RECONSTRUCTION OF RUSSIA
AND THE TASK OF LABOR

By SIDNEY HILLMAN
General President
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

An Address before the Fifth Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, Chicago, May 11, 1922. Published by order of the Convention.
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Motion by Delegate Schneid of Local No. 39.—“Mr. Chairman I move that the report submitted by Brother Hillman on the Russian situation and the plan we adopted with regard to aiding in the economic reconstruction of Soviet Russia, be printed in appropriate form as the expression of the Convention in this matter.”

The motion was carried unanimously.
Mr. Sidney Hillman’s Visit to Russia

The General Executive Board of the A. C. W. of A., at the session of May 15, 1921, at Montreal, directed President Hillman to go to Soviet Russia, study the situation there from the viewpoint of the interests of the A. C. W. of A., and to report back to the organization. Shortly after that, President Hillman left for Europe and subsequently for Soviet Russia. While in Russia he met the heads of the Soviet government, Messrs. Lenin and Krassin, and the members of the Supreme Council of National Economy, discussing with them matters pertaining to the economic reconstruction of the country. Mr. Hillman conceived a plan which, if properly carried out, could place the technical skill and the economic power of the workmen and other sympathizers of Russia in America at the service of the problem of Russia’s economic reconstruction. Most naturally, Mr. Hillman was particularly interested in the clothing and allied industries. He visited a number of clothing factories in Moscow and Petrograd and satisfied himself that the work there was carried on in good order and under splendid discipline and efficient management, but the industry was lagging behind its possibilities, because of lack of machinery and raw materials. Mr. Hillman’s plan, which is discussed in his speech which is printed in the following pages, is based on a definite agreement concluded between Mr. Hillman, for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and the Supreme Council of National Economy, for the Soviet Government of Russia.
HILLMAN'S CABLES FROM EUROPE

1.

BERLIN, GERMANY, AUGUST 16, 1921.

HAD INTERVIEW WITH REPRESENTATIVE OF RUSSIAN RED CROSS, RECEIVED FOLLOWING MESSAGE: "SITUATION RESULTING FROM FAMINE IN PARTS OF RUSSIA IS SUCH THAT IT CALLS FOR IMMEDIATE HELP. ONLY AWAKENING OF CONSCIENCE OF WORKING PEOPLE EVERYWHERE WILL BRING ABOUT RIGHT ASSISTANCE." I AM THEREFORE URGING YOU TO GET IMMEDIATELY IN TOUCH WITH DIFFERENT LABOR ORGANIZATIONS AND ORGANIZE SPEEDY RELIEF. LET ONE DAY'S WORK BE DONATED FOR START. THINGS MOST NEEDED ARE FOOD, CLOTHING, DRUGS, AND TRUCKS. URGE OUR OWN MEMBERSHIP TO LEAD WAY. ACT QUICKLY.

2.

MOSCOW, SEPTEMBER 17, 1921.

AM REQUESTED BY KAMENEFF, CHAIRMAN FAMINE RELIEF, IN VIEW DESPERATE NEED TO SEND ALL FOOD IMMEDIATELY. I URGE OUR ORGANIZATION TO TAKE SUCH ACTION IMMEDIATELY. GET EXPERTS TO BUY WHEAT FLOUR. BUY FOR SHIPPING. SEND TO "ALL RUSSIAN COMMISSION." URGE SIMILAR ACTION TO ALL LABOR ORGANIZATIONS. CABLE REPLY CARE FOREIGN OFFICE MOSCOW.
The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America raised the sum of $167,000, for which foodstuffs, clothing and machinery were forwarded to the Russian Red Cross.

Cable by Russian Red Cross to the convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, May 8, 1922.

"RUSSIAN RED CROSS SENDS GREETINGS TO AMALGAMATED CONVENTION AND IN NAME 36,000 FAMINE SUFFERERS WHOSE LIVES AMALGAMATED HAS SAVED THANKS DEVOTED COMRADES IN AMERICA WHO IN TIME OF THEIR OWN TROUBLE ENDURED ADDITIONAL HARDSHIPS THAT THEIR BROTHERS MIGHT LIVE. NEED IS NOT OVER NOR BATTLE AGAINST HUNGER YET WON, BUT RUSSIAN COMRADES HAVE TAKEN NEEDED COURAGE FROM YOUR SPLENDID SUPPORT.

"SOLOVIEV, PRESIDENT,
"RUSSIAN RED CROSS."
RUSSIA'S FOREIGN TRADE

Among the main items included in the total of 189,000 tons of foreign goods imported into Russia from January 1 to June 30, 1921, are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Tons</th>
<th>Per Cent.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foodstuffs</td>
<td>70,000</td>
<td>37.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machinery, Implements, etc.</td>
<td>44,200</td>
<td>21.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seeds</td>
<td>11,700</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coal</td>
<td>33,800</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemical Goods</td>
<td>5,600</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following table shows the chief countries from which these goods were imported:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Tons</th>
<th>Per Cent.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>57,900</td>
<td>30.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>35,500</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>30,900</td>
<td>16.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esthonia</td>
<td>22,600</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>9,200</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holland</td>
<td>8,100</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The figures for May and June only (i.e., since the Trade Agreement became effective) show even more strikingly the preponderance of British imports, which formed 45 per cent. of the total May imports, and 39 per cent. of the June imports.

The United States is represented in this list with only 16.4% of the total, and on this it paid toll to English merchants. Are we still a colony of Great Britain?
Economic Aid to Russia

From remarks by General Secretary-Treasurer Joseph Schlossberg, while introducing President Hillman to the Convention, in the matter of economic aid to Russia.

"Delegates: We are now coming to a subject which is of tremendous importance to this convention and the labor movement generally.

" . . . Last year, Brother Hillman represented our organization in Europe. It was Brother Hillman's good fortune to visit the country which was then and is still occupying a position of first importance in the world. Brother Hillman reached Russia at the time when an appeal went out from that country to the workers of the world for help for the famine sufferers. His message to us came just as the General Executive Board was addressing itself to the membership asking for help for Russia. Brother Hillman's appeal came at the moment when it was most needed.

" . . . Brother Hillman spent several weeks in Russia. He did not apply himself to a microscopic analysis of social theories and philosophies. Brother Hillman, as a responsible representative and leader of organized workers, who know their rights, know how to fight for them, and how to get them, was interested in understanding the situation as it is, good or bad.

"Brother Hillman went to Russia, not for the purpose of picking flaws and then selling articles to capitalist papers, but for the purpose of seeing conditions with his own eyes, so that through him we might see the actual struggles of our fellow workers there, and find out in
what way we can best be of service to the Russian people in their efforts to reconstruct their lives.

"Brother Hillman has already presented his report to the General Executive Board. Every member of the board was impressed with the tremendous importance of the proposition brought by him, and with its tremendous possibilities. The General Executive Board has unanimously approved of the plan, and decided to submit it to you, through Brother Hillman, for your approval.

"Delegates and friends, the work which we have done, whether for our own organization or for others, has never been done perfunctorily or mechanically; in doing our work we have always been imbued with the great spirit of our movement. Work done that way brings new enthusiasm, new spiritual strength to our organization. It is in such a state of enthusiasm and inspiration that the General Executive Board decided to present this plan to you through Brother Hillman.

"It is a great personal pleasure to me to be able to present to you on this occasion our president, to lay before you a plan by which we, many of whom have been driven out of Old Russia, will be able to give great help to New Russia.

"I say it is a great pleasure to me as a representative of this organization, and personally, to present to you Brother Hillman, who will lay before you that great plan of help which brings to us a consciousness of living for something worth while, of doing things worth while, of making actual history for the world."

"I present to you our present and beloved brother, Sidney Hillman." (Tremendous ovation; convention rising.)
The Reconstruction of Russia

President HILLMAN: Brother Chairman and Delegates to the Convention: I hope that you will find the time to give all your attention to something that merits not only consideration, but unified action. I shall not take your time simply to report my experiences abroad. That I have done already. I had the privilege of meeting you and the membership in different cities when I returned from abroad. I am not here even to pronounce a theory or to present something that should appeal to a particular group of people. What I am about to propose here this morning, I believe, should meet with the unanimous approval, not only of this Convention, but of every man and woman in our organization. I shall go even further than that. I believe that it should receive the unanimous approval of every man and woman in this great country who desires to help the whole world along the road to reconstruction. (Applause.)

The Reconstruction of the World Must Not be Left to a Few Individuals

Now, it is very unfortunate that the great masses of people always leave such matters to a few, taking it for granted that it is the business of a few to reconstruct the world. It is this state of mind, more than anything else, that made it possible for the great war to occur. The people in all countries depended upon a few to determine
their destinies. And even more tragic was the fact that the making of peace was again left to a small group. Because of that, the world is suffering from peace, even more than it suffered from war. With millions of lives and the work of the workers of the world destroyed during the war, even greater destruction is going on now as the result of the peace that is no peace. It is my firm conviction that if the peoples of the world had not permitted a few to manage the world and had themselves been interested in their own welfare, such a peace would have been impossible.

_No Less than Civilization Itself is at Stake_

The world has paid a tremendous price for its indifference to these greatest of world problems. We can no longer correct the mistakes that made the war possible. What has been done since the peace was concluded cannot be changed. But there is one more opportunity for the world to save civilization, and that is the adoption of a real policy of reconstruction. I plead with you, and not only with you, but with all, regardless of views or party, not to permit yourselves to remain indifferent to the problems of reconstruction. We cannot permit the few people who have always presumed to set policies for the world, to set the policies of reconstruction, as they have set the policies for war and peace. It is my judgment that if they do so, civilization itself may be destroyed.

I feel now most keenly that we must serve the interest of the people of every country and say to
the diplomats and politicians at Genoa—that they will not be permitted to do the things they did at Paris, and at Berlin, and elsewhere when the war was declared and when peace was made. (Applause.) It is time for the people themselves to participate in the reconstruction of Europe, and in that way to shape also the destinies of this country.

There is only one country that is still financially sound, but is economically at a standstill. That country is Great Britain. Every other country in Europe is either already in bankruptcy or on the verge of bankruptcy. The astounding thing is that nothing has been done as yet to face these problems and to start the work that will put the people back where they may work again and enjoy life.

Russia at Close Range

I went into Russia. I considered it a privilege because it gave me the opportunity to come in close contact with Russia; not with the theories of Bolshevism, not with the arguments of Menshevism, not with all the petty quarrels here and there that may be of interest to a few but do not concern the great masses of people. It enabled me to find out what is going on in Russia, in that country of over 100,000,000 people, in the country that suffered before the war from a tyrannical oppression that was never fully understood anywhere outside of Russia.

Nobody seems to recall that during the war Russia lost in lives more, perhaps, than all the Allied nations combined; that Russians lost their
lives, not only because of the war, but because of the corruption and inefficiency of their government. People do not seem to recall that during the war the economic life of Russia was completely destroyed. And after the war a most infamous policy has been pursued by those who were the allies of Russia during the war. They pursued the frightful policy of blockade, which meant starvation of women and children and the prevention of men from working so that the country might be fed.

It is true that, in some measure, we are feeding the starving people of Russia. The efforts of the American Relief Administration will go down in the history of our country as something that everybody will be proud of, not primarily because of what we have given, but by comparison with the attitude of other countries.

While abroad during the famine I found that the Allied countries, especially France, took the position: "No bread to starving children unless we can dictate to Russia what kind of government Russia shall have." My friends, this attitude represents not allegiance to abstract principle, but it means making a colony of Russia, taking Russian oil, Russian minerals, making 100,000,000 people slaves to groups of financiers of other countries.

Not Charity but Constructive Aid is Required

My friends, I want to say to you that my heart felt a thrill that at least our country, in giving charity, has not assumed the attitude of a Shylock. I am proud of the work done, as little as it is. But,
while we are trying to feed a few children, while we are trying to feed a few starving people, the political attitude of this country toward Russia today is causing a great deal more starvation than the Hoover administration can feed through charity in Russia. (Applause.)

For some reason or other, our Department of State cannot see its way clear to give the same assurances and safeguards to Americans who wish to do business in Russia which it gives to Americans who engage in business in all other civilized countries of the world. Yet it is the same Department of State which considered the government of Nicholas II civilized enough to deal with, the same Department of State for whom the government of Turkey was civilized enough to deal with, in spite of the massacres of the Armenians and others. I say to you that I do not believe it is the business of any country to regulate the conditions of life of another country. (Applause.) Any country has a right to resent outside interference. We in this country do not want to be dictated to by anybody from the outside, and we should not assume the position that we have a moral right to dictate to any other country.

There are countries in Europe which are fooling themselves and which think that they can triumph on the ruins of the rest of Europe. If Europe collapses, every country in Europe will go under, victor and vanquished alike. It is fortunate that at least some countries in Europe realize today that it is about time to call a halt on the forces of destruction. It is about time to start thinking...
about reconstruction. But the great danger is that the peoples are indifferent. The danger is, that we will get some new high-sounding phraseology, we will get some new formulae and it will all result in one part of the world trying to choke the other. When that happens, there will be very little left in the world worth living for. It is up to the people in this country, as well as in every other country, to rise and say that the reconstruction of the world is not merely a matter for the officers of the State Department, but that the lives of millions of men and women and children are the concern of all the people. (Tremendous applause.)

The Crime of Indifference

Delegates, I want to tell you that during the time of my stay in Russia, I was ashamed to consume even the small amount of bread I did when I knew that children were dying and that even I, coming there with the sole intention of seeing what help I could render to them on your behalf, devoured what meant life to children. I wanted to stay in Russia and I wanted to get out. I did not want to have that feeling of personal guilt of being, even with the best of intentions, an accomplice of those whom, after all, history will record as slaughterers and murderers.

I tell you frankly that I would be ready to come to you and say that even if you can do nothing else, even if the future of Russia is doomed, even if there is no room for reconstruction, none of us have a right to go on and waste while men and women and children are starving. I want to draw
your attention to the children, innocent ones, not knowing the politics of this or that Department of State, not concerned with the views of one group of labor or the other group of labor, children who by the laws of nature came into life and being, and who are being slaughtered—slaughtered by everybody who is not actively participating in helping them. You do not commit murder only when you go out in the street and kill someone; you commit murder when you make it impossible for other people to live. I will go further and say that you commit murder if you do not do everything in your power to make it possible for other people to live.

We slaughter children, mumble phrases about the brotherhood of man, and owe allegiance, either to Christianity, or Judaism, or Mohammedanism. (Applause.) Yet here you have a Christian world and the greatest crime of any age is committed. (Applause.)

_Squaring One's Conscience Not Enough_  

My friends, even if we had no plan at all and I came to you individually or representing an organization, and asked you to do your part, I feel that you would do your duty. But I wish to say more to you. I know this, that by charity you can merely square your conscience; and it should be done, if that is all that can be done. But I know that if we are really to help, our help must be constructive help.
When our organization finally accounts for itself to our own members and to the labor movement of the world, the real question after all will be, "Have we helped the constructive forces that are making for a better future, or were we just a fine group of sentimentalists?" No help that is not constructive is real help. Let me tell you that when I went into Russia I was always trying to find an answer to the question, "Is there a way for constructive help?" When we put a man into a shop to work, we give him a job. It is less effort than giving him $500 in charity, and it is real help. So I raised the question, "Can we create something that will be of constructive help to Russia?" I then put to myself several tests. The first test was "Can we work with the people of Russia?" (Applause.)

**You Cannot Save Europe, Unless You Save Russia**

You may want to do all in your power. Your intentions may be of the best, but if people do not want to help themselves and accept your help, then your intentions are useless. I knew that before we could think in any terms about constructive work for Russia, we would have to satisfy ourselves that the people who are in charge of the destinies of Russia—from the point of view of history it is immaterial whether they are in charge rightfully or wrongfully—are the people through whom and with whom we could do constructive work for Russia; not for this or for the other group, but for the whole community.

When a great conflagration strikes a community, it disregards all petty divisions of groups and
classes. It sweeps everything before it. The laws of disease pay little respect to what group people belong, political, social, or otherwise. Disease and fire have their own laws, and when the community is in danger, it is up to all the people in the community to fight for those who are menaced, regardless of class or group. It is this which I wish to bring to the attention of you who are fighting the Bolsheviks. You cannot fight the Bolshevik government without fighting the men and women and children of Russia. (Applause.)

Let me say, especially to you delegates, that not only is it against my principle to be partisan in these matters, but I would consider myself betraying not only the interest of the organization, but the interests of the movement at large if I assumed even mentally a position of partisanship. Every one of us must give an account of himself in this movement to help make the reconstruction of Russia possible. For it is not a question of Russia alone. It is a question of Europe as a whole, because Europe cannot be reconstructed unless Russia is reconstructed.

Lines of Demarcation Have Been Wiped Off

I realize our own limitations. I do not want to assume that we here can do all that is necessary for Russia. Strong as we are as an organization, we are after all only a small group of people. But I believe that it is the responsibility of everyone, no matter how humble, no matter how small, individual or organization, at a time when civilization itself is at stake, to take a position for or against—
not for Bolshevism, or against Bolshevism—but for or against the slaughter of millions of people, for or against bringing life and happiness to several hundred million people in eastern Europe. My friends, time has wiped out all lines of demarcation. The terrible forces of disease and hunger have united all the people in Europe. Europe is only divided between the great masses, who are looking for hope and life, and a small imperialistic, militaristic clique that would rather see the whole world go to smash than permit the adoption of another mode of life.

My friends, I believe that on this question there is no division in our organization, that there is not a man or woman in our organization who would not do everything possible to help the starving people of Russia to help themselves. (Applause.) Again, I want to say to you that, if a roll call were taken in this country, I have sufficient faith in the idealism of the American people to believe that 99 per cent. would repudiate the policy of this government with reference to Russia; for no matter under what guise, that policy spells destruction and murder. (Applause.) I say, my friends, that if you cannot help Russia, please let her alone. You did not go there and help them overthrow the Czar. They had to do it themselves. They had to solve their own problem then, and they alone will solve the problems of reconstruction, unless there is enough common humanity in us to move us to help them in this great task.

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Helping Others We Help Ourselves

There is another test. Real help helps the people who extend help. I believe that a great deal of the curse of unemployment and industrial depression would have been avoided if this country had spent $5,000,000,000 or $10,000,000,000, if need be, in reconstruction instead of idly watching the wastes of wealth resulting from unemployment.

I say I went into Russia to find out whether anything could be done. Today, it no longer takes so much courage to say that one has actually met Lenin. As a matter of fact, the Allied powers have already invited him to come to Genoa but he could not come. Now, if the respectable prime minister of France could extend an invitation to Lenin to meet him, then it certainly requires no courage for me to say that I actually met and talked with Lenin.

Perfect Order in Face of Economic Ruin

I tell you—it is dangerous to say this before the Convention—but I am going to say it to you anyhow: Unless you have the courage and the sense to put people in charge of the organization who will have the courage and sense to take charge of the organization, the organization is going to pay the penalty. There is no patent medicine, right, left, center, or any kind. It takes men and women to build an organization and not abstract theories. It takes warm hearts to maintain ideals, and not phraseology. (Applause.) It takes good sense, first, and a great deal of courage after that, properly to guide an organization. I, for one, was
surprised when I went into Russia and found order preserved even on economic ruin. I have seen the men in the Red army hungry, but still held by an ideal, giving their lives to defend their country.

_A Government—Realistic, Practical, Courageous, Able_

I wanted to find out what Lenin had to say. I had three conferences with Lenin. I spent hours with Lenin. I can tell you that we did not discuss revolution in the United States, or even revolution in Russia. We did not discuss any theories. I was not interested to read their treatises. I did not care about what they thought would happen in Russia twenty years from now. Conditions will rise dictated by life, and not by theoretical speculation. It is much more important to have a proper policy than a great deal of noise. Policies, if sound, have a habit of accumulating more and more strength as they go along.

Think of all the noise that has been made against the Soviet government. Why, that noise could have drowned almost the whole world. Yet the Soviet government went on and paid the penalty; not for the noise, but for some of their own mistakes, until they came to the realization of their mistakes.

Russia is desirous of one thing, and that is a sound policy for the reconstruction of Russian life. I met Lenin. I met Radek. I met the people whom they call the Soviet of the industrial organization. I do not want to translate the Russian. They have all kinds of names, names that it takes you four weeks to learn and one day to forget. I
met the heads of the Soviet government. I met
the other "demon," Leon Trotzky. I have met
other "evil spirits" like Goldfarb-Petrovsky, whom
you know, and others; and I tell you, delegates,
that unless I am wrong, I believe that they are
the proper people to deal with. Now, I want to
say to you that the statement I make may be con-
sidered an exaggeration. I have heard a great
many people say, "Does Hillman really believe
what he says, or is it said for effect?" If anything
at all, I am not overstating it, but I am under-
stating it. I believe from my contact with the
responsible people of the Russian government—I
have met men and women in all walks of life—
that I have never met a group of people so realistic,
so practical, so courageous, and so able to handle
this greatest of jobs as the group of people who
have charge of the destinies of the Russian nation
today. (Applause.)

**Government of Soviet Russia Has Ample Power**

The next question is, have they got the power?
They may be good people, but if they have no
power, only poets may be interested in them. In
the history of the world the poets will be remem-
bered more than the practical men, but actual life
is made by the practical men, inspired at times by
the writings of the dreamers. Life is made by the
men who can take hold of life and have the power
to mold it. I want to tell you that the power of
that Russian group is greater than any group any-
where, because it has a power that comes from the
willing co-operation of the peoples of Russia.
I went into the clothing industry in Russia. Quite a number of people whom I happened to know over here are working there. If they came back, you would not recognize them. There is in Russia a great understanding of labor, and I know I am taking great chances of being criticized here for saying that we here haven’t got that understanding. Their purpose is not destruction. The idea of sabotage, the idea that it is the purpose of labor to see how little it can do, is not found there. It is in Russia that labor appreciates that work is not something that one has to undergo as a punishment, but that work is something to be proud of. It helps build the world, because the world is built by work and not by the fellows who quibble in the legal or political professions. Labor understands its mission in Russia, and its mission in life is to build. There labor has learned to accept an iron discipline, because it realizes that no army can be successful in this struggle for life and against its enemies unless it is disciplined.

I believe that the government of Soviet Russia is capable of handling the Russian situation. There are some things that the government of Russia is not interested in, the things that their adherents in this country consider very important. The government of Russia is very little interested in this or the other "ism." The government of Russia has a tremendous amount of untold wealth. Some of it is underground, and it will take a great deal of effort to bring it out. It is right there for someone to take. All the property today is the property of Soviet Russia. They have the capital, the
inherent capital, not worked out. They have the people to work, and they have a stable and efficient government.

*Investment in Russia as Safe as Anywhere*

I believe that any capital invested in Russia has as many of the elements of safety as that invested in most of the other countries of Europe. I have discussed investment with the heads of the Soviet government. I have gone through the factories. I confined myself to clothing and textile factories. A great number of people have gone over to Russia, have in two days through interpreters found out everything about Russia, and have come and written several books. Now they claim that they are authorities on Russia. I knew my limitations. I went to a few factories. They have clothing factories employing over a thousand people each. Over a dozen factories are running in Moscow and Petrograd alone. If our girls sewed on the buttons that they are sewing, in the time it takes them, our price committees would be busy every day. They are turning out clothing that could be worn right here in America. They are running textile factories with the latest equipment. What they need is capital to develop their industries. After the long conferences we had, they offered concessions to us, not to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America as such, but to a corporation which we will organize and to which all workers of all organizations and people who believe it is their duty to help will subscribe if they so wish.
An Industrial Corporation Proposed

The Russian Government will turn over to this corporation, on a partnership basis, nine clothing and textile factories, employing today about 7,000 people. The actual value of the buildings, the actual value of the property, the actual value of the merchandise will be perhaps from 5,000,000 to 10,000,000 gold rubles, or from $2,500,000 to $5,000,000. All we would be asked to do is to put into that enterprise $1,000,000. That will make it possible for that $5,000,000 to begin to work.

We will have under those concessions many privileges. We will have preference on orders given by the government, preference on raw materials that we may need. We will also have preference in doing export business for Russia with this country, or any other country. (Applause.) Besides that, the Soviet government guarantees the amount of money invested, even if the business should not be successful.

I will say to you, delegates—and I am now speaking entirely from the point of view of a man who has considered the proposition purely on its merits—that I believe that this enterprise, if conducted properly, is bound to be successful. All we need to do is to send over half a dozen experts, because these tailor shops are run today under a most efficient system. Some of the rules may not even be surpassed by as progressive an organization as we are. They are turning out today millions of units of clothing in the factories under the direction of the Soviet government.
Under the concessions we shall actually participate with the Soviet government in operating in Russia tailor shops and textile factories. We may even later add such concessions as we feel competent to handle. Our possibilities would only be limited by our capacity.

I want to assure you that as far as I know, you will get the complete, absolute co-operation of everyone in Soviet Russia, whether they are with the Bolsheviki or against them (applause); whether they believe in the Bolshevik government or not. More than that, you will have the kind of co-operation from the Soviet government that no government, outside of Russia, I believe, will give, and that no other interest can get inside of Russia. (Applause.)

What I propose is this: That this Convention authorize and instruct your General Executive Board to organize one corporation, or a number of corporations, in this country. I propose that we organize this corporation and invite all who are willing to associate themselves to join with us. We shall make sure that the control of the organization, under the laws of the United States, is so safeguarded that it will not fall into the hands of a small group of people. In other words, while we are willing to have participation of others, we want the control to be within organized labor, so that it will not be used as an instrument for exploitation and exploitation only. We want this convention to authorize and direct us to go ahead with this organization. We want this Convention to subscribe a substantial amount of money for
the shares as its investment in this corporation. We want this Convention to authorize the issuance of shares at $10 par, and leave it open to every worker or non-worker to take as many as he feels he can in order to help Russia and to help himself. I believe that, if everyone subscribes to only one share, there should be at least 100,000 people in this country who will consider it a privilege to buy a share and start this experiment in Russia. (Tremendous applause.)

Naturally, before the actual arrangements are completed, experts from our side will make a careful study of all of the details. The organization of these enterprises will be run by a joint administration, with equal representation from the two parties.

*The Spirit of the Amalgamated Called For*

I want the Amalgamated experience put into those industries, and the Amalgamated energy and enthusiasm, and the energy and enthusiasm of all the people who are willing to contribute to make it possible for those who today are struggling against odds that are almost inhuman, to help themselves. I hope that this Convention unanimously, without feeling that there is any room for division, with the kind of an enthusiasm that will not only give hope over there, but give new hope to ourselves, send forth the message that our organization has still the courage to undertake other enterprises that will be helpful, not only to ourselves, but to others. I hope that this Convention, even if only in a small way, will serve
notice that economic help from this country to Russia, or other countries, can come through channels other than Wall Street and the banking combination. (Applause.) I believe that it may be well to initiate a referendum vote for the Department of State, and find out whether we cannot get a majority of the people to say that they are not a party to stopping Russia from reconstruction. The best way to do that is not by giving advice, but by providing the resources that will make it possible for Russia to go on.

Delegates, I consider it indeed a privilege that, because of your instructions to the officers to investigate and report on conditions abroad, I was able to go over there. I am happy to be able to present to you and the membership of our organization, and to the membership of all labor organizations and to the American people, a plan that will not only be a step in stopping famine in Russia, but that also will start the wheels of reconstruction in Europe, so that civilization may be saved for the people of all lands. (Applause.)

If we do nothing else, we are at least willing to put ourselves in the front ranks and take the criticism—and I know we will be criticized. I know this proposition will be lied about, and I know that motives that have nothing to do with this proposition will be talked about and be made the subject of editorials. I know that we may be misunderstood even by some friends, but I will tell you that the world will never make a step forward unless there is a group of people who are willing to stand the brunt, and who when their
effort is successful, will not even be given the credit for what they did. A number of things that are taken today for granted, when they were initiated were denounced and criticized by both friends and enemies, and so often it is hard to see the difference between friend and enemy.

*Business to Serve Humanity*

But we men and women in the clothing industry have said to ourselves: We want to find out what is right, what is our duty, where our responsibility lies, and then go ahead and let the future justify our undertakings. If it had not been for a few people who had the courage of their convictions we would today be living in the jungle, if the beasts of prey had permitted us to live there. It was due to the rebellious spirit of a few that we made progress. There are some people who are great rebels, although they are of a quiet disposition, although they do not indulge in high phraseology. They stand for and do the things that carry the human race a step forward, and they are greater than those who have all kinds of prescriptions and know how to lead us overnight to the ultimate goal. It is to the credit of our organization that we have always paid attention to what seemed right and were willing to await the judgment of time.

We wish to maintain this position of ours. The plan I propose to you is, first of all, a humanitarian one. After all, there must be some way to distinguish between a human being and the beasts of prey, and I will tell you that you could not
get a congregation of beasts as wild, as ruthless in destruction as the congregation today of those who are disgracing the name of human beings. (Applause.) Our plan is humanitarian. Its purpose is to save life, to increase life, to make life happier, and if you make life happier for one group, you make life happier for every group. Which all means, in other words, that it is constructive. Not so long ago you sent nearly $200,000 to Russia, and it was distributed. I never had a more profound emotion than when Brother Schlossberg read the telegram from the Red Cross stating that your dollars had saved 36,000 lives. Think of it, 36,000 lives would have been crushed, burned out, extinguished, if not for our little assistance.

Now, we will put in $1,000,000 from the start. The money will come not only from our own organization. I do not want this to be purely an Amalgamated effort. The doors are open to all who are willing to help and restore life in Russia. Such persons are welcome. We will start with $1,000,000, and that will create wealth, and will feed those on the bread line.

This plan, if successful, will show a new way out, not for one group, not only for labor, but for the whole world. Delegates, I appeal to you in the name of humanity, in the name of everything that should be dear to everybody to whom humanitarian brotherhood has any meaning. I hope that you will not only adopt this proposal but that you will let loose a new force that will sweep away obstacles, and by your example encourage others
to follow and send a new message to the world that we of labor assume another responsibility by participating in the reconstruction of the world, so that civilization may be saved for all alike. (Prolonged applause, and ovation. The delegates and visitors rise and demonstrate enthusiasm, lasting nearly half an hour. Flowers thrown at President Hillman from all parts of the hall.)

RESOLUTION

Adopted unanimously and enthusiastically by the Fifth Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, Chicago, May, 1922, following the report of President Hillman on his visit to Soviet Russia:

Whereas, Russia has suffered severely in the war and from a very extensive and prolonged drought, bringing famine and starvation in its wake with the accompanying disease and pestilence; and

Whereas, the world, and particularly the United States, has been moved to contribute generously for the relief of the millions of starving Russians, a response which is deserving of high commendation and appreciation; and

Whereas, The war and the famine have prevented for the time the economic reconstruction of Russia; and

Whereas, The present problems of Russia cannot be solved solely with the aid of philanthropy or gratuitous gifts, but by economic co-operation with Russia and the Soviet government of Russia to the
end that her enormous resources may once more be able to provide for her requirements; and

Whereas, We are informed that the Soviet government is willing and desirous of entering into industrial arrangements for the manufacture of clothing and for the carrying on of other industrial enterprises in Russia:

Now, therefore, be it hereby declared our purpose so to join in co-operation with the Soviet government of Russia, and we authorize the officials of this organization, at their discretion and upon their judgment, to enter into arrangements with the Soviet government of Russia for the manufacture of clothing and for carrying on such other industrial enterprises as to them shall seem best; that in carrying on such work they may use such methods and devices as may seem best, either by the forming of a corporation, or of several of them, either for the owning of stock in Russian companies entirely or in connection with the Soviet government, or for the purpose of directly carrying on industry in conjunction with or without co-partnership with the Soviet government; and for that purpose we hereby set aside the sum of $50,000 to be the investment of this organization therein, and also set aside the further sum of $10,000 for the purpose of carrying on and defraying expenses that may be incurred in connection therewith.

On June 2, 1922, there was organized under the laws of the State of Delaware The Russian-American Industrial Corporation, empowered "to manufacture and sell clothing in foreign countries, either directly or by agreement with others."
THE METROPOLITAN PRESS ON THE DATION OF THE RUSSIAN-AMERICAN INDU

NEW YORK TIMES, THE WORLD: WEDNESDAY, M.

UNION HERE TO RUN NINE SOVIET MILLS

Clothing Workers' Plan Embraces Plants in Petrograd and in Moscow.

TO SEND STAFF OF EXPERTS

Lehnd Has Signed Concessions—Project to Include Other Industries Later.

Details of the plan, formed under the aegis of the Comintern and the Russian government, are being kept secret for the time being.

NEW YORK TRIBUNE

Union Here Seeks Million To Operate Soviet Plants

The financial aid corporation is within a lawyer of Chicago, Amer Cowan, Daily.

A.C.W.'S ENTERPRISE IN FINAL

D.N.R. - 5/51

Delaware Charter Apt

Clothing Union States Shares Open to All

JOINT CONTROL WITH SO

CONCESSION INCLUDES 9 PLANTS

To Go Later Into Textile and Other Industries

LABOR THERE

Hillman Says This

Russsians Under

Labor of Wor.

The New York Call

Drive Begun by

A. C. W. FOR RUSS FACTORIES FUND

Campaign to Raise Million Capital for Clothing En-

The $1,006,000 corporation of the recent convention of the American Federation of Clothing Workers, its officers to inaugurate an industrial union in Russia, has been chartered.

Six clothing factories, operated by the F.I. Corporation, have obtained concessions from the Soviet Government, and have been chartered.

Clothing Workers yesterday. The A. C. W. is now ready to operate 9 factories in Moscow, and in Petrograd.

Page 32
AY THE NEWS-STORY OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL CORPORATION WAS RELEASED

AY, 31, 1922

GLOBE AND COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER, WEDNESDAY, MAY 31,

UNION HERE TO OPERATE NINE SOVIET MILLS

Armament Workers Form $1,000,000 Corporation to Aid Russia's Industrial Reconstruction.

LENIN SIGNED AGREEMENTS

Enterprise to Be Managed by Representatives of Both Interested Parties.

A million dollar American corporation for the purpose of aiding industrial reconstruction has been formed under the control of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Representatives of the corporation, which has headquarters in New York, are to be sent to Russia to aid the reconstruction there.

The Russian-American corporation at the present time is covering the textile and clothing industries. Later, according to organizers, it will expand to other industries.

CLOTHING WOKE, May 31, 1922

U.S. UNION SEEKS FUNDS TO RUN SOVIET PLANTS

Concessions from the Soviet Government have been granted to the corporation, which as its directors is composed of eight U.S. clothing manufacturers.

The corporation, which is known as the Amalgamated Clothing Corporation, has been formed in accordance with the direction of the government of Russia, which is an organization in aid of Russia, directed to

THE SUN, WEDNESDAY, MAY 31, 1922

MILLION DOLLAR COMPANY TO AID RUSSIA

Great Clothing Corporation Has

With Indorsement of U.S. Government

The corporation, which has been formed in America, has the indorsement of the government of Russia.

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Page 33
Business World Taking Notice of Russia

BAKU OIL INDUSTRY SHOWS BIG GAIN

Production in February Increased Notably Over January
155 Wells Worked.

Correspondence of The World.

VA, May 6.—In view of the following account of the Baku naphtha industry as published in February, which appeared in the Economicheskaiia Zhizn of March, I am sure such an account will be read with interest. I am referring to the International Labor

FORD PLANS TO RENEW BUSINESS IN RUSSIA

Establish Assembling Shop in Petrograd.

By F. A. MACKENZIE.

New York State and Chicago Daily News, May 29.—Among the new business enterprises now added to the Ford automobile factory at Genoa the following are noted here: Sulphur of Poulsbo is extending the possibilities of the company through the establishment of a showroom in Petrograd.

WASHINGTOON, May 29.—Soviet Russia last month purchased six hundred acres of land in the province of Leningrad for use as a military base. The sale, based on 100,000 rubles, is to be paid in gold.

WASHINGTON, May 29.—Soviet Russia has purchased six hundred acres of land in the province of Leningrad for use as a military base. The sale, based on 100,000 rubles, is to be paid in gold.

Russia has purchased six hundred acres of land in the province of Leningrad for use as a military base. The sale, based on 100,000 rubles, is to be paid in gold.

In a report of the Department of Commerce, six steamers ranging from 3,000 to 6,000 tons, of the Aswan, Othello, and the Alexandra, are shown as being held by the British Government for use in the Egypt canal. The steamer Dirigible, carrying the official mail to the United Kingdom, is also shown as being held by the British Government.
Soviet Law Authorizes Organization of Stock Companies in Russia

*Commerce Reports*, published by the United States Department of Commerce, reproduced in a recent issue the Soviet decree on organization of stock companies:

The Commissariat of Foreign Trade organizes, with the confirmation of the Soviet of Labor and Defense, special stock companies—Russian, foreign, or combined—for the purpose of attracting foreign capital, of preparing export goods within the country, of selling them abroad, and of importing articles necessary for the re-establishment of national economy, and for internal barter. Such companies may be organized for trading in general, or for special operations, or for special lines of trade; and for their transactions within the country and abroad, these stock companies may use the facilities of the Commissariat of Foreign Trade or establish their own offices. They may also organize and operate industrial establishments for production of export goods. Such stock companies may be organized also by other State organizations, under the condition that they receive the approval of the Soviet of Labor and Defense, and that they work under the control of the Commissariat of Foreign Trade. The Commissariat of Foreign Trade is to participate in the discussions of the Soviet of Labor and Defense when the by-laws of such companies are under consideration.

This law of March 13, 1922, supersedes the decree of June 11, 1920, and the Russian-American Industrial Corporation, under the Hillman Plan, will operate its clothing factories and textile mills in Russia in conformity with the above decree. It will be protected by Soviet law.
Russian Soviet Forming Seven Textile Trusts

(By Staff Correspondent of Daily News Record.)

Berlin, Jan. 14—The Soviet Trade Commission here says that the Russian textile industry is on a fair road to reassert itself once more. It goes on to say that the Russian textile trust, which was recently formed by the Soviet Government, is now turning out sufficient goods to satisfy at least the needs of the Soviet army. The size of this army is somewhere near 1,500,000 men.

According to the Soviet report, the entire textile industry of the country has been split into two groups, the small and the large establishments. The large establishments, which are more centralized than the small works, which are distributed all over the country, are subject to Government administration and control, while the small works have been handed over to private initiative, by way of concessions generally extending over 10 years.

The seven big establishments, as stated above, have been combined in trusts, and these embrace the following branches of the textile industry of Soviet Russia:

Trust of silk, and knit goods factories, 15 establishments; trust of worsted spinners and dyers, 32 factories in the Moscow district; trust of cotton goods factories, comprising 10 establishments in the Wladimir Government; trust of coarse cloth factories, five factories in Tambow Government; trust of coarse cloth factories, six factories in Simbirsk Government; trust of woolen goods factories, 10 plants in Gogoradsk-Gluchowski district; one jute and hemp trust, comprising 10 establishments in Orechowski district; and one trust, comprising 27 factories in the Iwanow-Wosnesensk district, manufacturing linen and cotton goods.

It is contemplated after the final establishment of the above mentioned trusts, to combine the textile factories of the Petrograd district, the five largest factories of the Twer district, and the flax factories of the Wjasnikow district, into one trust each.

At the present time only the Wladimir district trust, in which are embodied the flax factories of the Kostroma Gov-
ernment, is completed. This trust incorporates 134,000 looms, of which 109,000 are stated to be working. The number of looms in operation, it is understood, will be greatly increased early in 1922.

Administration of Plants.

A peculiar administrative condition for the management of such trusts is that not only has it to look after the fuel requirements of the plants under its care, but the management also has to provide the foodstuffs required by the workmen and personnel of the factories. While fuel requirements are stated to be covered to 70 per cent of actual need, food is hard to obtain, and is causing great anxiety at present. The newly founded Russian State Bank provides the money necessary for the purchase of fuel, raw materials, new machinery, and food, while it assumes responsibility toward the people's commissary of this district for a certain quantity of goods to be produced annually. The larger part of this output will be sold in the Soviet warehouses and department stores, while a small percentage will be sold by means of free trade.

Many Idle Factories.

Mention is made in the report of a small workshop for textile goods, which was recently established by several Russians who returned from America. Government representatives attended the "opening" of this shop.

A summary of the statements of the Soviet Trade Commission at Berlin creates the belief that the Russian textile industry is yet far from having recovered even partially. The majority of the textile factories distributed over the erstwhile Czar's empire are still idle, and travelers returning from the Russian industrial districts state the machinery of most of the works is rotting away for want of attention. However, the fact cannot be denied the Russian Government is making strenuous efforts to reconstruct the country's industry, which is shown by the large orders for machinery recently placed in some German works.
Transportation Facilities in Russia

J. P. Goodrich, ex-governor of Indiana and directing head of the American Relief Administration in Russia, reports to Secretary of Commerce Herbert C. Hoover:

"I had an interview with the Commissioner of Railroads and obtained from him the present situation of the railroads.

He gave me the following figures, from his records, and in the main, while some allowance should be made, I think substantially they are correct:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of verts of main track in operation, European Russia</td>
<td>62,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locomotive engines in good running order</td>
<td>8,027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locomotive engines in bad order, needing light repairs</td>
<td>7,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locomotive engines in bad order, needing heavy repairs</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchased from Germany and to be delivered in six months</td>
<td>900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchased from Sweden and to be delivered in six months</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freight wagons in good running order (all kinds)</td>
<td>440,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freight wagons in bad order, needing light repairs</td>
<td>101,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passenger cars in good running order</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passenger cars in bad running order</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchased from Canada, to be delivered in six months, tank cars</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New ties placed in the main track during this year</td>
<td>1,100,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If these figures are correct there has been a very substantial improvement in the railroad situation since the filing of the British report last year."
Electrification of Soviet Russia

The Government of Russia has set up a State Commission for Electrification, charged with the task of investigating conditions and working out details of complete electrification of the country. The plan worked out by the Commission proposes to complete the enterprise in the course of ten years, during which not less than twenty-seven electric stations will be built in European Russia and another three stations in Western Siberia and Turkestan. The stations must be of one and a half million kilowatt, of which one-half million will be generated by water power, and one million by fuel. The Commission succeeded in enlarging considerably the one big electric station which Russia has had since the pre-war period. A new turbine of 5,000 kilowatt power was installed, new large boilers and all other necessary equipment. This station supplies at present, 20,000 kilowatt power instead of the previous 10,000 kilowatt power. The construction of the Kashirskaya station on the Oka river is rapidly being proceeded with. This station is situated in the neighborhood of two railway systems passing through the Moscow coal region at a distance of 60 verts from Moscow. The Kashirskaya station will be of over 40,000 kilowatt. The most important of all the works undertaken to advance the electrification of the country is the construction of the hydraulic station on the Volkho River, with 80,000 horse-power, and on the Svir River with 140,000. What the complete electrification of Russia will mean industrially cannot be over-emphasized.
Natural Resources and Acquired Education are the Conditions of a Nation’s Prosperity

Some awfully clever people seem to think that impoverished Prussia of the 18th century grew to be the great Germany of the end of the 19th century because of the military drilling of her manhood. This is not true. The schoolmaster, not the corporal, made that country. And now Soviet Russia is taking the Hint of History. The following figures, showing the development of elementary education in the Soviet territory, tell the tale:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Elementary and Secondary Schools</th>
<th>Number of Pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>47,855</td>
<td>3,060,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>63,317</td>
<td>4,796,284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921 (Jan. 1)</td>
<td>91,500</td>
<td>7,200,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The great natural resources of the country and its system of universal education will soon place Russia in the forefront of the advanced lands of the world.

But what about the adult population, one may ask? Would not the known Russian mass illiteracy be an insurmountable obstacle toward its industrialization?—not, indeed. In the field of adult education, apart from innumerable continuation schools, clubs, etc., the most important achievement has been the campaign against illiteracy. Within less than a year 4,800,000 adults were taught to read and write. The Red Army has become an actual grammar school for millions of peasants. According to a recent statement by L. Trotsky, there would not be a single illiterate in the Red Army by May 1st, 1922.

To sum up, it is sufficient to say that Russia has never seen such a determined national effort to extinguish ignorance as is being made today. Work carried on with such courage and determination is bound to achieve its aim; and the results so far obtained in spite of all difficulties give real ground for confidence. The prosperity of a country depends on its natural resources and acquired knowledge.

Page 40
Prospects of Running Clothing Factories and Textile Mills Under Hillman’s Plan

Commerce Reports, official publication of the United States Department of Commerce, tells of a concession the Soviet Government has granted to a Swedish Company, known as the S. K. F. Co., manufacturing hardware, nails and agricultural implements. The Swedish Ball Bearing Co. of Goteborg, known as the S. K. F. Co., has had a factory at Moscow since 1915, which was one of the first industries taken over by the Soviets. The plant has been operating at full capacity ever since. With the completion of a plant now under construction just outside Moscow the company will employ 400 men. The Swedish company is supervising the construction of the plant and is importing machinery from Sweden, while the Soviet Government is furnishing raw materials and labor.

The Swedish company is guaranteed 15 per cent profit on all State orders and is allowed to sell in Russia, or export at its own prices, 15 per cent of the finished product. In other words, the Swedish company will operate the plant for the Soviet Government on a cost-plus basis and a certain percentage of the output. The factory will be under Swedish management. The Government will provide the factory with coal, coke, and high-grade Ural steel. At the present time the Swedish company is compelled to import some of the fuel and all of the high-grade steel. At the end of two years, however, the Government guarantees to produce the steel to exact specifications required. With this end in view, the S. K. F. Co. has installed Swedish metallurgists at the steel mills of the Urals, who will act as instructors. According to the Swedish engineer in charge of the Moscow plant, no labor complications are expected, since the Government has furnished liberal guaranties in that respect.

The clothing factories and textile mills which will be run under the Hillman Plan will be in no worse position.
## Reconstruction Under Way

The following table shows the number of river boats repaired by the Soviet Government on August 1, compared with the program set for accomplishment by September 1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regions</th>
<th>Program for 1st Sept. 1921</th>
<th>Completed by 1st Aug. 1921</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Volga</td>
<td>1,294</td>
<td>1,375</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Western</td>
<td>590</td>
<td>517</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dnieper</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don-Kuban</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siberia</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2,650</td>
<td>2,681</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regions</th>
<th>Program for 1st Sept. 1921</th>
<th>Completed by 1st Aug. 1921</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Volga</td>
<td>3,084</td>
<td>2,539</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Western</td>
<td>1,359</td>
<td>937</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>464</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dnieper</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don-Kuban</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siberia</td>
<td>416</td>
<td>502</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5,786</td>
<td>4,855</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is not merely planning, but carrying out as well, and "going over the top." It will pay to do business in Russia.

Page 42
As Others See It
TURKESTAN—NOT A MUSICAL INSTRUMENT

You may not like the spelling of the word TURKESTAN, but it is an economic fact. An insignificant part, relatively speaking, of the vast Russian Republic, it is a large country, rich in possibilities and opportunities.

Cattle ranching is one of its basic industries. It produces cotton, wool and silk.

The leather industry is a vital factor in Turkestan. It is abundantly supplied with raw materials; 3,960,000 hides were released during 1920, of which 29,500 pieces were of heavy goods.

6,415 carloads of cotton were exported from Turkestan to central Russia during 1920, as compared with 2,151 carloads in 1918-19. And in addition to this, 470,000 poods of wool and 393,000 poods of silk, and 662,000 raw hides were exported in the same one year.

But some clever statesmen are determined to call Russia an economic vacuum. What and where is the vacuum?
Letter by V. Ulyanov (Lenin) to President Hillman

Russian Federated Socialist
Soviet Republic
President of the
Soviet of the People's Commissaries
Moscow, Kremlin
October 13, 1921
No. 968

. . . Am heartily thankful to you for the aid you have given us. Due to you the agreement with regard to the aid to Soviet Russia on the part of the American workers has been so speedily consummated. It is especially important that the organization of this relief action will now cover the workers who are not communists. Throughout the world and particularly in the countries of advanced capitalist development, at present, millions of workers do not share communistic views, but they are ready to help Soviet Russia, to aid and feed those starving, a part of them at least, and to assist in the reconstruction of the economic life of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic. Those workers are convinced of the truth and they realize in deeds the word of the—certainly anti-communistic—leaders of the Amsterdam Trade Unions International, that every victory of the international capitalist class over Soviet Russia would be the greatest victory of world reaction over the working class all over.

Soviet Russia is straining all its energies to overpower the famine, ruin and industrial dislocation. In so far is
the financial aid on the part of all the workers of the world infinitely important for us, as well as their moral and political support. Most naturally, America stands at the head of the countries, where the workers are in a position to help us, are, in fact, helping us, and will in the future, I am deeply convinced, assist on still larger a scale.

Devoted and energetic, the advanced workers of America will lead the workers of many industrial lands who carry to Soviet Russia their technical knowledge and determination to stand privations in order to aid the Workers' and Peasants' Republic in the rehabilitation of its economic life. Helping in the recovery of the national economic strength of Soviet Russia is the one of all bloodless means in the struggle against international financial capitalism and international reaction that promises a speedy and certain victory.

With the best greetings to all the workers who help Soviet Russia one way or another,

V. ULYANOV (LENIN),
President of the Council of People's Commissaries.
Leaderships for Labor

The New Republic of May 31 has the following to say on the subject-matter of Mr. Hillman’s proposal:

The proposal for helping the economic regeneration of Russia, put forward by President Sidney Hillman at the Fifth Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and endorsed with deep emotion by the convention, is striking in itself. More than that, it is symbolic of the spirit that has distinguished this union from most other labor organizations in America.

The terms of the proposal are simple. An American company is to be formed, with capital stock of not less than a million dollars. This stock, at $10 a share, is to be sold to unions and individuals—provision being taken against a controlling interest falling into the hands of large owners. To this company the Russian government will grant concessions to operate certain clothing and textile factories in Russia. The American company will furnish not only the capital, but the technical direction. Control of the management is to be vested in a Central Board, composed of representatives of the company and of the Russian government, both parties having equal voting power. Thus the Russians furnish what they have—plants, equipment, raw materials, labor; and Americans furnish what we have—money capital upon which credit can be based, and technical skill.

The chief difference between this and other concessions to capital owners is that in this plan no threat to Russian autonomy is involved, and the profits are limited, all earnings over ten per cent to be devoted to extension of the enterprise. If the experiment succeeds, it will be carried further in these industries, and indefinitely into other industries. If it fails, the Russian government guarantees to return the American investment.

The chances of success are considered good. Mr. Hillman has inspected the plants first to be turned over. The clothing shops employ about 6,000 operatives, and the textile
mills are worth between two and one-half and five million dollars. They are going concerns, well equipped. They are turning out good clothing, according to his report, and are working under an efficient system. The Russian government guarantees preference in orders for the product, in supplies of raw material, and in export trade. Before operations are begun, a technical staff will be sent from America to survey the ground thoroughly.

Such is the proposal by which those in America who are sympathetic with the Russian people's struggles against reaction and for bread, and who see the universal danger from contagious economic breakdown, may help them to help themselves. Since the paralysis of Eastern Europe resulting from the war, the world has been full of words and protests —protests against the policies of the Soviet government, and protests against those who were opposing Russian self-determination. But by words the economic breakdown was not repaired. At length millions of people began to starve. Americans have sent food, but such necessary charity does not bring permanent relief. Governments and bankers have refused to reopen the channels of economic life except on conditions which would subject the future labor of the Russian people to an impossible diversion of its product. Now, as Mr. Hillman said, there is not only the immediate necessity for help, but a new danger. In the name of reconstruction, if we leave reconstruction to the same small groups who made the war and the peace, "we shall get some new high-sounding phraseology, we shall get some new formulas which when brought down to earth will result in one part of the world trying to choke the other. When that happens, there will be very little in the world worth living for. It is up to the people in this country, as well as in every other country, to rise and say that the reconstruction of the world is not merely a matter for the officers of the State Department, but that the lives of millions and millions of men and women and children are the concern of all peoples." Therefore Mr. Hillman brings to the Amalgamated the suggestion of a practical way by which Americans may give the Russian people the help they
need without waiting for the bankers to do it for them—
on the bankers' own terms.

It would be easy to say, and undoubtedly it will be
said, that the making and acceptance of the proposal was
due to adherence to "Bolshevism" on the part of a union
often accused of being "radical." Those who heard the
speech of the President and the comments of the delegates
can testify that such an interpretation is grotesque. There
is no doubt that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of
America is a radical union, if by radicalism we mean not
a stereotyped set of principles, but a disposition to get at
the roots of living things and to put the interests of all
human beings everywhere, now and in the future, above
the interests of those few who happen to own the most
property. The enthusiasm with which the convention
endorsed the Russian proposal was evidence of that type
of radicalism, not of loyalty to a revolutionary formula.

And it was evidence, too, of something further. Dur-
ing the past three years most of these delegates have
listened to many fine speeches on Russia. They have
passed resolutions, have signed petitions, and have given
money. The subject is a tarnished one to them, in-
capable in itself of arousing more than a perfunctory
habitual response. Nor was the emotion which tight-
ened upon the delegates during Mr. Hillman's appeal,
and which turned the convention into a noisy festival
for half an hour afterwards, a mere tribute to the sin-
cerity and force of the speaker. It was, more than any-
thing else, the sense of relief and power which comes to
those whose best impulses have often led them into blind
alleys and empty spaces, and who suddenly are given a
means by which they can grasp reality and mould it.
It harmonized with their loyalty to their union, which
is not only radical in intention, but effective in accom-
plishment.

Probably no one has ever expressed the spirit of the
Amalgamated better than Sidney Hillman in a few pas-
sages in this speech. They embodied its aim, its leader-
ship, its method. "When our organization gets down
and accounts for itself to our own members and to the
labor movement of the world, the real question after all will be, 'Have we helped the constructive forces that are making for a better future, or are we just a fine group of sentimentalists?' . . . Unless you have the courage and the sense to put people in charge of the organization who will have the courage and the sense to take charge of the organization, the organization is going to pay the penalty. There is no patent medicine, right, left, centre or any other kind. It takes men and women to build an organization and not abstract theories. It takes warm hearts to maintain ideals, and not phraseology. . . . Conditions will rise dictated by life, and not by the theories of a few dreamers, and it is much more important to have a proper policy than a great deal of noise. Policies, if sound, have a habit of accumulating more and more strength as they go along. . . . Labor understands its mission, in Russia, and its mission in life is to build. The idea of sabotage, the idea that it is the purpose of labor to see how little it can do, is not found there. . . . We men and women in the clothing industry have said to ourselves, 'We want to find out what is right, what is our duty, where our responsibility lies, and then go ahead and let the future justify our undertakings.' If it had not been for a few people, we would to-day be living in the jungle. It was due to the rebellious spirit of a few that we made progress. There are some people who are great rebels, although they are of a quiet disposition, although they do not indulge in high phraseology. They stand for and do the things that carry the human race a step forward, and they are greater than those who have all kinds of prescriptions and know how to lead us overnight to the ultimate goal. It is to the credit of our organization that we have always paid attention to what seemed right and have been willing to await the judgment of time. . . . I hope that you will send a new message to the world that we of labor assume newer responsibility to help in the reconstruction of the world, so that civilization may be saved for labor and everybody alike.'
Governor James P. Goodrich of Indiana on Conditions in Soviet Russia

The ex-Governor, one of the directing heads of the American Relief Administration, went for the third time to Russia. Here is part of what he had to say to the New York Times on Men and Things in Soviet Russia:

“What sort of a man is Lenin?” he was asked.

“That all depends on the point of view,” replied Governor Goodrich. “Perhaps I may best sum up the conception of him in Russia by saying practically all shades of opinion agree that he is honest. The Communist Party, numbering about 500,000 and dominating more than 100,000,000 Russians, sees in him a statesman of the first rank. His opponents—and there are many of them—concede that he is earnestly striving for the best solution of Russia’s difficulties, according to his standards. If you were to ask the first man you met in the streets of Moscow what he thought about Lenin his answer would be something like this: ‘Well, we know what to expect from him. If he should be unseated, who would take his place? We probably would get somebody who was not half so able and who might introduce a wholly different plan of government, which would put us in a worse condition that we are now.’”

“Does it mean that the Russian Government is an expression of Lenin’s personal will?” Governor Goodrich was asked.

“Lenin undoubtedly runs things,” was the reply, “but I doubt there is any widespread feeling in Russia that he is an autocrat. Power has fallen upon his shoulders because he seems to have been the man best able to bear it of those who figured in the new order of things.

“The Russian peasant, who represents the real political mass, is fundamentally interested in only one thing, and that is his land,” said the Governor. “He knows that Lenin, at least the party for which Lenin stands, gave him his land, and he is likely to passively grant it his support so long as he keeps the land. This yearning for land is ages old in Russia, where the peasant for centuries worked on the land
of others, and slowly comprehended that he never could be independent until he had his own land. Now that he has it, I cannot conceive of anything that will shake him from it and there is no prospect of his ever turning against the leaders who put this land in his hands. It is pretty safe to assume that Lenin’s power rests on as solid a foundation as that of any relative European Government.”

“How did Russia appear, compared with other civilized nations?” the Governor was asked. “Was there much lawlessness, and how did the people seem to be getting on in their home life?”

“I did not see very much difference between Russia and any other place,” he answered, “if we discount the wretchedness caused by disorganization of all activities, and famine conditions over a broad area. I felt just as safe in Russia as in the United States. The people are going about their ordinary affairs, and Soviet rule does not seem to have had any effect on everyday existence except in an economic way. The worst of the suffering has passed and we are in sight of the time when it may be said that Russia has a chance to recuperate.

“But the big need is proper methods and organization. Everything else is dependent upon that. Just to show what I mean let me tell you about the east side garment workers who have gone over to Moscow and set up factories. These men are doing well. Despite all the difficulties of getting materials, with not a single textile plant running in Russia, they somehow manage to find goods and convert them into garments which bring fabulous prices. Just imagine what they could do if given the equipment of a regulation plant here—sewing machines, linings, thread, woolens to pick from. Any one of these things is at a premium in Russia, worth millions and millions of rubles, but the east side garment makers transplanted to Moscow are doing business and will have the nucleus of a bustling industry by the time that the country gets back to something like its normal state. They are not waiting for Lenin or anybody else to perform the miracle, but are going about it themselves and that is just the spirit that means success anywhere.”
Senator Borah, Idaho, on the Question of Recognition of the Soviet Government

(Excerpts from remarks in the Congressional Record)

The Russian problem is conceded by all to be the key to a restored Europe, to a peaceful Europe. There can be no such thing as peace in Europe, or a normal condition of affairs, or disarmament, or relief from taxes and similar burden until the Russian problem shall have been settled. That was made evident at every session of the Genoa conference. Only in proportion as they were able to deal with that subject were they able to hold sessions which seemed to have any vital motive or any ultimate purpose or object to be attained.

Not only does the Russian problem involve the prosperity of Europe but it is only less important to this country. We may pass tariff bills, but until Europe is restored and the markets of Europe again resume, we can not hope to enjoy the prosperity or the contentment in this country which we are entitled to enjoy. Until the markets of Europe shall have been opened, and the manufacturers of this country can find a market for their surplus products, it will be impossible for them to buy, as they would necessarily have to buy, of the farmer in order to insure his prosperity. While the tariff bill has its place in the consideration of affairs at this time, until there is a settlement of the European situation upon policies which permit of the return to the ordinary duties and obligations of peaceful citizenship, we can not hope to enjoy prosperity in this country. Until the markets of Europe are open and the people of Europe are buying our economic situation here will be unsatisfactory.

This is not the time, even if I were able to do so, to recount the history of the Russian people. It is as fascinating a story as has been written in the history of the world. But I do call attention very briefly to the part which Russia played in the Great War. It is a telling and at times the most controlling and determining part; a fact which, it seems to me, we ought not
wholly to overlook at this time. It will enable us, it occurs to me, to form more tolerant, wiser, and sounder views concerning those people.

At one time the Russian people mobilized 21,000,000 men in the Great War. In February, 1917, they had 14,000,000 men in arms, fighting over a front of 3,500 miles. They had arrayed against them at one time one-third of the entire German Army, two-thirds of the Austrian Army, the entire Hungarian Army, and two-thirds of the Turkish Army. They lost during the war 2,500,000 men upon the field of battle and between 3,000,000 and 3,500,000 wounded. They had prisoners taken to the number of 2,000,000, 1,000,000 of whom died in prison. They themselves captured some 400,000 German prisoners, 1,000,000 Austrians, and 300,000 Hungarians. Indeed, as the Premier of England said, at one time they sacrificed themselves in order to save the Allies.

No nation suffered more or sacrificed more in the Great War during those years than the Russian people, and the fighting which they did was never excelled on any front in the world struggle or elsewhere. . . . Indeed, it is said that at times they fought the opposing forces with their bare fists. Those are matters which ought to throw some light upon what we may expect of the Russian people, as a people, when they are given an opportunity to demonstrate the qualities they actually possess.

During the war came the revolution in Russia. It has had the course of all great revolutions. It came rather unexpectedly, even among the Russian people. It took a course in some respects wholly unexpected. Indeed, human foresight can not foresee or gauge the course of these great mass movements, these revolutions which shake continents. There is no law, human or divine, by which to judge them. They are a law unto themselves. In defiance of all preconceived plans or mortal schemes they set up their own standards and map out, even as they move, their own course. . . . Their end and their results no one can foresee.

The final results are often beyond all anticipation, even
of their most powerful actors. If there be in human affairs such a thing as fate, imperious and inexplicable, master of the human will, transcendent over the human intellect, it is most manifest in these upheavals of human passion. We see crimes committed, with no apparent object in view; cruelty, senseless and purposeless, practiced; deeds done to the utter confusion of the perpetrators; policies, ruthless and self-destructive, urged and pursued; and yet, in the end a result obtains conducive to human progress, vital to the welfare of the human family and outweighing in good all the deplorable sacrifices by which it was achieved. In spite of all, the fateful drama goes forward, sinister and revolting figures cross and recross the stage, scenes close and the curtains fall, chaos seems to rule supreme; nevertheless, out of this woof and warp of crime and incompetency, a higher life, a better people, a nobler nation, emerges. This was notably true as to the French Revolution, and I doubt not at all will be true of the Russian Revolution. . . . There has been in history, so far as I know, but one revolution to be compared with the Russian Revolution, and I want to draw some comparisons to-day between the French Revolution and the Russian Revolution. I want to look in upon the French Revolution during its progress, observe the issues and the principles which were raised, the questions which were presented to the outside nations, and the manner in which outside nations dealt with the subject in hand. It seems to me it establishes a precedent to which we may recur, if not for absolute guidance, yet for wise suggestion as to the present situation.

There is scarcely a principle or a proposition which has been raised by outside nations with reference to the Russian Revolution which was not raised and presented and discussed and considered and determined by outside nations with reference to the French Revolution. There was scarcely a question of policy considered at that time different from that which has been presented with reference to the Russian Revolution.

Fox (the great English Statesman of the 18th century)
who wascontendingforthercognitionoftheFrench Republicandfor treatingandtradingwiththeFrench Republic,said:

"Gracious God! Were we not told, five years ago, that France was not only on the brink but that she was actually in the gulf of bankruptcy? Were we not told, as an unanswerable argument against treating, that she could not hold out another campaign; that nothing but peace could save her; that she wanted only time to recruit her exhausted finances; that to grant her respose was to grant her the means of again molesting this country; and that we had nothing to do but persevere for a short time, in order to save ourselves forever from the consequences of her ambition and her Jacobinism? What! After having gone on from year to year upon assurances like these, and after having seen the repeated refutations of every prediction, are we again to be seriously told that we have the same prospect of success on the same identical grounds?"

For five years, Mr. President, there has appeared in a large portion of the press of this country and from the lips of high officials the statement that within 30 days or 60 days, or at most within a brief period, the soviet government would collapse; that all we had to do was persist in the policy of non-recognition or non-aid, either one way or the other, and it must inevitably follow. For five years the soviet government has been meeting every test which can be applied to a government from without and from within. At the present time it seems to be conceded upon all hands that it is much stronger than it has been at any time during those five years. Notwithstanding that fact, the prophecy is still put forth—for the consolation of those, I suppose, who put it forth—that within a short time the soviet government is to fail, and to recognize it is to aid in its maintenance a little longer.

Further on Mr. Fox said:

"Look back to the proclamations with which they set out. Read the declarations which they made themselves
to justify their appeal to arms. They did not pretend to fear their ambition, their conquests, their troubling their neighbors; but they accused them of new modeling their own Government. They said nothing of their aggressions abroad; they spoke only of their clubs and societies at Paris.

Sir, in all this, I am not justifying the French—I am not striving to absolve them from blame, either in their internal or external policy.”

Again he said:

“I therefore contend, that as we never scrupled to treat with the princes of the house of Bourbon on account of their rapacity, their thirst of conquest, their violation of treaties, their perfidy, and their restless spirit, so we ought not to refuse to treat with their republican imitators.”

Mr. President, when the whole story of all the cruelties and the atrocities of the soviet government shall have been told, it will not exceed or excel in brutality, in inhumanity, in cruelty those of a government which we have recognized ever since we have been in existence. My friend, the able Senator from New Jersey (Mr. Edge), said the other day that to recognize the soviet government with its present policies would be infamous. We recognized the czar government at a time when the peasantry of Russia was tied to the land, whipped and sold and treated as common chattels. Is there anything in the present situation more infamous, more intolerable? Human language is inadequate to tell the story of the wrongs which have been heaped upon the peasantry of Russia these 300 years—who said during these years we should withdraw recognition of Russia. It is said that we should not recognize Russia because the rights of property are not respected. Did we not recognize the old government when life was not respected; when human beings were ranked in dignity with the land?

Mr. President, it may be possible, by reason of the policies which are being pursued, to break down the soviet government. It may be possible that it will fall. I do
not pretend to say that it will not. But suppose the soviet government falls. What then? What takes its place? Here are 170,000,000 people in distress and in turmoil. There is only one directing force in it, and, as Lloyd-George said at Genoa, there they sit, representing this 170,000,000 people. Suppose we destroy it, break it down, and plant chaos in the midst of Russia. What then? What government takes its place? What power will control and bring order? Who will speak to the warring forces and say: “Be still”? Are we willing to break down the only semblance of authority, the only semblance of order, which prevails in that country and leave it to utter chaos? What do we propose to give them instead? Shall we hunt out some representative of the old régime and force him upon the Russians? That would be infamous. Or shall we connive at the destruction of their present government and leave them to bloody chaos?

I want to say in closing that I make no concealment of the fact that I have sympathized from the beginning with the revolutionary movement in Russia. I expressed that opinion early in 1917, and I entertain the same feeling now.

No people, with whose history I am familiar, have been scourged and tortured as the Russian people. They had suffered much and they suffered long at the hands of their corrupt and merciless masters. The unrelenting and sanguinary rule of the Romanoffs has no parallel in all the annals of crime. If ever a people had ample justification for overthrowing their government and seeking su慰ice of sorrow in a new life, these people were more than justified. The Great War, destroying, as it did, the rooted institutions of centuries, also broke some fetters. In Russia, at least, they heard and believed that this war was being fought in the interest of the people, of democratic government. With this gospel of a new life ringing in their ears, the tragic year of 1917 was ushered in. It found the whole social and economic fabric of Russia in collapse; a court mildewed with the stupid superstitions and loathsome lechery of Rasputin; venal public masters bartering their influence in the highest market; millions
cold and hungry in the streets with bacchanalian debauchery in the places of power. Then came the breaking up of the great deep.

The elementary forces of human nature, crazed with hunger, wild with the hope of liberty, were released and the Russian Revolution was born. The reign of the Romanoffs was in any event to have an end. In that stupendous fact certainly all lovers of humanity may rejoice. The manner of their going, could it have been controlled, should have been different, but that this dynasty should end once and for all is one of the compensations of the war. It had cursed and encumbered the earth long enough. And those who believe as I do in that kind of human progress which is initiated and sustained, not alone by great personages or dominant figures, nor guided by select groups of men, but which comes forward by reason of the great dumb forces of oppressed and outraged and downtrodden humanity, still believe that "the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

Some will say such reasoning is to approve and commend these things done in the name of revolution. You might as well charge me with approving the atrocities of the French Revolution because I believe such revolution was unavoidable, that it marked the beginning of a new and far better era in France. I do not regret the Russian Revolution, but I do deplore its cruelties. Humanity seems sometimes to get into a trap from which there is no escape except to hew its way out. I regret the method, but I would not have humanity eternally entrapped. In these great social upheavals kings and lords and leaders are of but little concern and criticism is of no avail. The people are patient and long suffering before they are cruel. I do not know of a revolution in all history, a revolution which had its roots deep down in the sufferings and the sorrows and sacrifices of the people, but was amply justified and in the end altogether for the betterment and the advancement of mankind. I venture to believe the Russian Revolution will be no exception. In the end there will emerge a freer, a more released, a more democratic Russia. Untrained in the af-
fairs of self-government, untutored in the duties and ob-
ligations of a free people, schooled alone by 300 years of
oppression and venal mastery, they are nevertheless a
great people, a patient, kindly people, and from this fear-
ful ordeal they will come forth a peaceful, home-loving
and self-governing people.

Ever since the Russian soldier carried back from France
in the Napoleonic wars the seeds of democracy, a higher
conception of liberty, there has been among them an un-
quenchable desire, an unconquerable purpose to be un-
chained and free. Now, belated but inevitable and upon
the most stupendous and bewildering scale ever presented
to the consideration of mankind, through blood and tra-
vail, through unspeakable suffering and infinite misery,
they are working out their salvation. I make no apologies
for the awful mistakes committed on the way, but in the
words of the leader of their own revolution, the father of
our own country, I take the liberty to say:

"Born in a land of liberty, my anxious recollections,
my sympathetic feelings, my best wishes are irresistibly
excited whencsoever in any country I see an oppressed
nation unfold the banners of freedom."

I believe the recognition of the de facto government of
Russia would be in the interests of world peace, of the
economic rehabilitation of Europe, and of the ultimate
triumph of democracy throughout Russia. It would also
be in harmony with the best traditions of our Republic
and the high precedent established by one whose poise no
political storm could disturb and whose intellectual vision
neither political bigotry nor personal prejudices could
cloud.

Why can not we live up to that doctrine? Shall we for-
ever pay lip service only to the great principles of human-
ity, to the great truths of international amity? I care less
for the teachings and the doctrine now prevailing to some
extent in Russia than many who decry them most. My
ideal of government is that of a government of law—or-
derly, regulated liberty. I care nothing for theories or
doctrines over there; I see only 170,000,000 Russian
people, a great people, ultimately to be a powerful people, struggling in almost blinded madness to be free of the inhumanities and the cruelties of the past. It is with those people as a people that we should sympathize, and of them as a people we should think when forming our policies and mapping out our program. To say that the people do not want the present government of Russia is not borne out by the facts. It has stood for five years against conspiracies from within and conspiracies from without. The people have fought and sacrificed for it because they believed that it is the way to a better government and a freer democracy. It is their government. It is better for the world, better for peace, better for humanity, and better for the Russians that we recognize it and seek through friendly intercourse to modify those provisions which conflict not only with their interests but, as we believe, with the interests of all nations.
How Clothing Workers Fare in Russia

(Compiled from Various Sources.)

Economic conditions are on the mend in Soviet Russia, according to the available statistics, and with it the lot of the industrial workers, especially those in the clothing industry, has improved. Petrograd and Moscow, where the centralized clothing factories operated by the government are situated, are humming once more. Large supplies of clothing have already been manufactured to replace the tattered and patched garments of many miners, metal workers, railroad engineers and others laboring in essential industries.

Besides the big nationalized clothing factories employing from 2,000 to 3,000 workers in each unit where ready-made garments are made somewhat similar to the highly developed ready-to-wear clothing industry in the United States, although much more crudely and less skillfully, privately operated factories are springing up. The hand tailoring shops and home work, until recently abolished by official decree, are again being established under the recent proclamation of the Soviet Government.

Most of the task of supplying the population with manufactured goods has developed upon the small industries while the output of the nationalized industry is still restricted to the needs of the State. The clothing factories are still administered as socialized institutions under the Prozodiezhda, the Soviet Clothing and Supply Establishment, set up by decree in July, 1919.

The aim of this institution was to furnish workers in factories with clothing, boots, overcoats, etc., necessary to enable them to continue their work. The administration board included representatives of the Commission for the Regulation and Distribution of Supplies, the Labor Commissariat and the Central Council of Trade Unions. The actual direction of affairs was in the hands of the Central Council of Trade Unions, which carried on this work for the State and whose representative was chairman of the board.

In 1920 the national factories attempted to clothe 5,000,000 workers. This vast task was not wholly carried out, but by
the heroic efforts of workers in the textile, leather and clothing industries the following was accomplished with the means at hand:

Two suits of working clothes, durable and well made, were supplied for 3,600,000 persons, or 36 per cent of the requirement.

Underwear was provided for 700,000 persons, or 13.8 per cent of the amount required.

Leather and felt boots were provided for 672,000, or 13.2 per cent of the requirement.

Top coats were distributed for 445,000 workers, or 7 per cent of the 1,500,000 workers who needed these garments.

Over 1,132,000 shirts were made and distributed.

In 1921 the amount manufactured is estimated to have been at least double the 1920 production, according to statistics published by "Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn" and reports of the All-Russia Council of Trade Unions. The number of factory workers increased from 642,000 in December, 1919, to 3,374,820 in March, 1921.

The average wage of a clothing worker in the big Moscow and Petrograd factories is 1,200,000 rubles a month and is set by the trade union, factory committeeman and a representative of the State. While this might seem an extraordinary wage, it amounts, owing to the decline in value of the paper ruble, to about $12 a month in American currency. 1,000 ruble has declined in value from $500 in the Czar's time to about 1 cent now.

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