

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. 29

14.

FRIDAY, JULY 16, 1920

WHOLE No. 159

FIVE CENTS.

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Will Issue Clear and Positive Declarations On
Matters Dealing With the Revolu-
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(By The Federated Press.)

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Declares War on the
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"I bring to the revolutionary proletariat the warmest greetings from more than 4,500,000 organized workers of the Red Soviet Republic. It gives me great pleasure to be able to deliver these greetings to you on the First of May, the great day of the manifestation of international solidarity, the day of the great review of the proletarian forces and the day of the gathering together of the forces for the final victory of Socialism. The proletariat of Russia is watching with great interest and passionate sympathy the development of the revolutionary class struggles in your country. The putting down of the Kapp near-revolt, that assault by the revived reaction by the German proletariat, aroused the liveliest sympathies among the Russian proletariat. All your dangers, sufferings and sacrifices awaken our warmest sympathy. We feel that your defeats are our defeats, that your victories are our victories.

"We had similar periods in the history of the revolutionary struggle in Russia; periods in which the reaction attempted to destroy the revolutionary movement with armed force. But we, the Russian proletariat, did not intend to live in eternal slavery, so in 1917 we went from the defense to the attack and put the reaction out of business. We have broken the political and economic power of capital in our country, and thus, in comparison with other countries, punished the revolution forward to the most advanced posts. We, the industrial workers of Russia, have, in co-operation with the Russian peasants, taken possession of industry and, without big land owners or factory owners, we are the common owners, rulers and usufructuaries of the country. Through the organization of our councils and trade unions we administer and regulate our agricultural and industrial production. These, our justified endeavors, encounter the most violent opposition in the camp of our capitalist enemies and their social opportunistic lackeys.

"The capitalist reaction forced us to take up arms against the assaults of world-wide capitalism. For nearly two and a half years we lived within a cordon formed by our enemies with fire and steel, through which we were to be conquered by fire, sword and famine. Consequently we had to wage a bloody, stubborn struggle full of sacrifices. During these two and a half years we lived through an indescribably hard time, in which we starved, froze and suffered from sicknesses. We are still suffering and are weighed down by the results of these struggles. But as we possessed the firm will to conquer we devoted all our best forces and means, head, hands and heart, to the defense and maintenance of our Socialist native land. Through this mighty effort with all our forces we succeeded in defeating, conquering

ASTOUNDING REVELATIONS

French and German Manufacturers Come to Agreement During the War. As a Result the War Is Prolonged Several Months.

George Bernard Shaw, at the commencement of the Word War, stated that the truth about the war would never be told until after the war was over. If the Allied and German armies could have known the truth about the war, there would have been a revolution in every warring country in Europe. But the pity of it all is, that those who tell the truth about war find themselves attacked by their own class and imprisoned by the master-class. Today we are learning the truth about the World War. The same truth that was responsible for Eugene V. Debs being sent to prison for ten years.

Clarence K. Streit, an Oxford scholar, had occasion to be in Europe during the war and since the war, During his travels he took the pains to investigate certain rumors that had gained strength. They were so surprising that he hardly thought them

worth while considering, but somehow or another we generally discover that some of the things that we hear about torment our minds until we investigate them. Streit investigated and in a wonderful story entitled, "Where iron is, there is the fatherland!" he tells us some very surprising things. In the opening of his story he states:—

"When the American troops first went into the front line trenches in France they were given the quietest sectors on the Western Front.

"Not a man had been killed in that part of the front since the war began, the French troops whom we relieved told us.

"At one place along that front there was a little wine-shop out in No Man's Land. We used to patronize it during the day while the Boches

would get their liquor there at night.

"These are typical of statements made by Yank officers and men who got their trench training in that sector."

Why was it that this section was left undisturbed? Some of you will say it was due to the presence of Red Cross Hospitals. Or perhaps it was the headquarters of the General Staff of the Allied Armies? You will be surprised to know that it was neither, it was the home of the GERMAN STEEL TRUST. This is not the excited statement of an ultra-radical. It is the cold, impassionate statement of a college student. The French military officers had even given orders that under no consideration were the factories of the GERMAN STEEL TRUST, situated in the Basin of Briery, to

(Continued on page 3)

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French and German Manufacturers Come to Agreement During the War.
As a Result the War Is Prolonged Several Months.

George Bernard Shaw, at the commencement of the Word War, stated that the truth about the war would never be told until after the war was over. If the Allied and German armies could have known the truth about the war, there would have been a revolution in every warring country in Europe. But the pity of it all is, that those who tell the truth about war find themselves attacked by their own class and imprisoned by the master-class. Today we are learning the truth about the World War. The same truth that was responsible for Eugene V. Debs being sent to prison for ten years.

Clarence K. Streit, an Oxford scholar, had occasion to be in Europe during the war and since the war, During his travels he took the pains to investigate certain rumors that had gained strength. They were so surprising that he hardly thought them

worth while considering, but somehow or another we generally discover that some of the things that we hear about torment our minds until we investigate them. Streit investigated and in a wonderful story entitled, "Where Iron is, there is the fatherland!" he tells us some very surprising things. In the opening of his story he states:—

"When the American troops first went into the front line trenches in France they were given the quietest sectors on the Western Front.

"Not a man had been killed in that part of the front since the war began, the French troops whom we relieved told us.

"At one place along that front there was a little wine-shop out in No Man's Land. We used to patronize it during the day while the Boches

would get their liquor there at night.

"These are typical of statements made by Yank officers and men who got their trench training in that sector."

Why was it that this section was left undisturbed? Some of you will say it was due to the presence of Red Cross Hospitals. Or perhaps it was the headquarters of the General Staff of the Allied Armies? You will be surprised to know that it was neither, it was the home of the GERMAN STEEL TRUST. This is not the excited statement of an ultra-radical. It is the cold, impassionate statement of a college student. The French military officers had even given orders that under no consideration were the factories of the GERMAN STEEL TRUST, situated in the Basin of Briery, to

(Continued on page 3)

and destroying nearly all our opponents.

"By driving the counter-revolutionary forces back from Petrograd, Archangel and Murmansk we succeeded in breaking the blockade of world capitalism and thus enabled ourselves again to enter, to some degree, into closer touch with our brother organizations of Western and Central Europe. I come here as the first envoy, the first authorized representative, of the All-Russian Centralized Trade Union Associations for the purpose of re-establishing firmer and more permanent international relations among the trade union organizations. Now, after we have thoroughly and definitely conquered capitalism in our country, we want the proletariat of Western Europe to take part in the difficult creative work of restoring our industries. Now, after the defeat of capitalism, comes the first possibility for us to do this work.

"We are following with the liveliest interest and the warmest sympathies the development of the revolutionary struggles in Western Europe, that as a matter of logical necessity are bound to develop into a decisive struggle between capital and labor. I am firmly convinced that all the hopes, wishes and endeavors of the organized Russian proletariat find a lively echo in the hearts of the German proletariat and that, despite the slanders, calumnies and lies of our open and our secret enemies, the common efforts of millions of working hands and heads will succeed in setting up a genuine active international—an international of action for the final liberation of the working classes of all countries from the fetters of capitalism."

Shlapnikoff has notified the central union bodies of England, France and Italy of his intention to try to visit those countries and hopes they will induce the Governments of their respective countries to allow him to cross their borders.

'May it Please the Court'

(Continued from page 1.)

filiated with the international body, and is an integral part of this Russian organization.

To Produce Manifesto.

"We are going to offer that Moscow manifesto in evidence and prove to you that it is part and parcel of the platform and programme adopted by these defendants; that it was in the hands of the delegates and constantly referred to during the formation by them of the communist labor party. It is signed by Lenin and Trotsky.

"We are going to show that that document, like the left wing manifesto, preaches the doctrine of hate against all existing forms of government; that it urges the proletariat of all lands to arise and mobilize and overthrow by force the government of the country in which they live.

"That document states that the closing of the world war has forced a civil war on the laboring classes, and that they must now wage war against all government, answering blow for blow; that they must attempt to minimize the number of their victims, but above all to secure victory for the proletariat; that to make this possible, the laborers must arm themselves; they must disarm the bourgeoisie; they must form a communist army to protect the rule of the proletariat.

'Aim at Courts.'

"We are going to show that this document again and again advocates the annihilation of the apparatus of all governments as it now stands, the displacement of all judges and the banishment of all the greater bourgeoisie; that document issues a call to all proletarians to the final life and death struggle, and urges them to make use of the means of battle, and thus meet the governmental machinery in open combat.

"We are going to show that these defendants, besides stating that they stand by the Moscow manifesto, also expressly state in their platform and programme that they stand for the overthrow of the government of the United States and all states, the capture of the power of the state and vesting it in the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"They state that in accomplishing this end, the use of the political machinery is only of

secondary importance; that not one of the great teachers of socialism has ever said it is possible to achieve the socialist revolution by the ballot.

"They advocate mass action—in other words, proceeding from the shops and factories to capture and annihilate the apparatus of government. They tell the workers the constitution of the United States can not be amended in their behalf, and therefore it must be destroyed.

Sang 'The Red Flag.'

"We are going to show that among the delegates who sat in the convention that drafted that platform and programme are the defendants:

William Bross Lloyd, Winnetka; L. E. Katterfeld, Kansas; Max Bedacht, California; Edgar Owens, Moline; Perry Shipman, Moline; L. K. England, Rock Island; Jack Carney, Minnesota; Ludwig Lore, New York; Oscar J. Brown, DeKalb; Nuels P. Sandberg, Chicago; Charles Krumbein, Chicago.

"That platform and programme was adopted by unanimous vote. We are going to show that the members of that convention repudiated the Stars and Stripes and adopted the red flag instead; that they opened and closed their daily sessions by the singing of 'The Red Flag' and giving the yell of the bolsheviks.

"We are going to show that they adopted as the seal of their party the seal of the bolsheviks, and that they are now aligned with the bolshevik government of Russia.

The court reporter, who took down the minutes of the Left Wing convention, Detective-sergeant Brown and Nathan Elkins, the publisher of the "Revolutionary Age," gave evidence of the connection of Lloyd, England and Carney with the Left Wing Manifesto. After they had given their evidence and legal objections had been made and discussed, Heth proceeded to read the Left Wing Manifesto. We cannot describe the wonderful manner in which Heth recited this manifesto, because we happened to fall asleep and woke up under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, I mean that section of the manifesto. You will excuse us!

George F. Comerow, special agent of the Department of Justice, was then called to stand. Comerow is a "special agent," read what Judge Anderson of Boston says about special agents, his rescription of them is correct and according to that description Comerow is undoubtedly a "special agent" of the Department of Justice. The more I watched Comerow, the more I believed in the law of Soviet Russia, "Unless a man works, neither shall he eat."

Comerow "watched" the C. L. P. convention. He knew everybody and everything. He identified the defendants. He told of the committees they sat upon. He paid us a compliment. It transpired during the discussion over the name of the party, that one, Zimmerman of Indiana objected to the name of the party being the C. L. P. According to Comerow, one Jack Carney, the same august personage who edits "TRUTH," jumped up and made a speech against the name being any other than the C. L. P. Comerow stated after that speech the name was adopted. So you see it was worth while being arrested, but we strongly object to the conspiracy of silence, in behalf of the capitalist press. Comerow was still telling the jury how we behaved at the Convention etc., when the Judge (God Bless Him) Moved the adjournment of the Court until tomorrow morning.

This concludes our story for this week, next week we will have a full page story upon the trial. We urge you all to buy at least ten copies and circulate them, because the State of Illinois will introduce some good material and in the interests of JUSTICE it is necessary for you to know what we are being tried for. In case any more long manifestoes are read, we cannot guarantee to remain awake.

We forgot to tell you the Convention yell. We had all forgotten, but the "special agent" of the Dept of Justice reminded us:—

Bolshevik-Bolshevik-Bolshevik-Bang. We belong to the 'Gen. Debs gang. Are we rebels? We should smile! We're for the Soviets all the while.

'NEW FREEDOM' COMES TO AN END

By Paul Hanna,
Staff Correspondent,
The Federated Press.

SAN FRANCISCO.—Wilsonism has paid the penalty of its sins and died as an active influence in American life. Let Cox or Harding win, this the people may be sure will happen next March. Wilson will go. Burleson will go. Palmer will go. The three that bloomed with such fair promise and bore such bitter fruit has been struck by political lightning and will be torn out root and branch with the next inauguration at Washington.

Thus the "new freedom" comes to an end; the "freedom" which stuffed the jails with political prisoners and military barracks with conscientious objectors, to war, which suppressed newspapers, hounded editors, peened through keyholes, listened behind doors, made arrests without warrants, convictions without trial, raised the American flag over ships of exile, and invaded Russia without a declaration of war in the interest of fugitive monarchists and international money changers—the "new freedom" which "kept us out of war" before election and has kept us out of peace ever since!

Because the people already sensed their betrayal, the senate Republicans could give lip service to the principle of a League of Nations and then spit upon the Wilson treaty and covenant. Because of that betrayal the Democratic convention dared only to give ambiguous endorsement to the president before it rolled his followers in the dust and named a candidate who stands for all that Wilson had professed to oppose.

Shorn by its own treachery of that invisible power which comes only from the faith of the people, the Wilson machine had to rely upon "practical resources" at San Francisco. So, from this combat with heavy artillery, flame throwers and poison gas it has emerged a mangled corpse at the those who were longer trained in the use of such weapons.

DEBS MEET KATE O'HARE

ATLANTA, Ga.—In a visit full of dramatic incidents, Kate Richards O'Hare visited Eugene V. Debs in the federal penitentiary July 3.

Mrs. O'Hare, recently freed from the penitentiary, was ushered into the prison. The two comrades embraced.

"Your coming here is like a ray of sunlight to me," said Debs, "Tell me of your prison experiences."

"I am not thinking of myself," Mrs. O'Hare answered, "but of little Mollie Steimer, who now occupies my cell at Jefferson City, and of her appalling sentence of 15 years. She is a little 19-year-old girl, smaller than my Kathleen, and her sole crime is her love for the oppressed." At Debs questions, Mrs. O'Hare related the story of the girl. Debs lashes damped and his eyes were tear stained, his face showed the emotion in his heart.

When Kate asked him how long he could stand this imprisonment, he replied:

"I could stay here indefinitely, forever, if necessary; so long as the cause needs me."

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Soviets Compel Allies To Reverse Policy

CHICAGO.—The success of the Soviet armies in repelling the Polish invasion of Russia is responsible for the sudden reversal of Allied policy as regards German disarmament, according to a copyrighted dispatch to the Chicago Tribune from its Paris correspondent, John Clayton. Clayton has been writing anti-Bolshevik dispatches from Russia and other European points. He now reveals the panic which seized the Allied war-chiefs when they learned of the Polish defeat the armies of the Soviet republic.

Clayton says in part: "It is not certain whether the bolsheviks will halt their advance. When the Poles refused their offers to meet them at Dorgat, Reval and Moscow for a discussion of peace, Lenin swore that the red armies never would stop until they had taken Warsaw and established a soviet over the Polish capital. With Warsaw once taken the buffer against bolshevism, established by the allies at the close of the war, is gone, and only Germany remains between France and England and the red terror.

"This is said in Paris, is the reason for the sudden determination of the allies at Spa to look over the war equipment of the German army.

"The conference of the allies at Boulogne only a few days ago dispatched three to Germany, the first of which declared the allies would not permit the Germans to open a discussion of the disarmament terms of the treaty of Versailles which prescribed that the German army must number no more than 100,000 on July 10 next.

"But secretly Marshal Foch learned of the collapse of the Polish offensive and then the collapse of the army itself.

"Immediately the whole policy of the allies underwent a change. Disarmament was the forbidden subject.

"It is said that the allied will permit Germany to maintain a larger army, even larger than the 200,000 it has asked for if it will pay the price by preventing bolshevism from spreading beyond the Polish borders."

From a Japanese Rebel

Dear Friends:—

In our country the socialist and labor movement has become lively since the Russian revolution and a labor movement has developed with the rapid progress of the industries in war time.

The Yu-ai-kwai (Friendly Society which Sen Katayama called a "yellow movement" in his Labor Movement in Japan) has been reconstructed and is now red. It has established the principle of One Big Union in the last August. Baron Shibusawa and other yellow men were excluded from it. In Tokyo Yu-ai-kwai, Shingu-kwai (the printers' union) led by some syndicalists and Nippon-Kotsu-Rodo-Kumiai (The Tram Workers' Union in Tokyo) are active now.

There have been many labor struggles in the last year; for instance the remarkable strike of all newspaper printers in Tokyo, the sabotage in the Kawasaki shipyards in Kobe, the great strike in Ashio copper mines resulting in riots, and the subtle sabotage of the tram workers in Tokyo in December.

In this year great strikes were made twice in Yawata iron works of the government, the tram car strike in Tokyo, and the workers of the Sonoki iron works get the right of a SHOP COMMITTEE first in Japan. These labor movements and numerous articles of magazines stimulate the workers very much.

Owing to the severe suppression of labor movement and the unsparing censorship of books, sacrifices were made by many workers, professors and others. Our workers do not yet understand socialism and unionism very well. So we must propagate them in pamphlets, leaflets and other methods. In Japan there are not many pamphlets.

The panic is coming. The number of the unemployed is increasing. The propaganda of socialism and unionism are indispensable at this time.

I am sending you best wishes to the socialists and members of the One Big Union in America. Your Comrade,

KOJI NAKADA.

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Note the address. 1821 W. Sup. St.

Hungary Lashed In Boycott Call

International Union Body Lays Wholesale Outrages at Door of Present Rulers.

The complete text of the call for an international boycott of Hungary for the purpose of forcing the reactionary Government of that country to cease its alleged persecutions of Socialists and labor leaders, issued by the International headquarters in Amsterdam on June 3, is found in a copy of *Het Volk*, the Dutch Socialist organ, just received here. Late reports from Vienna say that the boycott, which went into effect June 20, is being carried out by Austrian, Yugoslav and Polish railroad men and telegraph and postal employees and is fairly effective. The text of the call, which has only been briefly quoted from in the cable dispatches, reads:

To the workers of all countries:

"The International Federation of Trade Unions has decided to boycott Hungary, beginning Sunday, June 20, and to put a stop to all traffic with that country.

"It is nearly a year since the so-called order-loving elements in

Hungary got possession of the Government. From that moment on the labor movement there has been exposed to an oppression and persecution the like of which has never been seen in the history of the labor movement, and which actually exceeds the horrors in the Czaristic Russia that has been overthrown.

"Mere membership in a trade union that is nonclerical is enough to cause one to be thrown into jail, and an anonymous denunciation is sufficient to have a person kidnapped and locked up in the internment camps.

"Already at the beginning of the current year there were 9,000 men and women in the concentration camp at Hajmáskér, 4,000 at Osijek, 2,400 at Zalaegerszeg, 2,000 at Eger, 3,000 at Cegléd and 2,000 at Komárom-Sandberg. Altogether there were some 50,000 men and women locked up. The jails in the cities are overflowing, the prisoners and the interned men are exposed to the most horrible and refined cruelties; at the beginning of this

year 5,000 workers had already been executed. Thousands and thousands have been murdered by bands of officers without any form of law. Other thousands have perished of hunger and illness. The reactionary detachments of officers are all powerful. He who falls into their hands is lost. Their victims are martyred and slain. There are cases well authenticated by sworn witnesses of unlucky wretches being scalped alive, of others whose arms and legs were broken, of others, who were forced to consume offal, of others who were amputated or similarly mutilated, and of others who were compelled to practice cannibalism.

"Husbands and fathers have been tortured and killed under the very eyes of their wives and children. Women and girls have been outraged before the eyes of their husbands and fathers. Every day men and women of the fighting working class disappear, and are only found as corpses, after having been beaten or shot to death, and often horribly mutilated.

"The International Federation of Trade Unions has protested against these horrors to the Hungarian Government and to the Supreme Council of the League of Nations, and demanded that measures be taken to put an end to all these horrors. It has done no good. The White Terror reigns in Hungary the same after as before. The Supreme Council of the League of Nations evidently cannot, or will not, put the necessary pressure upon the Hungarian Government. The latter cannot, or will not, curb the horrors in its country; it either closes its eyes to them or encourages them itself.

"From official documents of the Hungarian Government, that have come into the hands of the International Federation of Trade Unions it is evident that this Government incites the Judges to condemn even prisoners whose guilt is not proved by the evidence, and that it pays rewards of from 20,000 to 250,000 crowns for the making harmless—that is, the murdering—of labor leaders living abroad.

"All these facts are known and established. The Governments that are acquainted with them do not wish to intervene, perhaps, they applaud the wiping out and murdering of the labor movement in Hungary.

"The International Federation of Trade Unions takes over the task of the Governments and calls upon the workers of all countries, beginning June 20, to refuse to perform any work that might, directly or indirectly, be

of benefit to the Hungary of the White Terror.

"From June 20, 1920, no train may cross the Hungarian border, no ship may enter Hungarian waters, no letter, no telegram, may be sent to, or received from, Hungary. The entire traffic must be stopped. No coal no raw materials, no foodstuffs, no letter and no telegram may enter the country any more.

"During the war the ruling class in the belligerent countries fought its adversaries with the economic boycott. It did it after the war, and it is still trying to do it for the purpose of overthrowing the Russian labor Government.

"The International Federation of Trade Unions calls upon the working class of all countries to now make use of the same means, now that it is a matter of halting the bloody rule of the Hungarian Government and of saving the lives and liberties of thousands and thousands of comrades in Hungary.

"Comrades, transport workers, seamen, railroad men and officials, postal, telegraph and telephone workers and officials, workers in all other trades, respond like one man to the call of the International Federation of Trade Unions!

"From Sunday, June 20, on do not do another stroke of work for Hungary!

"The boycott by the working class against the White Terror!

"Long live international solidarity!

"W. A. APPLETON, president.
"L. JOUHAUX, C. MERTENS,
"EDO FIMMEN, J. OUDE-
EEST, Secretaries."

ASTOUNDING REVELATIONS

(Continued from page 1.)

be bombed by the artillery or the flying squadrons of the Allies.

No wonder the American and French soldiers were surprised. In the distance they could see the smoke belching forth from the chimneys of the GERMAN STEEL TRUST. They knew that within these factories the workers were working night and day producing ammunition that would be used to shoot them down and yet they were not allowed to bomb them and prevent the factories from working. Surprised is too inadequate an expression! But perhaps some friendly critic will say that these factor-

ies and mines were not of any consequence, otherwise the Allies would have destroyed them! Let us examine the facts. According to Mr. Loucheur, ammunition maker, who during the war was the French Minister of Munitions and who since the armistice has been Minister of Industrial Reorganization, the Germans by their exploitation of the Basin of Briery during the war, took 14,000,000 tons of iron ore from its mines. So you can readily see how dependent upon these factories and mines the Germans were. So much so, that in a confidential memorandum, addressed in May, 1915, to Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg by the six great industrial and agricultural associations of Germany, they stated:—

"If the production of raw iron and steel had not been doubled since the month of August, the continuation of the war would have been impossible. As raw material for the fabrication of these quantities of raw iron and steel, the ore of Lorraine takes a place of more importance. From this ore at present from 60 to 80 per cent of our raw iron and steel is made. If the production of the Lorraine ore was disturbed, THE WAR WOULD PRACTICALLY BE LOST."

Let us quote you further evidence of how valuable and extremely essential the Basin of Briery was to the German nation. In official German communiqué for October 27, 1916, the Germans acknowledged the military importance of this place:—

"Verdun, in the case of an allied offensive, would have facilitated the re-capture of the mineral Basin of Briery which is so precious to us, and would have resulted in menacing the fortress of Metz, the taking of which would have permitted the conquest of the industrial and mining regions of German Lorraine, thus depriving us of the most vital part of our war industry."

That the French Government clearly realized the importance of this region is shown by the "Bulletin des Armes," published Dec. 6, 1916, by the minister of war, which said:—

"The Basin of Briery appears to constitute for our enemies a precious reserve. It is indeed impossible not to be struck by the fact the quantity of mineral imported by Germany from foreign countries before war represents just about the amount which the Basin of Briery was then furnishing to us."

When Brigadier General Conner, chief of the section of the American General Staff which had charge of military operations during the war, was questioned by the author, he stated that the capture of the Basin of Briery would have sounded the doom of Germany.

We have presented to you three authorities German, French and American and they all admitted that the Basin of Briery was of considerable military advantage to Germany. The question now arises in your mind, as to why the Allies did not fire upon that section of the country, when they knew it was of such vast importance to Germany?

We need to be brief, because our space is limited. The truth of the whole affair is this, that the controlling interests in the mines and factories of the Basin of Briery were both German and French. If the Allies had bombed and destroyed the Basin of Briery, the war would have been finished. Yet, because of the interests of members of the German and French capitalist class, the mines were not touched and millions of lives were snuffed out. For the sake of profit thousands of workers lie dead upon the fields of Flanders and Germany. That is what capitalism calls dying for "YOUR" country. Was there a more sordid story told?

Whilst the German and French capitalists were working hand in hand, the mothers and the fathers of the warring countries were reading their newspapers, containing accounts of the war, like the following:—

"Whoever has seen the Belgian refugees—run for their lives from their invaded and burning towns and villages will never forget the spectacle. Old and young men, women and children, all were running. Terror was depicted on the faces of all. After the flight of Antwerp the physicians at Maastricht had in one day to treat over three hundred women who during that time had miscarriages. The women belonged to all classes of society—rich, middle-class and poor. Just imagine, if you can, the horror of the situation—what the exhaustion, what the physical suffering, must have been to bring on an abortion, and what terror, what horrible sufferings, these women must have experienced if, in spite of the hemorrhage, and the pain induced by the abortion, they had to run and run without stopping."

Perhaps you can even imagine the horrors of war by reading

the above, by picturing the following scene:—

"Countless corpses, covered with blood lay flat in the grass and between the stones. Some were crushed in head and face, their brains mixed with dust and earth. The intestines were torn out, and blood was trickling from them. The bodies of the dead built hill upon hill; their blood made streams in the valley. Shattered bones, torn flesh, flowing blood, were mingled with shattered swords and split rifles."

Think of the thousands of men who were burned to death by the liquid fire of the Germans, and others gasping out their lives, with gangrened limbs, after having been gassed! THIS IS DYING FOR YOUR COUNTRY!

What a sordid story! Millions of the flower of the manhood of the world lie dead upon the fields of Europe. Died for what they thought was to be a battle to make the world safe for democracy. At home "Christian" ministers preached sermons, hot with hate. Many a poor German was victimized and driven from his home. Whilst the workingclass were killing and destroying each other, the capitalist class of the warring nations were bound together by bonds of gold. If to die fighting in the sordid commercial struggles of soulless parasites is patriotism, then you can count one less to be numbered in your list of patriots. Many years ago we resolved never to lift one finger in defense of the interests of the capitalist class and today we feel positively sure that only when our mind has ceased to act and we become a gibbering idiot, not knowing the right from the wrong, will we ever wind ourselves in capitalist armies.

Our pen is weak, it will not bring forth words of sufficient power, but, comrades of the revolution, read this book, "Where iron is, there is the fatherland!" Copies can be had from the office of "TRUTH" for fifty five cents postpaid. Read it carefully and after you have read it, convey the facts to your fellow-workers. Let us clear the decks for action and resolve that we will leave no stone unturned until we have brought the whole working-class together, fighting, and dying if needs be, for its own freedom and not in the sordid scrambles of its masters. In the great fight that counts, we will neither be British, Irish, French, Swedish, Jewish or American we will be social revolutionists in the THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

J. C.

The Case of Jim Larkin.

"We cannot afford to halt to join the battle with the intellectuals in their own sphere. When we assume complete control of the economic basis of society we will in that hour free all classes, and the educated intellect of the future will be free and in return for services rendered to them they will give of their best to the advancement of humanity. Our duty, therefore, is to be true and loyal to our own class, waste no time on those respectable busybodies who are always deploring and condemning our insistence on class conflict. Be not led astray by praise or prayer, press or party. The fundamental line of advance is industrial organization. All other activities are of secondary importance, and you have to remember that the UNDERMAN is the main factor in the problem. Without his labor the work of the world comes to a stop."

The author of the above lines, Jim Larkin, now lies in the Clinton State prison, Dannamora, New York State, serving a sentence of five to ten years. Read the above lines and you can very easily understand why he has been imprisoned.

We question whether there is any labor organizer who has met the task and conquered it, that Larkin has. In the city of Dublin, some thirteen years ago, Larkin came and commenced to organize the workers. There were no willing hands, in those days, to assist him in his task. A writer of that time, writing in the Dublin Leader, stated:—

"...I saw that the man stood alone and guileless; by dint of experience, he had slept in every workhouse from Land's End to John-o-Groats; by dint of reading it was his custom to quote freely as I would myself if I had more courage; by brooding and thinking on problems that for his companions must practically have no existence—he had raised himself so much above his fellows that he deceived himself if he believed he could find lieutenants in their ranks. Here is a drama for any Ibsen that cares to write it—the failure of a leader of democracy to find lieutenants."

But the immensity of the task never troubled Larkin. He went to his work and six years after, he witnessed thirty thousand of the workers he had organized, come out on strike and stay out for FORTY-TWO WEEKS. It was an achievement that any man might feel proud of. Many a labor leader has retired from the labor movement, with less work to his credit. But Larkin went on and today all over Ireland there are numerous branches of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. They stand in that "Green Isle of the Sea" as a living monument to the work of their founder—Jim Larkin.

Jim Larkin is now being abused within the prison walls of a New York State Prison. He is made to perform the worst tasks and sometimes he is beaten up in his prison cell. But those that now beat him up will live to see the day when they will answer to a workingclass tribunal for their cowardly acts. Outside they stand in fear of this man Larkin, inside they use their police power to try and break his spirit. Jim old man, we never doubted you and in this hour you are bigger than you ever were. Though the prison walls divide us we are united in spirit and purpose. Across the waters of the ocean, appeals are being sent and soon we shall meet again in the old army and in the same old fight. We need you on the outside and so we are urging our readers to contribute to your defence, by sending their donations to EMMETT O'REILLY, 164 EAST 37th STREET NEW YORK CITY.

Comrades we appeal to you to assist in the defence of Jim Larkin. We are endeavoring to have him brought out on a writ of habeas corpus, so that he can have the necessary care and attention, on account of his health giving way. We trust that our readers will respond to this appeal and let us show by our donations, that we appreciate the spirit and work of Jim Larkin.

SABOTAGE.

"The masters stand at the head of things;
They are the lords of work and pay;
And we must run till the set of sun,
Because the masters say;
For we, the for we are the underlings,
And the lords of bread are they;
An we must eat though they screw and cheat,
And when they nod, obey."

The American Woolen Company of Boston has closed down its factory and as a result there are forty thousand men and women OUT OF WORK. Read this statement and keep it in mind!

The directors of the American Woolen Company made millions of dollars profit during the war. It does not matter to them if the factory remains closed for the rest of the year, they will be still thousands of dollars to the good. The directors have withheld their products from the market. Did you ever hear of their being arrested and charged with overthrowing the United States Government by force. How foolish to ask! Of course you must bear in mind that this is a "FREE" country. We are all equal. This is not Russia!

As a result of the closing down of the American Woolen Company factories over 40,000 people will be without work, that means going without the things that men and women work for, viz.—food, clothing, shelter etc. Supposing the 40,000 workers of the American Woolen Company had called a general strike, do you think they would have been allowed to do so in a peaceable manner? Of course not. They would have been arrested and if there were any "foreigners" amongst them, they would be deported and the "citizens" would have been arrested and clubbed. Now if this is a free (!) country, why is it unlawful for the workers to close down a factory and withhold their labor power from the market and perfectly lawful for their masters to close down their factory and withhold their commodities from the market? Why does the State remain silent when the masters withhold their commodities and resort to action when the workers do so?

The action of the American Woolen Company will make more Communists, than the work of a hundred Communist agitators. The American Woolen Company expects to make the workers crawl back to their factories and work for next-to-nothing. They may be successful. But they will also be successful in opening the eyes of those workers, that feel the pangs of hunger and want, due to their losing their jobs. Bring along your Americanization Committees and teach the "foreigners" the beauty of being Americanized, but for the love of Mike do not mention the action of the American Woolen Company! The "foreigner" might talk in

this strain, "I come to your country and work hard, I work night and day to make cloth to clothe your soldiers. Out of my wages I buy Liberty Bonds, Red Cross Stamps, War Savings Stamps and many of my brothers join the army and fight for America. Then after they have fought and won the war, they find that the boss has made a huge fortune and so he closes down his factory and I starve. If that is your Americanism give me my fare back home, I am too poor to pay my own way." Is there any argument against such a point of view? You have no argument.

The "foreigner" and the "citizen" are both victims of the system that crushes out all the finer instincts of mankind. The days of starvation will make them realize that in the struggle of the working class to live, there is no room for nationality. They will join hands and fight together. Your bastard spirit of community interests will receive a shock. They will point to the American Woolen Company and you dare not take the workers' side! The workers everywhere will realize that there is only one way of improving their lot and that is when they all stand together, fighting in ONE BIG UNION of their class and consigning all KAISERS to the hell that gave them birth.

"Our minds are dull, we mull and mull,
But we're waking, masters; ay
We're waking now, and, with knotted brow,
We're wondering, dimly, why!
Only wondering, slow and vast and dull,
Brutal to do and dare;
But if ever we shake ourselves awake,
MASTERS OF BREAD, BEWARE!
HAVE YOU READ THE BRASS CHECK? WE CAN
SEND A COPY FOR 50 CENTS!

DO NOT BE DECEIVED!

The recent announcement of the State Department, that American manufacturers are at liberty to engage in trading with Soviet Russia, will occasion joy in the hearts of the revolutionary workers.

The announcement that trading with Russia is to be resumed, gives us time to breathe a little easier. But in so doing, let us not be fooled. The Allies have failed to defeat Soviet Russia, by the use of armed intervention, so now they are going to endeavor to undermine her, using peaceful penetration as the means. The workers of America must grasp the present opportunity and utilize it in such a manner that whenever an attempt is made to hinder the progress of the Soviet Government of Russia, they can come to the assistance of the Russian people and prevent the schemes of the Allied imperialists from being carried out.

In the latest issue of "SOVIET RUSSIA," Karl Radek analyses the motives of Lloyd George, in his

dealings with Russia. The situation in England is applicable to the situation here in America and so, for the benefit of our readers, we are republishing the statement made by Radek, in a recent number of the Moscow "Pravda":—

"Now, it is possible that the leaders of English Imperialism are asking whether this understanding will not strengthen revolutionary Russia. This question, which has been put to Lloyd George by a portion of the bourgeois press, is answered by him in terms about corresponding to the following: "No permanent system can be built on a Communist foundation. It is only on the basis of private property and private initiative that society can endure. The danger of Communist opposition does not therefore lie in the fact that Communism may replace capitalist society for ever. The danger lies in the devastations of the revolutionary period. But after this period of devastation, every country will return to capitalism. Russia also will come back to capitalism, and its return will be all the faster if it speedily enters into commercial relations with the capitalist world. In the concentrated factories the capitalists of foreign countries will prove to the Russian workers that capitalism is better than Communism. When the blockade is removed, trade will be carried on not only with the Government of Soviet Russia; secret traders will create a secret system of trade with foreign capital, and this will destroy the whole economic policy of the Soviet power. And if the Soviet power, not defeated by force of arms, should not succumb in the peaceful economic struggle it will nevertheless have to transform itself entirely and become a power that unites the interests of the capitalist farmer with those of the worker on the basis of a commodity economy. In his way we may enter into a peace with Soviet Russia with hopes for victory not only over the English revolution, but also over the Russian revolution."

Such are the thoughts of the leaders of English imperialism when they enter into relations with us. As it is not our task to educate England's ministers, we may relinquish the pleasure of criticizing their views, which we have merely cited in order to reveal to our readers the causes of the English policy towards Russia.

The English peace is the continuation of the English war against Soviet Russia, by the use of the economic means. The possibility of a victory or of a defeat of this English policy depends upon the rapidity with which capitalist economy disintegrates in England, and on the rate of the organization with which Communist economy in Russia is accomplished."

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BOYCOTT OF PARLIAMENT.

By BELA KUN. (Workers' Dreadnought.)

I.

Quite recently two sections of the Communist International were obliged to take up a definite attitude towards the question of participation in parliamentary action. The Communist Party of German-Austria decided to boycott the parliamentary elections; the Communist Party of Germany (Spartacists), on the contrary, decided to participate in the parliamentary elections.

In the German section of the Communist International this decision was preceded by a long detailed and confusing discussion, by a struggle, which threatened to split the organization. The Austrian decision regards the suggestion of parliamentarism as settled in principle as far as every Communist is concerned. Quite rightly it only adopted a definite attitude towards the purely tactical question as to whether the Party should participate in the forthcoming parliamentary elections, or not.

What results the German policy of non-participation will achieve—not from the standpoint of the number of mandates to be obtained, but from the standpoint of positive gain to the Communist Party—remains to be seen. It can, however, be asserted in advance that the decision of the German-Austrian Communist Party will tend in the near future to increase the strength and solidarity of the organization, and that the practice of the boycott in the Communist sense will be of considerable value in shattering the misguided faith of the Austrian working class in the delusion of parliamentary democracy, in fostering the revolutionary spirit of the worker, and in helping to swell the numerical strength of the Party.

II.

What do we mean by the practice of the boycott in the Communist sense?

The parliamentary boycott of the Syndicalist means the denial of parliamentary political action by the working classes on the ground of principle. Consequently the anti-parliamentarism of the Syndicalist is a purely negative policy, which makes positive activity during the parliamentary elections impossible. The Syndicalist can never carry on a successful fight during an election campaign. His non-parliamentarism constrains him to passivity. He is always preaching anti-parliamentarism, yet during the elections he can obtain only a slight degree of neutrality among a small section of the workers; and can never succeed in calling forth a mass demonstration against participation in the elections.

In brief, Syndicalist anti-parliamentarism—just because it is by nature a mere principle—must lead to passivity. It must remain negative and cannot become the mainspring of positive mass action.

Marxian Communism rejects parliamentarism solely because it is an historical and intrinsic part of the bourgeois State organization, not adapted to become an organ of the proletarian State in a period of transition from Capitalism to Socialism. This does not imply absolute refusal to participate in parliamentary action. The boycott of the Communists is a mere question of revolutionary tactics, and when, during a given phase of revolutionary development, the question arises whether the Communist Party should reject the parliamentary weapon and strive to lead the masses away from the parliamentary sphere of the political struggle, the following questions also arise:

1. What means should be adopted so that the energy thus liberated should not be uselessly wasted?

2. What means should be adopted, under the given historical and political circumstances, in order to transform a merely negative boycott into positive mass action tending towards the emancipation of the proletariat?

The Communist parliamentary boycott will not be content with passivity. In opposition to the necessarily passive anti-parliamentarism of the Syndicalists, the Communist boycott is an active boycott, a boycott that must transfer itself into mass action.

Because the attitude adopted by the Communist Party towards the question of parliamentary action is not one of principle, but it rather the result of a tactical policy assumed under given political circumstances, in a definite period of the revolution, it cannot limit itself to the propaganda of anti-parliamentarism as an eternal truth, it cannot remain passive, it must manifest itself as an action of the masses adapted to the given circumstances.

III.

In the present period of the proletarian class war the answer to the first question mentioned above is to be found in the Workers' Councils as an alternative to Parliament. Having decided to boycott Parliament, it becomes the duty of the Communist Party to improve the Workers' Councils as fighting weapons and organizations of power. It must increase the power of the Workers' Councils at the cost of the democratic organs of the bourgeois State, and must place both in the sharpest and most violent opposition. The Workers' Councils are generally regarded as a subsidiary government; they must be transformed into an opposition government. What is to be done next is a question of revolutionary tactics, and does not concern the subject under discussion: the boycott of Parliament.

In reply to the second question, I will explain what I conceive to be an active boycott.

An active boycott means that the Communist Party does not content itself with merely preaching non-participation in the elections; it must carry on just as intense a revolutionary propaganda as if it had entered into the elections, and as if its activities were directed solely to winning the highest number of proletarian votes. This is the minimum condition for an active boycott that the Communist Party must fulfil once it has decided that the revolutionary movement demands the boycott of Parliament. Should a favourable revolutionary situation arise through the further development of the revolutionary crisis—which during the course of the elections, especially if the Communist boycott is sufficiently active, may happen with startling suddenness—one may even go as far as a complete annulment of the elections by mass action.

It goes without saying that a parliamentary boycott undertaken in this sense requires just as many leaflets, posters, advertisements, public meetings and meeting of electors, as an ordinary election campaign. Therefore, temporary organizations and committees of action must be formed for the boycott agitation just as if the Party were preparing for the elections.

Following on all this it is natural that the slogans of the boycott agitation must not be purely negative, as, for example, "Don't waste a penny or a vote on the humbug of parliamentary democracy"; they must not be mere anti-parliamentary slogans. The bourgeois-democratic and sham-revolutionary cries of the opportunist-reformist Labour Parties must be countered by the positive slogans of the proletarian revolution. When the Communist Party has revealed the falsity of bourgeois democracy, it must oppose it by the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the bourgeois republic it must oppose the Soviet republic, to the "popular army" the proletarian class army, etc. Most important of all, the fraud of a "pure Socialist government" must be unmasked.

The question now arises as to what are the relative values of an active boycott and of a revolutionary election campaign. Without entering here into a criticism either of the resolution of the German Communist Party (Spartacists), or the resolution of the German-Austrian Communist Party, without attempting even to estimate the historical position of these two resolutions, we will merely compare an election campaign, as implied in the active boycott carried out in accordance with the above exposition.

IV.

One of the prime motives for the decision of the German Communist Party is the desire to take advantage of the opportunities for revolutionary educational work offered by an election campaign. A second motive, of equal importance, is the desire to take advantage of the parliamentary tribunal as long as the bourgeois dictatorship endures. For the purpose of the comparison the second motive may be ignored.

"The election campaign must be utilised in the task of revolutionising the large mass of the workers, who are still blinded by the delusion of bourgeois democracy," says the resolution of the German Communist Party.

There is no doubt that this revolutionising work can be carried on far more easily and far more effectively by a boycott campaign than by an election campaign, in which the situation is complicated in the following way; the large mass of the workers, who "are still blinded by the delusion of bourgeois democracy" (and also of parliamentary democracy) must be enlightened at a time when the party, which is preaching the worthlessness of Parliament, is canvassing for votes, and thus openly—if, indeed, only apparently—contradicting itself in the eyes of the large mass of the workers.

But if, after estimating the revolutionary situation, a party dare arrive at the decision to reject parliamentary activity—and, in our opinion, it dare—the value of an active election campaign however revolutionary the speeches are, and however emphatically, parliamentarism is deprecated.

The argument that, in order to utilise the opportunities for agitation offered by the elections, the Communist Parties should participate in the elections, and that nothing is to be achieved by the parliamentary boycott, does not, therefore, hold good. In fact just the opposite is the case.

The argument which asserts that it is easier for the masses to pledge their vote for revolution, than to abstain from voting altogether, is just as false. The German Communist Party—as a revolutionary Marxian party—declares that it does not consider the number of votes or mandates obtained of great importance. The Communist parties who decide on a boycott, must try to obtain the maximum number of refusals to vote; nevertheless, the refusal to vote is no more of first-rate importance than the number of votes obtained.

It is certain that a revolutionary boycott campaign places the principles and tactics which distinguish the Communist parties from the revolutionary phrasemongering parties before the masses with far greater clarity than any mere vote-catching campaign. In estimating the value of the two methods, this is of great importance.

V.

The questions relating to parliamentarism, dealt with by the Berlin Bureau and the Amsterdam Bureau, may assume overwhelming importance in Jugoslavia and in Poland, where the elections for the National Assembly are imminent. They may also assume great importance in Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, also in Italy, where the activities of newly-elected parliament may soon be made impossible by the action of the masses outside Parliament, or by the Labour Parties, or certain sections of the Labour Parties—and also by the sabotage of new elections may become inevitable. In many of these countries the strengthening of the revolution may lead to the boycott of the elections, and an active revolutionary boycott carried on by action of the masses may, under certain circumstances, bring about the overthrow of the parliamentary system and the institution of the Soviets. The resolution of the German-Austrian Communist Party and the problems arising therefrom are of international significance.

SOVIET RUSSIA.

During a recent debate in the British House of Commons, over the question of trading with Russia, Lloyd George was compelled to admit the truth about the situation in Russia.

We take the following from the London Times, of June 11th:—

"Turning to those of his critics who denied that Russia had any goods to dispose of," Lloyd George retorted, "that there were many who said that there was a prodigious quantity of grain and raw material there. In fact he could give the House a telegram received by him that morning from Poland, in which it was declared that there were considerable quantities of wheat for export in the Ukraine alone. He regarded it as certain from the evidence that the Government had got that there was grain, oil flax and timber in Russia. All of them essential commodities for this country."

We are expecting the press to soon admit that the people of Russia really regard their form of government in a favorable light. You can never tell!

Whilst we are dealing with Russia, read the following speech, delivered by the PRESIDENT of the Russian Soviet Republic and contrast it with the speeches of SOME presidents and presidential candidates that you know of:—

"Comrades, the Workmen's and Peasants' Government must see to it that everybody should enjoy the best conditions. But at the present time Russia has become very poor. There is a scarcity of food, of clothes, of everything. For a period of four years Russia did not produce anything, and spent all her wealth, and now we have no stock of food or goods, we have even no wood for baths."

We have become very poor. The greedy bourgeoisie is responsible for this. It began the war. In accumulated wealth while the people were starving and getting poor. There is no other way of salvation than the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the landlords.

The Red Army is performing a noble task and it

faces great difficulties. Our enemies possess science, technique, and foreign gold, and still we beat them. We beat them because our army is conscious that, in the event of our defeat, the landlords and the bourgeoisie will suck our blood and the blood of those who come after us. I urge you all not to be discouraged, and to devote all your free time to studies, in order to acquire knowledge. Impart your knowledge to your family and to your fellow-villagers; this will enable you to take an active part in administrative work, and to dismiss all bureaucrats, among whom there are many of our secret enemies.

The aim of the Soviet Government is to abolish bureaucracy, to place the administrative work into the hands of workmen and peasants: to-day to plough your field or work at the bench, tomorrow to manage a canton, county, province, or the State and on the next day to return to your plough or bench.

Comrades we are passing through a hard time, but nevertheless an heroic time. Those who have lived quietly during this time will not be remembered by posterity. People will forever remember our time, our deeds. Centuries will roll on and our children's children will narrate our heroic struggle: how we could sacrifice our lives on the altar of freedom, for the welfare of the people. In their songs they will sing about us, glorify our struggle. Individuals—Kalinin, Petroff, Ivanoff—will be forgotten, but they will remember us all with awe and pride.

Being conscious of this, comrades, we fear no enemy and are convinced of our final victory."

There is something refreshing in a speech of that kind. Especially so, when you know that when the President is not engaged in his official capacity, he is back on a farm helping to produce food for the people. When he was elected, he said in reply to the comrades who had honored him with the position:—

"I consider my election as Chairman of the Central Executive Committee symbolical. I am at the same time a workman and a peasant. I personify the union between town and village. Even now I am managing a farm, and, as far as my duties will permit me, I will continue to do so. I stand between the poor and the middle-class peasant; my farm is not large but in good order. I know rural life very well, and the psychology of the peasant is quite familiar to me. I know that every peasant must love the Soviet Government. Because I am a peasant I take part in the revolutionary movement and serve the Soviet Government."

(We are indebted to the "DATA" for the translation of the speeches of the President of the Russian Soviet Republic. It is published monthly by THE SOCIALIST RESEARCH AND INFORMATION BUREAU, 196 St. Vincent St., Glasgow, Scotland and may be had for one year by sending ONE DOLLAR. We recommend it to our readers.—Ed.)

Portrait of a Reactionary.

By Louis Untermeyer.

(Reprinted from "Yale Review.")

Warm in a fog of musty platitudes, You wear your satisfaction like a cloak; As, with an easy worship, you invoke, A flabby faith that knows no stormy moods. What little there is living in you turns. To dead ideas and nodding gentleness. Where others flame, you sputter thin smoke. While everything around you flares and burns.

The bright, adventurous world goes swiftly by To eager conflict, battle-crying days.—But what to you are all wars unfought? Ox-like, complacent in your sloth, you lie. And ruminate and shift your watery gaze. Chewing the cud of predigested thought.

Mencken on American.

"The whole drift of our law is towards the absolute prohibition of all ideas that diverge in the slightest from the accepted platitudes, and behind that drift of law there is a far more potent force of growing custom, and under that custom there is a national philosophy which erects conformity into the noblest of virtues and the free functioning of personality into a capital crime against society."

The Neigh of An Ass.

This is Ba-Ba-Ba the
Greatest Ba-Ba-Ba
Country in the Ba-Ba-Ba
World Ba-Ba-Ba.

WHY VICTORY IS OURS?

The Marxian student explains all social phenomena by economic or teluric change. That is, by a change that alters the manner in which society obtains its food, clothing and shelter, or by geographical or geological changes such as a change in the surface of the earth and the appearance or disappearance of certain islands etc., due to natural forces. Industrial changes produce a change in human ideas and human conduct. Therefore, to know the human mind and its main social expressions through various movements is chiefly to know the history of INDUSTRY. As Engels points out in his "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific."

"We no longer explain man's being by his knowing, but instead, his knowing by his being."

It is because university professors ministers, etc. fail to appreciate the truth of the above statement, that they present such a deplorable figure in the field of human intellect. They fail to understand from whence our ideas spring from and so starting out from a false assumption they naturally go astray.

Because we recognise the basis of our ideas, that is why we urge the workingclass to create its own organizations and formulate its own policy. The intellectual has no place in our movement, because he can never understand it. It is recognized on all sides that sympathy for a movement, without a clear understanding of that movement, is worse and more

harmful than direct antagonism. The mistrust of the intellectual by the revolutionary worker is not one occasioned by a snobbish spirit, it is one based on a knowledge of the situation. There is a dividing line between the worker and the intellectual. A dividing line that cannot be eliminated by any sentimental pleas for unity. The worker by reason of his position in the factory, mine or mill, acts in the final analysis, in obedience to the law of necessity. In the evolution of industry certain industrial changes come about and the worker is compelled to act in accordance with those changes. It is not a matter of choice, it is one of necessity. This means that the working class expresses the highest and most advanced type of human intelligence, though many of the working class may not completely understand the natural laws that cause them to act. On the other hand, the intellectual, by virtue of his separation or indirect connection with industry, depends mostly upon his mind or guidance. He sits down and thinks out certain ideas and expects the working class to carry them out. Depending upon his mind for his ideas he becomes unfitted to play any part in the revolutionary movement. In times of crisis he is the person who finds it so easy to explain away any compromising situation he may find himself in. So much for the intellectual!

Let us apply the same argument to the radical movement. Quite a few radicals are continually crying for study classes. The workers are to be gathered into study classes and after a very profound study of Marxian principles, the workers will be led into the revolution. If a strike takes place, we shall turn to page so-and-so of some book written by Marx or Lenin and open sesame the revolution. It will be a sight worth while, to witness a million comrades storming the battlements of capitalism with the three volumes of Das Capital in their hands. The falling down of the walls of Jericho will have nothing on the falling down of the walls of capitalism. This may seem ridiculous, but no more ridiculous than the attitude of those comrades who sit down and write revolutionary manifestoes and expect to bring about the revolution. It is a simple thing to sit down and educate one self and then write out a revolutionary program, more simpler than conducting even a small strike. The task before us is not so much the writing of a program as putting it into action. If your program cannot be translated into action, then it does not matter if it outdoes Lenin himself, it is a waste of time. The needs of the workingclass, which are born in industry, that is, ON THE JOB, must determine and WILL determine their form of organization and TACTICS; not a declaration of principles or a program submitted by some persons who desire recognition in the revolutionary movement. The program that will work, and after all, that is the only kind of program that is worthy of consideration, is one that springs from the ECONOMIC NEEDS of the working class. No man or group of men, can evolve a plan of action adapted to the everyday needs of the working class, unless they are in direct touch with that class.

The advocates of the study class claim that they do not repudiate the necessity of an industrial organization, yet it is true that they do not do anything to assist in the growth of such an organization. By their actions they demonstrate that the study class is the ONLY thing that counts with them. They labor under the impression that given the workers the IDEA and they will produce ACTION. The working class have never acted AFTER imbibing an idea, but have imbibed the IDEA after they acted. The working class will learn by action and practice. The more action they engage in, the more they will learn. It is only through strikes, especially craft-union strikes, that the workers appreciate the necessity of class action. The solidarity of labor does not depend upon the understanding of some Marxian principle. The workingclass, and even the master class, in the every-day acts of their lives are living manifestations of the principles of historical materialism by conducting themselves according to the dictates of the machine process of production. There are no all-wise men possessed of great ideas for the enslavement or the emancipation of the working class. The capitalist class is heading towards chaos and eventual ruin and it is powerless to prevent itself. The working class are engaging in outlaws strikes day after day, and the international officers of the various unions are powerless to prevent them. All human beings act in accord with the conditions imposed upon them, in order to satisfy their desires, to seek pleasure and to avoid pain.

"When people speak of ideas that revolutionize society, they do but express the fact that within the old society the elements of a new one have been created, and that the dissolution of the old ideas keeps even pace with the dissolution of the old conditions of existence" Karl Marx, Communist Manifesto.

In other words as a thermometer registers the temperature of the atmosphere, so the human mind registers the changes that are taking place in society.

It is because many of our comrades fail to grasp the significance of the theory of the materialist conception of history in its application to the mind and ideas, that we find so many of them ever eager to sketch out plans of the social revolution, instead of realizing that the prime necessity of the revolutionary movement is to organize the working class in such a manner that they act as a class, and so eliminate a lot of unnecessary trouble and pain. Out of the struggle of workers to obtain more of the value of their product, they will learn more than we can ever hope to teach them in the study class. So let us get down ON THE JOB and organize the working class into the ONE BIG UNION. Give the workers an understanding of revolutionary unionism and they will be better able to combat the masters class. The more they come into contact with the master class and engage in a real struggle, the more the State will be compelled to throw off its camouflage and stand out in the open as the avowed instrument of the master class. With the stepping in of the State, the working class will have to develop its power of striking and convert its economic strikes into political mass strikes. Out of political mass strikes we will create the spirit of revolution.

ALL POWER TO THE WORKING CLASS!!