

GORKY And POLAND

"The whole world sees and knows that it is not we who have plotted this war. I am the declared enemy of war, that most hideous phenomenon in all the world; but if I am seized by the throat I shall defend myself to the last drop of blood. Blows are inflicted upon your heads because you are trying to build a new life. You are hated not at all for some error or cruelty, but because you have broken the rusty chains of

the political regime. When the workers of Soviet Russia wanted only to take up their peaceful work a new enemy appeared before them and now wishes to crush them with blows. But that should not frighten us. On the day of the proletarian fete of First of May you showed what fraternal solidarity in labor leads to and that example, better than any words, testifies to the fact that

our common efforts shall triumph over the enemy. Perhaps this blow coming from Poland is the last obstacle which separates us from the free road where we shall build our life in conformity with the new communist principles in such a way that all will see us and hasten to imitate us. That is my profound conviction. Greetings to you, Comrades"

THE WORKING CLASS RIGHT OR WRONG

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T R U T H
Duluth, Minn.

POLISH WAR MAY INVOLVE WHOLE WORLD

BRITIS LABOR THREATENS TO STRIKE IF WAR IS DECLARED ON SOVIET RUSSIA. WAR SEEN AS GAMBLERS' LAST MAD THROW

RUSSIAN WORKERS' APPEAL

Third International Calls Upon The Workers Of All Countries to Unite and Prevent the Present War From Continuing.

Workers of all countries:

Soviet Russia will know how to deal with the shameless bandits of Polish imperialism, as it already has known how to deal with Yudenitch, Kolchak and Denikine, whom your governments have aided not less energetically. After the first very easy victories which the Polish legions have won in the Ukraine, they will have to face the wrath of the workers and peasants of all the Russias, and even those non-partisan masses who now understand that the Soviet Government is the real defender of the independence of this great country. But the question is how long this war is going to last, how much wealth is yet to be destroyed and how many new wounds to be healed will the Russian people yet have. It depends on you alone, you workers of all countries, that this war ends as quickly as possible by the overthrow of the Polish capitalists and land monopolists.

Workers in the munition factories of France, England, Italy and America! Do not make even a single rifle, a single cannon for Poland.

Transport workers, railwaymen, dock workers and sailors! Prevent the sending to Poland of munitions, foodstuffs and all articles that will help the Whites, to carry on the war against Soviet Russia.

Workers of all the Allied countries! Organize demonstrations and strikes and parade the streets of the cities with banners bearing words like these: "No co-operation with White Poland!" The Allies must muzzle their hunting dogs—the Polish capitalists and land proprietors—and conclude an honest peace with Soviet Russia.

Workers of Germany and Austria! You know that Soviet Russia is the basis of the world revolution and that through this revolution you may free yourselves from the yoke of your own capitalists and of the hangman's halter which the Versailles and St. German treaties of peace have placed about your necks.

Railwaymen of Germany! Stop all trains enroute from France to Poland.

Workers of the port of Danzig! Do not unload steamers whose destination is Poland.

Austrian railwaymen! Not a train should be permitted to run from Italy to Poland.

Workers of Roumania, of Fin-

land and the Lettish country! Your White governments, which are leagued by secret treaties with the Polish land proprietors, may be able to drag you into this war. Be prudent and do everything possible to prevent such a shameful thing.

Workers of Poland! A common struggle of thirty years binds you to the Russian proletariat; so it is unnecessary to call upon you to do your duty. You will do it consciously. Organize demonstrations and strikes and demand peace with Soviet Russia, while participating in this manner in our struggle which has already cost you thousands of victims. You look with pride upon the Third International, the founders of which include in their ranks Rosa Luxemburg and Jean Tyszkewicz; the Third International is certain that you will employ, when the hour comes, all your efforts to attack White Poland behind its lines and to achieve with the aid of the Russian workers a decisive victory over the Polish capitalists and landlords!

You know it is not slavery that Poland but national freedom, emancipation from the oppression of Allied capitalism and powerful help in your struggle with your own capitalists. The victory of the Russian peasants and workers will also be that of the Polish proletariat, which is the brother and ally of the Russian workers and peasants. Attack, then, Polish workers; it is your final contest! The day approaches when the jurisdiction of your country will be in your own hands.

Down with the Polish capitalists and landlords. Long live Soviet Russia of the workers and peasants! Down with war! Long live peace between the working people of Russia and Poland! Down with the criminal sport of the Allied Governments! Long live the Proletarian International! Executive Committee of the Third International.

(Reprinted from "Weekly People.")

What Else Didja Expect?

By The Federated Press.

CHICAGO, — Release of Eugene V. Debs from prison is opposed in a fiery resolution passed by the advertising men's post of the American Legion here, and sent to President Wilson.

According to advices received from London, through the London Daily Herald, there is a danger of another world conflagration arising out of the Russo-Polish war.

Lenin's Message to Lloyd George.

The receipt of the message from Lenin, on August 8th, dispels all alleged fears on part of the Polish nation. Lenin in his message to Lloyd George states:

"Immediately on the acceptance by Poland of the Armistice terms, which deal principally with the reduction of her armed strength, the Soviet Republic will be prepared to begin withdrawal of her troops to the line drawn by the Supreme Council on December 3rd, 1918, and indicated once more by Lord Curzon of Kedleston in his note of July 20, to Mr. Tchitcherin, and considerably to reduce the number of Soviet troops on this line, if the Allies—particularly France—undertake not to advance against Soviet Russia on any front, and withdraw the army of General Wrangel from the Crimea."

This message also gives the lie to the press, which states that Russia has had imperialistic designs upon Poland and that Poland is defending her independence.

At no time did Russia ever invade Poland. Poland, incited by France, made an unprovoked and unwarranted attack upon Soviet Russia. At the same time, "Bar-

ren" Wrangel opened up operations in the Crimea. Wrangel is being used to divert the attention of the Red Army from Poland and so allow Poland to march on to Moscow and overthrow the Soviet Government. But Wrangel and his backers, France, reckoned without their host.

Situation Critical.

The situation is a critical one and one that demands the attention of the working class of this country. We congratulate the Duluth Trades Assembly for their resolution of last Friday evening, but it must be backed up, if necessary, by action. That means that we must be prepared to take any action that is necessary to keep America out of what looks like being a world-wide conflagration. If this present war is allowed to develop, the late war will sink into obscurity beside the awful spectacle of another war. Because it is to be remembered, that France is inflamed with the mad passion of the gambler is making a desperate attempt to retrieve the tremendous losses that she has incurred through the late war, by endeavoring to obtaining payment of the loans that she made to the late Czar of Russia.

What the War Is For.

You may, members of the labor movement, believe that your interests are not those of the Communist, but the fact remains that

this war is for the purpose of crushing the Bolsheviks of Russia. The Allies crippled financially by the war, groaning beneath tremendous burdens arising out of the late war, are endeavoring to extend their frontiers up to the Ural mountains and that means the conquest of Soviet Russia. That is the objective of the present war. Are you ready to shed your blood for the sake of redeeming the fortunes of your masters?

What the Future Holds.

If the war continues and the Allies determined to enter, have you given thought to what the future holds? It means that the Bolsheviks, fighting with grim determination to keep that which they have sacrificed millions of lives for, will drive on Poland with all the forces at their command. The Bolsheviks will spread their propaganda, that is what the Allies fear most of all. On the other hand, Poland is suffering from the deadliest of diseases, typhus. If the Polish people are driven into Germany, which they must be, if the Allies go into the war as a body, then disease will be the grim spectre that will haunt Europe and take off millions of victims. What do you say to this?

The Spreading of the War.

If the Allies finally decide to enter on the side of Poland, then

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CAUSES OF THE WAR

British Desire Oil Monopoly In Order To Equip Them In Their Trade Fight With America. Also Desire Russian Copper Mines.

WORKERS' BLOOD FOR CAPITALISTS' OIL

Whoever has watched the British Labour Movement during the last few weeks cannot but have observed that the burning question of the day is not so much "increase wages" as "reduce the cost of living." Resolutions have appeared from every part of the country demanding that the Government take immediate steps to secure a decrease in prices. It is clear that the workers are beginning to realize that to increase wages further is to participate in a series of endless movements which neither reduce prices nor control the profits of the capitalists.

The Government, however, is moving in an opposite direction, as shown by the increasing tendency towards de-control; the Minister of Labour, Sir Robert Horne, stated a short while ago in the House of Commons that "the time had arrived for the coalowners to resume private control of the coal mines of

this country." The representatives of the financial interests behind the British Empire are taking energetic steps to remove every semblance of public control over their operations in the world-market.

The critical condition of French capital has made it in reality a mere appendage of London and New York, and while the French militarists may serve, in the present state of affairs in Middle Europe, to keep down any movement for freedom, the role of France as a factor in world-politics is played out. The conflict within capital itself is at present carried on between the trusts of Wall Street and the London Syndicates. British high finance has set itself the problem of securing, as far as possible, the unlimited control of world-sources of raw materials; first, in order effectively to compete with America, and secondly, to decrease prices in Great Britain. Should this fail to reduce

prices, it would adopt Imperial (preferential) importation. With cheap food, and the consequent removal of inflammatory material, the British proletariat would quickly reach such a condition as would render unnecessary any kind of control of the trust operations.

Conditions, at present, are such that the materials essential for enabling the home market to reduce prices are to be found only in backward or partly-developed regions, where the proletariat live under conditions that make them partly slaves, partly serfs, and the cost of production is reduced to a minimum. These areas lie, mainly, in the regions between Europe and Asia, on the Russian steppes, and in different parts of the Middle East, in the Caucasus, Mesopotamia and Persia. The importance of these areas for British capital is further increased by reason of the fact that unless it

(Continued on page 2)

POLISH WORKERS' APPEAL

Polish Workers Call Upon The Allied Workers To Come To Their Assistance And Help Them To Stop The War.

The crushing victory of the Red Army, the precipitate retreat of the Polish forces sent to conquer Ukraine, has caused violent repercussion in the interior politics of Poland.

The two conceptions of Polish imperialism, the one of annexation pure and simple (Dmowsky) and the other disguised under the formula of the "liberation" of Ukraine and White Russia, are in harmony. Both of them are equally evil. There are no longer any differences in the bourgeois camp of Poland.

All the privileged classes, all the profiteers of the actual regime form nothing but one reactionary block against all the workers. The counterrevolution, ashamed of defeat, incited by the fear of its consequences, is blind, ferocious, and is ready for anything....

We, adherents of the party which alone is capable, through fraternal collaboration with the proletariat of our neighboring countries, of putting an end to war, famine and epidemics, which alone will be able to bring about with the Socialist order, the peace so much desired in this unfortunate country, we, Polish Communists, appeal to the world proletariat.

It is necessary that you should know under what conditions we pursue our work for safety and emancipation of the working class.

A state of siege is proclaimed throughout the entire country. The legal press of the workers, even of the pure and simple trade unions, is suppressed, at least those that do not bear the protective label of the P. P. S. (Polish Socialist Party.) The troops and detachments of gendarms invade trade union meetings, demolishing the interior and arresting all the officials. In certain localities, such as at the works of Starachowice, the workers have replied to the provocations of the soldiers with a general strike and have retaken arrested comrades by physical force. The resistance of the workers is often paralyzed by the National Socialists of the P. P. S., whose leaders forestall the governmental repression as a means of freeing themselves of revolutionary opponents and recovering their waning influence over the working class.

At the trade union meetings all those who dare to raise their voice against the patriotic propositions of the partisans of the P. P. S. are arrested, either on leaving the meeting or some

hours later, by the agents of "law and order" (military gendarms) and disappear in the infected prisons of the bourgeois republic. The prisoners are always beaten, insulted, and often subjected to tortures.

Since the formation of the volunteer army, the streets are in the possession of armed bands of the young bourgeois, schoolboys, students, who, in company with outcasts of society of all kinds, are organized for civil war. Patriotism is extorted from the passers-by at the point of the bayonet. It is sufficient for one not to manifest chauvinistic sentiments before one of the ribald placards against the Soviets, covering the walls at each step, to be treated as a "Bolshevik."

Rumors are circulating that French colonial troops will soon arrive to reinforce the Polish army. These black troops will be utilized, without the least doubt, to keep in awe the Polish working class. It is for our French comrades to take effective measures to prevent such a disgrace.

Lately there has begun the transportation of hundreds of Communists prisoners from the overcrowded prisons and fortresses to an unknown destination. To the relatives of the prisoners all information about their new destination was refused. It appears that one party of prisoners has been transferred to the detention camp where the prisoners of the Red Army are detained. The typhoid fever there made such ravages that to stay in that place amounts to being condemned to death. Besides, the gendarms and the military openly declare that at the first sign of a revolution all the notorious Communists that are found in their hands will immediately be executed.

Comrades! Socialist opinion throughout the world is already a power. Do not wait until there are repeated at home the unheard of scenes of barbarism of Hungary. In nearby regions at the front the blood of the workers and peasants flows ever and anon. Some thousands of prisoners of the class struggle are at the mercy of the reactionary brutes who do not spare them.

The white terror rules our country.

Proletarians of the world, raise your voice!

Act, act without delay! The Committee of the Polish Communist Labor Party.

Warsaw, July 14, 1920. (Reprinted from "Weekly People")

DEFECTIVE PAGE

WARS TO COME

French Socialist Paper Fears More Bloodshed.

"Humanite" (Paris) of July 26 asks:—"What about Syria? Events in Poland must not make us forget it too completely. As a matter of fact the campaign of occupation has commenced. In spite of our objections the Chamber has given carte blanche to the Government, and the Government is profiting thereby."

An army of considerable size has been concentrated on the coast. An ultimatum has been sent to that strange Emir Feisal, whose mysterious avatars will one day brighten up history. And, since it appears that the reply of the Emir was not fully satisfactory, our troops have advanced in the direction of Damascus and Aleppo.

And this is only the beginning. Besides, in Cilicia, near the Gulf of Alexandretta, the Turkish Nationalists have taken up arms again, on the expiration of the armistice which we had concluded with them. The Greek diversion, it seems, was meant to 'de-conquer' this front. It did not succeed....

French detachments were surrounded at Adana and Mersina. Since then, complete silence. Perhaps one of these days we shall learn their fate, through the debates in the British Parliament, which follows these events with greater vigilance than does our own....

One thing is sure, and it is that England in Mesopotamia, and France in Syria and Cilicia are henceforward involved in a real war, which will have to be pushed on until the Nationalist Turks and the Sherifians are completely crushed, and which will not be prolonged without disturbing repercussions.

Meanwhile, at Spa, the Government is busy about the military occupation of the Ruhr. It undertakes, from the height of the tribune, to help Poland in every possible way.

And it will not be its fault if the pacific inclinations of the Russians spare it the necessity of keeping this pledge. They were very right who said that two classes would not provide us with enough men for such a policy!... But come, let us do the thing on a big scale. Let us at once revive the five years' service."

Third International

Charles Ashleigh

It is a long time since I have read anything of such interest as important as the appeal to the I. W. W. from the Third International, which appeared in last week's SOLIDARITY. I believe that I am not overstating my sentiment when I say that this document is of historical importance.

And our consequent action, in response to this appeal, will also be of prime historical importance.

The world has moved, during and since the great war, at an extremely accelerated rate. The capitalist system, instead of disintegrating in a slow and almost imperceptible manner, is visibly crumbling about us. The mechanism of capitalist production is already functioning with increasing irregularity and difficulty. Every sign points to an imminent worldwide change.

The Third International, in my opinion, represents the international aspect of those forces which, in each country, according to the specific local conditions of each country, are making for the attainment of work-

inglass control. Marshalled in its ranks are all those organizations which form the vanguard of the workers to achieve power.

The "Left" unions of France—these economic organizations which are attiling the present reactionary bureaucracy of the General Confederation of Labor—have decided to adhere to the Third International.

The Workers' Council and Shop Steward movement of England have also decided to take their place in the international line-up of militant forces making for the construction of an International Workers' Federation of Commonwealths. We are in close affiliation with this English body, which has sent a substantial delegation to Moscow to attend the Second Congress of the Third International.

The Third International proposes to form a Red International of trade and industrial unions, of all economic organizations which embrace a larger purpose than that of merely squabbling over rates of pay. This industrial international will be a section of the great Third International which will embrace all organizations which are striving for workers' control of industry through direct action.

I think it is time for the Industrial Workers of the World, ever the representative in the United States of the most definitely revolutionary aspirations of the workers, to take its place unhesitatingly with our fellow workers the world over, who are striving for the same ends. The recent action of the General Executive Board, in expelling those misguided members of the organization in Philadelphia, who have been aiding the rotten machinations of capitalist imperialism and the White Terror, should be to us a finger-post on the way we should go.

We have the choice of remaining a sort of simon-pure sectarian body, out of touch with the vital currents of the world revolution; or of extending our hand in revolutionary fellowship to our brothers of the heroic Russian Revolution, and to all those in every land who are fighting that our dreams of a new world may become a definite, practical and early reality.

I venture to predict that, within a very short time, the revolutionary syndicates of Scandinavia and the militant working class unions of Argentina will also adhere to the Third International; if, in fact, they have not already done so. In the Balkans, the next theatre, probably, of proletarian revolution, the economic organizations are, in greater part, already joined with their brothers of the Third International. The German unions are rapidly breaking away from the rule of the old, conservative bureaucracy; Cresevalziff-etaoin etaoin shrdish and are uniting with the Spartacists who are a part of the Third International.

It is time—and time well ripe—for the Industrial Workers of the World to realize its responsibilities to the militant workers of America, and, in their name, to enter into close and definite relationship with the Third International. We are the trusted and tried pioneers of proletarian revolt in North America. Shall we now lag behind, while our fellow militants of Great Britain send their delegations to Moscow? Shall we trim and quibble while the battling revolutionary unions of France affirm complete solidarity with the international of the proletarian vanguard?

The lines of the class war grow daily more definite. And the world struggle proceeds apace, amid blood and tears and suffering, and heroism and noble striving.

Let us take our place with our toiling brothers, the world over!

Let us hold out our hands in complete comradeship the new International which is preparing for the

CAUSES OF THE WAR

(Continued from page 1)

comes immediately under the influence of British finance it will come under that of the American trusts. So we have three world-powers engaged in a struggle for control of the raw materials lying between Europe and Asia—the finance-capital of Britain, the trusts of America and the Workers' Republic of Russia, which requires this material for the reconstruction of her industries upon a communistic basis.

The offensive against the Red armies of Russia carried on by Polish capital, under the auspices of the British Minister for War, is quite clearly the work of the London group of financiers on whose behalf Mr. Winston Churchill speaks. It can be distinguished from the offensive carried on by Denikin and Koltchak in that it is not a blow at the heart of Soviet Russia aiming at taking Moscow and Petrograd and reinstating Czarism. The policy is obviously the same as that followed by the German General Staff at Brest-Litovsk—to isolate the industrial districts of Central Russia and separate them from the coal and oil regions of the south and south-eastern border lands. Possession of these areas by the London bankers, through their Polish mercenaries, would have a dual effect; first, it would extend the sphere of operations of these banks in their endeavours to secure raw materials and fuel and would thereby enable them to reduce prices in Great Britain; secondly, it would succeed in making the Russian Soviet Republic, and this without the need of a costly military expedition, dependent upon them for all her raw material.

It is a question whether, in view of the difficulties of transport, etc., in this part of Russia it is possible to bring any great quantity of Ukrainian wheat into the British market. In North Caucasus on the other hand, are one and a-half milliard puds (A pud 3 lbs.) of cereals ready for export to Western Europe. In the Don region 70 per cent. of the capital invested in the coal mines in pre-revolutionary days was in the hands of French and Belgian banks. There is some ground for the belief that part of this was taken over by a great British Mining Syndicate, headed by Mr. Uppahart, as a set-off against loans made to France during the war and financial agreements made by the French Government since the signing of peace. This Syndicate is one of the most influential factors determining British participation in the Allied intervention in Russia. It controls the copper and iron mines of Bogoslovsk and Troitsky in the Urals and West Siberia, and was the unseen power behind Koltchak's great offensive in the spring of 1919.

But, for the moment, London finance-capital is less concerned about coal, copper and iron than it is about oil. The prevailing opinion at the British Admiralty is that oil is to be the chief marine motive power of the future, and this is reflected in the British business world in relation to the possibility of applying liquid fuel to industry. According to Lord Fisher, in a letter to the Times, our policy has been based upon the words—"If at first you don't succeed bore, bore, bore again." The creation of the new "Shell" Syndicate which includes the Dutch oil interests of

final conflict in the world struggle! Let us enter the Third International! All hail the Third International, precursor of the worldwide proletarian revolution!

Chosen in Moscow to Represent American Communists. John Reed, American writer and member of the Communist Labor Party, under indictment here, was elected by the recent convention of the Third Communist International in Moscow to represent the United States on the Executive Committee of that body, according to a Moscow semi-official received in Vienna on Aug. 11. Several months ago Reed attempted to return to this country from Russia, but was held up in Finland on a charge of jewel smuggling. He was subsequently released and sent back to Soviet Russia.

At the first meeting of the new Executive Committee, on Aug. 7, G. Zinoviev was unanimously re-elected Chairman. Although the representatives of the non-Russian countries were chosen by the convention, the Russian Communists Party, by special resolution of the convention, was allowed to elect its own five members of the Executive Committee. They are Zinoviev, Radek, Bukharin, Tomski and Kobinsky. The last named was chosen secretary, as Radek was compelled to go to the Polish front.

East India and also the newly-formed company exploiting the oil fields of Mohammedrah in South Persia, is the first step towards securing a world monopoly and control.

After long negotiations between London and Paris the French Government has at last been induced, through the secret treaty of 1916, to give up all pretensions and claims upon Mosul and Upper Mesopotamia. What this transaction involved is not altogether clear; but it is obvious that the French Government liquidated a part of its liabilities to Great Britain by the terms of this arrangement, which gives to the "Shell" group control over the great oil-fields of Mesopotamia.

There remain the oil-fields of Baku and North Caucasus. The possession of this rich area by the "Shell" Syndicate is admittedly not of much importance so far as the satisfaction of the demands of the British home market is concerned. But, as frequently happens under capitalism, sources of materials are sought for, not in order to satisfy a hungry market, but in order to prevent competition and extend the capitalists' control over all sources. So that a capitalist rather than see natural wealth of this kind in the hands of a competitor, prefers to see it destroyed. One need only instance the wholesale destruction of the mines in the north of France by the Prussian militarists, and the wholesale burning and destruction of the oil-fields of Galicia and Rumania in 1915—1916 by the Czarist armies and by British engineers—and this at a time when Europe was suffering from an extreme shortage of such materials. Some years before the war, the Nobel Syndicate in Baku bought up the land around Gromey and Maiko in Caucasus, in order to prevent the oil being taken into the market and thus, by influencing prices, reducing their profits.

The same thing occurred in Baku. An expert, in a letter to the Times (May 12), explained how, in the course of the year 1919, hundreds of thousands of tons of oil were allowed to run into the Caspian Sea because the pipes etc., between Baku and Batum were too small to carry it west, and because the Entente governments by their blockade of Russia made it impossible to convey it by ship into Russia—the natural market for the oil from the Baku area. The same purpose is apparent in the Polish offensive against South Russia.

If they succeed in conquering the Ukraine and the Don region, then Soviet Russia will be prevented from obtaining the supplies of oil so necessary for the reconstruction of her industries. This will have a two-fold effect; first, it will make Russia dependent upon the "Shell" Syndicate for fuel, etc., and, secondly, make it impossible for Russia to exchange the oil of Baku for machinery etc., from America. It would also give the British a monopoly in the provision of machinery and technical requirements for Russia, and—apart from the Standard Oil Company of America (the only real competitor of the "Shell" group)—give them control of oil resources with which to break down monopoly prices.

In and for these interests the Polish armies are now marching, under the leadership of the "Socialistic" Pilsudski, towards South Russia. (Represented from "Plebs")

JOHN REED IN RUSSIA.

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POLISH WAR MAY INVOLVED WHOLE WORLD

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Soviet Russia will send her troops into the far East. The Hindus, the Mohammedans, the Egyptians, the Persians and the Turks will be set going and the British Empire will be set on fire. There are two ways of fighting. One is to fight your opponent on the battle field, and the other is to create as much trouble for him as you possibly can, in order to divert his attention from you. That is what Russia will do. It is no use arguing that it would be an unethical act. Russia now fights for her life. She fights to keep from going back to Czarism and the Allies must accept the responsibility.

This war if it is allowed to go on, will be a war of millions of men. For every million that fought in the last war, there will be ten millions fight in this one. The responsibility rests upon your shoulders. Let there be no mistake, this war means the fight that must either prove the last fight or a series of more fights. It is a fight for who shall master the world, those who work or those who shirk. On which side do you stand?

British Labor Acts.

The British labor movement has decided that under no consideration will it engage in this war. The following statements by the leaders of British Labor will give you some idea of its temper:—

ARTHUR HENDERSON, M. P., Secretary of the British Labor Party:—

"Two things, (1) Immediate conference should be called of the Trades Union Congress, the National Labor Party, and the Co-operative movement to determine the most effective action to be taken by Organized Labor; and (2) Parliamentary Labor Party should resist, by all means within their power, oppose a declaration of war and should refuse to vote supplies."

ROBERT WILLIAMS, General secretary, National Transport Workers' Federation:—

"A million men have died, nominally for freedom, but actually for Imperialism. Are we, who understand, going to shrink from sacrifice when all we need do is to withdraw our all-important labor power? Labor must fight and Labor will be right."

TOM MANN, General Secretary, Amalgamated Society of Engineers:—

"Refuse to handle, make, or carry munitions or military if the Government forces the position. Then a universal down tools except to supply food."

JOHN TURNER, General Secretary, National Union of Shop Assistants:—

"Labor should realize that without its aid war is impossible. Let it refuse its aid."

J. R. CLYNES, Member of Parliament:—

"Russia having guaranteed Polish independence, Labor should offer every form of effective resistance to war with Russia."

R. C. WALLHEAD, Chairman of the Independent Labor Party of Gt. Britain:—

"Let every platform resound with answer to Allies' War policy towards Russia. Down tools to stop war against Soviet Russia."

THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT must not fool itself that this war is purely a European affair. It is international in purpose and scope. It is as easy for America to plunge into war as it is for England. You can stop this country going to war. You must stop it! Your answer to any attempt to wage war or even supply munitions must be one of down tools.

Last November we tendered such advice, at a time when if it had been heeded, we could have prevented the shedding of further blood, we were sentenced to two years. Your masters know how

effective you can be when you make your minds up. We again appeal to you. It is the bounden duty of every wife to use her influence with her husband and every mother to use her influence with the father. There must not be any more war. Too much blood has been shed already. In this hour of the world crisis, workingmen and workingmen stand your ground like real men and real women. Let us live to enjoy life. Not to waste it shedding the blood of our fellow-men!

O. T. ROSAAS

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WHO CONTROLS POLAND? YOUR TASK AND OUR TASK

By KARL RADEK.

A few weeks ago the Government crisis in Poland commenced. Two schemes were struggling with one another — the one scheme was to form a Government from among the peasant parties and the Polish Socialist Party, and the other scheme the formation of a Government composed of National Democrats. The last scheme had gained the upper hand. Grabski became the head of the Government; he is one of the leaders of the National Democrats and an expert on financial and economic questions. Prince Sangachko, a large Galician landowner, was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs. Hitherto Grabski was Minister of Finance, but resigned because he did not agree with Pilsudski's policy. Sangachko, a young and very adventurous aristocrat, is the same, who, after the liquidation of the first Polish Government, the Government of Moraszewski, attempted to arrest Pilsudski.

The Cabinet of Grabski and Sangachko signifies the victory of Pilsudski's enemies. In fact, it means a Cabinet of Roman Dmowski, i. e., the Cabinet of the large Polish bourgeoisie and of the more realistic part of the Polish landowners. Why, then, has Pilsudski placed himself at the head of the Government his confirmed enemies? Why has he not formed a Government from among the Ludovtsy (Populists) and the Polish Socialist Party?

Now a coalition of the Ludovtsy and the Polish Socialist Party would have created the impression among the people that in Poland a Government of workers and peasants was formed. It would have meant the repetition of Moraszewski's attempt, which behind the screen of a Government of workers and peasants was hiding the policy of arrangement with the bourgeoisie. If during the first months of the young Polish State, when it was in the period of national enthusiasm, such a combination was possible, perhaps as a transitory phase, it would by now have shattered against the rocks of internal and external conflicts.

The party of the Fists in Poland is the party of the corn speculators. The Polish Socialist Party, however cautiously it may try to manoeuvre, is obliged to carry through the requisition of corn and potatoes in order to hold the workers back from action. The "Rabotnik," the organ of the Polish Socialist Party, in the moment of the Government crisis could not help attacking in a most determined manner the class egoism of the Peasant Party telling it that it leads the State to complete ruin.

Another serious obstacle for the foundation of a Government from among the Ludovtsy and Peasant parties was the fact that these parties were compromised in the eyes of the Entente through the close connection they had during the war with German and Austrian imperialism. Even Pilsudski is in a very uncomfortable position. Thus, for instance, the "Morning Post," the English Conservative organ, was carrying on a violent campaign him. The "Washington Post," the organ of Wilson, had only

the other day published an article demanding the economic boycott of Poland because Pilsudski, having removed Paderewski, is again acting against the policy of the Entente; but whilst Pilsudski can justify himself by the fact that his German career was cut off by his arrest and by the Magdeburg fortress, Daszynski can bring nothing to excuse himself. As Vice-President of the National Committee he was the chief skirmisher in favour of an Austro-German orientation, its agitator, its herald and bard, and was leading the Polish legions. All the so-called leaders of the Ludovtsy are small fry that had grown up in the bog of the Vienna Parliament. They left the Austrian boat hurriedly, but not before it began to sink. It therefore stands to reason that neither Daszynski nor his colleagues from the party of the Ludovtsy are in a position to stand up against the Entente, whom, now that Germany is impotent, Poland can only fight by revolutionary methods. Fear, however, as the Russians say, has large eyes, and the Allies, and first of all France, which is suffering from fear of a German regeneration, would have considered a Cabinet of Daszynski-Vitos a Government standing for an arrangement with Germany. Very likely as much as this was said quite openly to Pilsudski by the representatives of the Entente.

What kind of programme concerning Russia could a Government of the Polish Socialist Party and the Ludovtsy have put forward? Its programme would have been—however strange it may sound—a programme of war, because the Polish Socialist Party, who demand immediate peace negotiations and accuse the old Government for not carrying on such negotiations, would itself have put forward a peace programme which would have meant the continuation of war, i. e., the programme of 1772, the programme of separating the Ukraine from Russia and of federating Poland with the border States formed on the territory of the former Russian Empire—a federation directing against Russia.

Now what does the Government of Grabski in which the most far-sighted landowning elements are taking part, represent as a counterweight to the coalition that might have been between the Fists and the Polish Socialist Party? First of all it will try to squeeze corn out of the villages. As regards Soviet Russia it will put forward a policy of arrangement. What the National Democrats demand from us in respect of territory we know not only from the speeches of Seyda and Grabski, but also from the so-called map of Dmowski, which the National Democrats are keeping in secrecy. In this map the frontiers are drawn which this party will put forward concretely at the peace negotiations. These Polish frontiers include Dvinsk, Minsk, Slutsk, Lachwa (on the Brest-Litovsk—Hornel line), Sarny, Novograd-Volynsk, Megybozh, Kamenetx-Podolsk. The National Democrats consider it the programme of the real interests of landowning-capitalist Poland. Thus these frontiers include Vol-

hynia, part of Podolia, a considerable portion of the Minsk province. This programme of annexations the National Democrats consider to be acceptable to Russia—a programme of compromise. The National Democrats, who thus estimate the position, will have their doubts about the Soviet Government accepting their compromise annexationist policy, and therefore we must expect in the near future a new blow from Poland, which will accompany its peace proposals.

It is understood that all this to a considerable degree depends on the development of the internal struggle in Poland itself. During the whole period of struggle between the two ruling cliques over the formation of a new Government Poland was in the throes of strikes, which, starting with economic demands, have developed into a struggle in favour of peace with Soviet Russia. The Polish Socialist Party had hoped that the power would fall into their hands and played a treacherous role in this struggle; on the one hand it pretended to support the struggle, on the other attempted to weaken it at the decisive moment. Now, with the formation of the Grabski Government, they will be compelled to take up a more decisive attitude, and it is very possible that this game will result in making the struggle more acute, and in that their sway over the workers will slip out of their hands. The proletarian struggle in Poland becoming more acute may defeat the possibility of a new military manoeuvre as an accompaniment to peace proposals projected by the National Democrats.

Heartily congratulating the growing movement of the Polish proletariat in favour of Soviet Russia, we must not, however, for one single moment forget that the Polish proletariat is enormously weakened by the fact that a considerable number of it is now outside Poland. One must not forget for one single moment that the Polish Communist Party has been weakened by the recent wholesale arrests which have torn out during the last few weeks hundreds of fighters from its ranks. The command of the Red army must take in consideration the danger of a new Polish attack, and the Soviet diplomacy must bear in mind the fact that if the National Democratic Cabinet is making its task easier, and that the said Cabinet is not in a position to carry on with any chances of success its game with self-determination of nationalities—it is nevertheless closely tied up with the conservative spheres of the French and English diplomacy. If Roman Dmowski and his clique do not enjoy the confidence and sympathy of Lloyd George, they undoubtedly enjoy the sympathy and support of the Conservative and Catholic cliques of the Foreign Office.

("Isvestia.")
(British "Communist").

When Capital controls the press, Capital controls the people. When Labor controls the press the people will control capital.

By TOM. QUELCH

(Comrade Quelch, is a member of the British Socialist Party delegation to Soviet Russia, and is now in Moscow.—ED.)

(Contributed to "Pravda," June 24, 1920.)

The struggle of the workers is one and the same throughout the world. But you Russian workers are now in a different position: you have made your revolution; you have won your battle; you have beaten your bourgeoisie, your capitalists, and landlords; while the workers of Britain, of the rest of Europe, and of America have yet the task of accomplishing their revolution.

Before you lie the gigantic problems of social reconstruction. Even a superficial examination makes it clear that you have done much.

But in the reorganisation of production, in exploiting all the colossal natural riches of your country for the welfare of the people, and in creating a Communist culture, what tasks lie before you! What patience and concentration of the forces of society will be required of you by the gigantic work that lies ahead! And what great efforts you will still have to make to sweep from your path the relics on and survivals from the past!

For us, on the other hand, there awaits the struggle with those who rob and exploit us. And the struggle before us will be painful and difficult. Our rulers possess a mighty organisation to keep us in the chains of slavery: sea and land forces, a mercenary police, a code of laws, a powerful bureaucracy, an influential Press various religious and semi-religious societies, and, in addition, the whole economic apparatus of the capitalist order.

We cannot foresee as yet what great sacrifices will be required of us; but one thing we know: that the power of imperialist capital is still very great; and that its resistance will only be broken in the process of a prolonged and intensive struggle.

Your task is half accomplished; ours is only just beginning.

We, the workers, of the capitalist world, owe a great deal to you: you have shown us the way, you are guiding our steps. In a world of darkness and hate, red with the blood of the workers slain in the imperialist war, you accomplished the revolution. You destroyed the steel ring of militarism which was choking and throttling Europe. You inspired the workers and peasants of the whole world with a new hope and fortitude at a moment when all ahead seemed so dark and threatening.

Since that time, unaided, you have been fighting a life-and-death battle against the dark forces of reaction. Still further, you left political scheming behind, and declared, clearly and definitely, that the workers must carry on the struggle to a victorious conclusion to secure their complete emancipation. And now, at length, the moment has come when, under the pressure of the international proletariat, all the boundaries and frontiers artificially created by capitalism are crumbling away.

Comrades of Russia, receive our sincerest thanks for all you have done and are doing. Our help seems so pitifully small in comparison with what you have accomplished. You are our elder brothers in the Revolution, and we depend to a considerable

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WAR!!

Uncle Sam will spend at least \$4,865,890,012.30 during the year 1921, because that is the total of the appropriations made by the last Congress. The government sometime runs over the amounts appropriated. It almost never spends less than these amounts.

United States Government expenditures for 1916 were 1,114 millions. The expenditures for 1921 will therefore be more than four times those of 1916, which means an addition to the American cost of living of more than three and a half billions.

What are the objects of this huge expenditure? The largest single item is "war." The army, the navy, pensions, and the cost of fortifications total 1,114 millions. In 1916 the same items amounted to only 420 millions. At the end of a war to its military establishment.

It is the same story the world over—in France, Great Britain, Japan—there are the same huge appropriations for the army and the navy; the same feverish attention to the development of the latest form of fighting craft and the latest brand of gas; the same ardor for "self-defense" and "preparedness."

A man need not be a prophet to read in these figures the truth that the world is preparing—as it has never prepared before—for war.

POOR KID!

By "The Federated Press."

CHICAGO—The aesthetic soul of Mildred Affleck was filled with ennui at the dreary thought of being a "poor little rich girl" all her life. So she did what she thought she'd like to do. For 10 days she was a "rich little poor girl."

But tales of the carefree working girl were lost to Mildred. Now she is happy to be a "poor little rich girl" again.

She is the only daughter of a Chicago millionaire, B. F. Affleck, president of the Universal Portland Cement Co. Home on a vacation end war the United States is troubled from an eastern school, she became a file girl in Montgomery Ward & Co.

She rode to work in a limousine, but it always stopped a block away so her shopgirl friends wouldn't see. "The girls took me right into their crowd, and they were sweet and charming," she said. "One day when I forgot my lunch a little Jewish girl let me eat some of her sandwiches. It's nice to be back home."

able extent on the tirelessness of your energy. But we are gathering our forces, and when we are a little stronger, comrades, we shall together raise the victorious banner of Socialism throughout the world.

RUSSIAN-POLISH WAR

WARSAW THREATENED BY POLISH RADICALS.

Red General Has Them Guessing

In a survey of the military news of the week regarding the Russo-Polish war, the position continues to be favorable for the Red Army.

General Budenny, member of the Communist Party, is directing the Red Army. He is harassing the Polish troops in the South and is preparing an attack upon the Lemberg road. If he is successful, it means that the Polish army will be unable to reach its base of supplies. This will considerably weaken it.

Budenny has the Polish officials guessing. One day he makes an attack in one place and the Polish soldiers are rushed to that particular place, only to find that Budenny is attacking the place they just left. The Chicago Daily News Correspondent, now in Warsaw (cable to that paper on August 30th, stated.)

By the time the Polish defenses have been determined and orders for counter-attacks have been given Gen. Budenny's cavalry has already disappeared like a phantom, only to bob up again at a new point on the front. Although the Red leader probably does not know the expression, "Keep your opponent guessing," he has the rules of doing so down pat and has shown himself a past master in applying them.

The Polish Government is placed in a very delicate situation, according to reports furnished by American war correspondents. Faced with the oncoming rush of the Red Army, its position is made all the more insecure due to the activities of the Polish Communists.

Some idea of the feeling in Warsaw may be gauged by the news that 150 Communists were arrested during the second week in August and lined up against the wall and shot. It is said that the propaganda of the Communists amongst the soldiers has had considerable effect. Many Polish regiments surrendered to the Red Army and greeted them as comrades of the red army of the revolution. The Polish government found itself compelled to execute many of its officers who had turned Communist.

The situation is none too good as far as the Polish imperialists are concerned. They fear defeat and predict in case of victory that the working class will dictate peace terms, which will mean the setting up of a Soviet Government in Poland.

IF MCSWEENEY DIES!

De Valera May Return Home

NEW YORK. (Special correspondence to "Truth") August 27th. — The Irish in New York met in their thousands and protested against the continued torturing of the Lord Mayor of Cork Laurence, McSweeney.

Eamon De Valera, President of the Irish Republic aroused the audience and furnished one of the most thrilling incidents of the meeting by declaring, "If the Lord Mayor of Cork dies, I shall return back to Ireland and if necessary render the supreme sacrifice." Continuing he said:

"If I were in MacSweeney's place I would like to have some one speak for me. MacSweeney will die if he does not get his liberty. If MacSweeney dies in an English prison 100,000 Irishmen are ready to do the same thing. They (the British) tell us it is a suicide, but he dies like a soldier and his death is at the hands of the enemy. He is offering his life just as would a soldier on the battlefield. England may do what she will with MacSweeney's body, but MacSweeney's spirit will triumph over that brute force and make Ireland's cause victorious.

"MacSweeney doesn't want to die, as no sane man looking on the sweetness of life does, but he is making a sacrifice for the greatest principle in the world—liberty. This same spirit in the 100,000 (Irish Sinn Fein) will be alive when brute force is dead.

During the evening the strikers who had tied up the ships, marched on to the platform and furnished more enthusiasm. After the applause had died down, Frank P. Walsh spoke, saying in part:

"I hope," declared Walsh, "that if the Irish people come to fix the responsibility for the murder of Lord Mayor MacSweeney, they'll be brave enough—and I know they will—to fix the responsibility on King George himself."

"We are standing at the dawn of a new era. These men who have marched on the stage tonight symbolize the resistless force of labor in the world. Tomorrow are advertised to sail from the greatest harbor in the world three mighty ships—the Baltic (apparently an error for the Celtic), the Olympic and the Aquitania. They (the British Empire) may realize the real power that comes from the stoker's hold. Stokers are opposed to murder and piracy on the high seas. They will not be part and parcel of the murder of the Lord Mayor of Cork."

Dudley Field Malone called for a collection to assist the strikers, starting off with a personal donation of \$50.00. In less than a minute, dollars flew as thick as summer flies. Collection plates were heaped up with greenbacks and silver.

(At last the Irish here in America are realizing that they have a power greater than all powers, it is the power of labor. When exhortations to politicians have failed, the strike never fails. Let the British ruling class know that their ships cannot be loaded or unloaded in any port where the Irish are employed and they will be compelled to refrain from perpetrating any more atrocities.

Let us not confine this movement to New York, but to every port in the country. Let us hammer and hinder all British trade, no matter what part of the country it may be carried on. England fights for trade, let us hinder her in that fight. If we prevent the loading and unloading of ships, its effect will be loading o' ships, its effect will be felt in England and we will then ensure international action.

French, Italian, German and Russian workers will help us in this fight, if we prove that we are courageous enough to make the first stand. New York has led the way. Let us keep on going. (EDITOR)

A BARGAIN IN ACRE TRACTS

The Gary Duluth Investment Company is just about ready to open up for sale, the Short Line Park Garden Tracts. These tracts are located only half a mile from Short Line Park Station and one from Nopeming, one mile and three quarters to the street car line, with the Boulevard coming up to the land.

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Labor Day

Labor Day once more makes its appearance, when an opportunity will be afforded to the worthy (?) representatives of labor to tell us how much we owe to our masters.

We ONLY celebrate Labor Day by permission of the boss. If the boss suddenly stops giving us a holiday on this day, we would not have the strength to take it for ourselves. Let us hope that this is the LAST Labor Day that we shall have given to us. May the next Labor Day be OUR day, because we had the strength and the manhood to take it!

There will be no special edition of "TRUTH" on Labor Day. We see nothing to bring out a special edition for. Any time that the working class uses its power and fights for things that are worth while, then we will come out as often as it is necessary to do so. Until then, let us be frank with ourselves and admit that we are only fooling ourselves by advertising such holidays. But now that we have them, let us unite and make them days upon which we shall celebrate what we have done and not talk about what we are going to do.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat

The membership of the Socialist Party of America has voted in favor of affiliation with the Third International and against the declaration for the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Consistency, thou art a jewel!

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a logical development in the evolution of revolutionary socialism. You cannot reject the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and still claim yourself a revolutionary Socialist. If you are a revolutionary socialist, then you must recognize the inevitability of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

What is this Dictatorship? A writer in the "Communist," of England, gives an admirable illustration of what the dictatorship is. "A decayed tooth is causing pain. The man sweats with agony till the dentist with a firm grip and a quick wrench removes the pain. Now, the sufferer is society; the rotten tooth is capitalism; the dentist is the Socialist; and the quick, firm grip the Dictatorship."

Its argued by "yellow" Socialists and prosecutors in the courts, that there is no need for the dictatorship of the proletariat. The constitution gives us free speech, free press and free assembly, also the right to vote. The master class always give the workers "rights" when there is no fear of the workers resorting to the use of those "rights." But let the working class wake up and use its rights and the master class will annul them. Take the case of the organizers of the American Federation of Labor. They met together in a small Steel Trust town for purpose of organizing the workers into CRAFT UNIONS. They were arrested and thrown into prison. Take the cases of thousands of American citizens who were arrested during the war and since the war. Only where the working class are able to enforce their rights to free speech are they able to express themselves.

On the other hand if there is free speech, the master class are able to bring pressure to bear upon the owners of the hall and keep out the working class. Furthermore if the working class own their own halls, the authorities plaster a notice on the door and declare them unsafe for use. This was done by Ole Hanson in Seattle, in the case of the I. W. W. hall. Assuming that we have unlimited free speech and can say what we want and where we want, how can we expect to compete with the unlimited funds at the disposal of the master class? How many times have we had the masters bring in side-shows in order to counteract the effect of our meetings and how many times, we regret to ask, have they not succeeded? In Detroit we witnessed the master class bring music to bear. They engaged a band and whilst we were talking the band played and we lost our crowd, with the expectation of the few stalwarts who always remain staunch and true. FREE SPEECH UNDER CAPITALISM IS A JOKE!

How about the free press? During the war we published the Senatorial platform of Victor L. Berger. It was an opportunistic platform and one that we did not agree with. But owing to the dastardly tactics engaged in by the other side, we published it and WERE ARRESTED. If the editors are not arrested they are denied mailing privileges. "TRUTH" has never yet had mailing privileges. Let us suppose that we are not prosecuted and that we have mailing privileges, what else have we to contend with? The master class hold up paper supplies and we have to pay 250% more for our paper than we formerly did and in many cases we have to go without. Suppose that we do obtain free paper, just supposing! How are we able to compete with such papers as the Saturday Evening Post? They have over two million circulation. The capitalist press can undo all our work that we are able to do through our press. We circulate in the hundreds where the capitalist press circulates in the tens of thousands. Last December we lost THOUSANDS OF READERS, the master class, through the American Legion etc., centered an attack upon this paper and we had wire after wire from news-agents imploring us to stop their orders. Still the constitution guarantees free press and the government allows us to go through the mails. But the DICTATORSHIP OF THE MASTER CLASS was being exercised.

Of course it will be argued that we have the ballot. Of course we have. The United States Steel Trust has spent millions of dollars in this State in order to defeat the Non-Partisan League. Yet the League is only demanding a tax upon the ore mined. What would the United States Steel Trust spend, in order to defeat a REVOLUTIONARY PARTY? You know, as well as we know, how the working class can be bribed during election times. Even if they cannot be bribed, what chances has a revolutionary socialist got? The "yellow" socialists were expelled at Albany. How many socialists have been counted out? Take the case of Bill Cunnea, who ran for State Attorney of Cook County. Betting was two to one on Cunnea and instead of the crosses being counted for Cunnea, he was double-crossed. BIG ISSUES WILL NEVER BE SOLVED BY THE BALLOT, THEY WILL ONLY GAIN PROMINENCE THROUGH THE BALLOT.

If you have only half an eye to see with, cannot you discern something is wrong, when you find labor leaders,

who have hitherto defended the strike against the ballot now taking the side of the ballot against the strike. Furthermore, these same labor leaders are being used in the campaign of the master class against Bolshevism. The labor leaders are forced to make common cause with the master class, because they recognize that given a working class with power and the freedom to use it and they will go the same way as their masters, TO THE FACTORY.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat is the weapon by which the working class will gain its freedom. They must now organize themselves into their industrial unions or call them Soviets, if your aesthetic soul demands it. The member of the Socialist Party who decries or rejects the Dictatorship of the Proletariat had better take stock of himself. You cannot ride with the Third International and refuse to abide by its principles. THOSE DAYS ARE OVER. We now live in the days when revolutionists must prove their revolutionary integrity and fidelity to the revolutionary movement.

REAL SOLIDARITY

According to the "Pravda," (Moscow, the Russian workers in the factories of Tsaritsyn, worked four hours overtime for several days.

The proceeds were sent to a fund for the purpose of assisting the French workers during the time they were on strike. One whole day's pay had already been given to their fund.

The I. W. W.

The condemnation and persecution that the Industrial Workers of the World has received from all sides is proof positive of their revolutionary integrity. There is no organization in this country that has had to endure so much persecution and oppression and furthermore, there is no organization that has borne it with such tremendous courage and bravery.

When Clarence S. Darrow, during his eleven hour address to the Chicago jury in the case of the twenty members of the Communist Labor Party, eulogized the Industrial Workers of the World for the magnificent work they had done in regard to the uplifting of the unskilled workers of this country, we felt that the case had been worth while, if only for the opportunity it had afforded Darrow to take a well-deserved stand in favor of the I. W. W.

The I. W. W. came into the industrial world with a new spirit and purpose. Here was an organization with a deep-seated contempt for all parasites, capitalist, labor and political. It sang of its contempt and aroused the drooping hearts of those that labor organizations and SOCIALIST parties had refused to touch. There were no workers too low down in the social scale of life for the I. W. W. to reach down to. They went into the louse-ridden bunks of the lumber camps and harvest fields and gave the down-trodden lumber-jacks and harvest workers a new and better understanding of life. The work of the Industrial Workers of the World will never be clearly appreciated by the world, until the world is made cognisant of the rotten conditions under which the unskilled are working and the inhuman sufferings they have had to undergo. For what has been done for the unskilled workers, take off your hats to the I. W. W.!

All over this land the sound of the singing I. W. W. can be heard. Their voices can be heard in the lumber camps, the harvest fields, down the mines, upon the ships that travel the Lakes and inside the prison walls the battle cry of the Internationale can be heard. Their record is a glorious one and one that might well be emulated by every labor organization in the country. Their singing is but the joyous expression of men and women imbued with a serious purpose in life. It is not the singing of the revolutionist, but the defiant song of the revolutionist. Where they do not sing as in some prisons, their pathetic silence adds fuel to the flames of protest and bitterness.

From hundreds of prison cells comes the battle cry of the Industrial Workers of the World. It is the battle-cry of the ages. The demand of under-dog to free himself and to take his rightful position in the world, the master of all that he has made and the rightful heir to all that he has produced. To all they cry, "we have been your slaves and the stepping stones to power and you have mocked us in our agony. Today we stand forth, ready to bring the aroused and oppressed into our ranks, for the sole and expressed purpose of giving the world back to the world's workers."

Well might the members of the Industrial of the World feel proud of their organization and its valiant membership! They have built the road that leads to industrial freedom with the blood of their membership and cemented it with their dead bodies.

Recently the General Executive Board of the I. W. W. found it necessary to expel the Philadelphia local of the Marine Transport Workers, numbering some seven thousand members. In times like these, when the organization needs every cent it can lay its hands on, it requires strength and courage to expel members who are contributing SEVEN THOUSAND DOLLARS PER MONTH. But the I. W. W. would rather forego seventy times seven thousand dollars than betray the revolutionary movement. So that when the fellow-workers in Philadelphia loaded munitions for "Barren" Wrangel, they were IMMEDIATELY EXPELLED.

But the expulsion of these fellow-workers does not settle the issue!

We find ourselves in complete agreement with the attitude expressed by the United Communist Party, in the last issue of the "Communist." It was due to the action of the Communists that the matter of loading of munitions was brought to the attention of the I. W. W. As the "Communist" editorial states, Sandgren is as much responsible for the action of the Philadelphia longshoremen, as the men themselves. SANDGREN MUST GO OR ELSE THE I. W. W. MUST ACCEPT THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR ANY TRAITORIOUS ACTS THAT ARISE OUT OF HIS WRITINGS!

So long as the I. W. W. retain JOHN SANDGREN, as editor of their OFFICIAL organ, "THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY," they must expect MORE members to do exactly what the Philadelphia members were doing. You cannot denounce and misconstrue the work of the Bolsheviks in your official organ and expect the membership to desist from engaging in activities similar to those that the members in Philadelphia were expelled for. We do not desire to dictate to the I. W. W., but we do feel that the organization has a record that must not be tarnished.

Furthermore, DURING THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY TRIAL, Communists were slandered and vilified by Sandgren. It is to be expected that the capitalist press would take advantage of such occasions, but who would dream of an I. W. W. magazine engaging in such work? Yet that was what Sandgren did in the "ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY." The ruling class of Illinois and a member of the I. W. W. sailing in the same boat. What a sight for the gods!

The matter of John Sandgren must be attended to, if only for the sake of the organization itself. If the I. W. W. cannot find a man to take the place of Sandgren, which we deny, then it is better for them to discard their monthly organ and keep their record untarnished. The Bolsheviks have a right to say, "that he who is not for us is against us." This may seem bitter and drastic dogma, but the history of the revo-

lutionary movement, is one of betrayals, pitiable abrogation of principle on the all-embracing plea of expediency etc. We need the Industrial Workers of the World and never more than we do in this hour of the movement. We confidently appeal to them to attend to this matter and join hands with the rest of the revolutionary working class and make common cause with the first nation that has had the courage to break free from its shackles and fetters.

"The coming day, the future hope,
When right to wrong shall bow
And hearts that have the courage mean
To make that future NOW."

Who Does It Hit?

Lenin, in a recent work, dealing with the follies of some of the members of the Communist movement, states:

We can and must begin to build up Socialism, not with the human material created by our imagination, but out of the material left to us by Capitalism. This, of course, is very 'difficult,' but every other way of tackling the problem is not serious enough to discuss."

"... But the development of the proletariat did not, and could not, anywhere in the world proceed by any other way than through trade unions, with their mutual activity with the working-class party. Not to work within reactionary trade unions means to leave the backward or insufficiently developed working masses to the influence of reactionary leader's agents of the Bourgeoisie-Labour aristocrats or bourgeoisified workers."

"... For the whole communist problem is to be able to convince the backward, to work in their midst, and not to set up a barrier between us and them—a barrier of pedantic childishly 'left' slogans."

"The Executive Committee of the Third International should, in my opinion, directly condemn and suggest to the next conference of the Communist international the necessity of general condemnation of the policy of non-participation in reactionary trade unions."

We know some Communists who should read, mark, learn and inwardly digest the above advice.

The Communist Party of Gt Britain

The following are the Aims, Methods and Form of the Communist Party of Gt Britain.

We trust the C. E. C. of the United Communist Party will carefully peruse them and recognize that a Communist Party in this country must base its activities on an understanding of social conditions, as they are, and not solely with a view to convincing the Hourwich crowd that they are revolutionary Aims and Objects.

The Objective of the Communist Party is the establishment of a COMMUNIST-REPUBLIC of a socially equal people. It works for the total abolition of the present system of wage slavery through a social revolution, and holds this to be PRE-EMINENTLY the task of its existence. By EDUCATION it seeks to win the adherence of the Masses to Communism, and strives by AGITATION to spur the workers on towards the Social Revolution.

Methods.

As a method of attaining the Social Revolution, the Communist Party urges the adoption of the Soviet of Workers' Council system so successfully applied in Russia. The slogan of the masses must be "All Power to the Workers' Councils."

Form.

As a necessary form of achieving the transition from capitalism to Communism, the Party stands for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and calls for the imposition of the will of the working class upon the rest of the community.

It realises that capitalism will challenge every inch of the ground covered by the advancing Working Class, and, aware from the experience of history of the dangers of counter-revolution, it holds the dictatorship of the revolutionary masses to be the only safeguard against subversive conspiracy and counter-revolution.

We are indebted to the "Communist," the organ of the Communist Party of Gt Britain, for the various articles appearing in this issue of "TRUTH."

Any comrade desiring to subscribe to the "Communist," may do so, by sending \$1.25 for six months subscription, to the "Communist," 21 A Malden Lane, Strand, London W. G. 2, ENGLAND.

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We're On Our Way...

During the earlier part of 1919, President Wilson rose up and said:—

"I want to utter this solemn warning, not in the way of a threat; the forces of the world do not threaten—they operate. The great tides of the world do not give notice that they are going to rise and run—they rise in their majesty and might, and those who stand in their way are overwhelmed. If men cannot now, after this agony of bloody sweat, come to their self-possession and see how to regulate the affairs of the world, we will sink back into a period of struggle in which there will be no hope and therefore no mercy."

President Wilson realizes that out of the struggle of the last five years something has got to happen. He is afraid of the masses rising up and taking power into their own hands. He wants the masters of America to enter the BLACK International, known as the League of Nations, in order that they might lend aid to the rest of the imperialists of the world in the task of overcoming and subduing Soviet Russia.

The imperialists of the world are realizing that besides the forces of Soviet Russia, there is something else happening that is occasioning them much worry. The very system that gives them power is slipping from under the feet. Its doom is sealed. The pity of it all is, that the working class are not sufficiently enlightened to realize it. Mr. H. N. Lawrie, of the AMERICAN MINING CONGRESS, stated the other day:—

"Gold production in the United States has declined from \$101,000,000 in 1915 to \$58,500,000 in 1919, and from present indications will probably still further decline to about \$40,000,000 this year," said Mr. Lawrie. "Now, added to that, the gold stock is being depleted by excessive exportation and industrial use, and this will seriously impair the public confidence in the nation's finance and currency during the present period of credit and currency contraction unless a normal gold output is very shortly insured. The mines are

reducing production or closing down, and if this is allowed to continue it will take years to again develop a normal output, and at a tremendously increased expense. Moreover, to shut down the deep mines means that they will become filled with water.

"Industrial gold is the only commodity which manufacturers can obtain to-day at pre-war prices. The average wholesale price of all commodities for the year was 112 per cent. greater than for the year 1914. The Government is selling gold without limitation for industrial consumption at \$20.67 an ounce, the pre-war price, which is less than the cost of production. An ounce of gold had during 1919 a purchasing price of only \$9.70. Now the economic pressure which has forced the decline in the purchasing power of the dollar and thereby created the pressure upon the gold mining industry has operated to increase the purchasing power of the public to such an extent that they have been buying luxuries, especially jewelry, and that has made a great increase in the demand for industrial gold.

"The gold produced is in the same position today as a person who received these same income in 1919 as in 1914 and finds that \$1,000 has shrunk to a purchasing power of \$485. It is an interesting condition when the production of gold has become so expensive that it does not pay to mine it, and the shutwown of our mines for that reason is imminent.

Without a socially recognized equivalent for every other commodity, the commodity-producing society, known as capitalism, cannot live a day. The system is collapsing. Will the workers arouse themselves, educate and organize and upon the ruins of capitalism erect a new social order? There are two roads to take, one that leads to a condition of slavery, which will excel that of the old Roman days or the road that leads to Communism. If the working class will study Communism and take advantage of the chaos that now reigns in society they will be able to master the situation. On the other hand, if they rely upon the politicians, well there is unemployment, starvation etc. . . .

You're Right Comrade!

"I tell you, gentlemen, that there are things being said nowadays which are very similar to things said just before the French revolution. I tell you that the spark may yet make a flame, and that soon, * * * Unless capitalists, corporations, rich men, powerful men themselves take a leading part in trying to improve the conditions of humanity great changes will come and they will come mighty quick, and THE MOB WILL BRING THEM."

The above statements were uttered in 1912, by His Dishonor Judge Gary.

Since the above sentiments were uttered, Judge Gary has changed his mind somewhat. But the GRAND AND GLORIOUS MOB has also changed its mind somewhat. It is now deciding, not debating any more, that if it needs better social conditions, that it will have to organize itself and get them. Only in times of trade depression do the Gays talk of giving better conditions. But when the God of War gives the signal and the hounds of hell are let loose, what does Gary care for the mob? In the sound of the shrapnel, the wonderful symphony orchestra sends forth its tune. A tune that is more wonderful and soul-inspiring, than all the music of Beethoven, Bach, Chopin, Mozart and many other of our wonderful musicians. It is the song of profits. When war comes, prosperity comes with it. The dollars mount higher and higher and the mob keeps on working. Keep the mob at work and they will not rebel, Gary knows that. That is why he did not worry about the steel strike. But Gary forgets that the war is over and that the mob is going to be unemployed. U-N-E-M-P-L-O-Y-E-D! What is that you said, Judge? . . . Great changes will come and they will come mighty quick, and the mob will bring them."

You're right, comrade!

Spartacists' Dramatic Arrival in Russia

"Izvestia," of June 13th, prints the following telegram from Murmansk:—

"The German trawler 'Senator Schröder' left Cuxhaven for Iceland on a fishing expedition, with three Spartacists concealed in the hold by the crew. Two were delegates from the Spartacist group to the Presidium of the Third International and the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party. In the open sea the stowaways came on deck, declared the captain and three other members of the command arrested, and announced that the trawler would make, not for Iceland, but for Russia. After a struggle, involving the use of arms and the arrest of the officers, it became clear that the majority of the crew sympathized with the Spartacists.

With the aid of a map from a school atlas, comrade Klare, an A.B. of the German fleet with nine years' service, sailed round Norway and the North cape and by May 1st had reached Kola Bay, where he was met by the Soviet armoured cruiser on duty. The two delegates left for Petrograd and Moscow by train, while Klare remained at Murmansk as captain of the trawler. The arrested officers were landed over to the special section of the local Soviet and conveyed to Petrograd as hostages for the personal safety of the delegates, who were anxious, after visiting the capital of the Russian Soviet Republic, to return to Germany before the parliamentary elections."

What the Polish Prisoners Think of the War

At the Ivanovo-Voznesensk concentration came for Polish prisoners of war a meeting was organized for the prisoners. 532 prisoners, the majority of whom are agricultural labourers, quite illiterate and ignorant, were present.

Speeches delivered by the representatives of the Polish Bureau of the Moscow Communist Party, with reference to the general state of affairs in Poland and the vast problem facing the Soviet Government, made a great impression upon the audience. In the course of the meeting, an Executive Committee was elected by the prisoners, the function of which is the management of all camp affairs. It distributes the work amongst the prisoners outside the camp, supervises the newly opened school where the Polish language is taught, and organises cultural-educational circles and a library.

The following resolution was carried unanimously by the audience and was signed on behalf of all the prisoners by 47 legionaries, indicating their regiments:—

"Polish prisoners of war, driven against Soviet Russia, owing to the base machinations of the Polish and the Entente bourgeoisies, at a meeting at Ivanovo-Voznesensk, protest against the criminal war forced upon the free Russian workers by the Polish barons and capitalists, and call upon their brothers who are fighting in the ranks of the Polish army to cease further bloodshed and to direct their arms against their oppressors.

"We prisoners of war, working hand in hand with the Russian workers and peasants, at the factory and in the field, will exert our utmost efforts in order to bring the war to a speedy end and to liberate the Polish and international proletariat."

(Bulletin 6 of the Russian Delegation at Reval.)