

"The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew." —Abraham Lincoln

Workers
of the
World
Unite!

THE TRUTH

Who is it speaks of Defeat?
I tell you a cause like ours
Is greater than defeat can know
It is the power of powers.

As surely as the earth rolls round
As surely as the glorious sun
Brings the world moon wave,
Must our Cause be won!

No. 28

14.

FRIDAY, JULY 9, 1920

WHOLE No. 158

FIVE CENTS.

POLISH WOMEN COMPELLED TO SUCKLE PIGS

FOREIGN NEWS

The Polish offensive against Soviet Russia has completely collapsed. The Polish ruling class, in order to wreak vengeance upon the Bolshevik, has destroyed all means of sanitation, within the city of Kieff. The result is that the 500,000 inhabitants, despite the fact that they are starving, are now menaced by cholera and typhus.

Despite the fact that the forces of the Red Army are considerably handicapped, due to the blockade, yet they are endeavoring to care for the Polish people who have fallen victims to cholera and typhus. What would the Allies have done, if the position had been reversed?

The Polish people were utilized by the Allies and now that they have collapsed they will be left to their own resources. The only nation that will offer them the hand of solidarity will be Soviet Russia. That assures Poland going Bolshevik. The Polish ruling class has bankrupted and destroyed Poland, it is now up to the Polish working class to rebuild that country.

The English and Italian governments have withdrawn any objection they may have had towards Bela Kun going to Russia. You know why!

The Labor Movement of England has formulated plans for the creation of a General Staff. When may we expect the American Labor movement to follow suit?

The eighth counter-revolution has broken out in Moscow. We expect to hear of fifty-seven more, by the end of the week. Hold your breath!

A Welsh gipsy was arrested for telling fortunes, that did not come true. How about arresting the Welsh politician, Lloyd George, for telling political fortunes that likewise did not come true?

The North Persian revolutionary government has adopted the Soviet form of Government and elected as their president, Kutiuk Khan. The president has issued a declaration stating that the new Government has two aims:

1. To drive out the foreign invader.
2. The cultivation of the closest possible relations with the SOVIET GOVERNMENT OF RUSSIA.

"A move in the direction of ONE BIG UNION for the transport industry will be made next year," states T. H. Condon, presiding at the annual meeting of the National Union of Dock, Wharves, and Shipping Staffs of England. Why wait until next year?

The German Government is caught between a dictatorship of the capitalists or the workers.

JOHN REED IS FREED

His Hunger Strike Threat Works with Finn Officials.

Threatening to go on hunger strike if he is not released from police prison in Abbo, Finland, where he has been confined for a month, John Reed an American journalist, caused the Finnish secret service to revoke a trumped-up "treason" charge accusing him of being a Bolshevik courier in order to avoid an international scandal. These facts have come to light through Finnish newspapers just received.

Reed was arrested March 13, in the coal bunker of the Finnish steamer, Oihenna, on the charge of smuggling. On April 26, the city court of Abbo decided that he "had tried to smuggle out of the country 102 diamonds and money."

The court imposed a fine of 5,000 marks and the diamonds were confiscated in the interests of the government. Reed appealed the case. While the state authorities were planning their treason coup Reed waited in prison. In order to hasten action he retaliated with a threat of refusing to eat.

COMMUNIST SHIP APPEARS.

Italian Vessel Flies Red Flag and All Members of Crew Are Equal.

Buenos Aires, July 2. — The Italian steamer Belluno arrived here from Genoa today flying the red flag of Communism aloft and the Italian flag at her stern. The vessel is manned by a Communist crew, who operate the ship on a basis of equality from Captain to cabin boy, with the exception that powers have been delegated to a few of their number as officers to maintain discipline. All receive the same salary excepting those with additional responsibilities, who get additional pay for "special expenses."

The Belluno brought a cargo from the Genoa Co-operative Society, which Captain Timietti of the Belluno directs and of which the crew are members. The steamer entered the port with the crew manning the rail and waving red flags. She was greeted with tooting of whistles by harbor tugs, many of which flung out red flags and escorted the Belluno to her pier, where great demonstrations were staged by 5,000 port workers of the Buenos Aires Maritime Federation.

Parliamentary rule has broken down, unable to function.

All power to the German workers!

The Queen of Spain has undergone an operation for the eye. Perhaps the workers gave her an eyeful?

Budapest.—The Minister of justice has introduced a law ordering all profiteers to be birched. They are to receive not more than 25 strokes with the birch. Don't rush American workers, your turn will come next.

THE RULE OF THE LIARS

THE OLDEST OF ALL DYNASTIES IS THAT OF THE LIARS. IT DATES FROM PREHISTORIC PERIODS, AND ITS SWAY EXTENDED TO EVERY COUNTRY ON EARTH.

The Liars have always ruled stronger than ever they were before.

In times past, though the Liars had subdued mankind, their ascendancy was somewhat precarious. In order to govern the people they were compelled to keep them ignorant. And they were continually faced with the danger that a spread of knowledge would overturn their dynasty.

But when, in due course, knowledge was diffused in spite of them, they made the amazing and joyful discovery that, instead of threatening their supremacy, it had strengthened their position a thousandfold.

When the people learned to read, for instance, far from this accomplishment helping them to cast off the tyranny of the Liars, it forged New Fetters of falsehood for their minds.

The inventions of the Printing Press, the Telegraph, the Cable, and the Wireless have been turned out to such ingenious account by the Liars of the world that they feel themselves now to be absolutely safe and have developed an assurance and an arrogance surpassing their lordliest airs in the bygone days.

They can take things quite easy, and assume a virtue of toleration and a suavity of manner they never previously exhibited.

No longer do they need the stake, nor the torture chamber. They can dispense to a great extent with the instruments of coercion. Nothing is to be gained in the twentieth century by pulling

out men's nails or cutting off their ears of their tongues.

Once on a time, these and similar methods were resorted to by the Liars for the maintenance of their power. All they require now is control of the Printing Press and the systems of Electric Communication.

Give them that and they can lie with greater facility and success than ever.

They are lying at this moment on a scale so colossal, and with an impudence so profound, that all precedents are shriveled to insignificance in comparison.

What lies they tell about the War and its aftermath! What lies they tell about Russia! About Ireland! About India! And Egypt.

How they have lied about the Socialist Movement, which they hate as the foul things of darkness hate the light!

Such a riot of falsehood as we live amongst confounds all history. The Liars of the past had not at their disposal the elaborate machinery of mendacity that exists in our time.

Every day thousands of Liars, disguised as newspapers, go into the homes of the people. And the lies they pour out, by the utilization of telegraphic wonders, have a range of 12,000 miles, coming from all the ends of the earth.

The worst of it is that the people are not only deluded, but their moral sense is depraved. They are bred in an atmosphere of lies, and breathe it without difficulty. Some of their tenderest sentiments, some of their finest passions, are impregnated with lies.

They get to be not merely in-

different to falsehood, but violently prejudiced in favor of it. The truth surprises them, annoys them, alarms them, enrages them.

This is the greatest difficulty that Socialism has to overcome. It has not only to beat the Liars; it has to persuade the people to accept the truth.

How is it going to do it?

It will have to get control of the Printing Press and of the means of electric communication.

It won't be easy. It will be very, very hard. But there is no other way.

Milton declared that if Truth were permitted to grapple with Falsehood on fair terms, Truth would prevail. Truth has never had an opportunity to do anything of the sort. Truth has had its hands tied and its feet shackled, and Falsehood could strike it without being struck back.

It has been stoned by mobs, and spat on by snobs. It has been speared by soldiers, and crucified by Pharisees.

Never since the world was the world has Truth been permitted to grapple with falsehood on fair terms.

Labour must see that it is given its first chance. Too long have the Liars enjoyed their cowardly advantage! Unbind Truth's hands! Set free its feet! Equalize the conditions of the fight!

If that is done, then Truth will triumph at last.

And from that victory, for which the spirit of righteousness has waited these thousands of years, there will come a splendid future of regeneration for the human race.

H. E. B.

BOSTONESE ASK LARKIN RETRIAL

Workers' Rally Pledges to Fight for Imprisoned Irish Laborite.

BOSTON, June 20.—A large crowd of men and women gathered on Boston Common today to protest the conviction and imprisonment of James Joseph Larkin, Irish labor leader and general secretary of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, now serving a five to ten years sentence for alleged criminal anarchy in Dannamora prison, New York State.

The meeting was composed largely of working men and women of many nationalities.

The meeting, widely advertised, was one of the first of a series of Irish protest meetings against Larkin's imprisonment.

Hindu Speaks at Meeting.

Among the speakers were Thomas O'Flaherty, past president of the James Connolly Literary Society of Boston and now active worker in the James Larkin Defense Committee of New York; Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, secretary

of the Workers' Defense Union; a number of Irish labor men and women, among them one Hindu.

A resolution, unanimously adopted, demanding a new trial for Larkin on the ground of the "sneaking propaganda of the English ruling class in America" and the activities of Nathan, the British spy, and pledging its support to demanding a retrial for the prisoner, reads as follows:

"James Larkin, general secretary of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, has been arrested and railroaded to jail for ten years on the trumped up charge of 'criminal anarchy.'"

Arrest Laid to England.

"The circumstances of the arrest of this noted Irishman and labor leader points unerringly the accusing finger at English propaganda in the United States, linked up as it is with American capitalists' interests for the exploitation of the working class of the world."

"Also Larkin has attempted at least 11 times in the last years to get back to his own Ireland, each time to find his efforts frustrated by the Anglo-American plunderbund or its agents."

"It being a matter of record, and

was brought about by an English spy named Nathan, the same individual who figured with the Lusk committee in outraging the workmen and women of New York, under the guise of protecting "American institutions" from being overthrown.

Pledge Efforts to Defense.

"We, liberty loving workmen and women of Boston and vicinity, hereby pledge our best efforts to the end that Larkin's case be reviewed by the Federal courts, that justice may be done and the sneaking propaganda of the English ruling class in America may be exposed or all liberty be lost to the workers of the United States."

IN POLAND TO-DAY

Growing Dissensions and Anger at Pilsudski.

BERLIN.—From an exceptionally well informed person just returned from Warsaw I have received the following account of the situation in Poland.

The war with Russia is variously

PIGS AND CHILDREN

Polish Mothers Compelled To Suckle Little Pigs. Their Own Children Are Starved.

(The following story is reprinted from "Data", the organ of the Socialist Information and Research Bureau of Scotland. We trust the "Christian" ministers of this country will be as loud in their denunciation of this atrocity, as they were in their denunciation of the alleged socialization of women in Russia.)

If the atrocity had been committed in Soviet Russia the capitalist press would have been full of accounts of it, but because it took place in one of the small nations made "safe for democracy" the story is hushed up. —Ed. Truth.)

The following "atrocity" story is taken from Czecho-Slovak newspaper "Pravo Lidu."

"We have received a report of an incident which has caused us to shudder. It is an illustration which shows in vivid colours what a poor opinion the members of the bourgeoisie have of working women. Today pigs are very, valuable in Czecho-Slovakia, much more so than human beings, in the estimation of breeders and of usurers. One evidence of this is the fact that pigs get plenty of milk while the children of the towns pine for want of it. Pigs and other animals get the very best kinds of food, while human beings get the poorest. Hence the following, reported from the estate of Ferdinand Bayer, in Kojetice, district of Karlin. On this estate more pigs were born than could be suckled. The manager, Corek, looking around for some way of caring for three forlorn little piggies, hit upon a diabolical idea. He approached two Polish women workers, themselves suckling children, and made the incredible proposal that they should suckle his master's pigs. The poor women dared not risk incurring the manager's

displeasure, and so the fearful thing happened. One of the women took two of the pigs, and the other took the third. The children, it appears did not matter: the pigs had to be suckled, and at once. The manager sent for the owner of the estate and showed him the women with the pigs at their breast. He laughed heartily at the sight and promised to remember his zealous servant for taking such good care of his property.

"Among the other workers on the estate, and the people of the surrounding district, there was a great deal of understandable excitement.

"Everybody was amazed and indignant at the sight—the two mothers, one with a pig at each breast, and the other with a pig at one breast and a child at the other."

Our indignant Czech comrade can only comment that it is clear that our rulers consider a pig a higher animal than a child (of the working class).

But one can imagine the chivalrous slave-owner going red in the face with righteous indignation at, say, the "socialization of women" in Russia.

regarded in different circles there, and there is no question of an "alliance sacree" between all classes to win the war. The party of the big bourgeoisie, the National Democrats, favours the annexation of Poland of all territories conquered in the east, but is opposed to expansion in the south of Russia.

On the other hand, the agrarian interests and the Nationalist lower middle classes, who follow Pilsudski, favour the creation of a large confederation of border states under Polish leadership, which will cut off Russia from the rest of Europe and make her an economic appendage of Poland.

My informant has heard from a very reliable source that Pilsudski has succeeded in securing from Petlura's "Government" the right for Poland to annex the Ukraine up to the frontier of the Dnieper. Further, it is understood that Pilsudski favours the establishment of a chain of federal buffer States along the whole frontier of Russia, including the Don Cossacks, the Crimean Tartars, and the North Caucasus thus isolating Soviet Russia from the outer world. It is, in fact, a repetition of Ludendorff's plan after Brest-Litovsk.

Socialist Jingoes.

It is interesting to note that the French officers, of whom there are

700 in the Polish Army, are inclined to counsel caution in the creation of a big border federation, fearing that the whole thing may collapse like a house of cards. They are much more interested in securing annexation up to the Dnieper and in holding the Ukraine as a French sphere in influence to repay some of the old Tsarist debts. On the other hand, the large Federal expansion scheme has clean marks of British origin, and may be regarded as another form of the Machiavellian idea of fighting Bolshevism by cutting off corn, coal, and oil from Central Russia, and by following this up by "peaceful penetration."

Towards these two imperialist schemes the official Polish Socialist Party adopts an opportunist attitude and many of its leaders are even guilty of Chauvinism and of using the personal popularity of Pilsudski for ulterior ends. Moreover, they condone the abominable treatment of the Jews, who, over a large part of the country, are forbidden the rights of association and free speech, and are thrown into prison by hundreds.

On the other hand, there is a strong left wing of the Polish Socialist Party which has achieved a marked success in the recent Party Conference.—Daily Herald Correspondent.

ZINOVIEF SETS STRICT TEST FOR INTERNATIONAL

BERLIN, June 1 (by mail).—Impetus to the demand frequently voiced in independent Socialist circles for an early settlement of the question of their party's stand toward the Third (Moscow) International has been sent by the adoption of the following resolution at the provincial convention of the Independent Socialist party in the free state of Gotha:

"The provincial convention of the Germany in Gotha demands that a serious effort be made at once to effect the unconditional affiliation of the Independent Socialist party of Germany with the Third International."

The Rote Fahne, the organ of the Communist party, in reporting this resolution's adoption, says it was effected in spite of the opposition of Dr. Pr. Rosenfeld, a member of the executive committee of the Independents' national organization.

Independents' Vote in Gotha.
According to figures contained in a Wolff Telegraph Bureau dispatch received from Gotha today, the Independent Socialists cast 38,937 votes in last week's elections to the Provincial Assembly, winning nine seats, but losing their absolute control over the Assembly. The Peasants' League came next with 21,717 votes and five seats; the German People's party got 21,839 votes and three seats; the Democratic party, 7,835 votes and one seat; the German National People's party, 4,149 votes and one seat, and the Majority Socialist party, 4,047 and no seat.

Some time ago following the publication in the Communist press of the reply sent by the executive committee of the Third International to the letter in which Chairman Crispian had informed that committee of the decision taken at the Leipzig convention of the Independent Socialists last December to call an international conference of the revolutionary parties of all countries, including those belonging to the Third International, for the purpose of trying to organize a real worldwide revolutionary political organization and, if this attempt failed, then to join the Third International anyway, the Freiheit, the leading Independent organ, printed the following statement.

"We are informed by our central committee that the directing bodies of our party had resolved, shortly before the Kapp-Luettwitz reactionary coup, to send a commission to Russia. Unfortunately, the political events of the last few weeks have prevented the carrying out of this resolution. For the same reasons it has thus far been impossible to take a stand regarding the reply itself. The directing bodies (central committee, advisory council and control commission) will soon meet and again take a stand on the question of the International. The commission provided for the trip to Russia will not be able to start upon its journey until after June 6, because we need all our forces for the election campaign now under way."

Little Encouragement from Zinovief
It must be admitted that there is little encouragement for the more moderate leaders and elements of the Independent Socialists in the reply addressed to "All the workers of Germany, to the National Office of the Communist party of Germany and to the party executive committee of the Independent Social Democratic party of Germany" by G. Zinovief, chairman of the executive committee of the Third International, under date of Moscow, February 5, 1920.

Its contents may be summed up as consisting of a sharp lecture to the Independent leaders for tolerating in the ranks of their party the moderate elements, a general denunciation of the so-called moderate elements in all the Socialist parties of the world, and the advice to effect a union with the Communist party of Germany, already affiliated with the Moscow International, and thus become a part of the latter organization.

Nevertheless, the reply opened the way for negotiations with the enumerating all the Socialist and Communist groups which had already lined up with the Moscow International, it concluded as follows:

Only Revolutionary International.
"The executive committee of the Communist International is of the opinion that in the interest of the success of the international proletarian struggle it is not admissible, under any pretext, whatever, to form still another international union workers, which

in reality can in no case be revolutionary. The splitting up of the proletarian forces would only be in the interest of capital and of its servants, the ex-Socialists.

"The executive committee of the Communist International considers it extremely desirable to enter into negotiations with the parties which declare themselves ready to break definitely with the Second International. For this purpose the executive committee invites the representatives of these parties to come to Russia, where the executive body of the Communist International is located. No matter how great may be the technical difficulties in crossing the border, still the trip of the delegates of the parties mentioned is possible, as experience has shown.

Refuse to Work with Rights.
"The executive committee of the Communist International is conscious of the fact that, because of the complications of relations and of particular characteristics in the development of the revolution, strict account must be taken of these characteristics. We are quite ready to broaden the Third International, to take into consideration the experience of the proletarian movements in all countries, and to correct and amplify the program of the Third International on the basis of the Marxian theory and of the experience in the revolutionary struggle in the whole world. But we decidedly refuse all co-operation with the Right leaders of the Independents and of the 'Longueistes', who are dragging the movement back into the swamp of the yellow Second International.

"While the executive committee welcomes the resolution of the Leipzig convention, in the part that refers to the break with the Second International, and invites the delegation of the Independent Socialist party to negotiate, it expresses the firm conviction that, through the capability of the proletarian masses to recognize real revolutionists, the ranks of the leaders of the Independent Socialist party will be purged, the party will be brought to a union with the Communist party of Germany and finally its best elements will organize under the common banner of the Communist International.

"The executive committee of the Communist International suggests to the enlightened workers of Germany, that they discuss this reply in public proletarian meetings and demand exact and clear answers to the questions posed from the leaders of the Independent Socialist party.

"The executive committee of the Communist International sends fraternal greetings to the heroic proletariat of Germany!"
American Party Lumped With Others.

In enumerating the some half a hundred various Socialist, Communist and Labor parties and groups which have announced their affiliation with the Third International, the reply notes the declaration in favor of such affiliation by the Socialist party of the United States, but it also proceeds to lump that party with the German Independents' leaders, the French majority Socialists and the Independent Labor party of England as being neither fish, flesh nor fowl, when it comes to a real showdown over the question of instituting the "dictatorship of the proletariat," etc. The principal "sins of commission" of the moderates are thus described by the Moscow executive committee:

"The Independent (the Right Wing) and the Longueistes carry on no agitation in the army (entry into the army for the purpose of preparing for its going over to the side of the workers against the bourgeoisie). They form no organizations for this purpose.

"They do not answer the acts of violence by the bourgeoisie, its

unceasing violations of 'legality' (after the end of the imperialist war as well as while it was on) with systematic propaganda for illegal organizations and their creation.

Germany, Sweden, England, France, United States Barred

"Without the combination of legal work with illegal, of legal organizations and illegal, there can be no talk of a really revolutionary party of the proletariat either in Germany, or in Sweden, or in England or in France, or in America.

"The basic question of the Socialist revolution the expropriation of the exploiters, is put by the leaders of the Right in the expression 'socialization' and they put it in a reformist, not a revolutionary way. The word 'socialization' conceals the necessity for confiscation pushed to the front by the unbearable yoke of the imperialist debts and of the impoverishment of the workers, it conceals the resistance of the ex-

SEAMEN WOULD END EMBARGO ON RUSSIA

English Delegates at Genoa Almost Alone in Their Opposition to the Declaration.

GENOA, June 15.—The International Seamen's Conference in its session here today adopted a resolution proposed by Italian delegates demanding that the blockade against Russia be raised and declaring that in order to abolish warfare competition among the nations must be abolished. The resolution, which was supported by Andrew Furuseth, President of the International Seamen's Union, other American delegates and by the French representatives, says: "Whereas, Wars arise from competition, and in order to abolish war we must abolish competition between the nations; and

"Whereas, Seafarers believe each people must have the right to determine its own government for itself.

"They declare their sympathy with Russia, protest against the embargo on Russia and demand that the embargo be abolished and Russia left alone to determine its form of government."

The English delegates opposed the resolution, which was nevertheless adopted almost unanimously.

M. Rivelli, Secretary of the National Seamen's Federation of France, delivered an address and proposed a resolution demanding that the conference uphold a resolution previously adopted declaring a boycott against the Hungarian Government until persecution of workmen in Hungary had ceased. This resolution also was approved by a large majority.

MARX COMING INTO HIS OWN

The St. Pancras Borough Council, which has a Labour majority, has requested the London County Council to place a memorial tablet on the house in Kentish Town, where Karl Marx died.

The Borough Council applied to the B. S. P. for exact information on the matter, which was supplied, and subsequently verified, as shown by the following letter.

The information will be interesting to our London readers, and also to pilgrims from the provinces. Marx is buried in Highgate Cemetery, within easy distance of the addresses mentioned.

St. Pancras Borough Council, Town Clerk's Department, Town Hall, Pancras Road, N. W. 1

21st May, 1920.

KARL MARX

Dear Sir,—I am obliged for your communication of the 17th instant, informing me that Karl Marx lived for a number of years at 41, Maitland Park Road. I have searched the Council's records and have established the fact that he lived for some time at 9, Grafton Terrace, and afterwards at 1, Modena Villas, which subsequently became 1, Maitland Park Road, and lastly at 41, Maitland Park Road, where he died in 1883. All these houses are within a comparatively short distance of each other.—Yours faithfully,

C. BARRETT
Town Clerk.

The Secretary,
British Socialist Party,
21a, Maiden Lane, Strand, W. C.2.

plotters and the necessity for revolutionary measures on the part of the proletariat to suppress it. This way of posing the question necessarily engenders reformist illusions which by no means accord with the dictatorship of the proletariat."

JACK CARNEY

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Worker's Hall

19th Ave. West & First Street

SUNDAY EVENING, JULY 11th, at 8 P. M.

Admission FREE!! — Admission Charge After 9 o'clock

NOTICE! — Membership meeting Scandinavian Local Tuesday, July 13th. Every member is urged to attend as the local has some important matters to discuss.

A Word To Communists

(Continued from page 3)

on the other hand, it seizes its opportunities, it has in the Workers' Committee a valuable means of reaching the workers with a Communist industrial policy.

PROGRAMMES.

The formulation of industrial programmes are the order of the day. Not only is every official union formulating a new series of wage demands to chase the rise in the cost of living, but many people outside the unions are clamouring for a definite wage policy. Behind some of the demands are undoubtedly the belief that if those demands are made sufficiently exorbitant and the struggle for them is sufficiently vigorous that Capitalism will go down before the onslaught. We are suspicious of these attempts to manufacture revolutions. They can generally be trusted to miscarry. Whatever may be the object of those who are formulating new wage demands, the formulation of these demands has a certain effect on the worker's outlook. He is not interested in reason of strategy. He does not understand the tactical subtleties of those who are using the demands to strike a death blow to Capitalism. He only sees in the new wage demands that the people framing them believe that Capitalism holds a prospect of better conditions for the working class.

We Communists know that this is not so. We know that Capitalism, reeling towards bankruptcy, holds no prospect but one of misery for the workers. A portion of the workers are beginning to realize that fighting for higher wages in a world of growing bankruptcy is leading nowhere. They are turning in a tentative fashion towards the idea of workers' control and management of industry. If Communists are prepared to formulate wage demands in the manner of Dubb Trade Unionists they are confusing the worker and hindering his drift towards revolutionary action. The workers are drifting towards the idea of control not merely under the influence of Socialist propaganda but under the pressure of experience. We can strengthen this tendency if we fearlessly preach control; we can awaken it if we rush into the arena with wage demands.

CONCLUSION.
The conclusion of the matter may be stated as follows:—The programme which will meet the exigencies of the situation must include (a) Communism as the objective of industrial organization; (b) the welding of unions together on industrial lines wherever possible; (c) the branch unit should be the workshop; (d) a greater control of officials is desirable; (e) the weapon of the political strike must be developed; (f) control should be advocated instead of wage demands, as the needs of the present situation demands this; (g) unofficial organization in the district and the workshop is the means whereby the rebel elements can bring pressure on the workers to accept this programme.

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"This is then is our task. Whitman foresaw it and sang of it and warned us. We must go through a period of static suffering, of inner cultivation. We must break our impotent habit of constant issuance into petty deed. We must begin to generate within ourselves the energy which is love of life. For that energy, to whatever form the mind consign it, is religious. Its act is creation. And in a dying world, creation is REVOLUTION."

—Waldo Frank in "Our America."

A WORD TO COMMUNISTS

On all sides there is action. From Maine to California and from the Canadian border down to Mexico, there is the great mass of the workers protesting against the unbearable social conditions of today. It therefore becomes the bounden duty of the Communists to formulate a policy that will assist them in their everyday struggles. If the Communists find themselves without an industrial policy, they will be of little assistance to the working class. It is not sufficient to say that the revolution is bound to come and that we are the advance guard of the working class. That may cause us a little personal satisfaction and that will be about all it CAN do.

To say that you are in favor of the "destruction of the A. I. of L." means but one thing to the average worker and that is, he places you alongside of those that advocate the policy of the "OPEN SHOP." You may blame his ignorance in so doing, but what will serve you in no good stead. He is ignorant and you must prove to him what you mean, by understanding him. If you cannot understand him, then you are of no use to the revolutionary movement. Reiterating the phrases that Lenin, Marx and others have created do not prove you to be revolutionists. It is by your deeds you shall be known, not by your talk. The Scottish comrade was right when he wrote:—

Quite a large section of the movement has given up hope of developing a Communist industrial policy altogether. They are looking for the workers to revolt, and then the revolution will be upon us; the workers will spontaneously develop organization to do the necessary work of protecting and developing the revolution. In the meantime, according to those comrades: "Wot's the good of anyfink?—Nothink!" We trust the Communists will formulate an industrial policy of action. A policy that will assist the workers in their everyday struggle. Our movement must be built up from the factory. Right up from the job must come our organization. We must work and fight with the working class all the time. So that when the crisis does arise we shall be able to direct the struggle of the working class. If you lie awaiting for the revolution, and then expect that you are going to suddenly appear upon the scene and lead the working class you will be mistaken. Get down amongst them, fight with them and then you will gain their confidence.

We trust that every Communist will read the following article by J. R. Campbell, in the organ of the Clyde Workers' Committee, "The Worker." Parts of the article have been omitted, as they only dealt with matters of local interest.—Ed "Truth".

Communism and Industrial Organization

By J. R. Campbell.
(Reprinted "The Scottish Worker.")

TO ARRIVE AT A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF THE PROPER RELATIONSHIP OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS ONE MUST FIRST EXAMINE THE PURPOSE AND STRUCTURE OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION.

—ZINOVIEV.

There is a rumour in the air at the present time that the British Communist Party is about to be born. Cynics will no doubt say that such rumours were in circulation before, and proved to be false alarms.

If the Party is born, however, and is not immediately denounced as an abortion by a considerable section of the Communists in the country one of the first tasks should be to formulate its in-

dustrial policy. Of course, diverse individuals will be working to get it to spend most of its time discussing revolutionary political action for propaganda purposes, and the ethics of taking the oath, etc.; but getting an understanding on these questions is trivial compared with getting an understanding on industrial policy.

For the next year or so at any rate the class struggle is going to be waged mainly around industrial questions, and it is no use proclaiming from our platforms that Communists are the advance guard, of the proletariat, if a time of approaching industrial struggle finds us without a policy drifting as helplessly as those who have not yet received the light of Communism. What ever may be the declarations of party programs, the Left wing is not at all sure what its industrial policy should be.

A study of the "Worker," "Call" and "Socialist" during the past few months will reveal plenty of calls for direct action; but when it comes to defining a positive policy, we all get shy and hide behind phrases.

Quite a large section of the movement has given up hope of developing a Communist industrial policy altogether. They are looking for the dear boss to tighten the screw on the workers. They are looking for the workers to revolt, and then the revolution will be upon us; the workers will spontaneously develop organization to do the necessary work of protecting and developing the revolution. In the meantime, according to those comrades: "Wot's the good of anyfink?—Nothink!"

The recently published article on the subject of the Communist party and the Trade Unions by our Comrade Zinoviev (first published in the "Worker" and now to be had in pamphlet form from the W. S. F.) should help to enpoint of view of the Russian lightens us with regard to the Communists. They at any rate do not hold that a belief in the imminence of the Revolution should blind us to the urgent need of working to increase the fighting efficiency of the industrial organizations of our class. It is quite probable, of course, that the Revolution may be upon us before we have the industrial movement organized in accordance with our ideas. Nevertheless, the grater unity we have achieved amongst the workers, the easier will our task be of building the industrial union as a Socialist organ of administration.

PURPOSE.

With regard to the purpose of industrial organization, there will be very little dissension in the ranks of Communists. We believe in the reality of the class struggle, and the purpose of industrial organization must be to co-operate with all other organizations of the workers (political, social, and military) in order to break the resistance of the employing class and set up a proletarian dictatorship as the means of life. This involves a change in the purpose of the industrial organizations, a change from mere reformist struggles for higher wages to a revolutionary struggle for power. There is no doubt that the present experience of the workers will tend to drive them in the direction of struggling to paralyse Capitalism instead of struggling to humanise it. Owing to the bankruptcy of Capitalism prices are steadily rising, and all the attempts of the workers to catch them up by demanding higher wages are futile, and if the workers have any capacity to learn from experience at all, they will realise in time the imbecility of confining their efforts to reforms within Capitalism, and will organize to take control of society. (This does not mean, of course, that Communists should take no part in wage struggles. Every struggle against the employers is valuable as a manifestation of working class independence, and

as a means of drilling and equipping the workers for final victory. Communists must throw themselves into such struggles, but at the same time must point out to the workers the necessity of uniting their forces and struggling against Capitalism). Thus the first part of a Communist policy towards the industrial organizations of the workers consists in advocating a change of objective from struggling for wages to struggling to raise themselves to be the ruling class in society.

At the same time it would be unwise to commit ourselves in detail to any definite way of organizing industry after we have gained power. The pre-war solutions of industrialists are absolutely valueless in this connection. Neither the control of industry by producers organized in autonomous industrial unions, which was the prewar solution of the Syndicalists nor the purely industrial republic of the I. W. W. and kindred organizations quite fill the bill. Both of those solutions neglect the necessity for a political dictatorship and the representation of the Communist point of view in the management of the various industries.

This is secured in Russia by the political soviets and the representatives of the Supreme Council, who form one-third of the representatives of the central governing bodies of the various industries, and by the regional economic councils having one-third of the representatives on the board of management of any particular factory, mine, etc. But while accepting the broad principles of the Soviet system, we have got to remember that the Communist management of industry as is daily being developed by the economic Soviets is yet in the process of "becoming," and to embrace it at its present stage of development as if that stage were final would be the height of folly. (We would like to know more about the actual difficulties experienced in Russia, how they were overcome, and the present methods of management in the nationalized industries. We are fed up reading chapters on Lenin's steely eyes and brown beard. We are not interested in his height and chest measurement. We want to have a pamphlet telling us how the problems of industry are being tackled. In the meantime we would be well advised not to tie ourselves down to any hard and fast ideal system of management.

TACTICS.

The change of objective on the part of the workers' organizations involves a change of tactics. Up till recently it was the belief of all Trade Unionists that industrial organizations should only be used to fight the employers and not the State. Anyone acquainted with the Syndicalist literature of pre-war days would detect in that literature the assumption that the employers could be expelled from industry by repeated industrial activity without the industrialists coming up against the armed might of the Capitalist State. We are not likely to fall into that delusion at the present day. We recognize that the State organization of Capitalism is the repository of the repressive force of the exploiters, and must be smashed by the workers and replaced by a Proletarian State as the first stage in a successful revolution. The workers have got therefore to be habituated to using their industrial force—in conjunction with any other force at their disposal—against the political machine of Capitalism. If we are going to wage war against the exploiters in a serious fashion, then the old idiotic idea that the workers must not use their industrial might in a political struggle must go by the board. The tactic of the political mass strike must be developed, and the workers encouraged to strike not merely to remedy industrial grievances, but to bring

influence to bear on the political State. In popularising this tactic we are likely to be helped to a certain extent by the ever-increasing intervention of the State in industrial disputes. The State has hitherto posed as an impartial body, standing above the industrial battle, bent only on seeing fair play between the opposing groups. But as strikes take place on a larger scale the State will be forced to drop the disguise of impartiality and appear in its true colours as an organ of class domination. The more the State interferes on behalf of the employers, the easier will be the conversion of the workers to the tactic of the political mass strike.

PROPAGANDA WITHIN THE UNIONS.

That the Trade Union movement is more firmly rooted than they imagined is being acknowledged by rebels anywhere. In last week's "Socialist" we find two letters on the need for a fighting industrial policy. The point of view of the writers differs greatly, but both are insistent on the need for an immediate propaganda within the Trade Unions. The first letter, that of "Clyde Socialist," desires propaganda within the unions with a view to amalgamation on industrial lines. The second letter, that of J. Ness, suggests propaganda as a means of weaning the membership away from existing unions and creating a Socialist Industrial Unionism on the lines of the American W. I. I. U.

We are inclined to think that the first writer is more in contact with realities. The attempts to create an industrial organization in Britain on W. I. I. U. lines has been given a fair trial. The effort to realise it extended well over 16 years. The W. I. I. U. movement is now practically deserted by most of the men who pioneered it, and is to-day practically non-existent. If experience can teach us anything surely we should be prepared to learn from it, and to base our tactics upon what we have learnt. To issue a call for the rebels to come together for action and then propose to lead them down the old cul-de-sac is a sheer waste of time. The bringing together of existing unions, the control of the bureaucracy by the rank and file, is a more fruitful programme on which to concentrate Socialist effort within the unions than any attempt to bring about industrial unionism on an American model, which even in America remains only a model and not any organization commanding the allegiance of any substantial portion of the working class of that country.

The raising the question of industrial unity, greater local autonomy, and rank and file control within the unions will be an excellent method of rousing the more active workers, developing a spirit of discontent, and raising a solid body of workers who are opposed to the corrupt Trade Union bureaucracy. Before such propaganda could be successful, however, it would require to be co-ordinated. Now the Trade Unions are going to be undertaken there must be a district organization that will unify the activities of the rebels in this direction. The aim of any body of Communists bent on increasing their influence amongst the industrial organizations of the workers must be Communist propaganda amongst those attending the branch, not intruding with a view to getting some one into office, to find that his power to do good is severely limited through the absence of a co-ordinated rebel movement within the unions. To-day in the absence of such a movement the power of a revolutionary in any official post is practically nil. Say he is a branch secretary. He speedily finds that if he is antagonistic to the district permanent official that his job is made much harder in consequence, while, if he is subservient to the official gang, he will be assisted in many ways.

He may give up the struggle after a time and become amenable to the district officials. He will then be a model secretary, a pillar of reactionary officialism, and a barrier to working class progress. On the other hand, he may give up his job in disgust, embrace some absolutist formula, such as "Trade Unionism is the bulwark of Capitalism," and waste the remainder of his life in some revolutionary blind alley, isolated from the mass movements of the workers. That is typical of what happens to the revolutionary who manoeuvres into a Trade Union job without having behind him a strong body of opinion in the rank and file of the unions. So if there is going to be any permeation of the unions at all Communist propaganda is as equally important as the getting of jobs for revolutionaries.

The body necessary for carrying on this propaganda will have to be a district body. Some months ago the Scottish Workers' Committees started on the formation of Social Committees for the purpose of co-ordinating the efforts of the revolutionaries in the various districts. Several such committees are in existence at the present moment. They are well qualified to perform the task of undertaking an intensive propaganda amongst the various unions, and we shall be pleased to help to establish such committees wherever there are groups of rebels desiring them.

But we have got to realise quite clearly the limitations of propaganda in the Trade Union branches. The Trade Union at its best offers only a limited field for propaganda. It must not be neglected, but neither must the importance and extent of the work which can be done within the union be exaggerated. To read the disquisitions of the average middle class "permeator" of the Trade Unions and the Labour Party one would imagine that a Trade Union branch was a place where the fervent Communist could do an unlimited amount of propaganda. As a matter of fact, the bulk of the time at a Trade Union branch is occupied by purely routine business, which makes the Trade Union probably the most depressing type of assembly in the world. Not only so, but if the permeator imagines he is going to get a fair proportion of the workers at the branch he is greatly mistaken. If five per cent of the union membership can be reached through the branch it is about all, and therefore the bulk of the workers have to be sought elsewhere. And the only other place where the worker can be found is in the place in which he works, and the only organization that can be used for this purpose is the Workers' Committee.

WORKSHOP ORGANIZATION.

It is in the workshop that the average Communist will be able to do the maximum amount of good (of harm) to the cause he represents. The average worker knows nothing about the niceties of Communist theory. He knows no more of the materialist conception of history than a cannibal. A lender knows about the nebular hypothesis. But he has a shrewd idea of when the practice of a Communist in the workshop conflicts with the principles that the Communist holds, and one display of weakness in the workshop by a professed Communist does more harm than all the vapouring of all the reconstruction society lecturers in the country. It is in the workshop that the maximum influence of the Communist for good and evil can be exerted. It is in the workshop that they can get the leadership of the workers in any struggle that arises, and if a man is afraid to stand to his Communist responsibilities in the workshop, then he should be afraid to call himself a Communist at all, for Communism is not merely the latest fashion in Social theory, but is a philosophy of action demanding courage and resolution

An Apology

In our issue of May 14th, we published a short article by Boris Souvaine of the French Communist Movement. This article was taken from the Scottish "Socialist", the organ of the Socialist Labor Party. We regret that we did not give them credit for the article and we trust that in any future cases that may arise, that our good comrades will bear with us for a little while.

It is a difficult job carrying on this paper. When we inform you that the complete staff of "TRUTH" is composed of Jack and Minnie Carney, you will agree with us that we have a little more work to do than the average editor. We have to gather the news, write the editorials, correct the proofs and superintend the makeup of the paper. Outside of that we have to answer our numerous correspondents, obtain our own advertising, collect our own bills and in some cases deliver the papers to the newsagents. Apart from that we speak every Sunday evening, when in town, and sell literature: We have sold something like \$7,000.00 worth in the two years and a half that we have been on this job. That is not all, for the last seven or eight weeks the editor has been compelled to stay in the city of Chicago, where he is being tried for an alleged attempt to overthrow the Government by the use of armed force. In the meantime, the work has fallen upon the shoulders of Minnie Carney and strange to say we have made omissions. We apologise for them and we trust that those concerned will attempt at least to give consideration to the situation that confronts us both.

THE CASE OF FRAINA.

The Socialist Party press is playing up the exposure of Fraina by Santeri Nuorteva of the Soviet Bureau of America. The Socialist Party is not so much concerned with warning the Communists, as they are with discrediting them, hence the continued publishing of the Fraina scandal.

It has been proven that Fraina has turned yellow. We venture to say that Fraina would never have turned yellow, if he had kept his eyes upon America, and her problems, and had been content to stay here and perform the necessary work of organizing the working class, instead of wanting to appear in Moscow as the "Lenin" of America. It is as well that Fraina has overstepped himself, we now know how far he can be trusted. But let us not fool ourselves with the idea that Fraina stands alone. There are more Frainas in the movement, both in the Communist movement and the Socialist Party. The former are anxious to prove their revolutionary integrity by their wonderful (?) personality, and the latter are anxious to do anything, even to go so far as to act the part of agent-provocateurs by attributing to the Communists all manner of dark and lurid deeds, in order that they might bask in the sunshine of popular applause. We prefer a Fraina any time, to a yellow and sordid political opportunist of the Soltis type.

in anyone that professes it.

Opportunities are constantly arising in a workshop where the Communist can be elected as Shop Steward. Whether he is an official Steward or not does not greatly matter if he is prepared to come together with representatives of other trades on a unified committee. There he will have opportunities for propaganda by word and by deed, for the best propaganda that a workers' committee will do will be the demonstration to the workers of the value of unified action.

No amount of propaganda that can be done by word of mouth will equal in value that which can be done by a committee which brings the men in the shop some positive results from its activities. Only the other week we published an account of the activities of our Dalnuir Committee. It is no great exaggeration to say that this Committee has gained dollars to the men in Dalnuir; reduced victimisation almost to zero; and is well on its way to demonstrating that it can bring a complete stop to all forms of workshop bullying. And it is doing this at a time when the arm chair theorists are denying the utility of the workshop committee. Of course, no workshop committee can give a man backbone when he has none, and no committee can absolutely restore the war-time conditions in the workshops when there was a scarcity of labour. But the workshop committees have still a great future before them in carrying the propaganda of industrial solidarity, in steadily winning a greater control in the workshop, in bringing the rank and file together to discuss industrial questions and formulate programmes without waiting for the official. Not only so, but the day is rapidly arriving when we will require concerted industrial action not merely between all the workers in a particular industry, but when we will require simultaneous action by the workers coming together in several industries, and only the Workers' Committees can unite the workers with a view to securing common action on this mass scale.

Not only so, but we are nearing the time when the mass political strike will be tactical weapon of some value in working class struggles, and the bodies which would carry out such a strike must successfully are not the cumbersome Trade Union with its red tape routine, but a mobile body constructed on the lines of the Workers' Committee. On these grounds we are certain that no Communist industrial policy can afford to minimise the importance and value of the Workers' Committee movement. The greatest danger that a Communist party will have to face will be the danger of isolating itself from the industrial struggles of the workers. If it does no amount of theoretical rectitude will make that party of any use to the working class. If,

(Continued on page 2)

THE TRUTH

"Less philosophising and more action."

LENIN'S LETTER

(In the Duluth Labor "Whirl", June 18th, there appeared a statement severely criticising a letter that Lenin addressed to the British Labor Party. The frankness of the letter was too much for the labor-political mountebank who edits the Labor Whirl. Any time this type of person meets a frank person, they are either called a fool or a crook. Read the letter, which the Labor Whirl did NOT publish, and use your own judgment.—Ed.)

Comrades: First of all permit me to thank you for sending your delegation with the object of acquainting itself with Soviet Russia. When your delegation proposed to me to dispatch through its intermediary a letter to the British workers and perhaps also a proposal to the British Government, I answered that I gratefully accept the first suggestion, but to the Government I must address myself not through the Labour delegation, but directly on behalf of our Government, through Comrade Tchitcherin. We have in this way addressed ourselves many times to the British Government with the most formal and solemn proposals to start peace negotiations. These proposals are still being dealt with intermittently by Comrade Litvinoff and Comrade Frassin and all our other representatives. The British Government consistently does not accept our proposals. It is, therefore, not surprising that with the delegation of British workers I should want to speak solely as with a delegation of workers and not in my capacity as a representative of the Government of Soviet Russia, but in the capacity of an ordinary Communist.

I was not surprised to find that the view of some of the members of your delegation does not coincide with that of the working-class, but coincides with the view point of the bourgeoisie, the class of exploiters. This is because in all capitalist countries the imperialist war has again exposed the inveterate abcess—namely, the desertion of the majority of Parliamentary and trade union leaders of the workers to the camp of the bourgeoisie. Under the oblique pretence of the "defence of the country," actually defending the spoiliatory interests of one of the two groups of the world bandits, the Anglo-French-American of the German group, they entered into an alliance with the bourgeoisie against the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat; they covered up this treason with sentimental shopkeepers', reformist and pacifist phrases about peaceful evolution, about constitutional measures, about democracy, etc. This was the case in all countries. It is not surprising that this very tendency existing in England has found expression in the composition of your delegation.

Shaw and Guest, members of your delegation, were obviously surprised and hurt by my statement that England, notwithstanding our peace proposals, notwithstanding the declaration of her Government, continues her intervention, in carrying on a war against us, helping Wrangel in the Crimea and the White Guards in Poland—and they asked me whether I have proofs to this effect, whether I can state how many trains with munitions were delivered by England to Poland, etc.

I replied that for the purpose of getting access to the secret agreement of the British Government it is necessary to overthrow it by revolutionary means and to lay hold of all documents of its foreign policy, as was done by us in 1917.

Every educated person, every one genuinely interested in politics, knew even before the revolution that the Tsar had secret treaties with the robber Governments of England, France, United States, Italy and Japan for the partition of booty about Constantinople, Galicia, Armenia, Syria, Mesopotamia, etc. Only liars and hypocrites (excepting, of course, quite ignorant and illiterate people) could deny this or pretend not to know it. But without revolution we would never be able to get the secret document of the robber Governments of the capitalist class. Those leaders or representatives of the British proletariat—whether they be Parliamentarians, trade unionists, journalists, or other people—who pretend that they are ignorant of the existence of secret treaties of England, France, the United States, Italy, Japan and Poland for the plundering of other countries, for partition of booty, and who do not carry on a revolutionary struggle for the exposure of such treaties show thereby needlessly once again that they are faithful servants of the capitalists. We knew this long ago. We are exposing this both here and in all other countries of the world. The visit to Russia of a delegation of British workers will accelerate the exposure of such leaders in England as well.

My above-mentioned interview with members of your delegation took place on May 26th. A day later we received radios saying that Bonar Law conceded in the British Parliament that military help was rendered to Poland in October "for the defence against Russia" (of course, only for defence, only in October! In England there are still "influential labour leaders" helping the capitalists to deceive the workers!) while the periodical the New Statesman, one of the most moderate of all moderate among middle-class newspapers or periodicals wrote about the new tanks being shipped from England to Poland, more powerful than those used during the war against the Germans. Is it possible, then, not to laugh at those "leaders" of the British workers who, with an air of hurt innocence, are asking what "proofs" there are that England is making war on Russia and is helping Poland and the White Guards in Crimea?

Members of the delegation have asked me what I think to be of greater importance, whether the formation in England of a consistent revolutionary Communist Party or immediate help of the working masses in England to the cause of peace with Russia. I replied that the answer to this question depends upon the convictions of those who give the answer. Genuine partisans of the liberation of the workers from the yoke of capital cannot possibly oppose the foundation of a Communist Party that alone is able to educate the working masses not after the bourgeois and shopkeeper fashion, that alone is able actually to expose, deride, and disgrace "leaders" who are capable of doubting whether England is helping Poland, etc. It need not be apprehended that there will be in England too many Communists as even a small Communist Party is not in existence there. But if anyone persists still in intellectual slavery under the bourgeoisie and still continues to share the middle-class prejudices concerning "democracy" (bourgeois democracy!), pacifism, etc., then, of course, such people could only injure the proletariat to an even greater extent should it occur to them to call themselves Communists and to join the Third International.

Such people are not capable of anything except the adoption of "sweetened resolutions" against intervention, which are made up merely of shopkeepers' phrases. In a certain respect these resolutions are useful inasmuch as the "old leaders" (the partisans of bourgeois democracy, peaceful methods, etc., etc.) will make themselves ridiculous in

"If we are in close touch with the working class, if we know the job and the needs of the job and the MEN ON IT, if we are trusted by the workers and are of the workers, then we can more easily help bring order out of chaos and help build."

—Mary Marcy.

the eyes of the masses, exposing themselves the sooner the more resolutions they pass, which, being empty and non-committal are unattended by revolutionary action. To every one his due, let the Communists work directly through their Party for the enlightenment of the revolutionary consciousness of the workers. Let those who supported the "defence of the country" during the imperialistic war for the partition of the world, who supported the "defence" of the secret treaty of English capitalists with the Tsar for the plundering of Turkey, let those who "are ignorant" of the help to Poland and the White Guards in Russia rendered by Great Britain, let them quicker bring up to a ludicrous figure the number of their "pacifist resolutions." The sooner they will share the fate of Kerensky, the Mensheviks, and social-revolutionists in Russia.

Some of the members of your delegation have asked me with surprise concerning Red Terror, about the lack of the freedom of the Press, about the lack of freedom of assembly, about our persecution of Mensheviks and Menshevik workers, etc. I replied that the real culprits of the Terror are the imperialists of England and her "allies", who have been and are conducting White Terror in Finland and in Hungary, in India and Ireland, who have been and are supporting Yydenitch, Koltchak, Denikin, Pilsudsky, and Wrangel. Our Red Terror is a defence of the workingclass against the exploiters, it is the suppression of the resistance of the exploiters with whom the social revolutionists, the Mensheviks and an insignificant number of Menshevik workers ally themselves. The freedom of the Press and assembly in a bourgeois democracy is tantamount to the freedom of the well-to-do to plot against the working people. It means freedom of bribing and buying up newspapers by the capitalists. I have so often explained this in the Press that it is not very entertaining to me to repeat myself.

However, two days after my interview with your delegate, the newspapers published a dispatch saying that in addition to the arrests of Monatte and Loriot in France, Sylvia Pankhurst had been arrested in England. This is the best answer of the British Government to the question which the non-Communist "leaders" of British workers, captivated by bourgeois prejudices, are even afraid to ask—namely, the question, Against the oppressed and exploited, or against the oppressors and exploiters; whether it is a question of affording "freedom" to the capitalist to plunder, defraud, stupefy the working people or whether the working people are to be "free from the yoke of capitalists, speculators, property holders." Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst represents the interests of hundreds of millions of people who are oppressed by British and other capitalists, and it is on this account that she becomes an object of the White Terror, and is deprived of freedom. The same "leaders" of workers who are conducting a non-Communist policy are 99 per cent, representatives of the bourgeoisie, of its deceit, of its prejudices.

In conclusion, I once more thank you, comrades; for sending us your delegation. The fact of its getting acquainted with Soviet Russia, notwithstanding the hostility of many of them towards the Soviet system and the dictatorship of the proletariat, notwithstanding the fact that it is an extraordinary extent in the captivity of bourgeois prejudices, will unavoidably result in accelerating the failure of capitalism of the whole world. Yours fraternally.

N. LENIN.

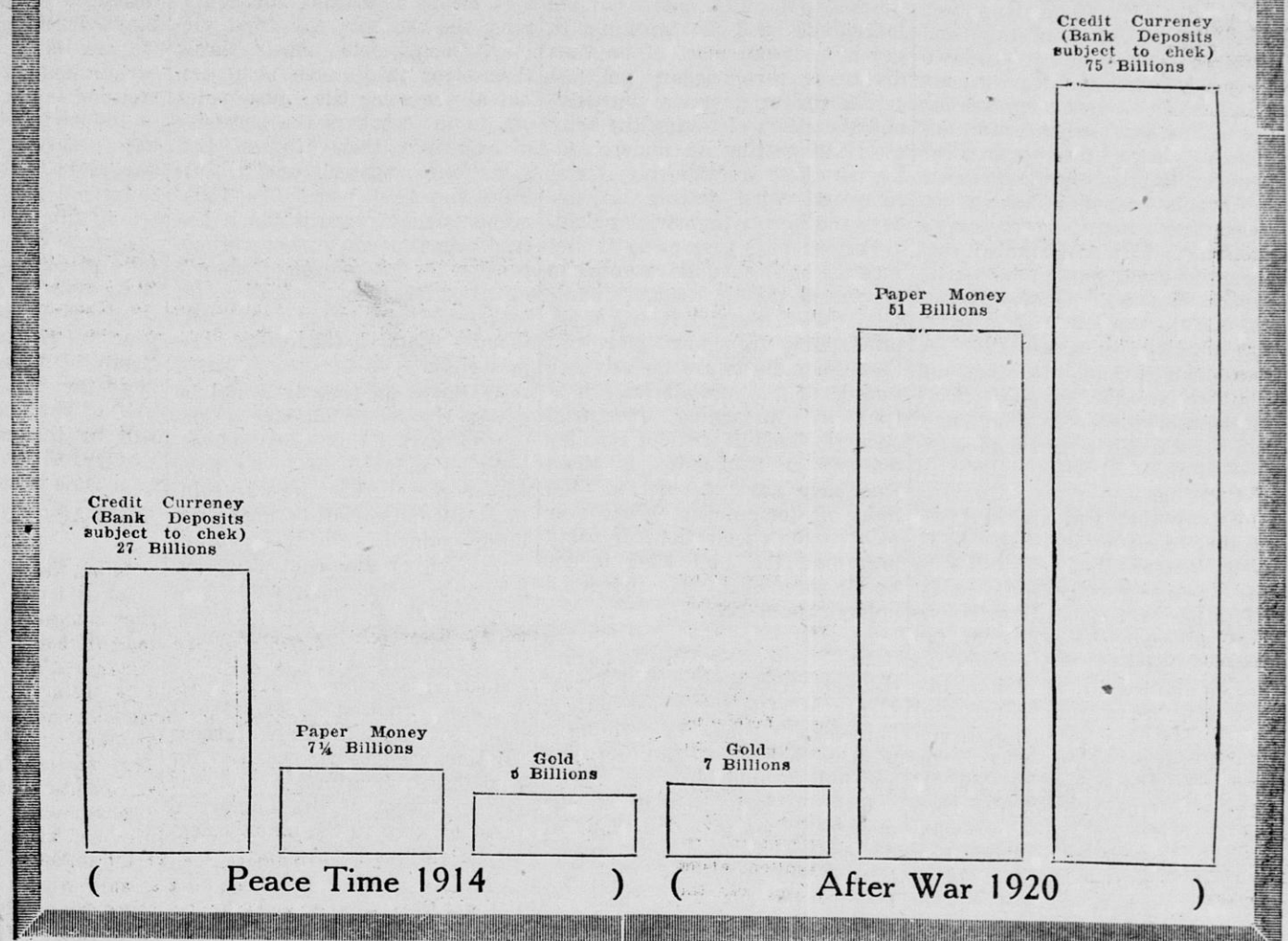
OUR ANNIVERSARY.

With our issue of last week we started upon our FOURTH YEAR. Due to the fact that we were compelled to stay in Chicago, we had forgotten the coming of the event and accordingly we omitted to mention the fact in our last issue. But better late than never a all!

When we first entered the editorial sanctum of "TRUTH," many were the prophecies that were made. It was considered foolhardy to attempt to carry on the paper. Even the previous editor was positively sure, in his own mind, that "TRUTH" would not last another month, since then we have published something like one hundred and thirty issues. Many others, especially that type that finds in the sorrows of the workingclass, an outlet for their emotions, were convinced that we were exploiting the workingclass by carrying on the paper. But the workmen and workingwomen that count—the members of the Duluth Scandinavian Local and a few remaining stalwarts of the now defunct English local—thought differently, consequently we are still going strong.

The paper has increased its circulation. True it is that we do not enjoy the circulation of six months ago, when we advanced at such a rapid pace that we ourselves could not realize the rapidity at which we were traveling. Unfortunately, we did not enjoy the possession of the same amount of financial resources as our opponents and so we lost a few readers. But we are glad to state that we are recovering from that loss and with a few more months hard work, on the part of our readers, we will regain our former position. For a considerable time we were able to print an eight page paper, in fact, we were seriously thinking of running a mid-week edition, in addition to our weekly edition. But when you know that we were being fought and sabotaged by the Commercial Club of this city, together with the parasitical elements that fawn at the feet of the Steel Trust, you will understand that we have done remarkably well to keep going. But the circulation and the size of the paper does not measure the amount of good that the paper has achieved. We must seek the amount of profit made by "TRUTH" in a different manner to that of the kept press. We must find it in the spirit and the educational work of the paper. Have we made the members of the workingclass feel that they were the real men and women of the world? Have we made the workers realize their class position in society and how far as the paper been instrumental in the bringing the workers to a realization of the necessity of organizing along the lines of class and industry? An affirmative response to the foregoing questions is the only profit that a workingclass paper can ever hope to make. We maintain that we have made such profit, proof of this may be found in the many times that we have been arrested and the vicious elements that have arrayed themselves against us. There was a time in this city, when we felt that our last day on earth had arrived. In those trying days, there was no demand for the courts to perform their function. Every petty cockroach business man was eager to join the "Knights of Liberty" and render homage to the forces of mad reaction, and prove their loyalty to

The Picture of Inflation



capitalism, by assisting in the task of teaching the editor of "TRUTH" a lesson. In those days we came to know our real friends. Many deserted us, the oppression was too great. But the great men and women of our movement stood firm and in the years to come we shall always look back with pride upon those days when we found our real friends. The present position of "TRUTH" is a lasting monument to the sterling integrity and wonderful loyalty of the men and women who now support it.

We have maintained the same policy, in season and out of season. At all times maintaining the viewpoint that "new times demand new methods," but never at any time trimming our policy in order to court favor with our opponents. We have never been much enamored of petty politics. We realize that the power of the workingclass lies within themselves and that it should be expressed by that class. There is no man or woman big enough to lead the workingclass out of the mire. If there are, then it is logical to assume that there are just as big men or women to lead them back. The policy of "TRUTH" is the policy of the exercise of industrial action of the actual wage-workers, either for the every-day struggles against their masters, or for the ultimate economic emancipation of the workingclass. Events throughout the world have demonstrated beyond the mere shadow of a doubt that our policy is the correct one, therefore we see no reason to alter one word of our original policy. We stand for COMMUNISM, but we are not in complete agreement with those that talk of armed insurrection on, and who feel that organization of the workingclass is of secondary importance. The basis of ALL our propaganda lies on the job. Without a sound industrial organization of the workingclass we will find ourselves at sea and floundering in the mire of capitalist chaos.

We enter into our fourth year of activity ready to champion the cause of the revolutionary workingclass and at all times standing by all sections of the workingclass, whenever they find it necessary to wage war upon their oppressors. We stand for a living expression of solidarity. The workingclass may they ever be in the right—but the workingclass right or wrong and when they are wrong may we stand with them and help them out. To the workers everywhere we offer to you the "TRUTH".

G-O-L-D!!

Ministers become sentimental, writers discover inspiration, and orators wax eloquent, when it comes to dealing with the God of the Ages—Gold. There is no God who has wielded such power as this God—Gold. Men talk of their love of the God of the heavens, but that love they soon deny when the God of Gold enters their life. Many a poor wretch dies in poverty worshipping at the shrine of a Christian God. He gives up his whole life in useless endeavor, dreaming of the better day as he calls it. But his God never gave to him one millionth part of the power that the God of Gold has given to men.

Why do men love this God of Gold, more than any other god? The answer is, that the God of Gold gives power to all those that bask in the sunshine of his favor. Gold brings to the possessor of it, POWER. Power greater than any other power. Because with the power derived from the possession of gold, men can obtain power. Gold is the universal standard of value. That means luxury, wealth and an abundance of the world's goods. All things yield to gold. There is not a door in capitalist society that will not open in answer to the call of gold. The strength of men and the beauty of women, ay, even the virtue of women, fall beneath the yoke of gold. It buys everything. Even the greatest of all things Science—is bought by gold. Universities sell themselves for it and ministers degrade their calling, all for gold. The barren places of the world, the unknown wilds are ransacked, and made to give up their treasures, all for gold!

Gold writes the laws and it enforces them. Gold dictates the policies of countries, states and cities. It makes and unmakes governments. It declares peace and war. It dominates your political conventions. In the last analysis, it buys your Presidents, Senators, Governors and Congressmen. It goes right up to your Supreme Court and buys your judges. GOLD IS KING!

All your wealth is but a symbol of gold. Every fine mansion, treasured picture, works of art and the many wonderful things that fill the mansions of rich, are but the symbol of gold. Each symbol in turn is a sign of mankind wrung and tortured with toil, and poverty, and blood, and sweat; of exploitation, and of war. Gold means to you, masters of the world, power over mankind, the scouring whip over the human race.

Gold! Wonderful metal! Basis of all civilization, trade, life, everything, is it not? Gold, the war-maker! The world-master! Gold, the desecrator of the cradle. With it you build huge factories and the ghastly procession starts from the cradle to the factory. Two million child-slaves march out of the cradle into your factories. All for gold! Women, wringing their hands in misery and torture, sell their chastity all for the want of it. Gold has wrecked civilization and made out of the human race, a complete wreck. It has enslaved and prostituted the best there is mankind.

Yet with all the power that gold gives to the masterclass, it does not last forever. Industry has developed at a tremendous rate and so we have found out, that SOCIETY NO LONGER OPERATES UPON A GOLD BASIS. Something had to be done. So the use of paper money was resorted to. Study the diagram on this page. The figures are for the twenty-three belligerents and the eight neutrals, excluding Russia. You find that there has been a staggering increase in the issuance of paper money, whilst on the other hand there has been very little increase in the production of gold. The capitalist class have broken the economic laws, by their resorting to the excessive use of paper money. THERE IS NO WAY BACK. Capitalism must go on and on, until finally the crash comes.

When we issue paper money, we make the existing paper money cheaper. That means high prices. The result is that we have strikes. Strikes mean increase in wages. That means the issuance of more paper money and so the system prepares itself for the crash. Some members of the capitalist class, and moshbacked economists, talk of limiting credit. Go to the farmer and tell him that you intend to limit credit and you will find that he will not be of a contented disposition. Lessen credit and you disorganize the farming industry. Let us call in the paper money and so reduce the amount that we have in circulation! What are you going to give to those that have the paper money? You cannot give them gold, because you have not enough. Neither the lessening of credit, nor the reduction of paper money will solve the problems. As a last resort we will obtain more gold! Where are you going to get your gold from? When you found it necessary to close down the greatest gold mining camp in the world—Cripple Creek—you must have given up hope of bringing the world back to a gold basis? Members of the capitalist class, that which gave you power—GOLD—will also prove to be the thing that will be the means of taking your power from you. THE FUTURE IS NOT WITH YOU!

The capitalist system cannot last. CAPITALISM HAS FAILED. THE WORKINGCLASS MUST NOW ROUSE ITSELF AND PREPARE FOR THE BUILDING UP OF THE FUTURE SOCIETY. With the great metal gold losing its power as a medium of exchange, capitalism cannot function. Society must go back to primitive days or advance along the road that leads to industrial freedom. WHICH LAST IT BE? We have faith enough in the working class to believe that they will not be content to see society drift back to the dark ages, but will educate and organize themselves and upon the ruins of world-imperialism erect the new social order—COMMUNISM.