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GERMANY BEATS THE ALLIES TO RUSSIAN TRADE

NON-UNION MINERS ARE ORGANIZED; WORKERS ARE NOT FOOLED BY LEADERS

(Workers Party Press Service)
Chicago. — While British coal mines are becoming more active as the result of the strike in America just as American mines worked overtime during the British coal miners' strike a year ago to supply foreign demand, 600,000 members of the United Mine Workers of America await coal operators' pleasure to meet them. This will not take place until thousands of tons of coal now in storage are consumed. The price of this coal has begun to climb and will continue skyward as the press reminds the public of a coal shortage. For the first time in the history of the miners' union all their district agreements have expired simultaneously, excepting small district in Kentucky and at last the miners are not in the ridiculous position of one district scabbing on another as in the past. This advantageous display of solidarity is offset by the fight among the miner themselves; or rather among the miners' official family. The canker work of internal dissension that has been

eating the heart out of the miners' union is in reality a political scrap between International President, John L. Lewis, and Frank Farrington, President of District 12 (Illinois). A mistaken impression has been widely circulated in the daily press as well as the Labor press that it is a fight between reactionism and radicalism. Nothing could be further from the truth. Both men are much alike. The latter, an alleged radical, is a good Republican and was Governor Lowden's campaign manager in his race for Governor of Illinois. He, however, is a clever politician and has allied himself with Alexander Howat, the deposed Kansas rebel, in his fight with the International. This has caused many of the progressive and radical members of the miners' organization to get behind Farrington.

The rank and file mine workers are not fooled as to the qualifications of both these gentlemen and as to how far they represent their interests. But at present they realize the necessity for complete soli-

arity. This they have shown by presenting a solid front in face of calamities and gun-men tactics on the part of the operators. When this fight is over the rank and file will be sure to clean out both impostors from the organization and select a courageous and militant leadership capable of meeting the onslaughts of the organized capitalist class, no matter what weapons they may choose.

The kept press is conspicuously silent at present about the program of the coal miners' strike except from an occasional statement about waste — meaning profit lost to the operators, due to the fact that more men were employed and kept on the pay-roll than were actually required. The daily papers have again resorted to their usual methods of attempting to kill the spirit of the miners by keeping silent about them, hoping that a long drawn out struggle will starve them into submission. Meanwhile the miners are carrying on organization campaigns with great success. It is estimated that about 75,000 non-union miners are out in the Collinsville coke region, Fayette County, Penna., 30,000 non-union miners have affiliated with the U. M. W. and have left the pits. Thus causing the complete shut-down of a number of blast furnaces in Ohio and the Pittsburgh steel districts. Blast furnace stoppages due to the strike include the putting out of two at Mingo Junction, Ohio and the Shengango Furnace Co. at Youngstown, Ohio, and the banking of a Schoenberger furnace at Pittsburgh and of one Hazelton furnace near Youngstown. The starting of five Carnegie Steel company furnaces that had been planned is postponed.

In the Collinsville region a series of monster mass meetings have been held for the purpose of organizing non-union miners and so great was the response that local authorities were afraid to interfere with these general surges toward unionism. In Uniontown, of steel strike fame, the non-union miners who walked out smashed all barriers in their way to become organized.

From Bellaire, Ohio the organized miners are making a regular organization wage across the river to West Virginia. When the first mine become organized the operators hurried guard and gun-men on the scene but they were too late, the damage had already been done.

Dr. F. C. Harnold, secretary-treasurer of the Illinois Coal Operators' Association, has tabulated reports from various mines, declared that during 1920 the 49 mines 13,000 more men were kept on the pay roll than it was necessary to dig the coal that was taken out during the 219 days coal was hoisted. "The miners' organization he adds significantly now demands a wage scale that will continue this abuse. Every working man familiar with this situation knows that the case is quite the contrary. The United miners demand shorter working days so that all of their members may be employed. For this demand the miners stand forward and they are not willing to be trampled upon or to sacrifice their organization.

A CORRECTION

In the issue of "Truth" April 14, the article from the New Republic entitled "Prison — and the American Scene" was by Charles Ashleigh. We regret the omission of his name.

The Editor.

Prisoner for 18 Years Without Legal Authority

McAlester, Okla. — After remaining in prison for 18 years under death sentence, Kid Kelly walked out of the state penitentiary a free man. He owes his release to President Harding, who signed a pardon, and to an Oklahoma newspaper man who discovered Kelly's plight a year ago.

According to prison officials, technically there has never been any authority for holding Kelly behind the walls of a prison. The prisoner's status resulted from differences between federal and state courts over jurisdiction in the case. Kelly was first tried in a federal court when Oklahoma was a territory. Then statehood came, and on subsequent appeals both federal and state courts disclaimed jurisdiction.

Kelly was convicted of killing Jim Dillingham in 1905. When the case was brought to light a year ago a movement was instituted to free him or set the date of execution of sentence. An executive pardon settled the question.

Ladies' Garment Workers May Strike in June

New York. — Indications are that June 1 will witness the beginning of another strike or lock-out in the ladies' garment industry. The proposed investigation into the whole garment industry in all its phases, which was to have been conducted under the direction of Secretaries Davis and Hoover, by chosen representatives of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Manufacturers' Ass'n, has been Union and the Clo k, Suit and Skirt definitely called off and the union now is bending its energies to strengthening its finances by the collection of the \$1,000,000 defense reserve recently decided upon.

The failure of the proposed investigation was caused by the refusal of the employers' organization to enter the negotiations in any spirit or in any manner which could have resulted in a real investigation.

The situation will be, probably, the most important matter to be taken up at the sixteenth convention of the I. L. G. W. in Cleveland on May 1.

MAY DAY DEMONSTRATIONS

N. Y. City. — From all parts of the country come reports of the launching of comprehensive plans for May Day demonstrations. Most of these are in co-operation with other working class organizations in harmony with the "United Front" tactic of the Third (Communist) International. New York, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, Boston, Minneapolis, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Cleveland, Brockton, Mass., these are only a few of those already reporting and asking for speakers. Some of the plans include arrangements for big parades followed by either outdoor or indoor mass meetings.

The national office, in addition to serving as a clearing house to supply and exchange speakers, is getting out a special May Day edition of THE WORKER, a special button, and a leaflet for distribution.

All requests for speakers, literature and buttons should be sent in without delay.

—Workers Party.

Industrial Accidents 26,652 In 11 Months

Industrial accidents in Minnesota totaled 26,652 since June 1 last, and involve payments of approximately \$200,000 in workmen's compensation claims, according to reports of the state industrial commission. Of this total, 117 are classified as fatal accidents, the report shows.

ALLIES ARE PEEVED AT GERMANS FOR SIGNING RUSS PACT FIRST

Geneva.—Germany and Russia have concluded an economic treaty.

By the terms of the treaty, all war claims which each country held against the other have been swept off the table. The two countries are resuming friendly relations with a "clean slate".

The treaty provides for immediate and formal recognition of the Russian soviet government by Germany.

The treaty terms provide for the closest economic co-operation, especially with regard to the reconstruction of Russia. The treaty contains ironclad safeguards against the colonization of Russia.

The treaty contains a most favored nation clause.

Diplomatic relations will be resumed immediately, according to the treaty.

Treaty Startles Genoa

The news of the treaty had the effect of a bombshell on the allied delegates to the economic conference. No comment could be obtained, officials desiring to confer among themselves before giving their views as to the probable effect of the treaty.

The Russians are now expected to give their formal answer to the allies' demand that soviet Russia recognize all of the Russian debts. The general impression prevails that Russians will agree to recognize the debts providing some means are found to assist the Russians financially at this time.

The rumors that Premier Lloyd George plans another conference, possibly this fall, in which it is hoped to have the United States represented, will not down. This conference, it is said, will take place either in London or The Hague and will take up reparations and disarmament and war debts.

Lloyd George's Resignation Rumored

Paris.—A rumor is rife at Genoa that Premier Lloyd George is going to resign his office at the close of the Genoa conference, according to a dispatch printed here today. The report said the premier already has signed a contract with a publishing house to write a book entitled "Tragic Hours—War and Peace".

London.—The rumor that Premier Lloyd George is going to resign at the conclusion of the Genoa conference is not credited here. The premier's position, it was pointed out today is now stronger than it has been in many months. If he succeeds at Genoa, it was declared in official circles today, his chances at the next general election are better than ever.

What London Papers Say

The Times says: "It is an open defiance and a studied insult to the Entente powers. The German pretense that the choice of time and place for the signature was without significance is pure impertinence * * * Russia for the

TAG DAY A SUCCESS

Hundreds of faithful earnest men and women made a success of tag day for the starving Russians. Not only did the Duluth women leave their house work to do the more necessary task of getting bread for the starving children of the Russian workers but many came from Superior to help. As a reward for their sacrifices they secured between fifteen and sixteen hundred dollars. A complete financial statement will appear in the next issue of "Truth".

Bolsheviks, and the Bolsheviks for us, has been the basis of the German policy ever since the German government sent Lenin across the frontier with the deliberate intention that he should poison the whole social organism of Russia.

"Germany hoped then and has been hoping ever since that when the poison had done its work she would prey on her corpse.

"With the resources and manpower of Russia under her control she would be able at her pleasure to pronounce the treaty of Versailles a scrap of paper, and visit Western Europe again with the

terrors inseparable from her resurrection as a militarist state. * * *

"It is earnestly to be hoped that the entente powers, especially England and France, will teach the Germans and Bolsheviks alike that the Allies are not to be defied and flouted with impunity."

Daily Chronicle, staunch advocate of Mr. Lloyd George refuses to be disturbed. It admits that the treaty signing "was perhaps not tactfully timed, for it will at least give an excuse for the outcry of critics to whom any Russian-German dealings would furnish ground for suspicions."

SHIPS CLEARING SEATTLE KEEP OVERWORKED SAILORS IN UNSANITARY QUARTERS

The steamship Alameda of the Alaska Steamship Company has no ventilators in her forecabin. The only air admitted is by porthole, and that one opening must be closed as soon as open sea is reached. The crew are driven out of their quarters by foul air and stench and forced to sleep on deck, or on the cargo, in spite of the weather.

This was the story going around the waterfront as the big ship prepared for her Alaskan voyage. Men who worked aboard the vessel while she was being recently overhauled at Pier B., and sailors who have in the past been driven by absolute necessity to sign on her for a voyage, vouch for the facts.

As though deliberately intending to add insult to injury, the ship owners published details of improvements made in the staterooms. Everyone on board is to be as comfortable as can be—except the crew, of course. They have to work for a living, and comfort is wasted on them. We're proud of our ship, Alameda. This is what the Seattle Post-Intelligencer says:

"Spick and span from stem to stern, and with her interior fittings renewed and staterooms improved until she resembles a completely new vessel, the steamship Company's fleet will return to service today and sail for Alaskan ports at 9 o'clock this morning."

"Spick and span" except the fore-cabin. Since there is no profit in rebuilding the crew's quarters, improvement there awaits compulsion, such pressure as a strongly organized Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union could bring to bear.

Admiral Line Hard on Men.

Revival of the 12-hour watch, seamen compelled to do the work of stevedores, ships going to sea short-handed, no reward for long hours of overtime—these conditions are met with aboard Admiral Line vessels, according to the crew of the Eastern Merchant, which recently arrived at Seattle, Wash. The crew quit, their ship here after a trip to the Orient recently. The vessels are owned by the U.S. Shipping board.

The complaint of the crew of the Eastern Merchant in brief are:

Eight seamen were signed on to do the work formerly done by 14. Although assured the three-watch shift, which means four hours on and eight off, when they got to sea they were forced to work four hours on and four off, the infamous two watch shift, calculated to break down the physique of the strongest men.

Mexicans Get Decent Pay.

New Orleans, La. — The captain of a vessel in the Mexican merchant marine receives 675 pesos a month, which in American money is \$387.50. His German brother, working for Hugo Hines, gets the equivalent of \$17 a month, according to Arturo M. Elias, Mexican consul general in New Orleans, and local manager of the Compania Naviera Mexicana.

This company, like U. S. shipping board, is operated by its government. It is directed by the Mexican treasury department. Unlike the shipping board, however, this company does not attempt to degrade the standard of living of its employees or to break up their unions. Its vessels are 100 per cent unionized from cabin boy to master. Each craft has its organizations; these organizations are federated and work together.

Recently the master of a ship was discharged. The unions of both men and officers protested and threatened to strike within 10 days if the dismissal were found not justifiable. A strike committee of three men met with a representative of the company and found the dismissal warranted "for the good of the service." The discharged officer received an extra three months' pay. This rule applies to all employees of the Compania Naviera Mexicana—officers or men—who are discharged—a bonus of three months' pay.

Eight vessels are now operated by this line. Three ply between New Orleans, Texas and Mexican gulf ports, and three between San Francisco, Los Angeles and Mexican Pacific ports. There are two vessels in the Mexican coastwise trade. The line has been in operation three years.

Following is the present wage scale in pesos per month (two pesos equals \$1).

Captain, 675; first officer, 375; second officer, 301; purser, 258; assistant purser, 182; engineer, 580; second engineer, 360; third engineer, 301; wireless, 250; assistant wireless, 200; first cook, 200; boatwain, 200; able seamen, 180; sailors, second class, 160; cabin boys, first class, 157; cabin boys, second class, 145; steward, 200; baker, 160; fireman, 190; oilers, 200; wipers, 145; second cook, 160.

—Industrial Worker.

DEPT. OF JUSTICE REFUSES 'GENE' DEBS RIGHT TO SEND A LETTER TO J. O. BENTALL

By DAVID KARSNER.

Terre Haute, Ind. — The Department of Justice, through an inhuman, senseless and cruel rule, has forbidden Eugene V. Debs from sending a letter of cheer and confidence to a political prisoner confined for a long period of years in Leavenworth prison.

Under date of April 3, Debs, from his home here, where he has been attempting to recuperate since his release from Atlanta Prison late Christmas Day, wrote and dispatched a letter to J. O. Bentall, former state secretary of the Socialist party in Illinois, and later holding the same position in Minnesota, from where he was sent to Leavenworth under the infamous espionage law, which was repealed by Congress more than a year ago.

Debs' letter follows:

Terre Haute, Ind., April 13, 1922.
My Dear Comrade Bentall:

You have not heard from me by letter, but I am sure you know that my daily message has been going to you and that you have not for a moment been forgotten. You have borne yourself with loftiest courage and fortitude through all your trial and the deprivation it entailed, reflecting the highest credit upon yourself and the cause. You have carried your cross with your head erect and your spirit undaunted and by your splendid self-sacrifice you have exalted yourself and set an inspiring example to your Comrades everywhere.

I am not writing you at length for I know it is not necessary. For obvious reasons, I refrain from saying in this letter what there is in my heart in regard to your case. Of one thing you may always rest assured and that is that you have not sacrificed your freedom in vain.

My wife and brother join me in affectionate greetings and best wishes to you and all your dear ones. Please remember us also in comradesly greeting to all the prisoners there who are paying the penalty of their loyalty to the cause. We shall not rest while one of them remains in prison.

Yours fraternally,
The message instead of being delivered to the prisoner Bentall, was returned to Debs with the following note:

Department of Justice,
U. S. PENITENTIARY,
Leavenworth, Kansas.
Mail Office,
April 5, 1922.

Mr. Eugene V. Debs,
Terre Haute, Ind.

Sir:—
Inmates of this institution are not permitted to correspond with inmates or former inmates of this or any other penal institution, except by special permission from the warden.

Your letter addressed to J. O. Bentall, returned herewith.

Respectfully,
JAMES DRISCOLL,
Mail Clerk.

The following brief and pointed rejoinder from Debs ended the correspondence:

Terre Haute, Ind.,
April 7, 1922.

Mr. James Driscoll,
Mail Clerk U. S. Penitentiary,
Leavenworth, Kansas.

Dear Sir:—
Your note of the 5th inst., furnishes additional proof that the brutal and idiotic rules that govern the average prison stamp the officials who control these institutions as being intellectually and morally the inferiors of the hapless human beings in their custody. Of course I do not blame you in the least for you are simply executing as you are paid to do, the stupid and heartless orders of your "superiors."

Quite respectfully,
EUGENE V. DEBS.

It will be seen from the foregoing that the government means to carry out its punitive punishment of Debs, even after it has released him from its prison. Debs has received word from several former inmates of Atlanta who were in prison with him that a number of convicts still there would be glad to give their one letter a week to him, telling him of their lot, but the prison authorities will not permit them to send letters to Debs.

A most interesting paradox of this situation is the fact that only the other day Debs received from one of the officials of Atlanta prison several rose plants for his garden.

American "Reds" Start Journey To Russian Colony

The Adriatic sailed from New York at noon on April 8. That alone is not of any special significance, for it leaves the Port of New York quite frequently. Its leaving on this date, however, was of special significance for it carried upon its decks sixty-eight passengers bound for the Kuznets Basin in Russia, where work is underway toward the building of what will undoubtedly be one of the greatest industrial centers on earth. No financiers were with the people traveling toward this new experiment. All of them were workers. Forty-nine were skilled mechanics and construction workers, eight were engineers and one a chemist. Ten women and one infant made the grand total 69. There were fourteen nationalities represented. Twenty-five were of Finnish descent. It was a real International group of workers. They had labored all their lives for capitalists and now, at last, they are to work for themselves. All of them have been and most of them were at the time of sailing members of some organization designated as "red." Many of them were members of the I. W. W., some from Seattle, some from Edmonton, Canada, some from New Jersey, Illinois and every conceivable place on the North American Continent. Not only were they skilled mechanics but they have the right spirit. All of them had contended that the workers are the only useful members of society and that industry can be conducted by the workers entirely independent of the capitalists, whom they look upon as plundering parasites, not even useful as ornaments.

They are going to the Kuznets Basin, not merely to run a number of gigantic industries, but to build those industries. They are going to one of the most fertile sections of the earth as far as raw material and natural resources are concerned, and upon what is now an undeveloped territory there will spring up enormous steel mills, without the assistance or sanction of the moneyed barons of the Steel Trust, there will be developed gigantic mines without the assistance of capital, except that small amount supplied by the workers in starting the work. The surplus that is created by their labor, instead of going into the pockets of parasites will be used to extend the machinery of production and the leisure to be obtained by the introduction of labor saving devices, instead of resulting in unemployment will mean a shortening of hours of labor. For years these workers have believed that their class was capable of controlling the large industries of capitalism in the interest of society in general, now they will prove that they can even build their own industries, thus giving the lie to the claim of the capitalist class that it is labor and capital that creates all wealth. They will prove that labor alone applied to nature is the creator of all wealth.

—Workers' Challenge.

Technical Aid Needed

The main task of the workers in Soviet Russia at present is the restoration of the big industries that have been so severely injured by the war, blockade and the offensive of the Russian and foreign imperialists.

Industry on a big scale is the bulwark of the proletarian revolution in its struggle against the capitalist world.

Imperialism having failed in its direct armed attack upon the Workers' Republic has not given up hope of crushing Soviet Russia. It has only changed its tactics; it has undertaken a flank attack.

The imperialists are marking time. They are watchfully waiting for the day when they will be able to capture Russian industry, destroy the revolution and enslave the toiling masses.

Workers of America — you who are so generously helping the starving in Russia — are you indifferent to the dangers to the proletarian republic? Are you ready to help the Russian workers in their herculean struggle against economic ruin?

Workers of America! Organize yourselves into production units of the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia.

The Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia has for its aim the giving of technical assistance to the Russian workers in their task of economic reconstruction.

The Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia was organized on March

COMRADE LENIN'S SPEECH

(At a meeting of the faction of the All-Russian Conference of Metal Workers held on the 6th of March, Comrade Lenin reported upon the internal and international position of the Soviet Republic. The following remarks are excerpts from his speech.)

Comrades, allow me to interfere somewhat with the ordinary order and touch upon other themes than those on the agenda of your conference, in order to share with you my deductions and opinions upon the question of the most important problems of politics. We address ourselves, as is our ingrained habit, to you who, although not the official representatives of the different government institutions, yet in fact bear a large part of the work of the state. And you all know that the real work in the majority of our government institutions is being carried out by the representatives of the working class, among which the metal workers stand in the front rank.

We have, from the very beginning, stated that we welcome Genoa and that we shall go to it: we never intended to hide the fact, and knew very well that we were going to it as merchants, for trade with capitalist countries (as long as they have not yet gone to pieces) is necessary to us, and that we go there to negotiate politically suitable conditions of trade more correctly and more profitably, and nothing more. This, of course, is no secret for those capitalist countries, whose governments worked out the plan of the Genoa Conference. These governments are well aware that the trade agreements connecting us with a number of capitalist countries are growing in importance, that the number of practical business deals is growing, that detailed plans, are being negotiated by business enterprises, both Russian and foreign; and that most varied combinations have been arranged between the different foreign governments and the different branches of our industry—their numbers at present being very large. Therefore, the practical basis of what will be negotiated in Genoa is well known to the capitalist governments. And if, in addition to this basis, we find a superstructure of varied political arguments, propositions, projects, etc. it must be clearly understood that this is only a superstructure, very well constructed, invented and carried out by those who are interested in the same.

MERCHANTS, NOT VANQUISHED ENEMIES.

The deduction made by Comrade Trotzky, who published his firm appeal instead of diplomatic combinations, was that the international situation should be explained anew to every Red Army man, that is, that the postponement of the Genoa conference was due to the fact that the Italian Government was found to be unstable—which means the danger of a new war. We shall attain the goal; every Red Army man shall understand this. This will be done the more easily seeing that it is extremely difficult to find another such united family, as is the Red Army in Russia, which gets the truth not only from the newspapers, circulars and decrees, but also from its native villages, where it has seen the famine in all its nakedness and devastation, and knows the real cause of this, although it does not peruse the Paris editions of the Menshevik and Social Revolutionary press, which try to attribute these misfortunes to the malignity of the Bolsheviks. It has never before been as staunch as it is at present, in its desire to offer resistance to those that have carried on war against it and helped Kolchak and Denikin. We need have no fears on this account for there is no need to organize new commissions for agitation and propaganda. With regard to Genoa one must be able rigidly to distinguish the important points from those newspaper fables which are being printed by the bourgeoisie: to the latter these fables seem machines, but they do not scare us, for we have come across many of them before, and they are not even worth while wasting a faint smile over them. All attempts to impose conditions upon us as vanquished enemies are empty words, and it is not worth while paying any attention to this either. As merchants, we have started negotiations with foreign firms, and know exactly what is owing us, as well as what we ourselves owe; we also know very well what their lawful profits may amount to, and what figures their extremely high profits may reach. We note the increasing number of propositions; the number of agreements is growing and will still grow, quite independently of whatever frame the figure of the three and four so-called "victorious powers" may shape itself into, they certainly will be the losers from this postponement, for by this procrastination they will only prove to their own people that they do not know themselves what they want, and are suffering from a disease of the will. This disease consists of their utter impossibility to understand economics and politics, which we have been able to estimate more correctly and deeply than they have done. It will soon be ten years since we made this estimation, while the ensuing destruction and devastation do not seem at all clear to the bourgeois governments.

We have already clearly defined our own situation, and only say with firmness that the retreat that we have started, can be stopped and will be stopped. Enough. We clearly see and do not hide the fact the new economic policy is a retreat. We went farther than we could control it, but such is the logic of fighting tactics.

We cannot yet look calmly at the future. We are encircled by many military dangers, of which I have already spoken at length; there are many even greater dangers within the country, where economic dangers exist which are based on the utter ruin of the peasantry, the famine, and the financial chaos. But if war will be imposed upon us we shall know how to fight.

NO MORE COMPROMISES.

Genoa so hangs in the balance that it seems to have no end, and since we have to make so many compromises in our home policy, we must now firmly say: "Enough; no more compromising!" If the capitalists think that we can be drawn further they must be told: "Enough, for tomorrow you will not get anything at all." If the history of the Soviet authority has taught them nothing, then leave them to their own fate. We have done what we could and we have announced it to the whole world. I hope that the coming Party Congress will confirm our determination to go no further on the road of the retreat. The retreat is at an end, and with it we shall change the nature of our work.

NO MORE DELUSIONS.

We must note, however, that up to the present, a certain nervousness, almost a sickness, is noticed in the discussions of this question, for many plans are made and resolutions carried through. I should like to say that Mayakovsky printed in yesterday's number of the "Izvestia", I do

10th, the first production units to the economic front of Soviet Russia. The next group of machinists consisting of the following is leaving for Russia in April.

Lathe hands
Milling machine hands,
Molders for foundry,
Conemakers,
Body makers
Carpenters.

Auto-mechanics, polishers, pattern makers on wood and metal,
Machinists Operators on Turrent-lathes.

Tool makers, Operators and Tool setters of Automatic machinery,
Painters,
Operators of Gittow,
Potter & Johnson,
Warner-Swasey, and Gear cutters,
Gleason and Fellow Gear shapers.

The Russian industries can be re-generated only by the united efforts

of foreign and Russian workers; only their combined skill and experience can save Soviet Russia.

Workers of America! Let us lay the foundation of the proletarian commonwealth by our joint forces with the Russian workers.

Press Bureau of the
Central Bureau, S. T. A. S. R.
Room 303, 110 W. 49th St.,
New York, N. Y.

DINNER PAIL EPICS

By BILL LLOYD.

Right in line with Harding's norm, there comes the "Orphans of the Storm," a film-play that's supposed to show the way that revolutions go. It shows the mad French populace as people who had sought disgrace, who dipped their hands in seething flood of gentle people's blue-blue blood, who were

not belong to those who worship Mayakovsky's poetic talent, for I am emphasize the following. I have accidentally read some poetry of an incompetent judge of it. But I must say that for some time I have not felt such a pleasure, both politically and administratively, as when I read his verses. He makes a laughing stock of meeting and Communists that are everlasting in session, I am no judge of poetry, but I am certain that the political side is perfectly correct. We are really in the situation of people that are everlasting in session, organizing commissions, working out plans—without end. There was a type of that sort in Russian life, the hero of a novel whose name was Oblomov. He lay in bed day and night making endless plans. Much time has elapsed since then, for Russia has undergone three revolutions, and still many Oblomovs remain. It is enough to look at the way we are incessantly meeting-making, how we work in our commissions to say that the spirit of the old Oblomov is still strong with us, that he must be thoroughly washed, scraped, cleaned, thrashed and beaten before any good may be got out of him. We must train ourselves to face our situation without illusions. We do not belong to the crew that writes the word "revolution" with a capital letter as do the Social-Revolutionaries. But we may quote Marx's words: "No less stupidities are made during revolution, but usually even more." We must face these stupidities soberly and without fear—we revolutionaries should at least learn this. There is much that cannot be taken away from this revolution which has finally conquered, and which the whole world recognises, but we should in no way be bashful and nervous. The situation is such at present, that bearing upon the investigations made, we are checking off all that we have done — this check having a very important meaning, and from it we must make our way further. When we are faced with problems of winning victory over the capitalists we must resolutely mark our new path.

QUEST DOMESTIC ENEMIES.

We must construct our organization in such a manner that experts should find themselves at the head of all enterprises. Communists occupying positions as heads of institutions, perfectly honest, tested in the fight for Communism, people that have seen the inside of prisons, but that are devoid of administrative ability should be replaced. They may be endowed with the highest qualities as Communists, but still may be hoodwinked by the merchant. It is useless to leave these efficient, honest Communists, whose loyalty is not to be doubted, in positions that ought to be occupied by alert, honest salesmen, who will probably prove ten times more efficient than their predecessors. This is where the Oblomov of the Russian nation comes to the fore; for we have often appointed for practical work, Communists with perfect qualities, but entirely incompetent to carry out the work entrusted to them. We have gathered extensive material, serious works which would delight the heart of the most pedantic German scientist; we have heaps and heaps of papers, requiring some 50 years' work of the Department of Party History to register and sort them, while in practice, you will not be able to receive an answer from any official as to what responsibilities he bears. The practical application of decrees, of which we have more than necessary, and which we bake with the haste which is so well described in Mayakovsky's verses, is not regulated nor controlled. Are the resolutions concerning responsible Communist workers carried out in your institutions? Have these responsible workers the capacity to put an institution upon a working basis? No, this is nowhere to be seen, and that is why our domestic policy stands at the crossroads. What are commissions and meetings? They are often only a comedy. After we had started the cleansing of the Party, we told ourselves: "Grafters and thieves that have snuggled themselves into the Party must be thrown out"; and the Party has improved since? We have thrown out say a hundred thousand, but this is as yet only the beginning. We shall discuss this question at length at the coming Party Congress. And then I feel sure, that those tens of thousands, who are now organizing so many commissions, while they do not carry any practical work, and are unable to bear such, will undergo a similar fate as the rest. When we shall have thoroughly cleaned our ranks, our Party will then in reality start its real work and will handle it in the same manner as it was able to handle the military question. Of course, this work will probably take more than a year. We must show our unflinching resoluteness with regard to this problem. We need not be afraid that the character of our work is changed. Our worst domestic enemy is the Communist that occupies a responsible (or ordinary) Soviet post, enjoying general respect as an honest person. For he has not learnt to fight with bureaucracy, he cannot struggle with it and even encourages it. We must free ourselves of this foe, and with the help of the conscious workers and peasant masses must be up against the common enemy, as well as against all absurdity and stovelihood which are to be met with everywhere, and must unanimously follow the vanguard of the Communist Party. There can be no hesitation upon that point.

Before concluding, I will sum up. The game at Genoa, the game of leap-frog which is taking place around it, does not make us waver. We shall not be deceived anymore. We shall turn to the businessman, making bargains, continuing our policy of compromises, but the limits are already set. What concessions have already been made to the merchants in our agreements are so to say, a step backward in our legislation, and we shall not budge an inch more.

In connection with this resolution, our most important problems change entirely; especially so in the sphere of internal economic policy. We do not need new decrees, no new institutions, no new methods of strife. What we need is to verify the ability of people and to control the accomplishment of practical work. The next cleansing will tackle all the Communists that imagine themselves administrators. It would be much better that you should turn to agitational and propaganda work, or any other useful work, all you Communists that sit in commissions, wasting time and doing no work, fabricating intricate and useless methods, excusing yourselves by saying that as the new economic policy is in force something new should be invented, while leaving your work to take care of itself. These people do not concern themselves with economizing a kopek where possible and turning the same into double the amount if possible, but waste time making plans and estimates for Soviet billions and even trillions. We intend to turn our weapons against this foe. The control of people and the practical carrying out of work—this is the fulcrum of our whole work, of our whole policy. This is the work of years. We must officially state, on behalf of the Party, that the new nucleus of our work is to reform our ranks. Then will we be as victorious in this new sphere, as we have been in all others which the Bolshevik proletarian power, backed up by the peasant masses, has ever undertaken.

a rabble out for loot, inclined to murder, rape and shoot.

Fact is, if ever folks had cause to overthrow oppressive laws, to pick up gun and pike and lance, it was the working class of France. And I recall in late war days, our churches sang the Marseillaise, and sang it loud and sang it high, in honor of our French ally.

And now, forsooth, why turn about and thus their revolution flout? Why turn history wrong side out and try to down truth with a shout? It's propaganda, sure as shooting, with which our Mister Griffith's looting the pockets of the working folks, so they'll be easy under yokes. He wants to scare you folks away from something like a better day, and spoils what might be a good show to make his propaganda go.

And now the movies take Will Hays and pay him well to spend

his days to make the movies safe for wealth by safeguarding the rich man's health, to keep "Red" thoughts from off the screen and show you things that should be seen, so for the quarter you have gave, you'll be a well-behaved wage-slave.

The working-folk should pick the plays to which they go both nights and days, and they should register a kick when they see films that make them sick. Just let the managers get wise when you know that their films is lies.

Class conscious worker—"What sort of a time did you have at my home last night?"

Friend—"Very fine. Your wife was charming."

Class conscious worker. — "You don't say? I must try to get there some time."

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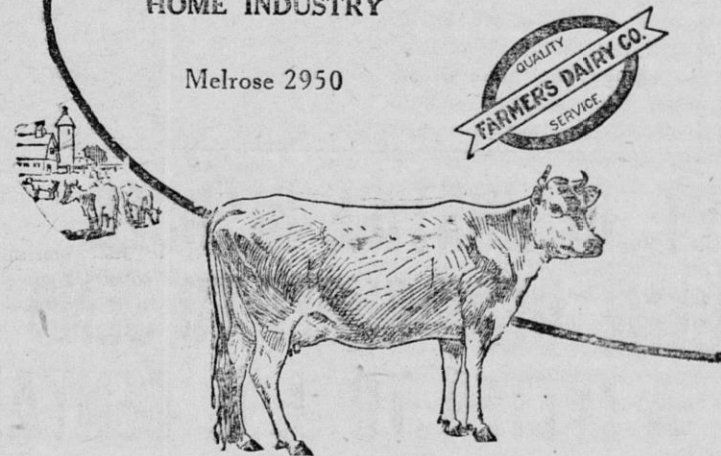
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Trout season is now open. Are you prepared to go? How is your outfit? Will you need any of these—

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Till further notice TRUTH will give FREE a copy of Bishop Brown's book, "Communism and Christianity" to every OLD subscriber who sends in his own yearly renewal and one new sub.

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ONE BUSINESS MAN SAID

I'm tired of prices and profits and sales,
Of paying fees and tax and rent;
For every time a person comes
I leave within his purse a dent;
Or else my money flies away
When someone comes to make me pay.
We worry, you and I and all,
When prices jump or prices fall.

I'm tired of talking of dollars and cents
Of counts and cash and so-percent;
I'm sick of registers and banks
And wish they'd go where Kultur went.
I'm sick of brokers, bills and bums,
Of mansions countenanced by slums;
I'm sick of silks offset by rags,
Of idle rich and cash-less "vags".

I long for a system of justice and joy,
Without this gold, the checks and cents;
A system minus graft and need,
A system built on common sense—
Where each shall work and each shall eat
And each may have a home complete,
To love and live with equal chance—
I'd give my life for this advance.

—HAL BROMMELS.

Slim--A Criminologist

A criminologist is a man (or woman) who wonders why people commit crimes—and whose inability, to answer why, is accepted as a basis for further codes requesting the public to restrain their impulses—

Chicago recently was the mecca of such criminologists and prosecutors in "conclave met" to wonder the why of and, to discuss the question of effective prevention and suppression of professional and predatory aggression upon society.

"Habitual offenders of long prison records are expected to testify regarding the problem from their own special point of view."—Regardless of the fact that their "long prison records" pre-supposes a certain lack of intelligence, (in so far as they are "habitual" and failed to evade the sorrowful consequences of their criminal deed) and therefore, (at this late date) they are disqualified to pass on the cause of their method of making a living.

The masters press says—"This effort to shed light on the crime situation that perplexes American communities should have beneficial results." (emphasis mine). Shed light!—that is rich!—Of the rich by the rich, for the rich. —Perplexes? — We have never been perplexed. Since we were in knee pants we have known that people steal for the same reason that an employer pays two dollars for work that brings him eleven dollars profit. Perplexed? — Never! We know people will steal when unemployment fails to furnish them necessary biscuits—and when they steal, they are sole judge (and jury) of how much they take—this is bad and tends to disorganize business as it now is carried on.

Roscoe Pound, dean of the Harvard law school, a recognized

authority on jurisprudence, has pointed out this fact: "The modern criminal code in Anglo-Saxondom is largely obsolete and ineffective." Many of the basic conceptions of that code imply an "Industrial and Social" condition that long since has vanished.

Today crime is organized as a profession—organized for the purpose of supplying food, clothing and shelter to those who are unable to find in labor sufficient returns to provide these very necessary things (including protection against old age).

"Many men kill and rob for money". They prefer a career of crime to unsteady and irregular employment.—The masters' sonorous voice, "Hurry up, John", has lost its seductiveness in the ears of these former servants; The meager "pay" falls on their sensitive soul and now, we have a problem. Perplexed?—I should say not . . . Clear as mud.

Society is just beginning to realize that soup as a preventative for crime isn't "thick" enough; that the mentality of the criminal must be studied—and his stomach discovered . . .

There is no longer any doubt that numerous persons who habitually break the "Thou shalt not steal" are incapable of being reformed because they lack the "emotions" that "serve" to restrain those "members" of society who are well fed—

To deny these people the right to living wage imperils the "public" needlessly.

The crime problem as it exists today cannot be solved until society undertakes to earn its own living instead of depending on the working class to do all the heavy lifting.

—T-bone Slim.

WHAT NEXT?

With the advent of the radio phone the poor tired farmers can sit on their own porches and have the market-reports, lectures, sermons, and music fresh from the lips.

The Fords and phones and free rural delivery have put some mental life into the farmers but not much. By the time evening comes the average farmer stretches out his weary bones and sleeps. The Ford is used only as a dray to haul chickens, calves or butter. Not often does it carry alert minds in search of information. Too tired to think, too tired to read, too tired to talk, too tired to care about anything except to sleep.

Now comes the radio phone. We have it on authority that a small receiving set consists of a hundred feet of copper wire a few batteries and a cabinet, all of which can be purchased for a reasonable sum at any good electrical shop. Any ordinary person can put up this equipment in an hour. Sound amplifiers attached to the radio receiving instruments make it possible for a group on a farmers porch in Kansas and a group in a Minnesota schoolhouse to listen to a concert given in Baltimore.

Information and pleasure, served on the farmer's doorstep, where he can take it in comfort if his back doesn't ache too much. An elimination of telephone lines and poles and repairs and scraps with the telephone companies. And will it mean exit the "idiocy of the country" that Karl Marx deplored?

It is more probable that the idiocy of the country will become more like the idiocy of the city. As long as the capitalists are in control of industry they will also control the broadcasting stations. And they will permit the farmers to receive such news as they now serve to the city workers in their daily newspapers. Music will be broadcasted to be sure. It may help to soften the hard lot of the toilers and keep them plugging. Campaign speeches of all the capitalist-tools who want soft jobs—these too will be broadcasted. The farmers will be encouraged to hear them.

But the voices of the toilers—the coal diggers; the textile and the steel slaves who speak of cruelty, of hunger, of death caused by the capitalist system—these will not be broadcasted, not yet.

Renewed Agreements

(By The Federated Press)
Chicago. — The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America have renewed their agreement with the Association of Chicago Clothing Manufacturers, including Hart, Schaffner & Marx, preserving for three years the essential conditions for which the union has fought for ten years and which were obtained in Chicago in 1919.

When the negotiations began four months ago the employers submitted 12 demands which struck at the foundations of the organizations. They proposed to increase the hours from 44 to 48; the removal of limitations on the right of hiring and firing and other safeguards of the workers and a 25 per cent cut in wages.

Under the new agreement which has been ratified by the 50,000 members of the Amalgamated in Chicago the 44-hour week is retained without qualification. The rights of the worker are protected as before in the matter of discipline and discharge. No worker can be discharged without just cause. When the union finds that a worker has been unjustly discharged it may bring the case before the impartial machinery, whose decision in the matter is, as before, final and binding on both parties.

Such other rights of management as the distribution of work and workers during slack seasons, are limited as before in such a way as to protect fully the interests of the workers. The principle of

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union preference in hiring and discharge of workers remains unchanged.

The new agreement is signed to run for three years, from May 1, 1922, to April 30, 1925. The old emergency clause, however, which made possible a revision of wages by the board of arbitration whenever either party could prove the existence of an emergency, is omitted from this agreement.

A new provision, replacing the emergency clause, permits either party to raise the question of wages annually on the anniversary of the date of the agreement. If no adjustment can be reached on the matter of wages, either may in good faith terminate the agreement on that anniversary.

For the first time in any industry in the United States the question of an unemployment fund, supported by the industry, has become an issue in the clothing industry of Chicago. The union is permitted by the terms of the agreement to raise within a year the question

of an unemployment fund, and to terminate the agreement good faith, if no satisfactory settlement of this issue is reached.

The demand by the manufacturers for a flat reduction of 25 per cent is met in the agreement by a general reduction of 10 percent modified in the case of cutters and tailors by the establishment of minimum scales of \$35, which brings the general reduction somewhat below 10 percent. Wages of cutters under the new scale range from \$47 to \$39.

What's Your Number?

The present number of TRUTH is 251. If the number on your address slip is below that, you are behind on your subscription and all that is necessary is to send in the renewal. Thank you!

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The square frame on top, which revolves upon the centre-stand, is termed the loop. It is constructed of mahogany, upon which are wound ten turns of a special wire. This constitutes the aerial upon which the incoming radio waves impinge. By turning the loop into the incoming direction of the waves, the best results are to be had. This instrument can be used by any layman without any knowledge whatsoever of radio, but it costs so much to build that it can never be put upon the market.

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TRUTH

Issued Weekly By The West End Labor Association.
J. O. BENTALL, Editor.

Entered as second-class matter November 12, 1920, at the post office at Duluth, Minnesota, under the Act of March 3, 1879.
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THE GERMAN BOMB AT GENOA

Delegates from thirty-two countries who were seated at the conference table at Genoa are up in the air. Bombed by Germany. Germany dared to do what Britain will be forced to do. What all countries will be compelled to do. She recognized Russia and bid for her trade. Germany dared to do it first.

The voices of capitalism shout "underhanded trick", "putting it over on us", "sneaking in" about Germany's action. But Germany is not playing a game of marbles. She is not trying to be clever or smart. Her game is to survive. It is a more strenuous one than marbles. In her effort to survive she reached out to help herself and she did it first.

The representatives of the German government who closed the deal, that wiped the slate clean of former disputes and war claims between Russia and Germany, did not endorse bolshevism. They are as far from espousing bolshevism as they are from embracing their own exploited working people. In respect to this they are in perfect harmony with Lloyd George and other capitalist representatives at Genoa.

The need for Russian raw materials was the driving force that made Germany act, and the need for Germany's manufactured products made Russia accept. The empty stomachs in millions of English workers and the paralyzed factory wheels in "proud England" will move Lloyd George also.

The other alternative—refusal to recognize Russia now would automatically line up most of the other countries of Europe against Germany and Russia and head for another war. The risk is too great. It's too soon. The bodies of those murdered in the last blood fest are still warm. The workers have not forgotten yet. They want work and food, not war.

More slates will be wiped clean of war debts; the treaty of Versailles will be buried. All nations will rush to exploit Russia's resources. Their economic need forces them. Markets will help stabilize capitalism and postpone revolutions. More bombs like the German bomb are in order.

GET READY FOR MAY FIRST

In many cities the plans are already made for a big demonstration on May Day. All the class conscious groups of workers are getting together no matter what they may call their organizations.

In Duluth all Trade Unionists, Industrial Unionists, Socialists and Workers Party members should unite to make this demonstration a success. All who stand for the overthrow of capitalism should be out showing their colors.

Capitalism is the common enemy of all the workers. On this at least the class conscious workers agree however they may differ in regard to the tactics that ought to be used. They are all for the overthrow of capitalism; they are all fighting the boss.

Show the bosses in Duluth on May 1st that the workers are united on that basis. Talk it in your organization, get in communication with other organizations. Make May 1st the biggest showing of a united working class that has ever been made in Duluth.

Let it signify the beginning of a new day for the workers all over the world. A getting together on fundamental principles, a quickening of loyalty to each other, greater courage, and a growth of intelligence that will hasten us towards the goal — the cooperative commonwealth of all the workers.

NEGLECTED CHILDREN

Another investigation has been made. Thousands of children from working-class families land in Juvenile Courts. They are not in school, are not working, hand around pool rooms, form gangs, play pranks, pick up dirt from older loafers, destroy things, steal, land in Juvenile Court. "Why is this?" asked O. F. Lewis, general secretary of the Prison Association of New York.

He ask one hundred questions. And the answers came from various parts of the country showing that in almost every case there was poverty, no facility for wholesome play, but plenty of commercial poolrooms, dance halls and shows. In the majority of cases the blame for the delinquency of the children was placed upon the parents.

There we have it again. So-called experts investigate and place the blame on working-class parents. They expect the parents to bring up children intelligently on less income than would keep the same number of pigs in good condition. Not one word in the survey about the industrial system that robs the millions of producers of the means to provide homes for their children while it permits a few to live in idleness and luxury.

Expecting the workingclass parents to do what the investigators cannot do — what no human beings can do — to slave from dark to dark and to educate, feed and clothe children on a half-living wage.

It cannot be done. With wages so low that it requires both parents to stagger to work like plow-horses in order to get enough to eat, children will become gutter-snipes even in so-called clean little country towns. The wonder is that any become strong and intelligent and fine.

But the investigators report not that the system of industry is the cause. They say to the parents "Shame on you for letting your children run wild." And plan more settlement houses, more playgrounds, more courts, more truant officers.

We say to the parents, "Shame on you if you are making no effort to break the masters' chains which shackle you so that you cannot raise your children decently. Shame on you if you do not form an industrial organization strong enough to break your chains. So that your children at least may have the chance to work untrammelled by exploiters of the profit system.

"The capitalist investigators may class your children as morons. But what of it? Any generation now born or yet to come will not be able to make a greater failure than the morons now in control of industry have made.

"People need clothes, machinery, houses; 6,000,000 idle men beg to make them but find the work-shops doors closed in their faces. The sacrifices of 49,000 American boys in yesterday's war for markets, haunts us. 4,000,000 babes are in factories. They belong in schools or in their mothers' laps. Thousands of women sell their sex for bread. A slum civilization, based on hypocrisy, robbery and murder is what we have now. Give your children a chance even if they are morons they can do better than this."

OUT WITH THE POLITICALS!

If the effort of the friends of amnesty succeeds, May first will witness the release of all the remaining war-time prisoners.

Dispatches from Washington show that independent appeals are being made to the administration from many sources to free the 113 men still held in jail for offenses against the Espionage Act which is now repealed.

Petitions have gone to the President from large groups of Congressmen, from Labor Unions, from church bodies and from lawyers who have reviewed the cases of men in jail and believe them unjustly imprisoned.

The most touching appeal is made by the twenty children, sons and daughters of the prisoners on their way to Washington to ask for their fathers release.

The reasons, on which the present demand for amnesty is based, are outlined by the Civil Liberties Union in a statement recently presented to the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives before which a resolution for amnesty is now pending.

The men in jail, the statement shows, are guilty of no overt act against persons or property; they are charged with no offenses beyond those of the men who were pardoned at Christmas time. In every other country men convicted of similar war-time offenses have been freed. The Espionage Act under which these men were convicted has been repealed. The practices of the Department of Justice at the time of their conviction has been shown even by Senatorial investigation to have been unjust and illegal.

All liberal minded individuals and groups; all class-conscious workers; all who believe in justice are united in demanding that the policy of the government in regard to war offenders be corrected without further delay.

FRANCE AT GENOA

The Genoa conference is convening and the Russian delegates to that convention arrived in the dead hour of the night. They are guarded by the local military to prevent attacks by fanatics. This convention attracts the attention of the world because on its success depends the future of the world for the next ten years. L. Krassine the Russian representative to the convention, says: "France is most insistent of all nations that we restore 'private property' in Russia. She intends to demand that we restore all confiscated lands to their former owners, irrespective of and from the fact that the land owners of Russia comprised but one tenth of the whole people. To that demand there is but one answer. France, during her revolution, confiscated the lands of the ruling classes, and France, after the revolution, did not restore them."

"We in Russia have done what France did 150 years ago. France was condemned then as we are now, but no one will dare deny that the redistribution of the confiscated lands among the peasants of France has made France the richest country per capita in the world. What France has done for her children we can do. We, too, hold the great ambition to be the richest country per capita in all the world. All we ask is for France to attend to her own business and not meddle in ours. How would you Americans like it if France or any other country came to your home land and demanded that you make and unmake laws to please the Frenchmen at the expense of your own countrymen? Ask yourself that question and you will get a true outline on what the Genoa conference is all about."

"THE RIGHT WAY"

Thomas Mott Osborne's prison play "The Right Way" came to Duluth. We saw it an felt it's grip. Osborne has done a wonderful piece of work in changing prison conditions. The picture shows this improvement in a forceful way.

We heard J. F. Glynn, an ex-convict, speak. He said, in substance, this: "Give a fellow a chance. Who are you that you should judge? He is in prison, but are you sure he is guilty. Do you know the reasons; if he is guilty? Are you God?"

It grips. But nevertheless we came away unsatisfied. We had the same feelings that we have when we view a fine up-to-date sanitary factory and are urged to note the difference between this factory and a filthy fire trap.

We admit the advantages of the modern factory but it is still to us, today, an exploiting shop — a more scientific, more efficient, better paying place in which to exploit men.

So with all of Osborne's modern methods the prison still remains one of the means of suppression that the owning class uses against the working class. It is a place for the poor who cannot hire good lawyers and bribe jurymen and buy witnesses and judges. It is used to pen up some of the poor wrecks that the capitalist system has produced. It is also used to pen up those who become very active in working to destroy that system.

We wish these facts had been told, instead of showing a rich man's son going to prison. That is untrue. If it occurred it would be an accident and he would be let out immediately. However since the movies are now controlled by the owning class it is not strange that these facts are not brought out.

VOTE CATCHING TRICKS

The trickery of lawmakers who are out for votes has again been exposed. In California the legislature passed a law prohibiting all Japanese from holding land in the state.

The constitution, which is supposed to be the office-seekers' and lawmakers' Bible, says plainly that anyone born in the United States is a citizen and forbids any state in the union to pass laws "abridging the privileges or immunities of citizens". If a person of Japanese descent is born in this country he is a citizen even tho some may not like the color of his skin, the slant of his eyes, the long hours he will work for a pittance, or any of his personal habits or characteristics. He is entitled to all the privileges that any other working class citizen is entitled to — including the privilege of tying himself up to a piece of land if he so desires.

Did the lawmakers not know this? Or is the constitution only for so-called radicals and not for lawmakers when it interferes with their meat tickets?

The supreme court of California in a recent case held that this law was void. Whatever the judges motives were for the decision they at least will have to face some of the criticism that the lawmakers tried to avoid by bluffing the voters.

Great writers have not mean souls. They do not limit their affections. They pity all suffering, strive to soothe it. They take compassion on the poor players who perform in the comic tragedy, or the tragic-comedy, of destiny. Pity is the very basis of genius.

—ANATOLE FRANCE.

TWO LETTERS

Editor of TRUTH—

Dear Sir; I as a worker am interested in all movements that tend to improve our conditions and in view of the present coal strike I would like to have your opinion upon this matter. Just how can we in Duluth, give any material aid to the miners in this affair? —C.

Dear Sir:—

Your question "How can we in Duluth give material aid to the miners?" is practical. It is a question that every worker ought to be asking himself. I take it for granted that you are already tied up with some working class organization. If that organization has funds why not advocate sending some to the strike head-quarters at Indianapolis, Indiana, to be used by the strikers for their families?

The miners are bound to lose because, as you doubtless know, the government will help the operators any time that the operators need help in the fight. However this is not the last fight the miners will put up. There will be many more for them as well as for the rest of the workers before we shall see the end of capitalism.

Therefore any intelligence that the workers may gain from this struggle will help the miners materially in the long run just as it will help the whole working class.

If you are an I. W. W. you have already learned the big lessons of industrial organization but you will need to work to remove some prejudices held by some I. W. W. against the Russian workers. As a group in Duluth, they did not contribute a cent towards the relief of the starving Russians. Could anything be more reactionary?

If you are a trade unionist your task is bigger still. You have not only to educate the rank and file to the advantages of industrial unionism but you have the task of getting rid of the highly paid officials who betray the workers to the owning-class every time. The miners are learning this lesson. If they learn it thoroughly then all their present hardships will not be in vain. So my answer is "send your money now to encourage but do not neglect the organization work. That will give most material aid in the long run." —THE EDITOR.

WHERE TRUTH STANDS

We are sending out many sample copies these days in the hope of widening the reading circle of TRUTH. We do not wish to be misunderstood so we repeat what has been said before and what must be said again. Those who see TRUTH for the first time will be glad to know just where it stands. It ought to be easy to decide then whether they wish it to come again or not.

TRUTH openly declares for the overthrow of the present capitalist system. It does not believe in patching it up. If you think this decaying system can be patched up you will not like TRUTH.

TRUTH stands four square for the industrial form of organization on the economic field. It realizes that the workers must adopt such methods as will give them power to demand their rights, and demand them in an effective way. The workers must also be trained to take full charge of industry when the capitalist system has ceased to function.

TRUTH stands four square for Communism. It real-

MODES OF ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

By N. BUKHARIN

(This article is taken from "Pravda" of Feb. 8, 1922.)

The system of economic relations now evolving in our country is commonly called "State Capitalism". But economic conditions with us are so complicated that it would be difficult to comprehend them in a single fixed conception. Nor has the expression "State Capitalism" that significance in economic literature which has recently been given it in our Russian literature. Let us attempt here to get a clear idea of the various kinds of economic life now existing and evolving in our country:

Enterprises of the Proletarian State.

We here include all enterprises that have been nationalized by the Proletarian State. These are state monopolies, but by no means state capitalistic monopolies, for in a state capitalistic monopoly the bourgeoisie is the owner of the enterprises. With us, on the other hand, the working class is the owner of the nationalized enterprises, and as the character of the production methods is determined by property relations, it is clear that the technical term "state capitalistic enterprise" cannot be applied to an establishment that is owned by the working class. On the other hand, such an enterprise is not yet a socialistic production unit in the proper sense of the word. The conception of "socialistic economy" presupposes a strictly applied planfulness throughout the whole economic process, while in our country, especially under the new economic policy, the element of planfulness lags far behind that of adaptation to the general market for commodities.

A capitalistic form of business management ("production on a paying basis", production for the commodity market, etc.) is not sufficient to make an enterprise a capitalist enterprise, in the sense of capitalist ownership.

Enterprises of Mixed Type.

To this class belong enterprises in which the State appears as an owner together with capitalist groups. In the so-called mixed enterprises a portion of the shares belongs to the Proletarian State, while the rest belongs to foreign or Russian capitalists. It is quite clear that enterprises of this type are not state capitalistic enterprises, nor can they be considered as purely proletarian establishments. The owners in this case are both the workers and the capitalists. The surplus value created in these enterprises goes partly into the pockets of the Workers' State and partly into those of the capitalistic partners. In the general evolution of economic life there will ensue a constant conflict of control within any specific enterprise, and as the economic power of the proletariat increases, the share owned by the capitalist groups will be pushed more and more into the background. The Proletarian State will determine the course them in the same manner as, for instance, the great banks and trusts conduct a number of stock corporations in a capitalistic state.

Concessionaire Enterprises and Leases

In the establishments the property relation is the following: the Workers' State is here the owner, but not the complete owner, as the concessionaire, as well as the lessee, invests production devices of his own in the production process, himself importing machinery, constructing new factory buildings, obtaining production tools. In the majority of these cases the initial capital will be the property of the Workers' State. Surplus value obtained in these establishments will be divided into two parts, and the class struggle proceeding within the enterprises will find its expression in the relative size of these fractions of the surplus value.

Private Capitalistic Enterprises Controlled by the Proletarian State.

To this class belong all capitalistic enterprises in the

TO LABOR

(By Charlotte Perkins Gilman)

Shall you complain who feed the world?
Who clothe the world?
Who house the world?
Shall you complain who are the world,
Of what the world may do?
As from this hour
You use your power,
The world must follow you.
The world's life hangs on your right hand,
Your strong right hand,
Your skilled right hand;
You hold the world in your hand—
See to it what you do!
Or dark or light,
Or wrong or right
The world is made by you.
Then rise as you never rose before,
Nor hoped before,
Nor dared before,
And show as never was shown before,
The power, that lies in you!
Stand all as one
Till right is done!
Believe and dare and do!

izes that there can be no middle-of-the-road arrangement in the economic world. All the earth must belong to all the workers. All the people of the earth must be workers and not some shirkers. No loafing by any class and no advantage taken by any class over the weak and helpless.

TRUTH is in line with the Third International and supports Soviet Russia and the world revolution. It is convinced that Communism cannot thrive in any one country as long as capitalism attacks it on all sides. That Communism must be international and thus develop into its full fruition.

TRUTH declares that the working class must capture the capitalist state and establish their own state till the class antagonisms have been destroyed and till there remains no further need for the state. During this period of transition there must be the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. It is folly to think that the capitalist class will give up possession of the wrongfully owned industries without a struggle. In this struggle there must be a disciplined working class and a clear visioned and firm leadership. The task is no Sunday-school play and no lazy man's job. It will mean sacrifice and hardship and much study and much training. The workers must prepare for this.

It is to reach the workers with this message that TRUTH exists.

It is for this that a small group of faithful workers in Duluth sacrifice time and money. They think it is worth while because they believe it will hasten the day that will free mankind from the oppression of capitalism.

proper sense of the word, in other words, enterprises whose owners are limited to capitalist groups or individual capitalist entrepreneurs. The development of these establishment will be regulated more or less from the outside: by the State Bank, the credit system, money circulation, the laws of the Proletarian State, etc.

Petty Bourgeois Economy and its Organizations.

These embrace the establishments of the small producers, home workers, arts and crafts, and peasants, who are the best soil for the development of purely bourgeois capitalist conditions. These are the fundamental forms of economic life as we meet with them in the Soviet Republic.

A very important question must here be touched upon. The entire system of economic relations in Russia is considered as a whole, to which the great capitalistic organizations are opposed on the world market. This confronts us with the following question: Conditions on the world market may come to a point where a certain portion of the surplus value created by the Russian national economy flows in one form or another into the pockets of the foreign bourgeoisie (payments to foreign States, losses in international commodity exchange due to the weakness of our social-economic situation, etc.)* This circumstance, a result of Russia's as yet weak position in world economy, is by no means a proof of the capitalistic character of our national industry. This circumstance is only another indication that the process of our economic development is simultaneously a characteristic process of class struggle. Within Russia this struggle takes the shape of competition between national and private enterprise, the shape of a struggle for better conditions in concessions and leaseholds, etc. In the field of world economy this struggle assumes the form of a struggle for better, more advantageous conditions in trade agreements, loans, etc. In the evolution of economic life an increase of that portion of the surplus value that goes to the Proletarian State is inevitable.

The economic literature of Western Europe considers "State Capitalism" to be the highest stage in the development of capitalism, the stage at which all production instruments have been concentrated in the hands of the bourgeois State, which is the most perfect and powerful organization of the capitalist class. As may be seen from the above, our State Capitalism is of an entirely different character. Our economic system may become "true" state capitalism if we reach the point where in the course of the class struggle, both in the field of the process of production, as well as in the field of political relations, the power of command drops out of the hands of the working class. But if this great historical antagonism is decided in favor of the proletariat, it will transpire that the capitalist groups will have played in our economic life only the part of capitalistic specialists serving the working class against their own will and their own desires. The variety of economic types in Russia is a fact in our economic life that may not be neglected. For this reason, we must pay particular attention, in estimating the functions of the trade unions in the new economic policy, to the varied inner construction of our national economy. It is self-evident that the tasks and methods of work of our trade unions will have to adapt themselves to the types of these economic forms. The grading of the economic types will determine the nature of the tasks, the forms of organization and the methods of work, of the trade unions.

SOVIET RUSSIA.

* It thus appears that even enterprises exclusively controlled by the workers produce a portion of surplus value that escapes the working class.