factory nuclei and residential nuclei elect an executive committee consisting of three or, at most, five persons. The elections take place at the general meetings of the nuclei. The executive committee of the nucleus distributes the work amongst its members. Depending upon the size of the nucleus, the executive committee appoints comrades for the distribution of literature, the conduct of propaganda, a comrade for trade union work, one to conduct the work of the fractions in the factory committees, one for co-operation with the young communist nucleus, one to conduct the work among women, etc.

6. Party members who are members of a factory nucleus pay their dues to that nucleus; Party members who are members of a residential nucleus pay their dues to the latter.

7. In large towns where there are numerous factory and residential nuclei, they are united into sub-sections. The sub-sections are joined into sections. All the sections of a large town constitute the local organization. The section committee fixes its own subsections. In doing so, the section committee should attempt as far as possible to form the sub-sections around large factories.

In medium sized towns, sub-sections should be formed, uniting the factory and the residential nuclei. The subsections constitute the local organization. In small towns and villages the nuclei are united into local groups. The local organizations in middle-sized towns and the local groups of small towns and of villages are united into sub-districts.

Note: Sub-sections and local groups, in accordance with local needs and requirements, hold regular meetings of all the members of the factory and residential nuclei of their subsection.

8. At the head of each sub-section or local group, is an executive committee consisting of three to five persons, elected at the general meeting of the members of the nuclei of the sub-section or local group, or else, depending upon local conditions (e. g. when the Party is illegal) at delegate conferences. The Secretary of the committee of the sub-section and of the local groups must be confirmed by the section committee (in the country districts, by the district committee). At the head of the section (city) and sub-district (country) is the section or sub-district committee, elected at section or sub-district Party conferences.

9. At the sub-section and group delegate metings, and at district and sub-district conferences, the nuclei should be represented in proportion to the size of their membership, but in such a manner that the majority should consist of delegates from the factory nuclei. The number of delegates from each nucleus should be decided by the sub-section or sub-district committee.

In organizations where, owing to the fact that they are illegal, it is impossible to have a large representation at the sections or sub-district conferences, the delegates may be elected not directly by the nuclei, but at subsection or group delegate meetings.

10. Local committees (in large towns) are elected at local conferences in proportion to the size of the membership of the district.

11. In order to increase the influence of the factory nuclei, more than half the members, both of the sub-section committees and of the section committees should be members of factory nuclei. The local committees should consist partly of factory workers.

12. Where the party is illegal, the higher party organs in special circumstances (e. g. teh arrest of a section committee, etc) have the right to appoint new members of the section committee, with the understanding that a delegate meeting or conference will be summoned at the first opportunity in order to confirm the appointed committee or elect a new one. Members of a committee who have escaped arrest have the right of coopting new members to the committee, with the agreement and confirmation of the higher party organs, until a conference is summoned. If the party is illegal, the number of members of the section committee should be as small as possible.

The Tasks of the Factory Nuclei.

The political organizational work of the party should be centered in the factory nuclei. The factory nuclei, by leading the struggles of the working masses for their everyday needs, should direct them into the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat. A factory nucleus should, therefore, consider and determine its point of view upon every political or economic question agitating the working masses, and upon every conflict arising in the revolutionary method of settling questions and, as the most conscious and active part of the working class must assume the leadership of the struggle.

In addition to general party work, the tasks of the factory nuclei are as follows:

1. To carry on Communist agitation and propaganda among the non-party working masses; systematic instruction of individual workers in order to draw them into the ranks of the Communist Party; distribution of political literature in the factories; discussion of questions affecting the factory; and even the publication of a special factory newspaper; the carrying on of social and agitational work among the factory workers.

2. Determined and continuous efforts must be made to win elected posts in the shops, trade unions, co-operatives, factory committees, control commissions, etc.

3. The nuclei should participate in all the economic conflicts and demands of the workers. The task of the nuclei is to broaden and deepen the movement, to point out to the workers the political consequences of the struggle, and to persuade them to adopt the wider struggle (both economic and political) and to set up a united front of the workers against the bourgeoisie and against fascism.

4. The nuclei must carry on an obstinate fight in the factories and workshops against the members and fololwers of other parties, also of the socialist parties and other "labor parties," using for this purpose facts relating to the activities of these parties which can be understood even by the most backward section of the working class.

5. They must bring about contact between the employed and unemployed workers in order to avoid a conflict between them.

6. Where conditions are ripe, they must carry on a fight for workers' control of the industries, banks, land and transport, and for the supply of the workers with the primary needs of life.

7. They must exert an influence upon the youth and working women employed in the factories, and draw them into the struggle. They must assist in the formation of young Communist nuclei in the factories, and support them wherever they already exist.

8. Every member of a nucleus must actively participate in every kind of party work in the factory to which he is assigned by the executive committee of the nucleus.

Anart from the special tasks in their factories the factory nuclei have also to perform territorial tasks at their places of residence, since workers employed in factories also have various needs and fulfill various social functions in the places where they reside (housing, food, health, education, elections, etc.)

The chief territorial tasks are as follows:

1. To conduct the political and organizational work of the party at the place of residence, the carrying on of campaigns of various kinds (electoral, against bad housing, high rents, etc.), to see that the families of workers, clerks, etc., are assured of the primary necessaries of life.

2. The distribution of party literature, the recruiting of new readers and new party members ,propaganda, individual instruction of non-party workers, educational work in the sub-sections (clubs, etc.), inviting sympathizers to participate in workers' demonstrations, and generally carrying on the working class fight.

3. House to house propaganda in the sub-sections, the collection of information as to the party affiliations of persons residing in the sub-sections, as to political work, and the activity of fascists; keeping records of stores of firearms, etc.

4. Work among women and children.

Thess Territorial Tasks apply also to the Residential Nuclei. Their work must be carried on under the direct control of the sub-section committee, and be co-ordinated with the work of the factory nuclei.

Establishing the Factory Nuclei.

In view of the novelty of this question for many sections of the Communist International, and the varying conditions in different countries, the Executive Committee of the Communist International proposes that the subject should be widely discussed in the party press and at party meetings, and then only should the reorganization of the party on the basis of factory nuclei be attempted. Nuclei should first be organized in the larger factories.

The nuclei should in no circumstances be confused with the Communist fractions in the trade unions, co-operatives, etc., whose function cannot be replaced by the nuclei. The functions of the fractions are narrower than those of the nuclei. The nucleus, or rather the executive committee of the nucleus, must direct the work of the factory committee fractions in the factory.

The Executive Committe of the Communist International earnestly requests all sections of the Communist International to furnish it with detailed information on the progress of the discussion on the questions here touched upon, and of the results achieved in the organization in the factories.

HOW LONG YET?

By OSKAR KANEHL.

How long, you mean, we will yet look on,
that from life's horn of plenty you single drink?
The whole day you are lounging, swilling and devouring
and at evening full-greedy in silk-cushions you sink?
How long yet?

How long, you think, we will yet be silent
because hunger-salary us blunt and tired makes?
Didn't bring you parasites while
The harvest of our seed in your safes?
How long yet?

How long, you believe, we will yet endure
that our bests behind prison walls
by class right are gagged?
How long yet shall us lurk your murderer pack of hounds?
How long yet?

How long, you hope, we will yet wait,
that our fists are starting upon your skull?
Hate hollow threatens. Chains bleed.
Long ago, that the last man heard the judgement's call.
How long yet?

—Transl. by Paul Acel.

MARIE *(OUT OF THE SHADOWS OF THE PAST) By Schachno Epstein*

(Continued from last week.)

3.

During the long days that we spent under way with the "etape," Marie did not drop a single word concerning herself. We only learned that she came from a peasant family, had been a teacher in a petty government school in the province of Poltava and was a Social Revolutionist. The emaciated, little peasant horses carried us briskly forward thru deserts of snow. In spite of all wrappings and precautions the smothering northern frosts played havoc with us, penetrating every limb and pore of our bodies. Some of our comrades suffered from frostbitten ears, hands and toes, and we frequently heard agonized moanings from the narrow sleighs of our little caravan. Marie never complained; wrapped up in a heavy peasant's fur-skin with a crude shawl over her head and in heavy woolen boots, she only showed to the world a pair of big, black eyes which shed warmth and light on all of us. Occasionally, when the sufferings from the cold would get the best of any of us, Marie would come to his assistance with words of courage and consolation.

The soldiers that guarded us, themselves peasants from the Volhynia, had a particular regard for our Marie, and hailed her as "barishnia." A word from her was at times sufficient to make them treat all the other politicals with more deference. We had among us a Grousinian, a child of balmy Caucasia, who suffered from the frosts more than the rest of us. One night, after we found lodgings in a tiny village, our poor Caucasian fell, benumbed in every limb, upon the dirty flooring of our "hotel." Marie spent a whole sleepless night near him, and upon her order the soldiers brought in some clean straw to place our ailing comrade and a samovar with boiling water. Some of them even walked two versts to a near-by village that had a drug store for some frost-cures at her request, and did this errand without grumbling and with complete devotion.

As she sat at the Caucasian's sick "bed," Marie did not miss the opportunity of a heart-to-heart talk with the soldiers of our convoy. The talk was an eye-opener to all of them; and all of us attracted, left our cots and sat by listening to her. It seemed as if we were again back home, at a propaganda meeting, somewhere on the outskirts of the town, hidden behind the usual old ruins. One of the soldiers kept on throwing logs into the big, old oven that occupied nearly half of the house. The heat was pleasant and soothing, and soon there appeared, from God knows where, bottles of beer. The evening wound up with the soldiers embracing everyone of us and calling us "comrades." Marie's face shone with happiness, and she appeared so wonderfully beautiful in the strange, wierd background of the spacious hut that we could not take our eyes away from her. There sat before us a true Madonna, a saintly creature. The sick Grousinian grasped her hand worshipfully several times, while she patted his curly hair inquiring: "How do you feel now, brother?"

From that evening and until we reached our destination Marie and the Caucasian were seldom apart. The soldiers arranged a separate sleigh for them and kept the sick traveler as comfortable as was possible under the circumstances. And all during our long ride through the snowy "taiga" Marie's voice rang cheerfully, waking life in us and adding cheer to our sad party.

4.

In our final place of exile, Marie occupied a little hut on the outskirts of the town. She used to spend most of her days in the Zemstvo library and the evenings at the meetings of the Social-Revolutionists' group.

Then a great change came over her. Once at a meeting of the entire colony Marie declared herself a Social-Democrat. The Social Revolutionists were stunned speechless by her declaration, yet in spite of party fanaticism their attitude towards Marie did not change. The Grousinian, who was a Social Democrat, overflowing with enthusiasm, kissed her before everybody, and we all felt so amused by that incident that party affiliations were forgotten for the time being. Marie led in the merry making. She sang and even danced and finally at her suggesteion we all went to the big forest to throw snowballs at one another. The scorching frost and the bone-dry winter air held everything around us as in the grasp of death. Not a twig or bough moved upon the stately trees of the great forest, and only our steps were heard crunching the icy, glistening snow. The deep blue, starry heavens looked dreamily upon the forsaken, little Siberian city, as we walked ahead in a brisk, lively step led by our Marie.

When we reached the forest, Marie was first to shed her heavy winter wraps, and dressed only in her usual black shirt and embroidered blouse, proceeded to pelt us right and left with snow. We did our best to combat the attack, but were no match for her. She ran like a gazelle all around us and appearing where she was least expected, showered us with snow balls at every turn. We soon forgot about the cold and raced about in the icy air, straining every muscle to land a ball at the elusive, graceful girl who was pelting us mercilessly.

So the moments fled and as we all wended our way homeward, our thoughts were full of Marie.

5.

Marie's entrance into the Social-Democratic group at once put an end to the bickerings and factional fights in our colony. The Social Revolutionists at first felt somewhat hurt by the loss of Marie's party affiliation, but she was such a precious asset to all of us, in fact we could not conceive of living without her, that they quickly forgave her. She became the central point of the entire colony, and the ties of friendship between all of us politicals grew in purity and sincerity because of Marie's influence. She always counseled against party fights and carried her point invariably. "Why fight amongst ourselves, why scrap and dicker?" she would appeal. "We are all revolutionists, we are all striving for one goal, so what difference does it really make whether I follow Marx or Michailovsky?"

Marie devoted a great deal of her time to the exiled peasants. She would read to them aloud and teach them how to read and write. She even made clothes for their children and instructed their women in better housekeeping. She was apt and handy at everything, and whatever she did was done skillfully and rapidly. Her own little hut was a model of cleanliness and good taste, and every nook and corner spoke of her artistic soul and inclinations. No one ever saw her downcast and whenever bad tidings were received from the far-away home, we invariably went to Marie and were sure to come away from her in better spirits and with stronger faith in the cause which was dear and sacred to all of us.

But after all, Marie was a puzzle and mystery to all of us politicals. We could not understand from what source this pale, little girl drew her inexhaustible energy, her life and courage. We often questioned ourselves: "Who is she, this charmer of our hearts and minds? What is her past, is there anyone whom she loves not merely with the love of a sister, but as a woman?" Our curiosity was, however, never gratified, for her life was still a sealed book to us, and quite naturally our interest in her grew even more intense because of that.

Week after week passed. One just like the other, and if it had not been for Marie, the dreadful monotony of life would have been unbearable. Heaven knows where it would have led us to. Each of us was in the grip of an irresistible desire to break away from the curse of the exile and to taste again the air and freedom of the great wide world. We frequently talked to Marie about getting away, but she always managed to side track the conversation, and we soon realized that it was a painful subject for her to talk about. We wondered how she, with her free, energetic nature could endure life in this cold cage. But it was fate, and prudence and reason counselled submission, and to those of us who complained louder than the rest, Marie had one reply: "Don't worry, brother, better times are coming, just wait and you'll see!"

6.

With the first rays of the spring sun, Marie underwent a visible transformation. She was still the same lively girl that we all knew and loved, yet there had appeared something about her that spoke of a deep change. Shadows occasionally visited her bright, little face, and in such moments she would whisper Nadson's melancholy songs, and stare unconsciously into the great void like a startled dove.

We never inquired of her the cause of her depression, and attributed it to the influence of spring, which awakens in all young hearts a quiet yearning for the uncertain and unattainable. The arctic spring appeared to us like the pale smile of a sick child. The flora is still covered with heavy snows and everything is still breathing the rigor of winter. But occasionally a sun ray finds his way thru the gray sky walls, and suddenly you discover with amazement the rippling of an unfettered streamlet, or the wonder sight of a few blades of grass. While the nights are still long, painfully long, their darkness is not so deep and grows paler and more transparent. Soon the sun becomes more generous and the veil of night becomes thinner, a harbinger of the white nights to come, which rob you

(Continued on page 8)

A RED FANTASIA

By ERIC VERNEY.

Clang, clang, clang—
The turbines rattled;
Clang, crash—
And Jack, machine-minder
Grimly battled
With sleep.
Crash—.
He was on the night shift.

Clang, crash—
And out of the East came a Red Star
Thru the air, thru the skylight
From afar;
Crash, clang—
Red star emblazoned on a quaint spiked hat
Worn by a stranger, who said to Jack:
"I am a Red Army man."

And he asked:
"Have you ever heard
Of those giants who gave their lives
To the Revolution?—
Thinking, writing, planning, leading—
Sacrificing, only heeding
The Revolution?
Such as these were Marx and Lenin,
Their disciples Sverdloff, Mehring,
John Reed, Lefebvre, and many more;
Have you ever heard
Of those martyrs who gave their lives
For the Revolution—
Working, fighting, guiding, dying
At their posts, crying:
"Long live the Revolution!"
Such as these were Liebknecht, Rosa Luxembourg,
Kingisepp and Samuelly,
Volodarsky and Yuritzky,
And also Vatseslav Vorovsky . . .

Clang, crash, clang—
And Jack,
Disturbed by all these strange sounding names,
Wondered . . .
"Did you ever hear
Of the million heroes
Who fought, suffered, and bled without a fear;
Who struggled five long years
On Russia's blood-stained snows
For the Revolution . . .
Or of the glorious victims of the Class War
On other fronts,
Who died in mine or shop or mill,
Or starved to death—"unemployed,"
Or hunger struck in goal
For the Revolution?

And Jack almost understood;
Clash, clang, crash—
ALMOST understood.

And the man with the Red Star asked:
"When the DAY comes in your land,
When the fighting starts,
And gun in hand
The workers flock to the barricade
Ready for the final raid
On the citadel of Capital—
What will you do
For the Revolution?

Crash—
Jack no longer slept;
Crash, clang—
And the turbines rattled,
Clang, clang, clang.

EVERY READER A REPORTER

By KARL REEVE

BECAUSE it is a Communist newspaper, the DAILY WORKER can print the truth, whereas the capitalist papers dare not insert in their pages any news that goes counter to the economic interests of the master class.

But the DAILY WORKER has a small staff and since a large percentage of the news gleaned from the other newspapers and from the press services is written from the standpoint of the large property owners, the DAILY WORKER must rely for much of its best news on the volunteer contributions and "tips" of the Workers Party members.

In order to retain its freshness, its originality, and its worth to the working class, the DAILY WORKER must be backed by a well-trained corp of local correspondents regularly sending in news from all over the country. The first thing the DAILY WORKER volunteer reporters have to learn is to build up a nation-wide system for the gathering of exclusive working-class news is never to regrege the impulse to write or telephone the DAILY WORKER their "tips" or news stories.

Often good stories are lost to the DAILY WORKER because some comrade says to himself, "Well, I won't write the DAILY WORKER about that. They probably know about it already and it may not be so important anyhow."

Sources of News.

What are some of the sources of news which the DAILY WORKER volunteer reporters can cultivate?

Strikes, conventions, meetings of the City Federations of Labor, and trades and labor councils, speeches, court cases involving rights of workers or groups of workers against the bosses, campaigns and organization drives of working class organizations, such as tenant leagues or negro advancement societies; any move of the capitalists against the workers, or any move of the workers to win their rights from the capitalists, should by all means be sent to the DAILY WORKER.

If the event of interest to the militant working class occurs outside of Chicago, the volunteer reporter can often clip the news out of his local newspaper and send it in. The local newspapers are, in fact, the most frequent source of news in cities or towns outside of Chicago. The DAILY WORKER not long ago printed an editorial based on a clipping sent by a contributor from Miami, Florida.

Local News Wanted.

But the DAILY WORKER contributors must select their clippings carefully. Every week the DAILY WORKER receives clippings that are not the type which can be used. Only local news which occurs in the vicinity where the paper is printed should be sent in. Washington dispatches, syndicated articles such as Brisbane's column, any news story printed under an out-of-town date line, are almost always valueless, even as material for editorial comment, because the DAILY WORKER has already received such dispatches.

On the other hand, any local news items which bear on the class struggle are usable. Our correspondents will find it advisable to get into the habit of reading their local papers carefully, clipping those local news items which play up the workers' struggle for emancipation, and then using these clippings as "leads" to get better, longer, and exclusive DAILY WORKER news stories. Interviews often over the phone, can be secured with those persons and organizations mentioned in the clippings. Announcements of future events, meetings, demonstrations, etc., should be taken from the local papers and jotted down in a note book, and then "covered" by our correspondents.

Select Local Correspondents.

Workers Party branches in points outside Chicago should make it their business to see that a correspondent covers every strike and every meeting of the Federation of Labor. The reporter should take complete notes of these meetings and from them write up a concise news story.

To cover strikes, the correspondent should be in the court room as much as possible, if strikers are arrested, taking down especially the testimony of the defendants.

He should go to the picket line frequently and notice whether there is any police violence, any drunken policemen, the number of the policemen, scabs, and pickets. Arrangements can be made with the union official in charge of the strike headquarters, to give the strike news over the phone at a regular time every day.

It is preferable for each town to have its regular DAILY WORKER correspondent, to train himself to write the news as it will be printed in the DAILY WORKER. When each town has a regular correspondent, he becomes known as the DAILY WORKER reporter. One of the most valuable assets of a reporter is the number of connections he makes with individuals and organizations in touch with the happenings of the town. The first few times the correspondent covers a meeting he will get only the minutes of the action taken at the meeting.

Build Up Connections.

But as the correspondent, thru regular attendance at the meetings, for instance union meetings, becomes better known, and talks to the different union delegates, he will find that they will be coming to him with union news items which are often valuable.

All organizations, even liberal, labor and radical, want publicity. As the organizations of the town become acquainted with the DAILY WORKER correspondent, they will give him the publicity of their organizations. The only difference between publicity and news is the way it is written up.

DAILY WORKER corpespondents should expose themselves to the important connections in their town. Organizational publicity and union news, especially where militant progressive principles are involved, should be collected. The correspondent will conserve his time by use of the telephone wherever possible, by taking clippings from the local papers, by building up regular and reliable channels of news, and by making advance lists of union elections and other labor events. Advance notices of important labor events are worthy of a short news item and should be sent to the DAILY WORKER.

Technical Changes.

Many letters come into the editorial office of the DAILY WORKER, which, after a few minor mechanical changes, can be put into the DAILY WORKER just as they are written. But the editorial staff is very busy, and it is often these technical errors which keep otherwise acceptable news laying around the editorial rooms for weeks. In the next article I will give a few suggestions as to how best write up these news stories for the DAILY WORKER.

Every one on the editorial staff is talking about the organization of our army of news gatherers into a well-trained staff of volunteer reporters. Every one on the DAILY WORKER staff realizes the immediate necessity of closer contact with our correspondents.

Send in Suggestions.

These articles are written to give a few suggestions whereby our volunteer reporters can become more valuable to the paper. One of the most distinctive features of the DAILY WORKER is the exclusive news of the class struggle sent in by our readers. The business office has been preaching the slogan, "Every reader a subscriber." An equally important slogan which, if followed out, will materially increase the value of their paper is "Every reader a reporter."

We will be glad to help solve any problem of our volunteer reporters. There will be other articles later by other members of the staff. Meanwhile, don't fail to write us any suggestions or question which comes to mind concerning the building up of a DAILY WORKER staff of volunteer reporters.

BENEVOLENT FEUDALISM IN EDUCATION

(Continued from page 3.)

Now and then, clever or disgruntled subordinates—usually the latter, for one can always count upon clever teachers to aspire to higher posts; aspiration ties the tongue of the would-be-agitator or truth-teller; muck-rake is easily scotched—hurt out unpleasant and well-known facts; they suffer accordingly.

Unreflective loyalty is the "sine qua non" of benevolent despotism. That's why our "democratic" school system will forgive any breach of excellence, except the violation of the ethic of blind loyalty.

Despotism flourishes because, firstly, superiors have uncensored power; secondly, superiors rarely meet, or take counsel with inferiors; thirdly, unreflective loyalty is rewarded with such inexpensive badges of goodwill as marks, flattery, cush jobs, hospitable assistance, small pompous promotions; fourthly, the mass of subordinates are coddled into believing in their lofty mission, for the fulfillment of which they are allowed no self-dependence, nor any exercise of originality at all; fifthly, the common run of underlings is proverbially timid, and even cowardly. What more ironic spectacle than the sight of dear little teacher expounding with thumping enthusiasm, the glorious lessons of the American revolution, of American independence, lessons in emancipation the dear little teacher hasn't the intellectual grit or the moral self-determination to accept at their face value and to put into powerful practice? Sixthly, the pretense is skillfully exploited that all the interests of the "system" are in reality harmonious and co-operative. This pretense bolsters up the fake idealism of the persecuting superior, who will tolerate no (personal) "disloyalty."

I have thus far frankly exposed the superior-inferior mis-alliance which rules our school system. In my honest expose, I have constantly assumed the necessity of benevolent despotism. Suppose we experiment with the other option: benevolent democratism. What may we say in its behalf? Let us see.

The first article of a democratic faith (unless it be a pure sham), is the socialization of power. A leader must be willing to submit his plans and policies to those whom he may neither respect for great knowledge, nor trust for broad, good sense. Yet, if he be a genuine democrat, he will be willing to foster the myth (even if it be only that), that the subordinate many are worth while consulting anent the affairs of profundity.

I tell to those of you who have never been possessed of great power or of superior opportunity that the most difficult achievement on this earth for men of power is to learn to share that power amicably and honorably with other claimants. The whole history of civilization (socialogically speaking) is the story of power seeking by all means, foul and fair, to frustrate the socialization of its prerogatives.

Let us not be forever hoodwinked. Let us clearly realize that the love of supervising and of controlling the destiny of others (who are moved like puppets by wills stronger than their own), is deeper than tolerance or reason or the passion for justice. The love of power is the love of life itself. Power is life. It is more than that. Power is life made exciting and interesting and apparently worthwhile. The will-to-power is the key to the meaning of human history.

Now comes your democracy and rudely commands: "Give up some of this power. We trust no longer in your infallibility. We don't feel safe under your dictatorship. You don't even know our interests, let alone sincerely care for them. What do you know about us and our human desires? Haven't we the same deep need as you for power and prestige and distinction and special privilege? Unless we curtail your superiorities and appropriate for ourselves the vast power, hitherto in our credulity and blindness forfeited to you, we cannot attain our heart's desires. Our eyes are opening. We, too, want a place amongst the constellations. Yield your glory to us. We desire to know the delights of sovereignty."

The latter-day demands of democracy shatter the most sacred assumptions of superiority. Do you underlings expect Superiority to yield to this half-awakened claimant without murmur or blow? Benevolent democracy shines in theory, but rusts in practice. Men aren't capable of dividing their power with those who are far removed from them in position and viewpoint. That's why the first need of a true democracy, as I am well aware, is the collective enthronement of the ordinary citizens, in order that they may demand a hearing in the councils of the Mighty and be assured of obtaining it thru their numerical strength (if they lack other insignia of power)?

When teachers in the ranks can unite and present a collective front to their official superiors, one hates to think of the formidable power their union and unanimity will afford them.

Benevolent democracy will arrive when official superiors shall have been replaced by comrades in equality, chosen from the common run of teachers and wholly responsible to the teacher citizenry. That day is sure to come. Its arrival may be hastened or delayed by the teachers themselves.

As a benevolent despot, trained and taught in the older, more rigid discipline of superiority, I cannot subscribe to the disrespectful democracy of inferiors. However, I have the intellectual acumen to interpret the signs of change, which are as clear as daylight to those who are not spiritually color-blind. Great changes are preparing everywhere.

Whether these changes, bringing in their tumultuous wake the socialization of power, the dethronement of autocratic superiors, the greater equalization of all salaries, the restoration of unfettered freedom of teaching and of criticism, will beget their own peculiar problems of disharmony, we need not at present discuss. The school system cannot escape the contagion of revolutionary change.

The most far-reaching change will undoubtedly be the abolition of the hideously undemocratic and galling superior-inferior relationship and the substitution therefor of a democracy of comrades. . . .

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Benevolent Feudalism in Education

By a Teacher

(SUPERINTENDENT IN CHIEF CONFESSES)

MY problems are numerous, my perplexities overwhelming. As the controller of a vast system, I have two fruitful options: Either to act the benevolent despot or to play the benevolent democrat. Either role tazes to the utmost one's capacity and one's patience. The joy of undivided power is intoxicating. Temperamentally, all powerful persons ingrant reciprocal advantages for favors received. Inferiors, by their very position, must be ignored by their superiors. Not until inferiors can bestow or withhold privileges do they invoke the responses of genuine responsibility.

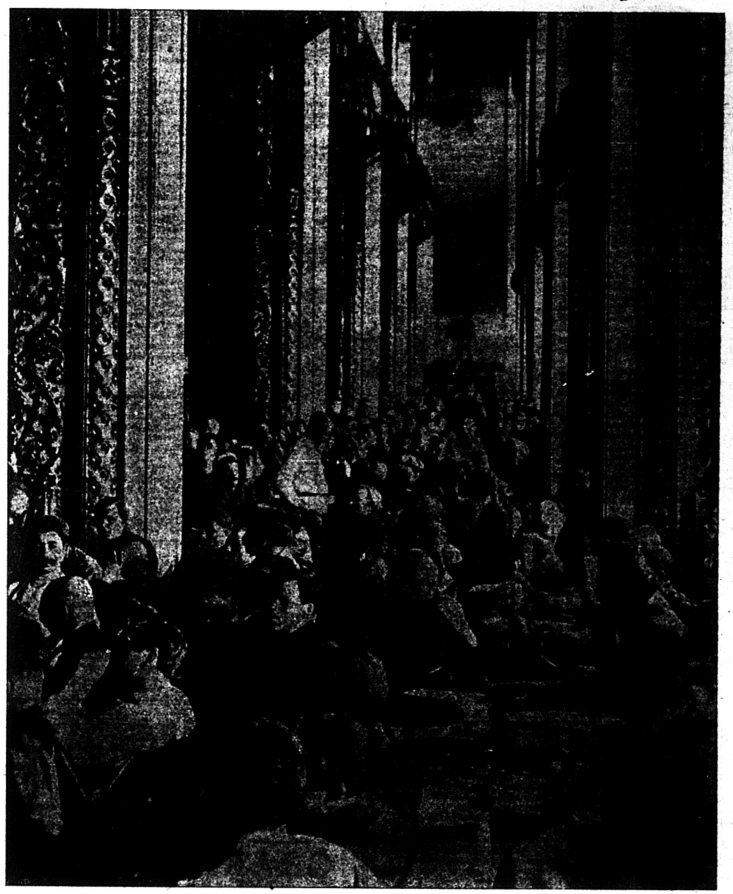
Men who can seriously profit or seriously suffer by their reciprocal relationships know the debts of responsibility periodically due from borrower to lender, from temporary insolvent to solvent. The law of responsibility is the law of mutual advantage.

Only a brilliant humanitarian can be expected to exhibit toward official inferiors as tender and thoughtful a solicitude as he perforce must manifest toward his scheming equals. Brilliant humanitarians do not flourish in school systems. Neither brilliancy nor humanitarianism is at home in our educational barracks.

Hence it comes about that the head of a school system is immeasurably more concerned about the opinions and desires of his intimate coterie of fellow-manipulators than he is with the equally imperious and valid desires of the teaching body, too remote from the centers of authority to be interesting. But, as chief, one must at least appear to be impartial and vitally concerned. What to do?

Benevolent despots solve the dilemma by politely ignoring their inferiors in all matters requiring judgment, power, prestige, exceptional ability, unique knowledge, and by pretending to need their assistance in the solution of the "moral" problems of education. Isn't it noticeable that teachers are forever being harangued on the meaningless themes of duty, loyalty, self-sacrifice, self-education, "higher" consideration, and never enlightened on the strategic problems of power, administration, collective efficiency, aspiration, the rights to think and agitate and revise?

In short, to be perilously blunt, benevolent autocrats wield power, but encourage their subordinates to be content with their own lofty influence.



CONGRESS OF RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

cline to tyranny, tho they never speak of their control so brutally. They call it superiority, leadership, diplomacy. Observe how irresistible is the temptation to aspire to dictatorship in a system so huge and impersonal that no human bonds span the gaps between superior and inferior.

There is a human law of responsibility which reads: Human beings are responsible only to those who can

The compromise between substance and shadow works admirably. The few do as they please; the many talk (and usually, not as they please, either).

The essence of successful power is to get people to believe in you even when you don't believe in them. The situation is not a lovely one the it does operate quite well in practice.

(Continued on page 4.)

The Betrayal at Cleveland -

By Alexander Bittelman

WHAT was it that happened there on July 4? Nothing more nor less than surrender—complete and total surrender to LaFollette and La-Folletteism on the part of the representatives of labor that were present at the convention of the C. P. F. A. at Cleveland on July 4.

A Great Disaster.

There is no minimizing the importance or far reaching consequences of the betrayal. It is nothing short of a disaster to the American labor movement. For the moment it destroys almost completely any chance whatever for a working class united front in the coming presidential elections. It ties the exploited masses of the country hand and foot. It delivers them into the hands of the middle class politicians to be exploited in the interests of social groups that are opposed and antagonistic to the working class. In short, the betrayal at Cleveland makes the workers subservient to the petty bourgeoisie, which, in the last analysis, means subjection to Big Capital.

What did they do in Cleveland?

The delegates to the Conference for Progressive Political Action (C. P. P. A.) came to Cleveland ostensibly in the interests of labor. They were representing labor organizations. They spoke in the name of labor. The conference was made up overwhelmingly of delegates from railroad unions, garment workers' unions, state federations of labor and six or seven other international unions. The socialist party was there. Even the socialist-labor party, the arch-sectarians and isolationists in the American labor movement, they, too, were represented at the conference. So that, judged by its make-up, it was a labor gathering pure and simple.

It was a political conference. Which means that its duty was to devise and perfect the best possible political means under the circumstances to protect and defend the interests of the American laboring masses. It was their duty to create a political party of labor and, in conjunction with other labor groups willing to join in the common cause, to launch a presidential campaign in the interests—exclusive interests—of the class whom the delegates in Cleveland were there to represent.

That was clearly the duty of the Cleveland Conference, in fact of every labor organization that undertakes to discuss political problems in the name of labor. And this, the only thing to be done, the Cleveland Conference did not do. Instead, it sold out (we have no objection to this being understood literally), it sold out to the propertied middle classes, to the manufacturers, to the merchant, to the small banker, to the rich farmer and to the well-to-do professionals. The men who dominated the Conference for Progressive Political Action in Cleveland on July 4th, consciously and with premeditated design, entered into an alliance with the leaders of the propertied middle classes in order to exploit jointly the political power of the oppressed masses in the interests of:

a) Manufacturers, merchants, small bankers, rich farmers and well-to-do professionals.

b) Labor bureaucrats and a small section of the labor aristocracy, and

c) Bankrupt and unemployed politicians of the socialist, republican and democratic parties.

This is what happened at Cleveland on July 4th. It was a black day, indeed, one of the blackest in the annals of the American labor movement. And let it be understood that those guilty of the crime have done a pretty good piece of "business." Everyone involved in the alliance will profit by it.

As a result of the LaFollette campaign the propertied middle classes will undoubtedly secure a substantial share of political power. They will use this power to wrest some concessions for themselves out by the greedy hands of Big Capital, but at the expense of the workers.

The labor bureaucrats of the C. O. P. A. will not get much political power, but instead they may secure some very soft and warm berths for themselves and their friends. They may even succeed in getting a few minor concessions for a small section of the railroad unions at the expense of the large masses of the rank and file.

The bankrupt politicians of the socialist party will also profit by the deal. Having lost their party and their influence, they are now compelled to look for new fields of "conquest." They have sold their souls to the bureaucrats of the C. P. P. A. and expect to be rewarded for it at some future date.

Thus it can be seen that the treacherous deal in Cleveland is of mutual benefit to all the parties concerned. All but the one party that lends real power to the generals of the C. P. P. A.—the workers and exploited farmers. These are the only losers as a result of the Cleveland alliance with La-Follette.

The United Front Becomes Impossible.

The July meeting of the C. P. P. A. has had it in its power to make possible a united front of labor in the coming presidential elections. They could have declared themselves in favor of independent class political action, joined hands with the farmer-labor center formed in St. Paul on June 17th, thus launching a United Front political campaign of all the oppressed and exploited masses in the country. It was in their hands to make July 4th a red-letter day in the life of the American labor movement.

But they willed differently. For the sake of personal advancement and the advancement of the interests of an insignificant group of labor aristocrats in the railroad unions, the leaders of the C. P. P. A. have seen fit to betray and sacrifice the life-interests of the whole working class. This they have done, and in doing so have removed the last chance for a United Front Farmer-Labor campaign in the coming presidential elections. Instead of a united front of, for and by labor, we shall have, by grace of the C. P. P. A., a united front against labor by labor bureaucrats, labor aristocrats, socialist politicians (from Berger to Debs), all these united with merchants, bankers and manufacturers.

The Menace of LaFolletteism.

This petty bourgeois sweep in the ranks of labor is a genuine menace to the welfare of the American working masses. It threatens, unless it is seriously resisted, to destroy all but completely every vestige of working class political independence. It may succeed, unless all class conscious elements in the American labor movement unite in combatting it, in establishing the ideological hegemony of the petty bourgeoisie over the oppressed masses even more completely than the old capitalist parties ever succeeded in imposing upon the masses their ideology. And since the petty bourgeoisie, whom LaFollette represents and serves, has never been able, for any considerable length of time, to lead a political movement of its own, this LaFollette movement may yet find itself to be nothing more nor less than a new instrument in the hands of Big Capital for maintaining and perpetuating capitalist rule in the United States.

This menace of LaFolletteism is not only genuine but grave and immediate as well. Such a state of affairs, which confronted us with a united petty bourgeois front extending from LaFollette to Eugene V. Debs, calls for the most resolute and uncompromising action on the part of every worker and exploited farmer who is loyal to the interests of his class. Where the issue is: either working class political independence or the subjection of labor to the leadership of the petty bourgeoisie, the slogans must be: No compromise! A clear-cut fight for independent political action by labor! A merciless struggle against all and every betrayer of this vital principle of the proletarian class struggle.

The Workers Party and the Election Campaign.

The betrayal at Cleveland removes the possibility of a United Front on the political field. And without such a united front as a basis there can be no farmer-labor election campaign. Which means that the Workers Party of America must take the field alone and lead the battle against capitalism, against LaFolletteism and for the idea of independent political action by the workers and exploited farmers.

In announcing the withdrawal of its candidates in favor of those of the Workers Party of America, the National Executive Committee of the Farmer-Labor Party formed at the June 17th Convention in St. Paul declares:

"We have been pursuing the aim of bringing about a united front of the oppressed masses of the country for a common political struggle against the rule of capitalism in the United States. For this purpose we have been carrying on a widespread campaign of agitation and organization in favor of a Farmer-Labor Party as the only means of establishing this united front of the oppressed against the exploiters. In this we were successful to a very large extent.

In spite of the treacherous attack of Senator LaFollette, the national convention of the Farmer-Labor Party, held in St. Paul on June 17, 18 and 19, succeeded in laying the basis for an independent political party of the workers and exploited farmers, thus paving the way for a united front campaign in the coming presidential election. The convention also instructed the National Executive Committee to negotiate with other groups favoring a farmer-labor campaign in order to make the united front as wide and all-inclusive as possible, and if necessary even to withdraw the presidential candidates nominated by the convention.

The next step was to be made by the Conference for Progressive Political Action. To these men and women claiming to represent the interests of labor on the political field, belonged the final word as to whether there should be a united front campaign of workers and exploited farmers in the coming presidential election. We have been anxiously awaiting the results of the Cleveland Conference."

"The betrayal at Cleveland makes impossible any united front farmer-labor campaign. It delivers into the hands of LaFollette and the propertied middle classes whom he represents, large sections of American labor. It shows the complete surrender of the labor bureaucracy and the bankrupt socialist politicians, which dominate the C. P. P. A., to LaFollette and La-Folletteism. The united front in the coming campaign, therefore, becomes impossible."

Such being the case, the Workers Party must by itself unfurl the banner of the class struggle and mobilize in the battle as many class conscious workers as there are at present in the United States.

MINISTER OF LABOR TO STRIKER: For God's sake, don't! He hasn't had any official warning!

PROTEST.

All day I fill bottles.
I sit on an up-ended box,
Turn a little spigot,
And fill bottles.
A reach, a twist, a reach,
And a bottle is filled.

I dare not think.
If I think I may forget
And spill the liquid.
A song is singing in my head
The words go like this:
Hey there you, cries the foreman,
You gotta keep your mind
On what you're doin'.

God! think of it!
Filling bottles all day.
And the sun on the grass,
And the wind in the trees.
Filling bottles, endless bottles.
And the robin is singing,
Come out and play! come out and play!
Hey you there, cries the foreman,
You gotta keep your mind
On what you're doin'!

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The "Spark" That Grew Into A Flame

By DAVID IVON JONES.

LENIN'S newspaper, "Iskra," ("The Spark") formed the starting point for the formation of an organized party of the proletariat in Russia, when the words "Menshevik" and "Bolshevik" had not yet been coined. In order to understand the character and purpose of the journal, it is necessary to go back a few years.

When Lenin appeared in Petrograd in 1894, and began to form Social-Democratic groups of workers and intellectuals, the Social-Democratic idea,* which has then synonymous with revolutionary Marxism, had always been disseminated in Russia for about ten years, but only among isolated individuals here and were Plekhanov and Axelrod, had formed the "group for the emancipation of Labor," in Switzerland. They worked, as it were, in the absence of a workers' movement, when it was still a question of theory, as far as Russia was concerned. They perforce confined themselves to the literary task of popularizing the Marxian principles among the Russian revolutionaries, who were in a state of disillusionment and disappointment at the failure of the "Narodniki" (Populist) creed, which based its hopes upon the peasant.

Lenin started the period of action in Russian Social-Democracy. But, as we saw in our previous article, he also most effectively of all, incarnated Marxism in the flesh of actual Russian economic conditions. This he did in his controversy with the "narodniki." He left a monument to this controversy in his masterly work, "The Development of Capitalism in Russia."

But Lenin not only wrote. With him theory served to give replies to the problems arising out of the struggle. He formed groups of workers to organize agitation in the various workshops of Petrograd. The agitation among the workers took the form of issuing leaflets in connection with a certain factory, flagellating the abuses and oppressions, the petty fines, etc., to which the workers were subjected. But Lenin's group not only advanced particular economic demands, but also the struggle for the overthrow of Czarism, thus placing the workers in the forefront of the struggle for political freedom. And the workers readily responded. A wave of strikes dated from this time. The workers finally demonstrated their capacity for political struggle, which was of vast importance in winning over the revolutionary intelligentsia to Marxism.

Needless to say, the agitation had to be carried on under the severest conspiratory conditions. The growing working class revolt roused the forces of the Czarist police to action, and, at the end of 1895, practically the whole of Lenin's group, the Group for the emancipation of the working class," was arrested, including Lenin himself. In 1897, Lenin was exiled to Siberia. There, however, he managed to continue his literary work, his controversy with the legal "narodniki," besides writing on the urgent tasks of the Social-Democrats in Russia in the light of the experience gained in the first attempts in Petrograd.**

While Lenin was in exile, Social-Democratic groups were being formed in all the large cities of Russia, and an attempt was made to hold the first congress at Minsk, in 1898. But, as Lenin afterwards showed, the young Social Democrats were as yet inexperienced in conspirative organization, and the central organizations set up by the Congress were broken up by the police as soon as formed. Nothing remained but the Manifesto of the Congress. So that there was still no organized party. It remained an idea, a trend. There was no co-ordination among the groups. Each was a law to itself and each had a different interpretation of the Social-Democratic program, tactics and methods of struggle. This was the period of the groups or circles.

Lenin returned from exile in 1900. In the five years since his arrest, the elemental uprising of the workers had taken a mass character. This dispiriting, disquieted Lenin, even while it filled him with confidence in the working class, as all elemental uprisings without conscious direction disquieted him. He saw the mass movement going ahead of the conscious Social-Democratic movement, and he sounded the alarm. He saw much that was contrary to Marxism in the tactics and teachings of the young groups. A certain vulgarization of Marxism, a kind of "I. W. W.'ism," had taken hold among the revolutionary youth during these five years.

This trend was known as "economism." The "economists" declared the economic struggle to be paramount. "Politics follow economics," they said. "Leave politics to the liberal bourgeoisie; and all this talk about the overthrow of Czarism is not the concern of the workers. Talk to the workers about matters that promise palpable results. Too much ideology, too much theory, etc., etc." How familiar all this is to any party worker no matter in what part of the world he may be! Lenin sensed a great danger in this trend. With the air of being ultra-working class, the economists reduced working class politics into a tool of the bourgeoisie. For many at that time wanted the revolution who were not of the working class movement, but saw in the working class a force to be exploited politically. The liberal bourgeoisie desired revolution of a sort. The petty bourgeoisie desired revolution. Whose revolution, it was going to be, whether the proletariat should be a tool in the service of the bourgeoisie, or whether it should retain the lead in the revolution, depended on the correct proletarian tactics and the correct methods of organization in these critical days. The revolutionary intelligentsia were prone to say: "The proletariat is necessary for the revolution." Plekhanov corrected them from his Gepeva study: "No, on the contrary, the revolution is necessary for the proletariat." Such were the "economists," consciously or unconsciously reducing the role of the proletariat to an appendage of the liberal bourgeoisie.

Lenin now saw himself obliged to carry forward the theoretical struggle from the domain of program (controversy with the narodniki) to the domain of tactics and methods of organization, namely, the fight with the "economists" within the Social-Democratic movement. On his return from exile Lenin, and a few others who held similar views, met at Pskov to consider the needs of the movement. It was decided to start an all-Russian Social-Democratic newspaper. There had been several previous attempts made to start a paper. Some had had a short-lived existence before being discovered and suppressed; others, like the "Rabbochi Dyelo" ("Workers' Cause"), the first paper printed by Lenin's group in 1895, had been seized by the police before leaving the press. The only hope of success was to establish what Lenin called a base of operations beyond the reach of the Czarist police, that is, abroad, and thereto establish a newspaper which would be an ideological guide for the movement, gathering the various groups together round the true Marxist tactics and methods of organization. For this purpose, Lenin was selected to go abroad and establish contact with the Plekhanov group, enlisting their aid in the work.

In this last activity he had brilliant success. He established the now famous newspaper, "Iskra," (The Spark), and the "Iskra" organization for the dissemination of the paper. The paper became not only a theoretical guide, but an organizational center, to which group after group adhered, to form the basis for an All-Russian Party of the Proletariat.

But, needless to say, "Iskra" met with considerable opposition from the "economists" within the movement. For, was it not formed to wage no compromising war on Economism, which exalted the immaturity of the movement into a considered policy? In its first announcement, the paper declared: "Before we unite, and in order that we unite, it is necessary first of all resolutely and definitely to divide." Here, however, there was no question of splitting any organization, for a centrally organized party did not yet exist. It was "Iskra's" task to form it. But, first of all, it was necessary to delimit, fix boundaries, define the Social-Democratic method and those who belonged to it, and label those who departed from it; separating the tares from the wheat. And the tares at this time were the "economists."

Plekhanov, Martov, Axelrod and others were on the "Iskra" editorial committee. But "Iskra" was essentially Lenin's paper. Of all these, Lenin alone had clear, impelling ideas as to what the movement needed. He put forward the celebrated idea of an "organization of professional revolutionaries." He had seen group after group broken up by the police, every forward movement thwarted by wholesale arrests because of what Lenin called a "tinkering" view of the incredibly difficult task of counteracting the political police. A broken up having no link with a central organization, left no trace whereby its activities could be speedily revived. Lenin demanded a centrally directed organization of comrades as scientifically equipped as the police in the art of conspiracy—" professional revolutionaries" the ironsides of an All-Russian Party, of the Proletariat. "Iskra" also elaborated in detail the plan of such a party, and not only proposed this, but proceeded to carry its ideas into practice, gathering round itself group after group of adherents in the various industrial centers of Russia.

In 1902, a year after starting "Iskra," Lenin issued hi s epoch-making brochure, entitled, "What Must We Do?" This he describes as a synopsis of the "Iskra" tactics and methods of organization. The book became a veritable storm center in Russian Social Democracy, not only because of its campaign against "economism," but also because it laid down principles of party organization which went much further than the fight against "economism." "What Must We Do?" cleared "economism" off the field, but it raised new issues, a new conflict on a higher plane, which a year later crystallized in the division of the movement into Menshevism and Bolshevism.

Meanwhile "economism," degrading the political role of the proletariat, found its kindred expression in Bernstein's revisionism. At first glance the latter had little in common with the slogans of opportunism. The "economists" chafed at the rigorous of "orthodox" Marxism, and demanded, like their German contort characteristic of the uncompromising revolutionary: "People who are really convinced that they carry science a step forward would demand, not equal freedom for the new theory along with the old one, but the substitution of the old by the new," and, in the first chapter of "What Must We Do?" he adds: "Oh, yes, messieurs, you are free to invite, and, not only to invite, but to go where you please, even to the morass; we even think that the bog is your proper place, and we are prepared to lend you every support for your migration thereto." Lenin believed in giving the confirmed opportunist a push to the right!

At this time, using the terminology of the French revolution, "Iskra" defined the existence of the Mountain and the Gironde in the Russian proletarian movement. Indeed, Plekhanov, some time before Lenin's arrival in the "emigration," had broken with the "Union for the Emancipation of Labor," because of its "economism" and had formed the "League of Social Democrats." But Lenin does not seem to have suspected (or else deemed it unwise to reveal his suspicions), that the final cleavage should take place on a line between him and his "Iskra" colleagues, Plekhanov, Martov, Axelrod, and others. But this amazing "right-about-face" to opportunism, constituting one of the most striking studies in the psychology of menshevism, must form the subject of a separate article, devoted to the Menshevik split.

"What Must We Do?" in spite of the familiarising of Leninism by the Communist International, has still much that is new and startling to the English reader, and it is to be hoped that these early Lenin brochures will soon be published in the English language.

(Continued Next Week.)

* The word "Social-Democratic" is retained thruout the present article because it then stood for revolutionary Communism, and was so used by Lenin.

**-New Leningrad. The old name is used in order to retain the historical perspective, especially as the subject is Lenin himself.

DAVID IVON JONES

It is with the greatest sorrow that we have to record the loss of Comrade David Ivon Jones, who died recently in a sanatorium in the Crimea. Altho taken from us when scarcely in his prime, Comrade Jones leaves behind him a career of valuable service to the revolutionary labor movement and the Communist International.

Born of working class parents in a Welsh village, he started life as a wage earner at the age of 13. At the age of 19 he emigrated to New Zealand, where he remained four years, working for the most time as an agricultural laborer. In 1906 Comrade Jones arrived in South Africa, and here he threw himself whole heartedly into the labor movement, devoting close study to the revolutionary labor movement and to the Marxist theory, as well as actively participating in the labor struggles and in general working class activity. In the severe struggles which took place in 1912 and 1913 Comrade Jones took a leading part. In 1914 he was elected as general secretary to the Labor party, and the outbreak of the world war found him among the few who set their face determinedly against it, as a result of which the chauvinist elements forced him from the leadership of the party, which led to a split. Throuot the war Comrade Jones remained true to revolutionary principles in the face of all opposition and persecution. During this period he helped to found what was known as the International Socialist league, and became editor of its paper, the Internationali.

When the Communist International was founded in 1919, Jones was among the first to give it his allegiance and to urge that the South African workers become affiliated thereto. In 1921 he arrived in Moscow as a delegate to the Third World Congress, and since that time remained in Russia, where he devoted his time to the study of international questions and was a constant contributor to the press of the British sections of the Comintern. The article from his pen in the current number of our English brother organ, the Communist Review, shows to what good purpose he was able to put his knowledge of the history of the Russian Bolshevist Party and the struggle waged by Lenin against all deviations.

The Comintern, and in particular the English speaking sections, will deeply feel the loss sustained in the early death of this comrade, while his life will afford a splendid example of earnest and untiring service to the cause of Communism.