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SOVIET RUSSIA

PICTORIAL



A GRAPHIC
MONTHLY REVIEW
OF RUSSIAN AFFAIRS

MAR.
1923

“BIG FATHER SOVIET”

By Anna Louise Strong

MOSCOW ON NOVEMBER 7

By Charles Recht

HOW I GOT TO RUSSIA

By Isadora Duncan

AZEV: SUPER-SPY

MARCH:

The Month of Revolutions

20¢

Union of Socialist Soviet Republics

FOUR Socialist Soviet Republics have been merged to form a Union. They are Russia, the Ukraine, Transcaucasia and White Russia. Two other independent Soviet Republics—Khiva and Bokhara—are, for the present at least, not included in the Union, solely because they are national Soviet and not Socialist Soviet republics.

The Union will not begin to function until the treaty establishing it shall have been ratified by the First Union Congress. The history of the merging in its briefest form is this: The motion for a Union was brought before the Tenth All-Russian Congress of Soviets. A delegation representing Soviet Russia was designated to meet delegations of the other republics to draft the treaty. This Constituent Congress met on December 30, with Kalinin presiding. It adopted a treaty and arranged for the election of the First Union Congress. The treaty now needs the ratification of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and of the First Union Congress to make it effective.

The establishment of the Union, however, may be accepted as a final act, in view of the unanimity of opinion in favor of the step in all parts of the republics affected. It is well to consider here: first, the conditions which led to the formation of the Union; and second, the form of organization as fixed by the treaty.

The movement towards union was initiated some months ago by the Azerbaijan, Armenian and Georgian Republics, and was soon joined by the Ukraine and White Russia. It was motivated by the growing belief that former treaty conventions binding the Socialist Soviet states were by this time inadequate, and that joint legislative and administrative effort had become a necessity. Three basic reasons may be cited in support of this belief.

1. The extreme poverty in material resources of the republics makes the pooling of resources essential. It would permit a more effective exploitation of economic potentialities.

2. The economic interdependence of the republics is an actual and historical fact, whereas the boundaries do not necessarily correspond to economic differences. Considerations of foreign trade and policy enter under this head. In their relation to foreign capital—as in their relation to foreign intervention—unity was inevitable.

3. The unity of means of transport and communication, the development of which had to be essentially on an All-Russian scale.

In the Union, as already indicated, Transcaucasia enters as a single unit: likewise the other three component republics. The respective Commissariats for War (and the Admiralty), Transport, Foreign Affairs, Foreign Trade and Posts and Telegraphs will be fused into corresponding single Commissariats for the entire Union. Each uniting republic will retain its own Commissariat for Finance, Economy, Food, Labor, and Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, but these will act under the direction of corresponding Union Commissariats. The remaining Commissariats—Home Affairs, Justice, Education, Agriculture, etc.—whose functions depend upon the peculiarities of language, culture, tradition, and agricultural methods of the separate republics, will in each case be entirely independent of the Union administration, and answerable solely to the Council of People's Commissaries and Central Executive Committees of their respective republics.

Entry into the Union is voluntary. Rights of all are equal and each retains the right to withdraw from the Union.

At the Constituent Congress at which the four republics were represented, Le-

nin was elected honorary chairman. A presidium of 25 delegates was chosen, headed by Kalinin. Speaking in behalf of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, Smidovich enlarged upon the significance of the Union, stressing, however, the fact each republic retains its independence and the right to leave the Union.

Stalin reported on the election statute for the Union. At its Congresses, every 125,000 population will be represented by one delegate. The Central Executive Committee of the Union will be composed of 371 members, chosen in numerical proportion to populations so that Russia will have 170; the Ukraine 68; Transcaucasia 26, and White Russia 7. The Central Executive Committee will meet at least three times a year.

More than fifty various nationalities will be included in this Union, the Transcaucasian as well as the Russian republic embracing a great number of autonomous republics and territories.

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THE NEWLY-ELECTED ALL-RUSSIAN CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(P. & A. Photo)

March: The Month of Revolutions

AMONG all the upheavals in history the November revolution occupies a place apart. It was the first successful rebellion in which the underdog was not merely used as cannon-fodder in the struggle of contending factions of the master classes. And as if to mark this distinction it even broke with the time-honored tradition of the revolutionary calendar. It discarded the month of March, which in this respect seemed to hold a privileged place among the other months of the year.

MARCH, 44 B. C.

It was in the month of March, 44 B. C. that Brutus and Cassius with the killing of Caesar started what is commonly called a losing fight for republican freedom against monarchist tyranny. Caesar has been dead for nearly two thousand years, but the impressive legend still inspires one generation of high-school boys after another. For the legend is more beautiful than the historical fact. The republican heroes were only the spokesmen of the aristocratic slaveholders. These resented Caesar's attempts to consolidate his own power by easing the lot of the popular masses through



Above—"The Captives," by Käthe Kollwitz, based on the frustration of the Peasants' Revolt in 1525.

Below—"A March Day," by Max Klinger, based on the revolution of March, 1848, in Berlin.



the restriction of the nobility's old freedom to appropriate all the loot and to starve the rest of the population.

MARCH, 1525

It was in March that fifteen hundred years later, in 1525, the German peasants, under the leadership of the Christian Communist Thomas Münzer, formulated their famous "Twelve Points" in which they demanded the abolition of serfdom. Their revolt was crushed with real German thoroughness. The German peasant is a free and well-to-do citizen now, and a vicious enemy of the working class at that . . .

MARCH, 1848

It was in March, 1848, following the lead of the February Revolution of Paris, that the dissatisfied middle classes in practically every country in Europe, led by the students and supported by the workers, rose against the absolutist system maintained in the interest of a small clique of noblemen, financiers and clergymen. Victorious in the beginning, the cause of bourgeois democracy was checkmated later by the more fortunate Kornilovs of their time. But it finally triumphed with the development of capitalism, and now the very same students, the grandsons of the fighters of 1848, are the advance guard of bourgeois oppression in its struggle against the rising working class.

MARCH, 1871

It was in the same month twenty-three years later that the workers and the petty-bourgeoisie of the French capital rose after a lost war with Prussia and proclaimed the Commune of Paris. A mixture of proletarian socialism and petty-bourgeois patriotism, torn by the various cross-currents of socialist and near-socialist thought, it was—aside from the Paris June insurrection of 1848—

(Concluded on Page 52)

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(Formerly Soviet Russia)

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF

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Published Monthly

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Devoted to spreading information about Russia, with the specific purpose of informing American readers on the institutions and conditions in that country, so that they may feel the necessity of bending every effort to fight the famine and its consequences, which threaten to destroy the Revolution and its achievements.

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EDITORIALS

Taking Sides

THE situation in the Ruhr and in the Near East has again focussed the attention of Europe on Moscow. And numerous are no doubt those who in their hearts are hoping that the Red Army will take a hand in both impending conflicts. From press reports we know already that Soviet Russia is not anxious to go to war. She needs a breathing spell for economic recovery which would be hopelessly compromised for many years by a new war. Besides, participation in the present tangle would place her in a curious position. She might have to fight with Germany and England against France, and at the same time with Turkey and France against England. She might have to be instrumental in helping Ludendorff to the saddle—the same Ludendorff who for the last four years was annually repeating his proposal to the Allies to head an international intervention army against Soviet Russia. And she might have to collaborate in establishing a strong Franco-Turkish Empire in the Near East, the first step of which would be to rob Russia of its oil fields in the Caucasus . . . For all these reasons Russia in all probability will remain an onlooker—unless she is directly attacked and will have to defend her own skin.

Two Attitudes

THOSE opposing the recognition of Soviet Russia have proclaimed repeatedly that America must not extend its recognition as long as the fundamental tenets of the Russian regime were in conflict with American conceptions of popular government and honesty. As Dr. Frank Crane—the syndicated expression of Ameri-

can public opinion—put it some time ago: "The world is not going to stand for a Russian Government that is not based upon the will of the people." The world nowadays presumably is democratic and does not tolerate tyranny of any kind. The world is also of the opinion that no government must be allowed to "disregard the canons of common honesty. It must pay its debts." Mr. Gompers used to add to this that Americanism stood for freedom whereas the Bolsheviks have completely enslaved the Russian workers.

In the meantime Mussolini and his cohorts have dealt with Italian democratic institutions in a way that is generally known. Then came the statement that Italy was unable to meet her obligations, which was tantamount to a refusal to pay her debts. And finally there arrived a report, in the *New York World* (February 3), by a correspondent unusually friendly to the Fascists, declaring that *payment* would have to be made by "exporting to the United States manual labor, this country's richest resource."

But no demand for cutting diplomatic relations with Italy has as yet been made by the aforementioned champions of democratic principles and enemies of slavery.

Test of Time

SHORTLY before his resignation Lloyd George made one of his most stinging remarks about Soviet Russia. He abandoned the well-worn argument of Russia's "menace to civilization" and similar amenities of his colleague Winston Churchill and of his other comrades in the White International. For the vituperation he substituted a compliment, saying that the Bolsheviks have saved Europe from revolution by giving the world an object lesson in the terrible calamities that must follow in the wake of social revolution. In his modesty he absolutely disclaimed any credit for himself in bringing about this result.

There is no denying that the misery in Russia resulting from more than eight years of wars, revolutions, interventions, blockades and drought has slackened the revolutionary impetus of the masses in many countries. This was particularly the case in Germany, where the respectable leaders of patriotic and pacifist Socialism never tired of laying the blame for Russia's sad economic situation exclusively upon the Bolsheviks. So well did they succeed with this specious argument that the German working class voluntarily disarmed and delivered itself hand and foot to its German and Allied masters. Now the standard of living of the Russian workers is gradually improving, while the condition of the German workers is going from bad to worse. The German workers have now time to consider whether the revolutionary course of Russia or the pacific submission to German and Allied "democracy" would have been the better way for them.

Our April issue will be especially rich in its contents. It will include an article by Rose Pastor Stokes, one by Earl R. Browder on "Russian Trades Unionism," and other absorbing features. Advise your friends so that they may share the advantage of reading the issue.

Well Started

THE undertaking by organized labor in America to clothe Russia has passed into that blessed state which we may term Actuality—entrance into which is too often impossible for our workers. The Russian-American Industrial Corporation has transmitted a quarter of a million dollars to Russia, wherewith to help equip and to put upon an efficient running basis the clothing industry. The amount represents the co-operative investment of thousands of workers. Their money, they now know definitely, is already functioning to clothe the ragged population of the first Workers' Republic.

When such shrewd financial groups as the Sinclair Oil or Barnsdall Oil make contracts with the Soviet Government, there is little call to enlarge further on the stability of the Soviet regime, or the safety of the quarter of a million. Instead we want to direct attention to the fact that the money sent by the clothing corporation is vastly more than an investment. It is a tangible bond of mutual understanding and mutual trust between the workers of Russia and the workers of America. The corporation, when viewed thus, assumes an almost symbolic importance.

Let us work together for the sending of another large sum!

Distinguished Guests

SOME time ago Japan decided that it was best for her health to evacuate Siberia and to live in peace with Russia. This was a bitter pill for the Whites of Vladivostok to swallow. They had to abandon the scene of their depredations and seek cover with their loot in strange lands. Those who were high in the favor of the supreme command of the invaders, like the brothers Merkulov, the dictators of Vladivostok, were permitted to enter Japan and to deposit "their" gold in the banks of Tokio or Kobe. But not all of them could rob gold which could be deposited, and not all of them were admitted. Thus Admiral Stark left Vladivostok with a fleet of Russian ships and tried in vain to get shelter in Japanese or Chinese ports. The Soviet Government promised him amnesty, provided he returned the ships which Russia needs badly.

The Admiral could hardly have refused for fear that the Soviet Government would not keep its word. He need only have recalled that Wrangel's Chief of Staff, General Slashchev, who was pardoned about a year ago, now holds a high place in the Red Army command. The refusal of the Admiral was prompted by other reasons. These reasons are explained in a note by Litvinov, Acting Commissar of Foreign Affairs (in the absence of Chicherin) to the American State Department. The note tells of large stores of furs which were "seized" by Stark before his departure and which he doubtless will try to sell in America. The American authorities have already permitted him to enter the harbor of Manila, Philippines, and there is little probability that entrance to the United States will be denied to him should he ask for it. For whatever his record in the matter of handling other people's or his country's property—his "principles" are unassailable.

A Plea for Peace

The 10th All-Russian Soviet Congress to All Peoples of the World:

THE 10th All-Russian Soviet Congress, the supreme legislative organ of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, once more solemnly reiterates, in the name of millions of proletarians and peasants, its will to peace and to peaceful work.

The workers and peasants of the R. S. F. S. R. again raise a warning voice against the renewed threats of war, the orgy of armaments among the capitalist governments, the disgrace of the Versailles treaty, and the colonial machinations of the bourgeois states.

Workers of the world! All of you who long for peaceful work, join your forces to those of Soviet Russia for the attainment of our goal of peace, of salvation for humanity from annihilating war.

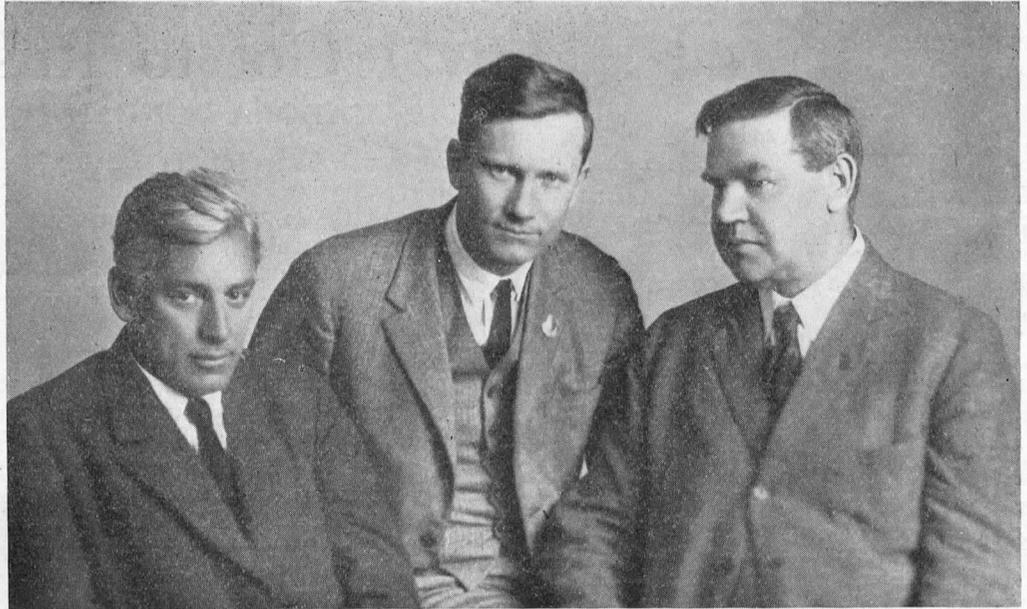
The Soviet power, rising out of a revolution, began its activity in the year 1917 with an appeal for the conclusion of a just and universal peace. Since that time it has continued to emphasize this fundamental principle of its foreign policy. In the year 1919 it applied to the United States with proposals for peace. In February 1919, when troops of the "great powers" occupied our revolutionary land, it proposed to take up peace negotiations with all the "allies". It made repeated overtures of peace to Poland and Rumania. At Genoa Soviet Russia and her allies proposed general disarmament. When this proposal was declined, the proletarian government attempted to carry out the policy of disarmament at least within the limited sphere of the states lying nearest Soviet Russia, with the hope of later extending this sphere. But even this hope was blasted by the refusal of Russia's neighbors to agree to an actual limitation of their armies.

Despite all this, Soviet Russia trod the path of disarmament alone, and within a short time reduced her army from 5 millions to 800,000, and is continuing to disarm by a further reduction to 600,000 men. She has thus proved her will to peace by actual deeds. Not by words, not by resolutions, not by promises, but by deeds.

To-day, when the peoples are languishing under the consequences of the imperialist war, when the greatest economy in all materials is of the utmost necessity, the policy of the bourgeois governments is doubly criminal, for they plunge the peoples into ever increasing misery instead of aiding them to peace and peaceful work.

The 10th Soviet Congress solemnly confirms the peace policy hitherto pursued by Soviet Russia, and appeals to all to support this policy. All peoples must demand peace from their governments. The workers of the whole world must unite to defend themselves against the danger of threatened war. Peace at all costs must be ensured for humanity, tortured and tormented, exploited and starved.

Chairman: M. KALININ.
Secretary: A. ENUKIDZE.



AMERICAN COMMUNISTS IN MOSCOW
Max Eastman — James P. Cannon — William D. Haywood.

Russia in the American News

THE ocean liner "Madonna" docked in South Brooklyn, N. Y., on February 2, with 449 Russian Whites in the steerage, among them 112 Tsarist officers, including 3 nice, meek old generals. Many of them wore tattered uniforms, through no sentimental attachment, but merely because they had no other clothes. Obliging as always, they told the reporters that the Bolshevik regime will soon fall again, and that His Highness General Wrangel will then be the chief military officer.

Most of these refugees are from the Wrangel forces. They come here directly from Constantinople. Many, however, boast of having fought with Denikin and other counter-revolutionaries as well. What could be sweeter than such a batch of Bolshevik-haters from the point of view of those who stand guard over the nation? Yet they found that the Red contagion has affected even these, since the first act of 69 of them was to launch a signed manifesto complaining against the ship stewards, the rations and other things.

The arrival of this batch of rags and rage follows close upon the landing of about 1,000 Whites from Vladivostok, headed by Admiral Stark, in the Manila harbor, Philippines. The Stark party arrived in several ships belonging to the Soviet Government, after having been refused admission by Japan and China. Uncle Sam, however, perhaps in a desire to make up for his record of deporting Russians, accepted these with wide open arms, cares for them most paternally, and even protects them against the Bolshevik demand for the ships in which they fled.

* * *

This record of hospitality will not be complete without mention of the fact that immigration rules were stretched to admit an anti-Red by the name of Leonid Blagoveshchensky, formerly an officer of the Russian Black Sea Fleet. He has been admitted to the United States for a year, under bond.

* * *

Bishop Nuelsen, who headed a Methodist mission to Russia, asserts upon his return that "if anyone thinks he will await the overthrow of the Soviet Government, he will have to wait a long while. For it is as firmly established today as any government in Europe." The bishop also stated that such of the Russian clergy as have been sentenced by the Soviet regime, have been imprisoned not for their religion but for political offenses.

* * *

Isadora Duncan is heart and soul with Soviet Russia. She started on her way back to the Workers Republic on February 3 in the earnest determination to devote her whole energy to the Soviet school of dancing. These sentiments she expressed again and again in the course of an interview with a correspondent for the F. S. R. Press Service.



Left—Ugorevich, Commander of the Red troops of the Far Eastern Republic, speaking in Vladivostok after the Japanese left. (Wide World)

How I Got to Russia

By ISADORA DUNCAN

"A TELEGRAM from Lunacharsky, Master of Beaux Arts, Moscow, June 1921, to Isadora Duncan, Paris:—

"Come to Moscow. We will give you a school of one thousand children. You may carry out your ideas on a big scale."

Isadora Duncan's reply to Lunacharsky's invitation:—

"I accept your invitation. Will be ready to sail from London July first."

I went to Russia filled with enthusiasm for the ideals of Communism. To the Soviet government I wrote the following letter:—

"I will come to Moscow. I will take charge of a Government School and teach a thousand children to dance according to my ideas. I will give representations of my art for the people, and I will create for them music and dance festivals to celebrate your great holidays, to express their joy and their courage. . . . I will give you my work and my life on condition that I shall never again see or hear of money—in exchange for my work. . . . I want a work-shop, a home for myself and my pupils, with simple food, simple tunics and an opportunity to give our best work. I am sick of Bourgeois Commercial Art.

"It is tragic that I have never been able to give my work to the people for whom it has been created. Instead I have been forced to sell my soul by bits—at \$3.00 a seat. I am sick of the modern theater, which resembles more a house of prostitution than a temple of art—where artists who should occupy the place of High Priests, are reduced to the manoeuvres of shopkeepers, selling their tears and their very souls at so much a night. I want to dance for the masses, for the working people who need my work and have never had the money to come to me. And I want to dance for them free, knowing that they have not been brought to me by clever advertising, out of curiosity, but because they really want and love what I can give them. If you accept me on these terms I will come and work for the glory and

beauty and future of the Russian Republic and your children."

This was the letter which Lunacharsky, Master of Beaux Arts, read and accepted. He is an adorable man with inspiration and genius and one who believes that on this earth dreams may be realized. He is never better than when talking to 5,000 people and painting to them the future life of Communist Russia—a vision of Utopia—and what an ovation he receives. . . . These people really love him. . . . That is what America does not seem able to understand—that the masses in Russia care for an idea more than for comfort or material well-being. A people who gladly walk two hours in Russian snow, and sit in a theater five degrees below zero, to listen to the words of Lunacharsky or Lenin.

I went to Russia accompanied only by my pupil Irma and my faithful maid, Jeanne, who though livid with fear would not desert me. We had been told such terrible things about these Russians, that as the train passed the red flag at the frontier we would not have been surprised if the pictured Bolshevik in his red flannel shirt and black beard, with a knife between two sets of white teeth, had appeared to cut our throats, just for an evening's amusement. We all confessed to shivers of excitement, and were rather a bit disappointed when there appeared only a very timid young man with grey eyes and spectacles, and informed us that he was a Communist student, speaking six languages, and asking us in each how he might serve us. . . . He was very shy and not at all our conception of a Bolshevik, and I noticed that when he spoke of Lenin, his grey eyes blazed behind their glasses and his slight figure trembled with enthusiastic devotion. He told us stories of the stoical sufferings of the Communists, and the repulses received by the White Armies which savored of miracles and the Holy Wars. . . .

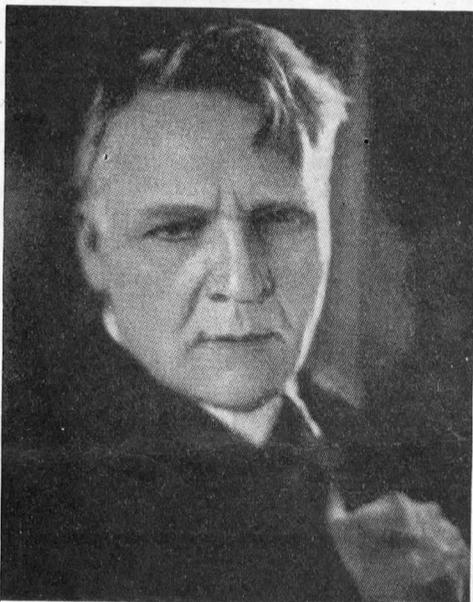
Our first night at Moscow we left Jeanne in the one room available at the hotel, and in the one bed, weeping hysterically because she had seen *deux grand rats*, and we spent the night with our little Bolshevik wandering about the mystically beautiful city of many churches and golden domes. We talked more and more inspiredly of the future of Communism, until, by dawn, Irma and I were also ready to die for Russia. . . . Then some clouds blew up and it began to rain on us. Our guide seemed supremely indifferent to this, and also to the fact that we had not eaten in fourteen hours. . . . I found, after meeting others, that Communists are often indifferent to heat, cold or hunger, or to many material sufferings, as were the early Christian martyrs. They live so entirely in ideas that they simply don't bother about these things—but Irma and I were about worn out, and we tramped back to the hotel and to a box of biscuits and caviar. . . .

Honors for Russian Composer

THE Soviet Government has bestowed upon the famous composer, Alexander Glazunov, the title of "People's Artist of the Republic," in recognition of his devoted services to the people. As director of the Petrograd Conservatory, Glazunov remained at his post during all the harrowed years of war, blockade and famine. Lunacharsky, in a speech of greeting, lauded both the composer's music and his public spirit.

Moscow Literary Weekly

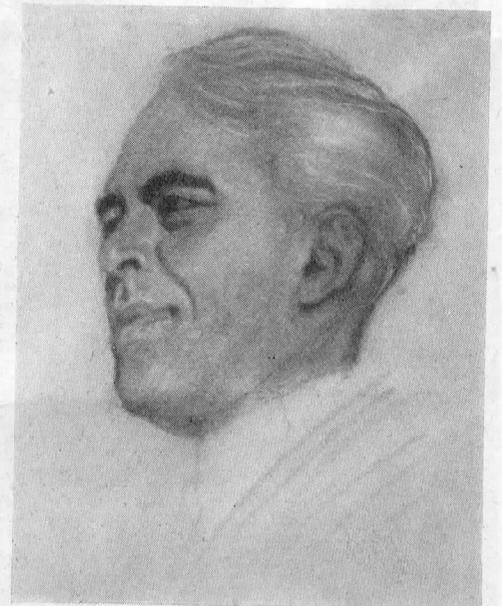
January 1, 1923, the Moscow *Isvestia* issued a weekly illustrated literary journal, the *Krasnaia Niva*, edited by A. V. Lunacharsky and Y. M. Steklov. The journal will publish novels, stories, verses, articles on science, art, the theater, etc. The contributors will include some of the best known Russian and Continental authors, among them Anatole France, H. G. Wells, Bernard Shaw.



FEODOR CHALIAPIN, the world's greatest basso; he is also eminent as a dramatic artist.

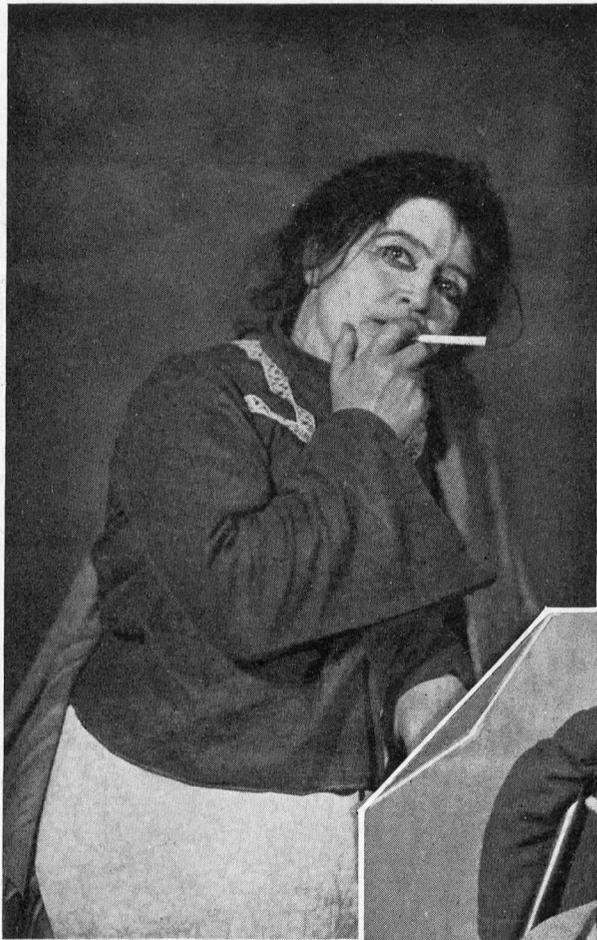


RUSSIA'S ART AMBASSADORS TO AMERICA
ISADORA DUNCAN, queen of the classic dance and founder of a type of dancing known by her name.



CONSTANTIN STANISLAVSKY, Russia's leading actor, now in New York with the Moscow Art Theatre.

Moscow Art Theatre



The Moscow Art Theatre, hailed as the world's greatest company of actors, is now in New York.



OLGA KNIPPER-CHEKHOVA
widow of the great playwright, Anton Chekhov, as Nastya the streetwalker in Maxim Gorky's "The Lower Depths."

OLGA KNIPPER-CHEKHOVA
as the Tsarina Irina in Count Alexei Tolstoy's spectacular historical drama "Tsar Fyodor Ivanovich."



A group of peasant beggars in "Tsar Fyodor Ivanovich."



VLADIMIR GRIBUNIN
one of the charter members of the Theatre, as the garrulous centenarian Kuriukov in "Tsar Fyodor Ivanovich."



CONSTANTIN STANISLAVSKY
director of the Moscow Art Theatre, as the sentimental Gaiev in Anton Chekhov's "The Cherry Orchard."

An American in Moscow on November 7

By CHARLES RECHT

THE latest journalistic vogue is to flatter our friends by capitalizing their names in a newspaper column. We feel that it may be permissible to follow the style in recording a day spent with friends in the Red Capital.

Thus we set down for posterity that early on the 7th of November, the birthday of the Soviet Republic, we arose on the Sophiskaya Nabrezhnaya No. 14, and breakfasted in the company of ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS, MAX EASTMAN and CLAUDE MCKAY, and discussed the

things we planned to see that day. We also started a dispute with the redoubtable Max on a fine point of Russian grammar, in the course of which he succeeded in showing his superiority. They say that he will soon be able to conjugate "I love" in Russian as he did in Italian at Genoa.

Then we betook ourselves to the quarters of GREGORY WEINSTEIN, who lives with his friend, philosopher and guide, Comrade KAGAN and roused these guardians of the Anglo-American Division of the Foreign Office. There we remained, chiding the aforementioned important *chinovniks*, while under the window bands of soldiers and paraders were already passing. After rallying these stragglers we went back, calling on DR. ARMAND HAMMER and his brother, VICTOR HAMMER, whose Ford car was to convey us to the Red Square. En tour we picked up MEYER BLOOMFIELD, a Boston social worker, and after crossing the bridge



TROTSKY SPEAKING ON RED SQUARE

showing also the nearest approximation of a photograph resulting from the writer's misuse of a camera

we had to go on foot again showing our passes to many sentries. On the way we met Comrade GORBUNOV, who is a secretary of the "Sovnarkom" (Council of People's Commissars) and also secretary to Comrade LENIN. He was accompanied by Comrade LEZHAVA, who is the presiding officer of the Concessions Committee.

We got to the Red Square and to the Grand Stand thereat just as TROTSKY began to speak. We thereupon mounted a bench and took several shots at the Commissar of War—with our camera, that is to say. He spoke about an hour, and never have we heard an orator of such vigor, composure and downright ability. His voice is so powerful that the buildings around the Square echoed his every word. When he began to speak the sky was overcast but while he spoke the sun came out. During the preceding week it had been raining every day, but on this day of days the

own beloved John Reed. And the square was filled with soldiers, cannon, tanks, cavalry, workers and civilians ready to defile in front of the reviewing stands as soon as the speeches were over. Just a couple of days prior to the holiday the Japanese had cleared out of Vladivostok and Russia was again a contiguous stretch from the Baltic to the Pacific. So there was glory for the army and glory for the young Republic which was rising vigorously out of its tattered fame and going in felt boots to wonderful Moscow ballets, with Moscow's plentiful chrysanthemums in her hair. While we were being warmed by the sight and the speeches and frozen by the sharp winds which attacked our feet turn by turn we looked around and noticed Comrades LITVINOV and KARAKHAN, the big guns of the Foreign Office, standing not far away from us, so we grinned a greeting and continued to waste films in the effort to snap

rain ceased and the weather was intermittently cloudy and sunny. Trotsky commented on the fact that even the weatherman smiled on the communist success. The speech was quiet, but sustained in its confident and joyful note: "We are stronger today than we have ever been. All the Kolchaks, Denikins, Wrangels are gone. Our army is in a better condition, and our population, thanks to that army, is beginning to enjoy the fruits of peace."

Back of him were the graves of the men who fell in the revolution, including our



CLAUDE MCKAY



CHARLES RECHT

AMONG THE AMERICANS IN MOSCOW ON NOVEMBER 7.



MAX BEDACHT

a galloping cavalry regiment with insufficient light.

Later on we walked over to Comrade VOLODIN, who is attached to the liaison office of the Soviet Government which is working with the American Relief Administration. He was standing with COLONEL HASKELL, head of the A. R. A. in Moscow, and his assistant, MR. MANGAN, late of the New York County Supreme Court, but now of Moscow. We also, while falling off the bench, tried to look pleasant at Mrs. BELLA COHEN SPEWACK, wife of the *New York World* correspondent. Both of them we knew as former reporters of the *New York Call*, for which Mrs. Spewack wrote under the pen-name of "Pippa." After we recovered our balance we stumbled into Comrade BIELIK, secretary to Comrade TOMSKY of the Red Trade Union International, on whom we tried to exercise our Russian despite the fact that our mouth was frozen. We also noticed young SELDES, correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune*, trying to take pictures, so we rushed over to explain some details of how not to take pictures.

Then some other newspapermen came by and one of them, MR. FARBMAN, the well-known English correspondent, introduced a tallish young fellow who turned out to be HENRY ALSBERG, the writer, now head of the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee in Moscow. We found that we had much to talk about, so we stuck together a while and then at DR. HAMMER'S suggestion we returned home, after having witnessed three hours of the grandest parade imaginable. On the way we met a number of Americans, principally our former deportation clients, whom the American Government had given this opportunity to see the Red Square and everything. Among these were LIPPMAN and ABRAMS. The former goes to the Agricultural College and the latter is manager of a modern steam laundry which we warrant does superfine work. We saw Comrade KARL RADEK on the way, taking the RADEK BABY GIRL home. Also one of the speakers, Comrade KATAYAMA, who looked very fit in a Red Army uniform.

Then home and lunched with Comrades Kagan and Weinstein, who were getting their luncheon in two sections, re-enforcing themselves for the diplomatic luncheon which Comrade CHICHERIN was giving that afternoon to all the diplomats at the house

we were staying in. Our time was taken up explaining to Kagan and Weinstein that in their Prince Alberts they looked fit to kill. Not being diplomats, and therefore unused to luncheons in two sections, we went to the house of LUDWIG MARTENS, him whom in America we called "the most cross-examined man in America without being cross." We had tea with him, his wife—ANIUTA MIKHAILOVSKY MARTENS, the sister of our friend, DR. MIKHAILOVSKY of the New York—and his nephew GEORGE, one of the most accomplished young men in Moscow.

We were invited by Comrade OSCAR BOLDVIN and his wife FANYA and his assistant, GRISHA SHKOLNIK, to discuss industrial immigration, which we did cheerfully. We returned home and after dragging our way through drifts and drifts of diplomatic and semi-diplomatic overcoats, hats and galloshes piled in the halls, reached our room. The luncheon was over and we prepared for dinner which we hurriedly consumed, and with WILLIAMS, EASTMAN, BLOOMFIELD, KAGAN and WEINSTEIN we hurried to the Bolshoi Theater where the speeches of the day were to be made.

We carried a card as correspondent of *The Freeman* and were therefore labeled as journalist. We did not mind that so much, but we could not find the stall to which the journalists were assigned until we saw some others of the fraternity, particularly GRAUDEN of the United Press and McCULLAUGH of the *New York Herald*. So finally we got in with all of the he- and she-journalists immediately under the platform and got our notebook ready so as to look the part. We heard KAMENEV, KALININ, CLARA ZETKIN, SMERAL, ZINOVIEV, RADEK, and many others. In a box to our left was CHICHERIN, in the uniform of a Red Army private. While he was being applauded he blushed. We never had seen a blushing diplomat before, so we grabbed for our camera, but all the films had been spoiled during the day and we missed the chance—to spoil another. About eleven, while speeches were still being made, we slipped back to the hotel. About one in the morning we went out again and watched the fireworks leap over the Kremlin walls.

And thus did we labor hard to make the Soviet Government permanent and prosperous.

Russia's Friends in the American Labor World

MAX J. SILLINSKY, secretary of the Cleveland local of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, and one of the outstanding figures in the labor movement of Ohio, is a staunch fighter for Soviet Russia. He has been foremost

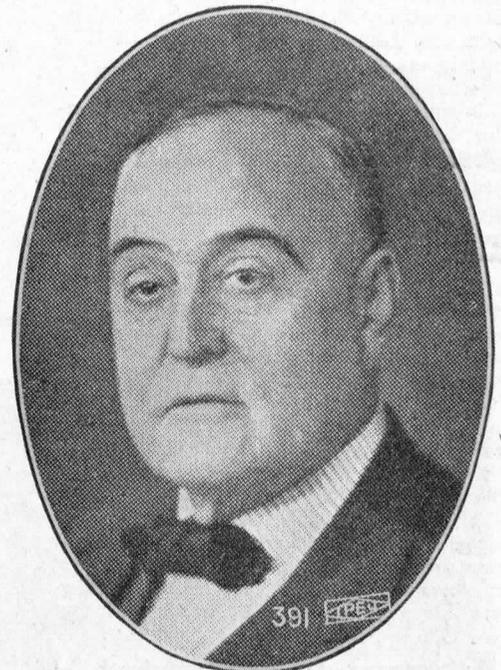


MAX J. SILLINSKY

on every occasion in the effort to bring about a closer understanding between the American and the Russian workers.

* * *

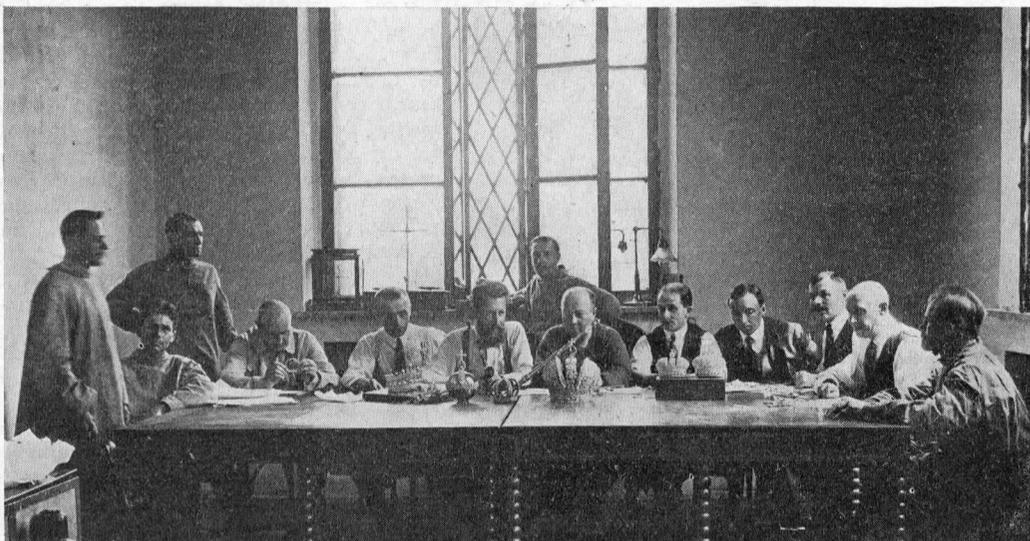
Ed. Nockels, secretary of the Chicago Federation of Labor, has been a persistent champion of the rights of Soviet Russia. Much of the credit for the aid to Russia from Chicago is due to Brother Nockels.



ED. NOCKELS

He has spoken at meetings, written in labor papers, and made himself heard on convention floors.

As one of the most forceful and most loved personalities in the trades union movement of America, his friendship for Russia is an important factor in the gradual enlightening of America as to the epoch-making undertaking under way in Russia.



CUSTODIANS OF THE CROWN JEWELS

Soviet officials and jewelry experts assaying the value of crowns and other imperial decorations.

Facts and Fancies

THERE seems to be some truth in the bourgeois reports of the exhaustion of the Russian treasure, for the Bolshevik agents are now resorting to a liquid substitute for gold in their propaganda. Thus we read in the *New York Globe* of January 24 that "while Joffe was wining and dining Peking officialdom recently, he got two government employees under the influence of liquor and converted them to the Red cause," whereupon they agreed to "furnish Joffe with copies of all documents and letters pertaining to relations with the Moscow government, the Bolshevik delegates paying a substantial sum for such papers."

Presumably it is the same pernicious use of liquor which has made mischief in other countries, too. For we read (*New York Times*, January 3) that "as already known, Stinnes has established munition factories in Russia where he is turning out large quantities of munitions." It is indeed a pity that everybody knows this fact except the Russian government. And further, "Krupp has now taken over the Putiloff munition factories in Petrograd and is also making quantities of munitions." We suppose the Putiloff 20,000-men plant has been secretly transferred a few thousand miles south to the agricultural land concession granted to Krupp in the Don region.

The Irish Republicans seem also to have been won over by the same device, for a headline of the same paper, January 25, informs us: "Says De Valera Obeys Moscow's Orders." The one who "says" is the Tory London *Morning Post* which believes that the "directing brain" of the whole Irish affair, as in the whole Bolshevik business, is "German-Jewish."

Speaking of German-Jewish influences we are sorry to have to take issue with the amiable cynics, H. L. Mencken and G. J. Nathan, who in their desire to be original at any price inadvertently resorted to stunts worthy of Ford's *Dearborn Independent*. In their "American Credo" they remark that "During the height of the Bolshevik scare not one American paper ventured to direct attention to the plain and obtrusive fact that the majority of the Bolsheviks in Russia and Germany, and at least two-thirds of those taken in the United States were of the faith of Moses, Mendelssohn and Gimbel." The statement itself is utterly untrue and these aspersions on the newspapers are unjust. The American press, following the lead of the Jew-baiting London *Morning Post*, was not only repeating *ad nauseam* that Kamenev was Rosenfeld and Trotsky Bronstein, but it even bestowed upon good old Lenin the name of Zederbaum, belonging rightfully to the Menshevik leader Martov. The atrocity of the press, in fact, even goes to the point of performing the same painful operation on the peasant president of the Ukrainian Republic whose honest Slavic name of Petrovsky was translated by the *New York World* of January 13 into "Max Goldfarb, well known in the New York radical circles, when he was an editor of the *Jewish Daily Forward*." A little inquiry might easily have convinced the *World* that there are a few thousand other Bolsheviks in Russia bearing the name of Petrovsky which is as common there as is the corresponding Peterson in America, and that Goldfarb-Petrovsky was generally known as the head of the Red Officer Schools.

In connection with the Petrovsky-Goldfarb mixup it occurs to us that the Ku Klux Klan *Searchlight* has done even better than that. In its issue of November 4 (quoted according to the *New York Call* of January 3) we read of the famous parade of January 9, 1905, before the Tsar's palace which "was headed by the priest, Father Gapon Ruthenberg, at present in the United States seeking capital for the Ruthenberg scheme in Palestine." The Ku Klux scribe evidently confounded Father Gapon who, while pretending to lead the workers,

was in the service of the police, with the Social Revolutionist Israel Ruthenberg who organized Gapon's execution after his role as spy became apparent. But the editor of the *Call* did not make matters much better by charging the *Searchlight* with ignorance and defending the American Communist Charles Ruthenberg against being identified with Gapon or with any Palestine scheme—thus evincing a complete ignorance of Russian revolutionary history and the role played by the other Ruthenberg, first as a revolutionist and later as a Jewish nationalist. Incidentally, in mixing up the names, the same editorial writer obviously also mixed his English nouns for good measure; in the issue of January 1, he says that "The Communist International reached the *nadir* of its influence in 1921. Since then it has been losing ground." How anything can lose ground after reaching its *lowest possible point* (for that is the meaning of *nadir*) is hard to conceive, unless we think of the *Call* itself which after all its misfortunes is finally going to be taken over officially by the Yiddish *Forward*, the world's largest and yellowest daily dealing in and with Socialism.

But the sad fate of the *Call* must not prevent us from passing on to gayer subjects. We mean, of course, the exhibitions of Mr. Whitney of the American Defense Bureau and the *Boston Transcript*. He has discovered that Governors Al Smith of New York, Glen Small of Illinois, Senators Borah, La Follette, Brookhart, Frazier and Shipstead, as well as Professors Felix Frankfurter and Zacharia Chaffee of Harvard University are all "pegs in the communistic propaganda aiming at the overthrow of the Government." In his speech before the Manufacturers' Association of Bridgeport Mr. Whitney enlarged on the sacrilegious activities of the Russian Communists and added that the "Soviet officials herded groups of hungry, suffering children into rooms and commanded them to pray to the ikons of the Russian Church for food. No food appearing, these emaciated, suffering, actually starving children were then commanded to pray to the Soviets. When that prayer

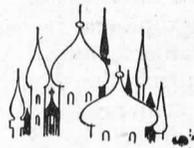
was uttered, the doors sprang open and waiters appeared, bearing trays laden with food." (*Bridgeport Telegram*, January 26). This is already gay enough, but the involuntary humor in connection with reports on the famine situation becomes simply indecent in an Associated Press cable on January 31, dealing with the situation in the Daghestan Republic on the northeastern slope of the Caucasus. "The population of this out-of-the-way republic," we are informed, "is chiefly Musselman, and because the women having practically no clothing, are without veils to hide their faces, the men go about the streets only after dark." As only very rich Moslems in Russia still indulge in the orthodox custom of having their women's faces veiled, a sudden religious revival must have swept that romantic region. However that may be, the modesty of those primitive mountaineers is highly commendable.

Which reminds us that the American press lately showed much interest in the matrimonial affairs of Leon Trotsky. We hear even that Mr. Herbert Kaufman expressed the hope that the War Commissar's new wife being of aristocratic breeding and habits, might soon vamp all the fight out of the Red Lion and reduce him and his Bolshevism to meek lambs. We do not know anything of the alleged new matrimonial venture and strongly suspect that the reporter of the *Berlin Tag* in true newspaper fashion concocted the story of the aristocratic general's daughter by mixing up the two Russian Kamenevs: Leo Kamenev, chairman of the Moscow Soviet and brother-in-law of Trotsky, and General Sergius Kamenev, Commander of the Red Army. Trotsky has been married to his *second* wife for the last sixteen years.

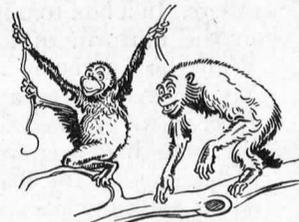
Aside from Trotsky's bedroom affairs the press is also interested in the highly actual subject of the fate of the late Tsar. The Hearst press carried a story by a Princess Orlov—née Miss Bary (the Orlovs in Russia were never princes but "only" counts), according to which a Russian engineer working in China told her that Nicholas the Last was never killed but escaped with his family to a monastery in Manchuria. Simultaneously, perhaps to offset the Hearst sensation, the Associated Press of January 29, yea, the Associated Press, carried a cable from Manila according to which "the heads of the late Tsar Nicholas of Russia, and those of his family who met death with him at Ekaterinburg, at the hands of revolutionists, are being preserved in alcohol in the Kremlin at Moscow."

Which brings us back to that other relic of pre-revolutionary days—Serge Trufanov, better known as the "mad monk" Iliodor of Black Hundred and progrom fame. In an interview given to the *New York* reporters some time ago he remarked that "the delicate consideration accorded by America to the radicals reminded him of the way they were treated by the Tsar's government, the moral of that, he pointed out, being written so that all the world might read." That the radicals in this country are treated as gently as they were treated by the Tsar in Russia may be true, but it was a little surprising to find this Russian Ku Kluxer so interested in alleviating the lot of the American political prisoners. Unless a friend of ours be right in suspecting that Iliodor's reactionary attitude is but a cloak for a subtle revolutionary propaganda against the stern but just sentences of the American courts.

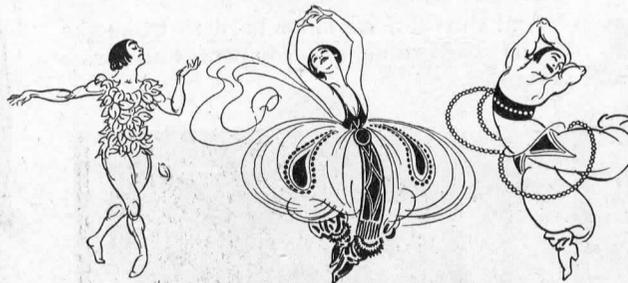
Speaking of the Russian Black Hundreds we are reminded that, according to the press, an American Legion leader in the State of Washington charged Lenin and Trotsky with having sent to America Leon Czolgosz to shoot President McKinley. We suppose they must have



Mujiks



Pogroms



Droshkys, Dancing the Kremlin



A Samovar, Playing on his Ukraine



An Omsk

MR. AVERAGE AMERICAN'S CONCEPTION OF THE MEANING OF CERTAIN RUSSIAN WORDS.

—Courtesy Life Pub. Co.

(Concluded on next Page)

"Big Father Soviet"

By ANNA LOUISE STRONG

THE family of the well-known labor journalist, Anna Louise Strong ("Anise") has been kind enough to permit the printing in part of a letter in which she describes a visit to children's institutions in Moscow. In view of the campaign for the adoption of Russian orphans being conducted by the Friends of Soviet Russia, the content of the letter has great significance. Miss Strong indicates clearly how serious is the problem of caring for the children, and how impossible it is for the government, despite its heroic efforts, to meet the situation without outside aid. She writes, under date of January 9:

Merry Christmas: This happens to be the day. I went last night to a Christmas celebration in one of the big Children's Receiving Stations in Moscow. I wish you could have been there. Adella Parker and I went with Madame Kalinin, sister of the president of Russia. She herself is president of the committee that looks after destitute children in the Province of Moscow, and has under her 80,000 children in 1,000 children's homes. She told me that she left her house every morning at nine and returned about midnight. She is obviously an able woman. I got a picture of child life in Russia today, and its implications for the future, both bad and good, that was rather startling.

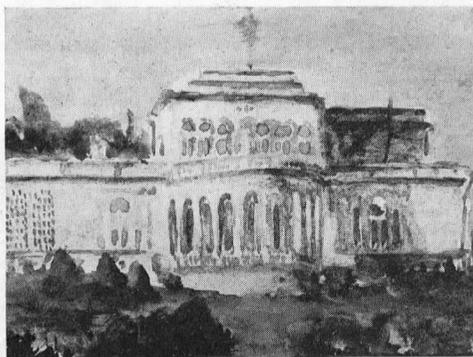
Imagine four or five million children, whose parents have died in war or famine, and who are wandering about the country, riding free on railroad trains, begging or stealing their way. Large numbers of them eventually drift to Moscow, for Moscow is the center where they expect things. Two hundred is the daily average picked up at the stations and on the streets of Moscow by two hundred nurses whose jobs is nothing else. There are four big receiving stations. The one I visited last night is the largest and has boys from eight to fifteen, 1,200 of them. They were the most self-reliant little devils it has ever been my lot to see, utterly different from the usual children's home type, or from the traditional Slav type of the stay-at-home peasant.

Kalinina explained to me the workings of this institution, which has passed over twenty thousand children through its rooms during the past year. They have 120 teachers, as these children are much harder to deal with than the average child. They have psychologists and psychiatrists, and the whole program is planned to make the child forget his street habits and past. He starts on his very first day to do regular work, either in the kitchen or the laundry, or the book-binding or something of the kind. He also starts

to learn to read. Within a month, after being washed and dressed, and fed distinctly better than in the average homes, in order to build up broken constitutions, he is transferred to a second home, where he is under more individual observation. From this he is at last organized into a regular children's home, suited to his age and temperament, where he stays till he goes to the university or to work.

This was the theory I found in the receiving stations a year ago in Samara, but there it was hampered by the terrible influx of famine children, which swamped all facilities, and piled the children in the receiving stations, filthy, lousy, and without enough food. Here in Moscow, it is now working well. And last year this system delivered into ordinary children's homes 40,000 children in this province alone, a terrible burden for the government.

It is a terrible picture from one standpoint, and yet there is another aspect. Kalinina tells me that these youngsters, the hardest to deal with of all children, are also the most interesting. There is wonderful talent among them. I saw the stage performance put up by the children themselves, (and they had all been less than a month in the institution). For intensity and sincerity of acting, they had the Russian theater beaten.



EXPERIMENTAL SHOW SCHOOL in Samara, where 100 specially gifted children are trained in the expressive arts; drawn by a 12-year-old pupil.

They had a play, "Big Father Soviet," which was very entertaining, though I wish I could have understood more than the outline. It opened with three ragged little boys in a poor room, complaining of the injustice that gave some boys plenty to eat and wear, and kept other boys without these things. Then in comes Big Father Soviet with a bag, not unlike Santa Claus, except for a red star in his white fur cap. He fishes out buns of white bread, candy and apples, and they wolf them down

most realistically. Some more children enter who want food, and the first children try to shove them aside. Big Father Soviet reproves them, and says that they are all his children and must all share alike. He hands out some more rations to the new ones. Then some beggar children come in and begin to whine for things, whereupon a boy exclaims, "This is how you must talk," and he gets off, with a flourish worthy of a soap boxer or an army leader: "Give us these things. They belong to us. That is what you are there for." Big Father Soviet laughs and tells him he is right.

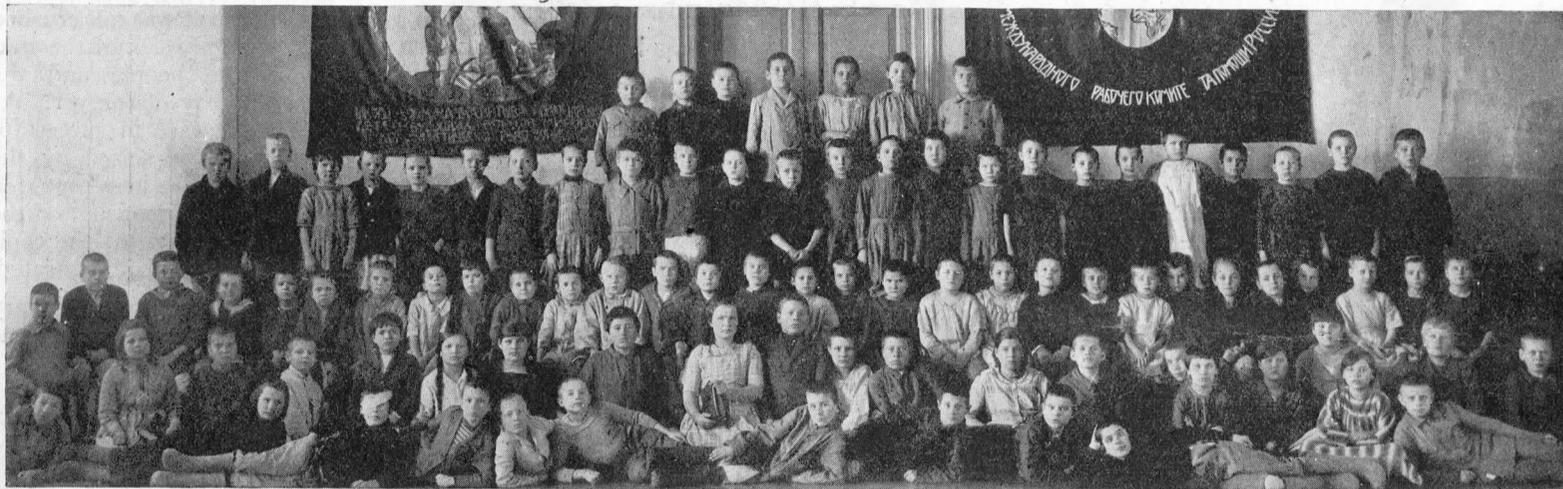
I couldn't help wondering what effect these youngsters are going to have in changing the whole psychology of the nation as they grow up. The social phenomenon of millions of children, who have made their way in the wake of armies and famine, who get on and off trains and then get into such homes as the one we visited is going to have some sort of effect. The government, of course, is trying to gather in as many as it can support, but its supplies are painfully meager. Certainly the whole group, with all the evil it has learned, has also learned a self-reliance different from anything known in Europe, and probably even surpassing the American small boy. You could see it in every movement in the institution. The government is not trying to suppress that self-reliance either, but merely the evil concomitants. If they had the means to educate this crowd, they would have a wonderful population.

Facts and Fancies

(Concluded from Page 50)

done it by the orders of the famous "Elders of Zion" who desired the ascension of Roosevelt to the presidency so that he might abrogate the commercial treaty with Tsarist Russia as a punishment for the latter's treatment of the Jews. We are sure our hypothesis will be fully confirmed by the editors of Mr. Ford's *Independent*.

Not satisfied with the killing of a President twenty-two years ago, the Soviet Government seems to have done even worse than that, by attempting to reduce the profits of the American coal operators. At least so we hear from the chief detective of Pierpont Morgan and Uncle Sam who in a meeting held by the Allied Patriotic Societies in New York on February 7 declared that "in the recent coal strike, orders were sent direct from the Soviet Government to send propagandists to the mines to incite the miners to acts of violence." (*New York Times*, February 8.) Let us hope that these orders are at least as authentic as the famous unpublished 10,000-word manuscript on the Wall Street explosion, caused, as every American knows, by the Third International and certainly not by a delivery wagon of a powder company.



"BIG FATHER SOVIET" CARES FOR THESE CHILDREN

The Children's Home "Third International" at Yekaterinburg. The Government cannot care for all the orphans. The world's workers are asked to help.

"Sweep Superstition from Earth"

ON January 7th—which is Christmas Day by the Orthodox Greek calendar — Moscow witnessed one of the strangest carnivals in history. One must go back to the French revolution for a parallel. The holiday was celebrated by the young Communists of the city with an anti-religious parade: colorful, ingenious, tremendously impressive. "Sweep superstition from the face of the earth" was the motivating slogan of the occasion, and it was embodied in costumes, banners, floats, extravaganzas.

Opinion in Moscow itself was divided as to the advisability of the demonstration. Officially the government took a non-committal attitude. But right or wrong, the impression of the day's events will not easily be wiped from the memory of the city. On foot, on horseback, in sleighs, in automobiles, the paraders went through the city. They were hilarious. They sang revolutionary songs, perched upon the shoulders of some deity in wood, like the Buddha reproduced on this page. They were costumed to represent angels, devils and other residents of the celestial altitudes; popes, priests, rabbis, medicine-men.

But merged with the anti-religious part of the celebration there was industrial propaganda. Floats representing the

various industries were in line, manned by boys and girls in the appropriate costumes. One such industrial float is reproduced here. The necessity for "getting down to work" and rebuilding Russian industry was emphasized then as on all occasions.



The center photograph shows an industrial float. The others are anti-religious, representing Buddha and a Russian "pope." (P. & A. Photos)

March Revolutions

(Continued from Page 43)

the first proletarian insurrection in modern times on a large scale. In spite of its failure, the memory for decades filled the bourgeois hearts with terror.

MARCH, 1881

Again it was in March, ten years later, in 1881, that the world was startled by the news of the death of one of the world's most powerful despots. Alexander II., after a series of unsuccessful attempts, was finally killed by a bomb thrown by one of a band of self-sacrificing terrorists. Victory for the cause of democracy in Russia seemed almost at hand, for the ruling clique was seriously frightened and ready to make concessions. But in the long run terrorism proved insufficient to abolish the old system. And

A Churchman on Russia

REV. Dr. Ernest Lyman Mills, one of the outstanding figures in the Methodist Church in America, has just returned from a missionary trip through Soviet Russia. He has written a series of articles in *Zion's Herald*, describing his experiences and impressions. He asserts as his firm conviction that the Workers' Republic is impregnable, and he also punctures a number of bloated Bolshevik atrocity stories. The opening words of his initial article give the cue to his sentiments.

"We entered Soviet Russia," he begins, "with despair and a black hopelessness which deepened, and yet we left it with a feeling that we had met the darkness before dawn and not the settling down of grim night."

But what we are concerned with here is the treatment accorded to him by the Soviet authorities. As an antidote to the exaggerated accounts of the "blasphemous orgies," as one newspaper phrased it, the testimony of this American minister should be given wider currency. He writes:

"At the outset let me say, as one who has haunted the consulates of Europe for three years and stood in line on many boundaries of the continent, I have not had more courteous treatment anywhere. There was not, from the first letter received in answer to our request, or throughout the entire journey, which took us to Petrograd and Moscow, one single untoward incident, or a word that was other than courteous. At the Legation of Soviet Russia in Berlin we were closely questioned as to our purposes, and warned that the Government would not allow enemies to enter, or those who sought to overthrow the power now firmly entrenched. There was firmness but no assumption of hauteur in the attitude of officials, and there was no uncertainty or cringing. Absolutely no promises were made or even asked as to what we should or should not say or write."

most of the fighters of the eighties who survived proved by their attitude towards the November Revolution that in spite of their proletarian and socialist slogans, they were at heart nothing but bourgeois democrats, Russian epigones of the revolutionists of 1848.

MARCH, 1917

The cause for which Zheliabov, Perovskaya, Kibalchich and Hryniewiecki laid down their lives was finally vindicated in March 1917. Exhausted by war and hunger the workers of Petrograd rose against the Tsarist regime, and for the first time in Russian history, their revolt was not crushed by armed force. Thoroughly sick of the war, the soldiers joined the people and the Tsar's power was destroyed forever. As was hitherto always the case in successful revolutions, the power was seized by the groups and classes that were best prepared for that job: the liberal bourgeoisie and the bourgeois socialists. The reign of the capitalist and the intellectual was inaugurated.

Until in November the revolutionary calendar was revised, and a new page was opened in history. M. P.

Sending Packages to Russia?

See boxed announcement on page 56.

Litvinov on European Crisis

MAXIM LITVINOV, who in the absence of Chicherin at Lausanne heads the Russian Foreign Office, has given an interview to Arthur Ransome. In view of Mr. Ransome's record for fair-mindedness and understanding sympathy, his report, printed in the *New York World*, deserves credence.

Speaking of the present European crisis, Litvinov said:

If this were 1914 I would certainly say we are near a European war. But that tremendous war is very recent, its lessons are still fresh and we hope all the governments concerned have learned them. We believed revolution must result from the last European war. We hope fear of revolution if nothing else will prevent the European Governments from precipitating a new catastrophe. The Russian Government cannot welcome circumstances likely to have a harmful effect on the slowly recovering Russian economy. Like the rest of Europe, we need peace for recovery.

Touching upon Lausanne, Litvinov asserted that Russia is anxious for a real rather than a patched-up peace. He analyzed the British attitude thus:

We have a right to be surprised by English opposition to our wish to close the straits to warships, because in the old times that was precisely what England wanted.

In those days Russia was aggressive and wished to send warships through the Dardanelles. Now the position is reversed, and the only possible motive for wanting to send warships into the Black Sea is the desire to be able at a suitable moment to hold a pistol at Russia's head by threatening the Black Sea coast. This belief is naturally strengthened by the ever worse state of our relations with the new English Government.

For one example, the Canadian Government, obviously under English influence, refused to admit our trade mission which they themselves had previously invited. For another, take the difficulties put in the way of Anglo-Russian trade. Are you aware England now refuses to admit Russian buyers and sellers, representatives of our economic organizations, unless vouched for by particular English firms, thereby committing them in advance to dealing with these firms?

Questioned specifically on the Russian attitude in the Ruhr and Memel troubles, Litvinov said:

Our sympathy is with Germany as it is with any oppressed nation. We too have suffered. We should have the same sympathy for France if France were the victim.

Remember too that Germany, first of all the nations, wiped the old slate clear and without conferences resumed normal relations with us. I solemnly affirm we have no secret military agreement with Germany, as alleged, nor have we formal obligations to any country in the world other than our published agreements.

We regard occupation of the Ruhr as a blow to convalescent Europe as a whole and so to Russian reconstruction which depends on the peace of Europe, or normalcy, as the Americans say. The situation is threatening because France has allies in Eastern Europe who by possible interference might create a direct threat to their eastern neighbors.

We are avoiding any step which might provoke our neighbors to military preparations. But we expect as much from them. That the blow affects us may be judged from the fact that our foreign trade is greater with Germany than with any other country.

As to our attitude toward the Memel question. I can decisively contradict all rumors of our influence in Memel events. On the other hand, not long ago we told the Allies we wished to take part in the decision of the Memel question, which is of deeper economic significance for Russia than Poland and the Allies.

Azev: the Super-Spy

A FOUR-LINE news item in some of the foreign language dailies records the end of one of the most spectacular careers in the Russian revolutionary movement. It comes from Germany and refers to the death of Yevno Azev.

Yevno Azev's last days were spent obscurely as an engineer in some German factory. His death has passed almost unnoticed. No doubt this is due to the fact that in reality he has been dead since 1909 when it was discovered that he was an agent of the Tsar's police.

Azev took part in the Russian revolutionary movement since the second part of the nineties. A member of the party of the Socialist Revolutionists almost since its foundation, he soon became one of its most influential leaders. Consolidation of various fragments into one centralized body, foundation of a central organ and a theoretical review, smuggling of literature to Russia, organization of the Agrarian-Socialist League and the elaboration of the terrorist campaign plan of the party—they were all tasks in which he took a most prominent part.

But his real greatness lay in the terrorist branch of the activities. His ascension to supreme power in the fighting organization dated from the arrest of Gregory Gershuni in December, 1903. Gershuni was the soul of the terrorist activities. Like Zheliabov, in the times of *Narodnaya Volya* (mistakenly recorded in history under the name of *Nihilism*), Gershuni was the leading spirit in all terrorist enterprises directed against Sipiagin, Obolensky, Bogdanovich and other ministers and governors of the Tsar. But the most spectacular deeds occurred after his arrest when Azev, who no doubt occasioned it, introduced more "efficient" methods. He brought up a whole pleiad of fearless and skilled terrorists who set to work according to regular strategical plans—in daring and ingenuity often surpassing the imagination of the author of the "Three Musketeers." His chief lieutenant was Boris Savinkov, who later became minister of war under Kerensky and still later, after leaving his party, became one of the leaders of the White Counter-revolutionists.

The successful terroristic attempts against the life of the Russian Minister of the Interior, Von Plehve, by Yegor Sazonov, and against the Tsar's uncle, the Grand Duke Sergey, by Ivan Kalaiev, were both organized by Azev. These achievements earned him unbounded admiration and influence in his party . . . and during all this time, nay, since his early student years, he was in the employ of the police and delivered uncounted active comrades to the gallows.

Sometimes the attempt was made to present Azev as a kind of Jekyll and Hyde who, although serving the police, was at the same time a revolutionist whose acts against Plehve and Sergey were inspired by genuine hatred for his masters. But those who took this view forgot that there were always conflicting groups in the Tsarist camp. Plehve and Sergey at that given moment were obnoxious to the chiefs of the secret service and other powerful groups behind the

curtains. Their removal by some self-sacrificing revolutionist could only be welcome to them at the same time increasing the importance of the police and emphasizing its necessity for the protection of the government.

Azev was unmasked in the beginning of 1909. It was Vladimir Burtsev, now a worthy comrade of Savinkov, who first voiced suspicions to this effect upon the indications given to him by a certain Bakai, a "repentant" spy formerly in the service of the Warsaw police. The information was later confirmed to Burtsev by Lopukhin, former police director of Petrograd, who, after 1905, began to show "liberal" leanings. Lopukhin was sent to Siberia for his indiscretion while Burtsev was menaced with death by Savinkov and other worshippers of Azev who refused



YEVNO AZEV

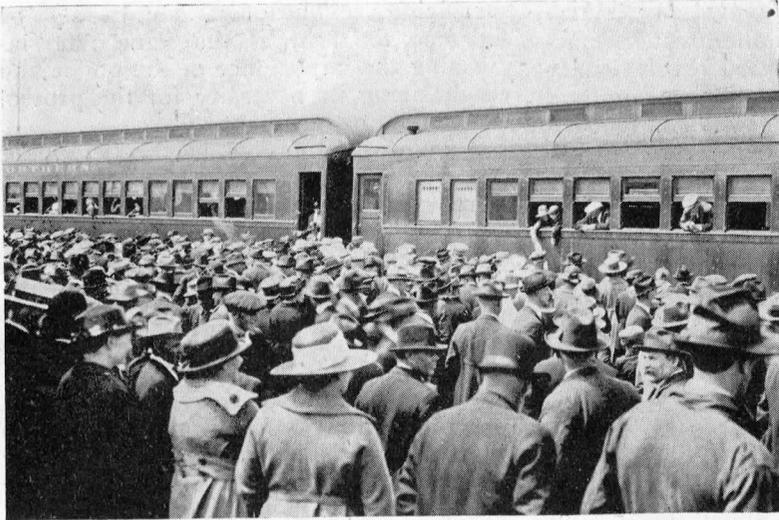
to believe that for so many years they had been the dupes of a *provocateur*. Finally, the members of the Central Committee of the party could not resist the evidence, particularly as Azev failed to give plausible explanations for some of his movements. Azev fled and settled in Germany whence the news of his death came recently.

The case of Azev was not the only one where a police spy occupied an important position in a revolutionary organization. In fact, there hardly ever was in history a subversive movement that was not infested with traitors and spies. The names of Degaiev of the *Narodnaya Volya* of twenty-five years before and that of Malinovsky, important member of the Bolshevik Party who was unmasked a few years after Azev, are sufficient proofs to that effect.

But there is a distinction between the activities of the *agents provocateurs* in a predominantly terrorist party like that of the Social Revolutionists, and in an organization relying exclusively on mass action. In the latter, the *provocateur*, though betraying from time to time, individual members or groups, is nevertheless useful through his propaganda in strengthening the mass movement. In the former, the whole party becomes a puppet in the hands of the department of police.

In subsequent issues we will treat some other cases of famous *provocateurs* in the Russian revolutionary movement.

From the Pacific to the White Sea



THE DEPARTURE: at the Astoria, Oregon, railroad station.



THE ARRIVAL: working at Krasnaya Guba in Soviet Karelia.

By GEORGE HALONEN

(Soviet Karelian Representative in America)

LAST June a group of about one hundred Finnish-American fishermen and their families left Astoria, Oregon, for Soviet Karelia, the North-western corner of Soviet Russia which lies between White Finland and the White Sea. Their representatives had previously selected Knaso, or Knasnaja Guba, a little village on the White Sea, as the settling place for the American group. Immediately after their arrival the colonists began to construct for themselves homes, a community house (the Finns cannot live without their own community house, be it in America or anywhere else) and buildings for a modern canning plant.

The White Sea is very rich in fish, abounding in salmon, sea trout, herring, but as an industry fishing has heretofore been on a very primitive basis. Modern methods in fishing and in preserving the catch are unknown. Thus Northern Russia, in spite of its own plentiful resources, has been compelled to buy fish from Norway and other countries to satisfy its own needs.

When Karelia was freed from the White Finns and other counter-revolutionary elements, it remained in close connection with Soviet Russia although retaining autonomy in its internal affairs. Finnish revolutionists gave their energies to reconstruction of the country. The economic life of Karelia is slowly but surely being restored from the ruins of the many wars. In the plans for reconstruction was included the problem of developing the fishing industry. As Finnish-American workers were also interested in this task, a Co-operative Fishermen's Group was formed in Astoria, Ore., a year ago by Finns on the Pacific coast for the purpose of organizing this industry in Karelia.

Complete first class American can-making and fish-canning machines were bought and shipped last summer. At present the machinery is already being installed. This cannery will furnish fish not only for Karelia, but for Petrograd and other Russian cities as well.

The co-operative group made an

agreement with the Karelian Soviets whereby a state fish trust was formed. The Americans are managers of this trust and work in close co-operation with the government. The plans are to teach Karelian and Russian fishermen new methods in their occupation and to build a strong fishing industry comprising not only the White Sea, but also the coast of Murmansk.

Working in conjunction with the fishing colony is also a group of ten Finnish-American carpenters who aim to show new construction methods to the natives and to build new houses for those of them who will be drawn to the fishing industry around the cannery. An old saw mill has been given to this group and will form the basis for preparation of building materials. A barrel factory

will also be erected in connection with this mill.

The first and biggest difficulties have been overcome and the colonists hope to be able to raise the fishing industry considerably during the next summer already. Although so far they have been compelled to give most of their attention to preliminary work, a few carloads of salted fish have already been sent to Petrozavodsk, the capital, creating much surprise on account of the fine taste of the fish, the salting being done in a modern way not known there before, and because such results were not expected in so short a time.

These American pioneers hope to gain the confidence of the native population, to draw them into the new industry and thereby to be of great service in the general reconstruction of Soviet Russia.

The Conference for Proletarian Relief

(The report below deals with the opening sessions of the conference, January 18-20. A more exhaustive account will be given in a subsequent issue.—Ed.)

FROM all over the world the scattered members of the executive committee of the International Workers' Relief came into Berlin, and so few stayed away that from a committee meeting the occasion turned into a miniature congress. Among the working-class relief groups which constitute this International and which were represented at the conference were those from England, France, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Germany, Russia, Japan and the United States. World renowned figures were plentiful, including Katayama, Rolland Holst, Martin Andersen-Nexö, Kameneva, Edgar T. Whitehead, Clara Zetkin, Antonio Bombacci, Arthur Holitscher.

Willi Münzenberg, general secretary of the International Workers' Relief, opened the conference and introduced the Russian ambassador in Berlin, Comrade Krestinsky, who greeted the delegates in the name of the Soviet Government. He was followed by Kameneva, who spoke in behalf of the Commission for Fighting the Consequences of the Famine.

Succinctly she outlined the economic

situation which forced Russia to depend on outsiders for help in the famine period. The overwhelming loss of agricultural implements and draught animals, she showed, made it impossible for the peasants to take advantage of the better conditions after the famine. In consequence, a lack of about 100 million poods of grain still exists. She quoted Nansen to the effect that in ten Provinces investigated there were 5 million children and 3½ million adults in need of assistance; an improvement over last year, indeed, yet a serious menace.

Kameneva discussed in detail the orphans' situation. There are now 11,710 Children's Homes, caring for 830,000 boys and girls. But these homes are sadly in need of supplies, and sometimes of food. What is more, they care for but a fraction of those in need of aid. A whole generation is threatened with extinction, she declared, and the working class in all countries must try to save as many of these children as possible.

Other reports followed, delegations from various countries rendering detailed accounts of work accomplished. After these preliminaries, the conference will plan activities for the next season, with particular reference to increased assistance for the destitute children.

An American on the Volga

By Dr. WILLIAM MENDELSON

MAY 29.—Sailing on the Volga en route to Samara. The scenery is somewhat like the Hudson River around Kingston; the Russians, of course, love it and think it the most wonderful river in the world.

MAY 30.—The Province of Samara is as large as Roumania and larger than Bulgaria, with a population of three million—2,438,379—peasants and only 337,116 industrial workers.

It was the largest agricultural province in the Volga region. Of its 13 million dessyatins all but one-half million were usable; eight million dessyatins of forest land and four million agricultural. Sixty-seven per cent of its exports was grain. This year, due to the lack of draught animals, only 400,000 dessyatins were cultivated. The average yield of a dessyatin is 30 poods and they need 32 million poods to feed the population of Samara alone. A great deal of the grain in Samara was taken out of the province by the government to feed the soldiers and city population, so that when the drought came their supply was already exhausted.

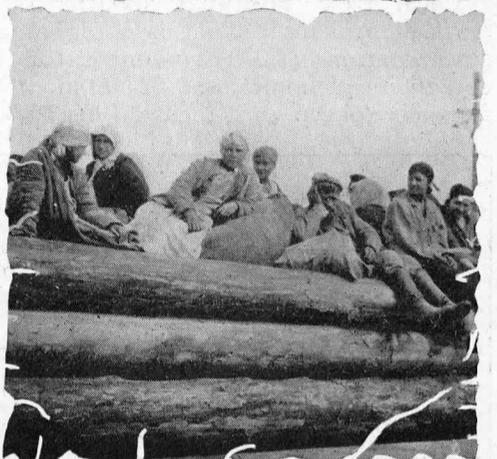
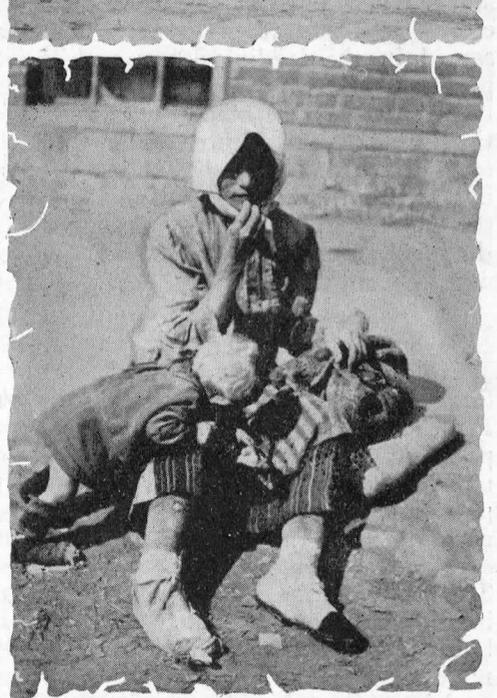
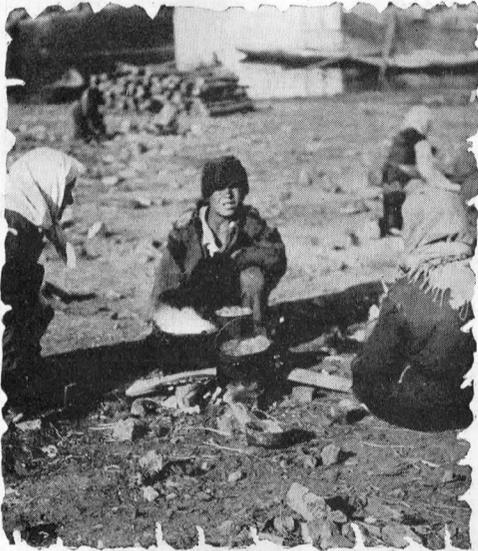
We visited some villages which are no doubt typical of most of them. The village of Smislavka, 30 kilometers from Samara City, had 3,600 inhabitants and 700 huts. From 7 to 9 persons died daily during the famine. They had

<i>Before the famine</i>	<i>Now</i>
2,000 horses	389
2,000 cows	410
3,000 sheep	553
11,000 hens	353

The hunger here was so bad that a boy of 19 killed his brother of 7 and ate him. Others also ate the flesh of dead bodies.

Village of Vojins, 10 kilometers from the railroad and 40 kilometers from the city of Samara, had 2,060 inhabitants living in 340 huts. Many of the huts look dead and deserted. Ten persons died here daily. Since December the A. R. A. and the Swedish Red Cross have been giving rations. In one of the houses we saw bread made of some grass and dung. A small windmill in the vicinity which we visited was grinding bark and wood into a powder to be used for bread.

(Concluded on Page 60)



FLEEING FROM DEATH

These remarkable pictures of refugees from the famine-stricken districts of Russia were taken by Capt. Paxton Hibben.

Friends of Soviet Russia Activities

Beginning with February 15, the Friends of Soviet Russia undertook a package service to Russia. Arrangements for package transmission duty-free have been concluded by the International Workers' Relief, of which the F. S. R. is the American branch. A fee barely sufficient to cover costs will be charged. Should there be a surplus it will go for relief.

* * *

In conformity with plans laid last month, the organization has conducted a vigorous campaign for the sale of Russian-American Industrial Corporation stock. The entire F. S. R. list was circularized and advertisements were inserted in the leading labor and liberal publications. A complete statement on the results will be made by the corporation in the near future. The F. S. R. emphasizes the fact that while the work is now more intense, it will not end with the drive. The effort to co-operate in the noble undertaking to clothe Russia will be continued.

* * *

Seven thousand persons saw "Russia Through the Shadows", the seven-reel film which is being distributed by the F. S. R., in Philadelphia. The Metropolitan Opera House was used. It holds more than 3,000, but it was necessary to put on a second showing on the same night to meet the demand for seats, and even at that some could not be admitted. The State Board of Reviews had made innumerable objections to the picture, but the audience applauded frantically none-the-less, and responded to an appeal for children's aid with almost \$2,000.

* * *

Lexington Theater in New York was packed with an enthusiastic crowd on the evening of February 2, the farewell performance of the great classic dancer, Isadora Duncan, under auspices of the Friends of Soviet Russia. The dancer gave one of the most brilliant programs of her whole career; later she told friends that she had caught the inspiration from the audience. In answer to repeated cheers she danced the *International* three times. She ended with a short speech, in which she pledged her life to the Workers Republic.

* * *

Local New York has adopted 1,000 Russian orphans! That is a big order, since it means \$5,000 as a starter for the equipment of homes, and \$2,000 monthly for their upkeep. But the local has \$7,000

IMPORTANT!

As we go to press we are informed in a cablegram just received by the Friends of Soviet Russia from its representative in Berlin that the F.S.R. will be hereafter the **only American organization** through which packages can be sent to Russia **duty-free**.

available for the purpose already, and is confident that the workers of New York will provide the rest.

At the same time the Cleveland Conference of the F. S. R. has adopted 100 children. Their action is especially praiseworthy because only recently they sent a tractor to Russia.

These are only high lights in the national drive for the Russian boys and girls. There is not a city or a town in America where activities are not under way for the benefit of the growing generation of the Workers Republic.

* * *

American Children's Homes have already been started in many parts of Russia. There are several "Eugene V. Debs" Homes, a "John Reed Home" and a Home for blind children called after Helen Keller.

* * *

Upton Sinclair, the socialist novelist, is now a member of the Advisory Committee of the Friends of Soviet Russia. In his letter accepting the nomination, he states that he has followed closely the charges launched by the *Jewish Daily Forward* against this working class relief group, and that he is definitely on the F. S. R. side of the controversy.

* * *

The official journal of the Friends of Soviet Russia—the *Pictorial*—has evoked a very encouraging response. Circulation is very much on the increase.

* * *

The sad plight of Russia's children has aroused the children in the Modern

Everybody Knows, Of Course—

(From "The American Credo," by George Jean Nathan and H. L. Mencken)

That all Russians have unpronounceable names.

That all Bolsheviks and Anarchists have whiskers.

That the Russian peasant in the days of the Tsar drank two quarts of vodka a day.

That the man who does not promptly hop to his feet when the orchestra plays the Star-Spangled Banner as an Overture to Hurtig and Seamon's "Hurly-Burly Girlies" must have either rheumatism or pro-Bolshevik sympathies.

That any play by a Russian is sordid and certain to give one the blues.

That the first thing the Bolsheviks did in Russia was to nationalize the women and all of the most toothsome cuties were reserved for Trotzky and Lenin.

That all the Americans taken prisoner by the Bolsheviks were innocent.

That all men who want to work very little and get a lot of money for it are Bolsheviks.

School at Stelton, N. J., to great efforts. Already the school has adopted ten orphans. And it promises to do more.



AT THE F.S.R. BAZAAR IN NEW YORK

These charming young ladies presided at the bazaar booths in The Lyceum.

R. A. I. C. News

ON January 29 the Russian-American Industrial Corporation transmitted \$250,000 to the Russian Clothing Syndicate, to be applied to the immediate purchase of machinery and other equipment. It means that the enterprise of American workers to clothe Russia is well under way. Remembering that the corporation is only about six months old, the fact that one quarter of its task is accomplished speaks eloquently for the American spirit. It should be an added impetus toward raising the rest of the million dollars.

* * *



The campaign of the Friends of Soviet Russia in behalf of the R. A. I. C. is beginning to bring results. From all parts of the country have come subscriptions which foreshadow bigger results as the message of the drive literature begins to sink into the consciousness of American wage earners.

* * *

President Hillman's report to the Board of Directors and Stockholders of R. A. I. C. was sent to all holders of R. A. I. C. shares on January 30, 1923. The report reviews Brother Hillman's observations in Europe and in Russia, and summarizes the contracts made by the Russian government and the Russian syndicates and banks with R. A. I. C. It points out how Europe is on the verge of economic bankruptcy, the improvement in Russia since Brother Hillman last visited it a year ago, the re-organization of the clothing industry and its method of operation.

Eighteen thousand, four hundred thirty-three (18,433) workers and two thousand, three hundred fifty-seven (2,357) office employees constitute the working force in thirty-eight factories, averaging 547 employees per factory. It undoubtedly indicates the large industrial nature of the enterprise, that is, of the industry under the clothing trust.

* * *

John Quinn, of the Chicago Federation of Musicians, subscribed for 10 shares. We can do no better than to echo the exclamation of *Advance*: "There's international music for you!"

* * *

The R. A. I. C. stocks sell at \$10 a share. As the appeal for their purchase is directed primarily to workers, arrangements have been made for payment in instalments. Subscriptions should be sent directly to the offices of the corporation, 31 Union Square, New York City.

BOOKS REVIEWED

The Russian Immigrant, by Jerome Davis. Macmillan Company, New York. 219 pages.

Mr. Davis has given the world a painstaking demonstration of the utter uselessness in the domain of sociology of honesty when not accompanied by social vision. Mr. Davis is a Y. M. C. A. worker of the best type. He takes his job seriously, very seriously. He "investigates" problems with the utmost effort at impartiality, and having accumulated the data, squanders them on an absurdity.

To take a specific instance. He has laboriously compiled certain facts as to the revolting conditions under which the Russian immigrant in industrial America works and lives. These facts are not very startling to the immigrants themselves. Almost any Russian might add several counts to the indictment from his personal experience. But one can readily imagine the smug contributor to a Y. M. C. A. fund thrilled by the cumulative horrors of the twelve or sixteen-hour day, the reeking "homes," and the rest of Mr. Davis's truthful exhibits. In the disturbing language of actual conditions, rather than rhetorical frills, Mr. Davis has outlined an epic of exploitation.

And having achieved this much, the author makes the following assertion—with a straight face, too:

"This discrimination against the Russian on the part of the employer, and lack of information, lead to equally absurd conclusions by the worker, who is led to believe that, like the rich barons in Russia, *the greedy capitalist is exploiting him for profit.*"

The italics are ours. It did not occur to the writer that the statement was particularly remarkable. We can picture an impeccably dressed Mr. Davis arching his eyebrows and rounding his mouth in an expression of superlative surprise at the suspicious nature of these foreigners. Exploitation, indeed!

The contrast between the accumulated facts and the absurd conclusions drawn by the author is so palpable, so extreme, that it is pleasant to imagine Mr. Davis as deliberately silly. May he not be another Dean Swift writing on Ireland? Certainly an Anatole France might do such a thing with finesse. But unfortunately the conviction grows that Mr. Davis actually *is* surprised at such unreasonableness on the part of the immigrant Russians. A little further on, for instance, he tells how the Russian is thrown into the most difficult and most dangerous parts of our industrial machine, where not infrequently he is maimed for life. Then he observes naively, as if it were another matter for benevolent consternation:

"... after he has been injured, he feels that he has been unfairly treated and is sometimes very bitter about the indifference of the company to his plight. This feeling seems to be shared to some extent by all Russians."

To reach such astounding truths as those quoted, Mr. Davis has gone through a bibliography five pages long. He has brought to bear his experiences in Russia and his research among the Russians in America. Long and earnestly he has studied individual specimens of the breed under a microscope.

As a source of facts, however, this new book is worth while. Various preceding investigations are here summarized, and statistics are digested. We learn that "the Russians take the job at the bottom of the ladder; they have the roughest and hardest tasks; as they express it in their native language, they do the 'black work.'" What is more, we are provided with the figures to prove this. Says the author:

"Judge Gary has admitted that 69,000 men have been working the twelve-hour day (that is from eleven to fourteen hours) for the U. S. Steel Corporation. The author's investigation as well as that of others, including the Interchurch and the Pittsburgh Survey, has found that most of the Russians are in the class that has been working in this way; they are subjected not only to the twelve-hour shift but the seven-day week."

A large percentage of the Russians who come to America work in the mines. Conditions there are epitomized by Mr. Davis when he shows that "In the coal mines alone there were 2,317 fatalities in 1919 and 2,260 in 1920. Indeed the average death rate from accidents in coal mining per one thousand workers in the United States is three times that of Great Britain."

There is also more than one sidelight upon the famous "American standard of living." Scarcely realizing what he is doing, Mr. Davis shows how the wages of immigrant Russians are neatly ar-

ranged barely to cover an existence more miserable than a bourgeois imagination can grasp. He does realize at least this, "that as fast as they adopt American standards, their margin of savings dwindles or disappears."

The nearest that Mr. Davis comes to broaching a solution of the baffling problem—he is sentimental enough to be perturbed by the woes of the Russian machine slaves—is to teach them English! E. L.

The Message of Internationalism, by Joseph Schlossberg. New York: Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, Education Department.

This pamphlet is number 8 of a series issued by the Education Department of the great labor union. The publishing enterprise in general deserves high commendation, and this particular pamphlet merits careful reading. It comprises verbatim reports of three speeches made by Schlossberg on labor in Europe, two of these dealing specifically with Russia. The first, delivered in November, 1920, is interesting largely as a record of false hopes. In it he outlines the reasons for the "end of the conspiracy against Russia." The end, unfortunately, is not yet in sight, although at the time there were indications of its advent. The last of the speeches is more recent. It was made on the occasion of Sidney Hillman's welcome meeting in Carnegie Hall. Schlossberg makes a strong plea for industrial help to the first Workers' Republic, and urges the lessons of the Russian Revolution upon America.

"The great object lesson taught us by Russia," he says, "is that the working people, having assumed power, and being determined to hold it, the power stays with them. It has already been demonstrated conclusively that there is no force anywhere strong enough to take the power away from the Russian workers."

Sowjetrussland im Umbau. (Soviet Russia in Reconstruction), by F. Schottköfer. Published by Frankfurter Sozietätsdruckerei, G. m. b. H., Frankfurt a. M. 1922.

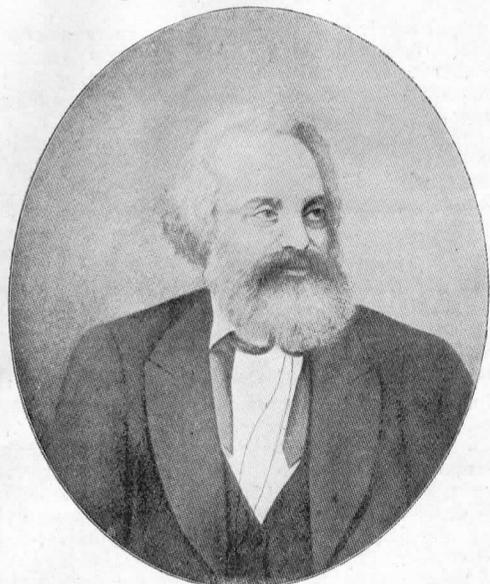
This book by a bourgeois economist attempts a picture of conditions based on a sojourn in Russia in December, 1921, and January, 1922. The writer endeavors to report impartially what he saw, although as a bourgeois economist he is unable to understand various measures. In his entire description of Russian conditions he remains true to his words in the introduction of the book. "One may theoretically consider Communism as an error, but nevertheless endeavor to remain impartial. That was my point of view." Particularly attractive are his "Pictures of Reality," showing the altered social situation of the bourgeoisie, the proletariat, the new art and popular education. In the same way he reports about the life of the bourgeoisie, about the children's homes of the Russian Workers' and Peasants' Republic, about the "Forces of the Old," the church, the peasants and the intelligentsia.

In treating the New Economic Policy he declares explicitly that it cannot be considered as a return but merely as a detour. He gives specific instances of improvement in the economic situation, particularly in the matter of the foodstuff supply. In the same section of the book he speaks of the concessions and shows the role of the trade unions which are now based on the principle of free membership and whose main task will be at present the protection of the working class against capital. R. F.

The American Labor Year Book, 1921-1922. Edited by Alexander Trachtenberg and Benjamin Glassberg. Published by The Rand School of Social Science. New York, 454 pages.

This fourth volume of the American Labor Year Book covers the period of 1920-1921. It contains the most important data concerning the Trade Union, Cooperative, Socialist, Communist and kindred movements, as well as a record of events related to the labor movement both in America and in the rest of the world. Substantial space is devoted to Russian events, and those interested in a short chronicle of the developments of the Russian Revolution in 1920 and 1921, as well as in the attitude of the United States Government and other powers with reference to the recognition of the Soviet Government, trade relations and so on will find the book a source of information.

A RARE PORTRAIT OF KARL MARX



March 14 is the fortieth anniversary of Karl Marx' death in London at the age of 65. The original of this portrait, painted from life by the Russian artist Matveyev, was presented by Maxim Gorky to G. Zinoviev.

Aims of the Friends of Soviet Russia

(To save space the introductory paragraphs are omitted. The full Program can be found in Vol. VII, No. 11, December, 1922.)

The Friends of Soviet Russia, an organization of American workers without distinction as to political affiliation, is true to its name; it is a friend of the people and the government of Soviet Russia. It stands for the relief of the men, women and children who are still in need of food and other aid; it pledges that all relief gathered by it shall be distributed in Russia by the Soviet government to those in need, regardless of their political opinions.

The Friends of Soviet Russia, recognizing the supreme need for measures to prevent the recurrence of the famine, aims to assist in the economic reconstruction of Russia. The havoc worked by Allied assaults and the starvation blockade cannot be fully repaired, it believes, until machines and other outside help arrive for the rebuilding of the country's shattered economy.

Towards this end the Friends of Soviet Russia advocates the extension of credit to, trade relations with, and recognition of the government of Soviet Russia as the government of the workers and peasants who, in five years of self-sacrificing military defense

and unswerving political support, have shown their choice very clearly.

The Friends of Soviet Russia believes, in the spirit of the Declaration of Independence, that the people of a country have a right to determine their own form of government without direct or indirect interference by other governments; and that the workers of a country which infringes upon this basic right of a foreign people have a right to agitate and demonstrate for the cessation of such interference.

In conformity with these beliefs and these purposes, the Friends of Soviet Russia will raise funds for food and clothes for the destitute in Russia, as well as for tools for the impaired factories, machinery for agriculture and other reconstructive assistance. It will disseminate truthful news about Soviet Russia and its great struggle by means of the platform, the press and the film screen. It will develop sympathetic sentiment that America may abate its economic boycott.

We call upon all workers, farmers and other sympathizers, upon labor unions and other workers' organizations, to support the Friends of Soviet Russia in this program morally and financially. Such support is the most direct method available for bringing concrete help to the first Workers' Republic in the world.



LIBERATOR Costume Ball

TAMMANY HALL

Friday, March 2nd, 1923

Remember the night—Keep the date open

RECALL the good times of yore—come and have another

Hundreds of fun-loving folks—Artists, Writers, People-you-hear-about and others you know will be there

UNITED

in the Common Cause of a Glorious Time for Everybody

FREEDOM, FUN, FRIVOLITY

are the pass-words

TICKETS

in advance \$1.00, at door \$1.50

Tickets for sale at

MANHATTAN

Soviet Russia Pictorial, 201 West 13th Street

Liberator, Room 405, 799 Broadway

Rand School, 7 East 15th Street

Maisel's Book Store, 422 Grand Street

HARLEM

Epstein's Drug Store, Madison Ave. near 111th Street

BROOKLYN

Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman Street

and by letter to Liberator

TWO PRIZES

One for the Best Costume and One for the Most Original!

Music by Clef Club Orchestra

THE
Russian-American Industrial Corporation

Extends its Appreciation to the Friends of Soviet Russia for its Splendid Cooperation with the R. A. I. C., and is pleased to announce that through a Special Arrangement with the Industrial Bank of Moscow the Russian-American Industrial Corporation has established the

Transmission of American Dollars to All Parts of Russia

The Amalgamated Trust and Savings Bank of Chicago, 371 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois, accepts money for transmission now.

The R. A. I. C. has Already Invested \$250,000 in the Russian Clothing Syndicate

NOW FOR THE MILLION DOLLAR MARK!

and

THE REVIVAL OF THE RUSSIAN CLOTHING INDUSTRY

SUBSCRIPTION BLANK

RUSSIAN-AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL CORPORATION
(DELAWARE CORPORATION)

Capital....\$1,000,000 Shares....\$10.00 each

I hereby offer to subscribe for shares of the capital stock of Russian-American Industrial Corporation at Ten Dollars (\$10.00) per share, full paid and non-assessable. I understand that my offer is subject to acceptance by the Corporation only at its office, at 31 Union Square, New York City.

Enclosed herewith find \$..... payment on shares.

Name

Address

Dated

(Make all checks, drafts, or money orders payable to the order of the Russian-American Industrial Corporation.)

Member of
Organization

BUY YOUR SHARES NOW

RUSSIAN-AMERICAN
INDUSTRIAL CORPORATION

31 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY

On the Volga

(Continued from Page 55)

MAY 31. — The workers in the city of Samara have been able with the help of the Government and the International Workers' Relief to keep some of their industries going and also to organize several institutions that one finds to-day only in Soviet Russia. I visited several of these workshops and institutions. The Central Electrical Station, for instance, which produces 15,000 kilowatts per day, and whose workers receive food from the Workers' Relief. And the Convalescent Home for Women, in the former homes of Samara's rich, the Apprentice School, with its leather, machine and other shops, the Workers' University, the Children's Colony, etc.

I also visited the pathological laboratory of the newly established University of Samara. Prof. Emil Winkeler, head of the pathological department, showed me some fine specimens that he has prepared from hunger victims.

JUNE 1. — Sailing on the Volga to Marxstadt. The weather is bad; high wind blowing, and the water is very rough.

JUNE 2. — *Marxstadt*, German Commune of the Volga, settled by Germans during the reign of Catherine II in order to escape military duty in Germany. The population speaks a German jargon. Half of the inhabitants either evacuated or died of hunger.

JUNE 3. — *Saratov*. The most wonderful impression I have received in Saratov is of the Children's Colony about four miles out of the city. The children were all well and clean. Their rooms and beds were well kept and aired, unlike the other colonies which I visited. The children were delighted to see us and they sang and danced, brought us flowers and begged us to come again. Some of them recited and others made impromptu speeches thanking the workers of the world for their gifts of food which made it possible for them to enjoy their summer in the country.

JUNE 5. — *Tsaritsin*. We arrived here about 4 a. m. There are about 830,000 people starving in the Province of Tsaritsin; in April there were 912,000. Eight per cent of the population died. Even as late as last month the authorities report the case of a woman who killed a child to feed her family.

There are 258 children's homes, where the state feeds 24,000 children. The situation here is more severe owing to the fact that it is not an agricultural state but mainly fishing.

JUNE 6. — *Agababov*. A little village on the road to Astrakhan, situated on the left bank of the Volga. All the inhabitants are Cossacks and all occupy themselves with fishing.

I had the good fortune to attend a wedding and witness the quaint dancing of the Cossack girls and young men. The dance took place in an open courtyard, the dancers beating time on the ground with their high boots. The girls were all dressed in white and some were very handsome.

I was astonished to find on the table cakes of white flour, candy, fruits, etc., in this village where almost all of them suffer from hunger. At about 12 o'clock the father and mother brought in the Ikon and gave the daughter away to her future husband. The ceremony was quite simple and novel. After the wedding I went to a few houses. The homes of the Cossacks are scrupulously clean.

JUNE 8. — *Astrakhan*. One of the large ports on the Caspian Sea, the gateway between Russia and Asia by water. The town is the filthiest I have seen so far, streets torn up and full of mud holes, entire blocks of houses destroyed by fire and shell. In fourteen days this city changed hands from the Reds to the Cossacks and back again. Hordes of people, Kalmuks, Persians, Kirghiz, etc. live on the streets spreading all sorts of diseases. Near the Volga are thousands of them waiting with their sheepskin coats and few belongings in dirty sacks for boats to take them back to their homes.

The hunger here was terrific and so indifferent have people become that nothing matters. In the market place lay the body of a boy who died of hunger and nobody seemed even to look at him; they passed by as if it were quite an ordinary state of occurrence. And it is!

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intellectual and moral education. When we will grow up and become strong we will enter our lives as defenders of the great idea of socialism. Following your example we shall endeavor in the future to do for other children what you are doing for us."

Care for the Unemployed

The Petrograd municipality has arranged to carry out public works during the winter which will occupy 13,000 unemployed daily for from three to six months. Among the most important work is the construction of a railway between Petrograd and Rybinsk.

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THE HABITS OF GENIUS

THACKERAY did not believe in inspiration. At 8:00 A. M. he sat down at his desk; at eleven—or was it twelve?—he knocked off for the day. No fine frenzy or eerie midnight fancies about this.

Anthony Trollope's method was much the same, but not all writers have been so conveniently free from temperament. Bulwer-Lytton wrote best in evening clothes liberally scented. Byron preferred midnight and the company of a bottle of port. Wordsworth demanded a hickory stick, and several miles of open country.

Milton and Mark Twain favored a good bed and a couple of pillows; Burns and Addison, a headache and a brown taste. David Graham Phillips, a cheerless office and a hand-full of pencils; David Belasco, a shorthand expert, and plenty of gesture room, and then, of course, there are countless others who simply sit down at their typewriters.

How fascinating and interesting the story of how Oscar Wilde wrote Dorian Gray, how George Moore wrote Confessions of a Young Man, and how H. G. Wells wrote The War in the Air, would be to all lovers of books and their making! What added delight one gets from an intimate picture of an author's life! We may tell you their stories later, but in the meantime send for the thumb-nail outline given in THE MODERN LIBRARY new illustrated catalog; order the books of your choice now.

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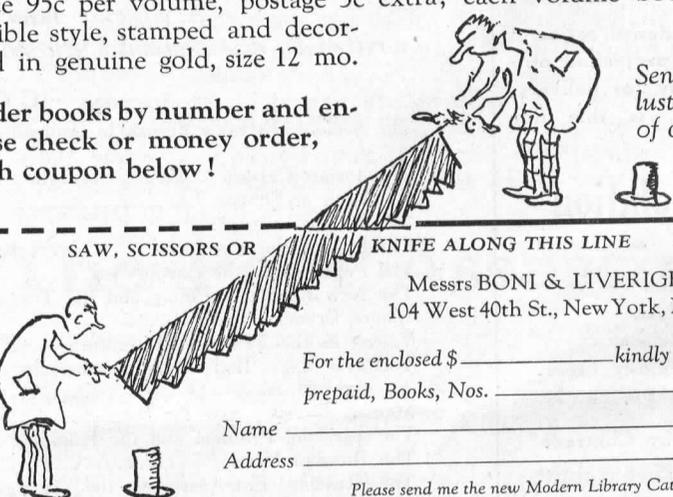
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American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee NEW YORK, N. Y.

(Purchasing Agent for Friends of Soviet Russia, etc.)

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

From date of organization, September 20, 1921, to date of dissolution, January 22, 1923
Statement "A"

The INCOME of this Committee consists principally of certain of the amounts which the FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA, National Office, spends for Relief, but it also includes appropriations by OTHER organizations and contributions from individuals. Receipts are issued for income received. The income received to May 31, 1922, was previously reported in detail:

Friends of Soviet Russia	\$413,784.46	
Other Sources	26,212.83	
	\$439,997.29	

Since that date there was received:

Friends of Soviet Russia (less refunded).....	\$67,046.34	
Trade Union National Committee for Russian Relief, New York	7,270.71	
O. B. Underwood Lodge 573, I. A. M., Detroit.....	15.50	
International Association of Machinists.....	10.00	
No. 929, Milwaukee	10.00	
R. G. Taylor, Chicago.....	10.00	
John Charleston, Centerville, S. D.....	10.00	
C. F. Grow, Alhambra, Calif.....	5.00	
J. F. Friedrich, District Lodge No. 10, Milwaukee.....	5.00	
L. McFarland, Moncton, N. B.....	27.86	74,410.41
		\$514,407.70

The above income was deposited in a bank account and before it was withdrawn for relief purposes there was received from the bank INTEREST amounting to.....

		442.24
		\$514,849.94

Making the TOTAL INCOME.....

EXPENSES:

In order to carry on the work of receiving funds and expending them for relief the Committee needed a secretary, office employees, and a business office. The expenses paid for these needs, explained in Statement "B" below, amount to

		\$4,830.56
--	--	------------

Also the Committee organized a FOOD DRAFTS DEPARTMENT as an additional means of purchasing food to send to Russia, to enable people in the United States to send packages to friends and relatives in Soviet Russia. The scheme was discontinued after incurring the following expenses:

Salaries	\$1,058.55	
Office	698.45	1,757.00

The Committee also made advances to the TRADE UNION NATIONAL COMMITTEE for RUSSIAN RELIEF of New York and Chicago in order to assist in its organization. That Committee addressed its appeal to organized labor. The advances amounted to.....

	9,800.00	
--	----------	--

After dissolution of that Committee its expenses amounted to

	17.90	
--	-------	--

Making TOTAL EXPENSES.....

	16,405.46	
--	-----------	--

Leaving a balance AVAILABLE FOR RELIEF of..

		\$498,444.48
--	--	--------------

Most of which has already been SPENT FOR RELIEF as follows:

The Committee expended the money when it was received for shipments addressed to "CENTROKREST, MOSCOW" (Central Office of the Russian Red Cross) and "ARBEITERHILFE, AUSLANDS-KOMITEE (Berlin) REVAL" (The Workers' Aid, Foreign Committee, Headquarters in Berlin, Distribution Center in Reval). The Committee sent the kind of food and equipment requested, at a cost of:

Food	\$317,998.62	
Ford Trucks and Ambulances.....	15,400.00	
Commissions and Brokerage on above.....	1,582.80	
Moving Picture Equipment	6,851.88	
*Expended through groups of Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia for manufacture and repair of clothes, shoes, and caps	6,832.83	
Ocean Freight and Marine Insurance Cartage, and dock charges on above	52,267.40	
Ocean Freight and Marine Insurance on Shipment made up by Soviet Karelian Relief Committee.....	2,446.10	
	\$403,379.63	

Total SHIPMENTS

The Committee also equipped and transported to Moscow an AGRICULTURAL RELIEF UNIT as a means of helping Soviet Russia increase production. The unit cost \$95,087.60, as follows:

Machinery and Equipment	\$43,088.94	
Seed for Rye	27,140.68	
Household and Camp equipment and supplies.....	4,936.03	
Crew outfit, supplies, traveling, passage and allowances to dependents	4,965.89	
Moving Picture Equipment for demonstration purposes, etc. Freight, insurance, etc.	3,075.00	
Office expenses in New York	6,666.57	
Office expenses in New York	214.49	
*Advance for Crew Expenses through Russia and Border States and return	3,000.00	
*Deposit for Return Fares of Crew.....	2,000.00	
	\$95,087.60	

Total SHIPMENTS and UNIT.....

	\$498,467.23	
--	--------------	--

Relief Expenses: International Connections, Cables.....		36.25
		TOTAL RELIEF.....
		498,503.48
Leaving an overexpended balance of.....		\$59.00

Which is represented by:

Unclaimed checks for Food Draft repayments which if claimed will be paid by Friends of Soviet Russia.....		\$59.00
---	--	---------

* Final accounting for these items, S.T.A.S.R. groups, \$6,832.83, advance for crew expenses, \$3,000.00, and deposit for return fares of crew, \$2,000.00, is to be made to the Friends of Soviet Russia.

Statement "B"

BUSINESS OFFICE EXPENSES

From date of organization, September 20, 1921, to January 22, 1923

Wages		\$2,630.00
Rent		567.01
Office Space Expenses		46.83
Office Supplies		42.93
Depreciation of Typewriter		8.75
Printing, Stationery, Multigraphing.....		77.83
Telephone		134.18
Telegrams and Messengers		78.62
Carfares and Outside Telephones.....		96.44
Postages		48.56
Traveling Expenses		595.68
Exchange		2.23
Auditor's Charges		435.25
		\$4,764.31
Typewriter (Cost less depreciation) to be delivered to Friends of Soviet Russia		66.25
		Total.....
		\$4,830.56

Statement "C"

AMERICAN FEDERATED RUSSIAN FAMINE RELIEF COMMITTEE
and the subsidiary organized by it,
The Trade Union National Committee for Russian Relief
CONDENSED CONSOLIDATED STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

Through the full period of their existence, September 20, 1921, to January 22, 1923

	A.F.R.F.R.C.	T.U.N.C.	Consolidated
--	--------------	----------	--------------

INCOME:

Received by A.F.R.F.R.C. and reported in detail in Statement "A" above:			
Friends of Soviet Russia.....	\$480,830.80		**\$480,830.80
T. U. N. C.	7,270.71		
Other Contributions	26,306.19		26,306.19
Bank Interest	442.24		442.24
	Total per Statement "A".....		
	\$514,849.94		
Received and acknowledged by T.U.N.C.....		\$18,570.44	18,570.44
	TOTAL INCOME.....	\$514,849.94	\$18,570.44 **\$526,149.67

EXPENSES:

A.F.R.F.R.C. per Statement "A" above (including advances to T.U.N.C.).....	16,405.46		
T.U.N.C. (including amount covered by advances from A.F.R.F.R.C.).....		11,299.73	
		27,705.19	
Available for Relief.....	\$498,444.48	\$7,270.71	\$498,444.48

RELIEF:

Remitted by T.U.N.C. to A.F.R.F.R.C. and forming part of the Income of that Committee		7,270.71	
Expended by A.F.R.F.R.C. per Statement "A" above	498,503.48		498,503.48
Overexpended Balance, explained in Statement "A" above.....	59.00		59.00

** NOTE—Inasmuch as most of the income of the A.F.R.F.R.C. (consolidated) was received from the Friends of Soviet Russia the latter organization will absorb the above Statement "C" in its next published accounts for the period ended January 31, 1923.

AUDITOR'S CERTIFICATE

I have examined the accounts of the American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee for the period from the date of organization, September 20, 1921, to the date of dissolution, January 22, 1923, and of its subsidiary, the Trade Union National Committee for Russian Relief for the period of its existence.

I received all the information and explanations I demanded. Any contributor not receiving both an official receipt and a published acknowledgment of his contribution should communicate with me.

In my opinion the above Statements, "A," "B," and "C," are drawn up to present a true and correct view of the manner in which the funds entrusted to the Committee were disbursed.

(Signed) J. B. COLLINGS WOODS,

299 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y. Chartered Accountant
February 7, 1923.

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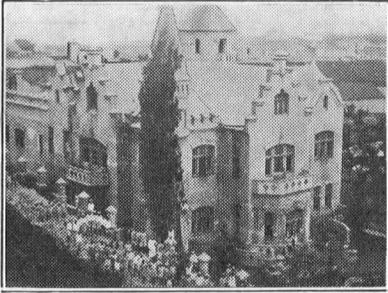
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The Friends of Soviet Russia is already caring for:

4 John Reed Homes, at Samara, 480 children.

12 Eugene V. Debs Homes, at Kasan, called the Children's Village, 430 children.

1 Helen Keller Home for the Blind, at Samara, 42 children.

RUSSIA'S CHILDREN ARE CALLING

Their parents have given all, that the First Workers' Republic shall live. WHAT HAVE YOU GIVEN?

The Soviet Government is able to supply sufficient buildings to house the needy children, but it is not yet able to equip and take care of these homes.

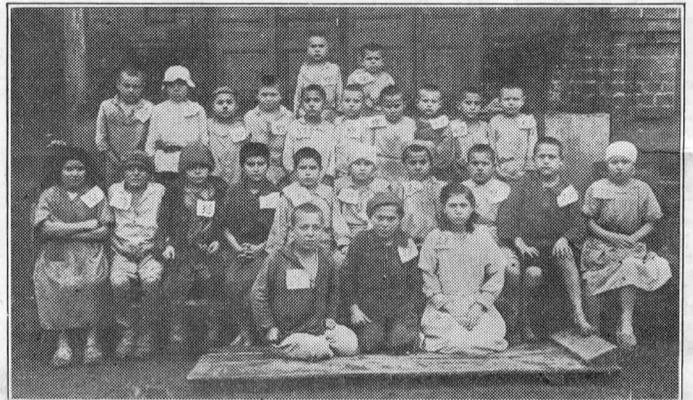
It costs \$5 per child to equip and \$2 a month per child to care for it. This includes food, clothing, vocational training and medical attention.

The Soviet authorities feed.....	380,000
The Russian Trade Unions.....	162,000
The Red Army	35,200
The Peasant Communes	59,000

HOW MANY WILL THE AMERICAN WORKERS CARE FOR?

Get your organization to pledge itself to equip, support and name a home. Send for information.

Russia asks NO CHARITY. We ask that you GIVE NO CHARITY. We ask that you help Russia in her heroic effort to give her children the very best the country has to give.



THESE CHILDREN are housed in a home at Yusovo. OTHERS ARE WAITING—OPEN THE GATES.

SAVE THE RUSSIAN CHILDREN—ADOPT AN ORPHAN ORGANIZATIONS—ADOPT A HOME

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The undersigned pledges to provide for a Russian child for One Year, paying \$5 for equipment and \$2 a month for care.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

Do you want us to send you name and photo of child you adopt?.....

SAVE RUSSIA'S CHILDREN

I cannot pledge to adopt a Russian Orphan but I wish to contribute to the general Orphan Fund.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

AMOUNT.....