How many socialist parties of the warring nations remembered this passage in August, 1914. Plekhanov called upon the Russian socialists to fight against Prussianism. Schreiber and Ebert yelled about the Russian Cossacks, threatening the “free” institutions of Germany and Austria. But they overlooked the French and Belgian workers to defend the fatherland, and of democracy and national interest. Henderson did the same in England, and Spargo in America. A class peace was not made, and the victors and captives might all unite to fight their common enemy. Only the Russian Bolsheviks and minorities in the various socialist parties did not surrender their socialism and refused to accept a treaty of peace. The social-patriotic parties during the war have continued their class peace after the war and are today the banner of the neck of the workers who still follow them.

The Commune—the First Proletarian Revolution.

The Commune is the great tradition of the French working class. The mutine walls of Pere la Chaise remind the French workers of the heroism of their proletarian fathers, who fought for freedom or for the price of slavery. The Commune is also the heredity of the entire proletariat. It is the song of the workers who are only fighting in it but also controlling and directing it towards proletarian aims. As Lenin wrote in his French pamphlet, "the Commune was caught up with European workers to consider concretely the question of the social revolution.

The Commune is one of the brightest jewels in the revolutionary diadem. Marx’s tribute at the close of his historic Address to the French workers to the memory of the valiant Communards and to the cause in behalf of which they fought: "Workingmen's Paris, with its Commune, will be forever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of the new society. Its martyrs enshrined in the annals of the history of the world's proletariat. In this sense it is immortal."

Some twenty years ago a translation of a French pamphlet was quite popular in the American revolutionary movement. It opened with the following words: "Uncover your hands and speak about the martyrs of the Commune."

Engels on the Commune as a Dictatorship.

The Commune was the first attempt at a proletarian dictatorship. It was not victorious but it was the prototype of the lasting dictatorship inaugurated by the Russian workers forty-six years afterwards. The socialists, peddled in the legend of the Commune by the workers of scientific socialism did not favor proletarian dictatorship and that only the "Byzantine" Bolsheviks introduced it into the Marxist legend. Engels’ introduction to "The Civil War in France" written in 1891, closes with the following passage: "The German philistine (read socialist)—A. T. has recently been possessed of a wholesome fear for the phrase: dictatorship of the proletariat. He occasionally asks himself: do you want to know what this dictatorship is like? Look at the Commune. This was the dictatorship of the proletariat!"

Engels was the revolutionist par excellence. He lived in the spirit of a revolutionist to his old age. "Now, the Congress of the Second International will be forever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of the new society. Its martyrs enshrined in the annals of the history of the world's proletariat. In this sense it is immortal."

The Masses of the Proletariat.

From among the second generation of Marxists, it was Lenin more than anyone else who analyzed the lessons of the Commune. Kautsky, who has done a great deal to popularize Marx’s ideas, did not share Engels’ position. Kautsky, who doesn’t believe much later from disproving (neglecting) the Commune. Lenin saw in the Commune the birth of the methods which the workers have to apply in their class struggle for their emancipation. In his article on the 40th anniversary of the Commune, Lenin summed up as follows his evaluation of the historic significance of the Commune: "The cause of the Commune is the cause of the social revolution, the cause of the complete political and economic liberation of the workers; it is thecause of the world's proletariat. In this sense it is immortal."

The Aristocracy of Labor.

The influence of the Commune on the working class is not yet exhausted. One section of the working class, consisting of several millions of workers—the labor aristocracy—imperialism bribes, debauches and corrupts. With what results? We find that this upper stratum, this aristocracy of labor, these highly skilled and privileged workers, are a bulwark against the bourgeoisie, standing in antagonism to the rest of the great masses of the unskilled proletariat. Mr. Green is in effect a member without portfolio in the Coolidge cabinet.

The Role of the State.

March 2, 1919, is the day when the Communist International was founded. We shall think on this 55th anniversary of the Commune about the brave Communards who initiated the way to retrace the memory that the dead at Pere la Chaise is to redeem ourselves to the cause in which they heroically fought and for which they gloriously gave their lives.
usually serves as a source of leadership for it. The workers who are best qualified to lead in the proletariat, the workers who are the best educated, who are the best disciplined, they are the workers who are the best organized, who are the working class. Because these elements are so vital in any struggle, the new profits of the bourgeoisie, we find ourselves losing our hold on this source of proletarian leadership. Such a condition cannot persist for a long time. In the United States this condition still exists to a large extent. And we know how serious it is.

Imperialism and the Trade Union Burocracy.

On the other hand, as the other side of the medal, the rapidly developing American imperialism has produced a strong trade union bureaucracy that has developed as quickly to become an organic part of the apparatus of the imperialist bourgeoisie as the trade union bureaucrats develop and assumes new functions. New stages of development give rise to new demands and the trade union bureaucracy and the upper strata of the labor aristocracy have to meet these new demands. The root of these developments, the reasons for the appearance of new demands and the assumption of new forms the trade union bureaucracy is playing to the trade union bureaucracy and are being continued today with, of course, the variations and differences which are to be found in the case of the American labor movement. This is a real fact and an ever-present danger—but at this time it must be sought for elsewhere than in the trade union bureaucracy. The whole Socialist Party has moved to the extreme of the left. We should analyze specifically the causes likely to lead to the development of such a new phase of the labor movement against the ever-growing proletariat in the trade union organizations.

Mr. Green is as much and no less the servant of imperialism than Mr. Gompers was. The difference is—Mr. Green is serving the 2% International instead of the officialdom who are still giving and as they are still giving in this country. Imperialism and the Revolutionization of the American Proletariat.

The development of imperialism of course throws the workers into new struggles. But we do not see the same degree of workers preparing for new struggles. It is useless to speak of a new development towards political consciousness in the ranks of the American working masses. That moment will mark the beginning of the development of the American working masses. That moment will mark the beginning of the development of the American working masses. That moment will mark the beginning of the American working masses.