

SOVIET RUSSIA PICTORIAL

APR.
1923

A GRAPHIC MONTHLY
REVIEW OF
RUSSIAN AFFAIRS

20¢



Red Soldiers in Front of the Kremlin, Moscow.

ARTICLES BY EARL R. BROWDER *o* HELEN KELLER

A. C. FREEMAN *o* ROSE PASTOR STOKES

RED ARMY *o* RUSSIAN "MOVIES" *o* FORTY PICTURES

The Red Russian Relief International



PARTICIPANTS IN THE BERLIN CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' RELIEF

A CONFERENCE of the International Workers' Relief took place in Berlin, from January 18 to 21 inclusive. There were no fireworks, no dramatic stage-sets. Yet in its effect upon the immediate welfare of the Workers' Republic this little gathering may prove inestimable. The needs of Russia in its striving for industrial reconstruction and in its desperate fight against the cumulative evils of the wars, the famine, the assaults from all sides, were discussed quietly and exhaustively. Then an international committee of 17 adjourned to elaborate specific plans for combating existing evils and helping Soviet Russia in its struggles.

Fifteen countries were represented: the United States, Argentina, Japan, Russia, Germany, England, France, Switzerland,

Holland, Italy, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Bulgaria, Denmark and Sweden. The Russian Government was officially represented by Krestinsky, its Berlin ambassador, and Kameneva, of the Committee for the Liquidation of the Famine Consequences. The following presidium was elected: Clara Zetkin (Germany), Kameneva (Russia), Roland Holst (Holland), Rose Blanchet (France), Whitehead (England), Andersen-Nexö (Denmark), Katayama (Japan).

Krestinsky greeted the conference in behalf of the Soviet Government. Kameneva, too, brought greetings. Russia, she said, was grateful for the aid being

brought to it by the working class organizations represented at this conference. She pointed out that this aid to the first Workers' Republic was part and parcel of the revolutionary striving of the international proletariat. Telegrams were read from the Ukrainian Congress of Soviets, and from the Third Congress of Soviets of the Tartar Republic.

W. Münzenberg, general secretary of the International Workers' Relief, made a complete report on the work done since the last meeting. This was supplemented with more specific reports by representatives of individual countries, including that rendered by the representative of the Friends of Soviet Russia for the United States.

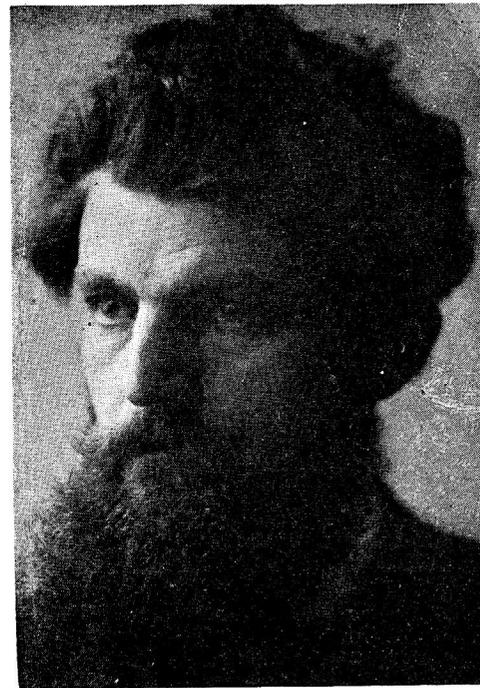
On the second day of the conference,



KAMENEVA, wife of Leo Kamenev and sister of Trotsky, representing Russia.



KATAYAMA, executive committee member of the relief body, representing Japan.



BOMBACCI, a member of the Italian delegation at the Berlin gathering.

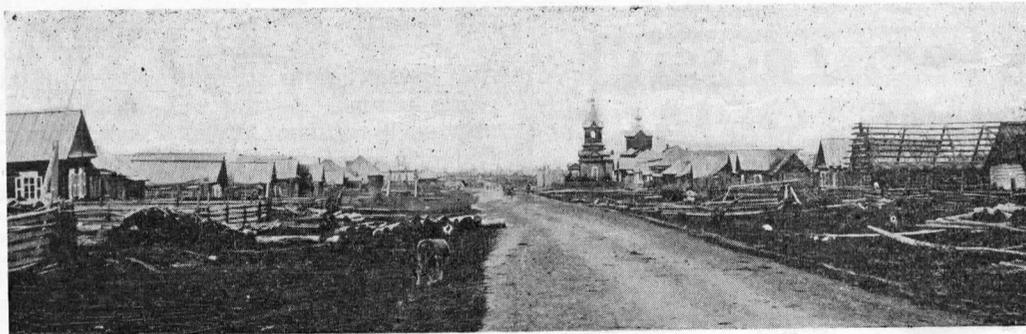
the Russian Commissar of Health, Semashko, sketched a none too pleasant picture of the state of health of the Russian population. The deep wounds inflicted by the many attacks on Russia, and by the great famine, are slow in healing. The betterment, however, is substantial and gratifying. The epidemics, while still serious, have been rooted out of many provinces. The lack of medicine and hospital equipment has made the work tremendously more difficult. The authorities, he indicated, are doing their utmost to fight disease. Special courses in medicine have been started in many educational centers. Drug stores have been equipped in hundreds of towns and villages. General educational activity of a preventive nature is being carried on.

Kameneva, in a further speech, stressed the need for aid to the Russian war invalids and the children. Of the 220,000 invalids registered, the government can at present care for only 118,000. The others are unavoidably left to wait for outside help or to starve. The same holds true for the children. She mentioned the work being done in America and other lands for the children, and urged even greater concentration of effort.

A representative of the Russian labor unions also spoke. He showed how big a problem unemployment is becoming and how the government is striving to provide work. Machinery and credit is needed to start industry going again. Whether in reconstructive work or in general relief, he urged that the relief bodies internationally work in close contact with the Russian labor organizations.

This tabloid story of the gathering gives but scant indication of the immensity of the problems outlined and the plans made. In our next issue we shall give in detailed form the specific decisions reached.

That the International Workers' Relief for Soviet Russia is regarded as an organization of major importance is amply attested by the persons who attended the conference. There were present Kameneva, wife of Leo Kamenev and sister of Trotsky, representing the Central Committee for the Liquidation of Famine Consequences, Moscow; Semashko, the Commissar of Health of Soviet Russia; Brudno, representing the Russian labor unions; Krestinsky, formerly Finance Minister of Soviet Russia, now its Ambassador in Germany; Levin of the State Bank in Moscow; Aussyem, Ukrainian Ambassador to Germany; Clara Zetkin, whom everyone knows; Kruyt and Roland Holst of Holland; Andersen-Nexö of Denmark; Rose Blanchet and Baptiste of France; Holitscher of Germany; Barreire, Goldschmidt and Juan Greo of Argentine; Mathieu of Belgium; Alkaley of Bulgaria; Scholze of Germany; Whitehead of England; Katayama of Japan; Bombacci, Misiano, Peluso and Giuliano of Italy; Sonnenschein of Austria; Linderot of Sweden; Siegrist, Liebermann and Trostel of Switzerland; Cohn and Runge of Czechoslovakia; Henri Guilbeaux, one of the organizers of the Third International; Nachimsohn of the All-Russian Jewish Public Committee, and many others.



A VILLAGE ON SAKHALIN ISLAND

Sakhalin Island

THE news that Soviet Russia has ratified the concession made to the Sinclair Oil Company by the Far Eastern Republic has focused attention upon the Island of Sakhalin, where the concession is located. Sakhalin lies to the north of Japan, stretching along the coast of Siberia. Before its occupation about a century ago, by the Chinese in the north and by the Japanese in the south, it was inhabited by primitive tribes of the Giliaks and the Ainu. Remnants of these tribes are still on the island. In the course of the nineteenth century both Japan and China ceded their parts of the territory to Russia. After the Russo-Japanese war in 1904-1905 the southern part of the island was returned to Japan.

The colonization of Sakhalin (sometimes spelled Saghalien) by Russian settlers began in 1857. Later on the Tsarist government began to send criminal and political convicts to that territory. Its climate is similar to that of Northern Siberia, but while Northern Siberia is for the most part a frozen waste, Northern Sakhalin is very rich in natural resources.

Its coast and rivers abound in fish, particularly of the salmon species. The interior is rich in coal and oil deposits. There is also some gold. It is for the sake of the oil deposits that the Japanese militarists deliberately provoked the massacre of Nikolaievsk, which served as a pretext for military occupation of the island as an act of retaliation. The 4,000 quarts of blood of the seven hundred Japanese in exchange for millions of tons of the more valuable liquid seemed to them a splendid bargain.

It now seems that in spite of all its ingenious efforts sooner or later Japan will have to return Sakhalin to Russia. Last year the Sinclair Oil Company obtained from the Far Eastern Republic a valuable oil concession on that island. Now that the F.E.R. has merged with Russia, the concession has been confirmed by the Soviet Government. When the American company will really be able to start its operations is a matter of conjecture, depending upon the mutual relations of Russia, Japan and the United States.



GILIAK NATIVES ON THE ISLAND

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SOVIET RUSSIA PICTORIAL

(Formerly Soviet Russia)

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF

THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

Published Monthly

201 West 13th Street, New York, N. Y.

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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Published Monthly by Friends of Soviet Russia, at 201 W. 13th St., New York. Editor: Eugene Lyons. Subscription Rate: \$2.00 per annum. Entered as second class matter January 29, 1921, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

VOL. VIII

APRIL, 1923

No. 4

EDITORIALS

Those Grain Exports

CAMPAIGNS against the Soviet Government on all conceivable and unconceivable grounds have been a regular feature in the press these five years.

There is hardly a crime which the imagination of journalists had not charged against the present regime in Russia. Lately the campaign abated a little, whether due to a recognition of the fact that the Soviet Republic has come to stay, lies or no lies, or the exhaustion of the inventive imagination we cannot say. But in February a new subject came up to keep the press busy for weeks; namely, grain exports from Russia.

The subject was no doubt well chosen. for headlines like "Pleading for Food Russia Sells Grain" (as appeared in the *N. Y. Times*) are certainly very effective. All the more so, as in most cases only the headlines are read and hardly one out of hundred newspaper readers cares to look for the particulars.

The facts are these. The Russian peasant has produced a certain surplus during the last harvest. He wants to sell it and improve his farm. He can dispose of it within the country either himself or through the co-operative societies—or he may sell it abroad through the Commissariat of Foreign Trade. Now, the harvest having been good, the grain prices in Russia are low, lower than before the war. For the amount netted the peasant is unable to buy a sufficient quantity of agricultural implements and other articles which are still very expensive. The government could not ignore the interests of the peasants. The low prices showed that there was a sur-

plus of grain. There was the alternative of sending it abroad or of distributing it in those regions still suffering from last year's famine. As the well-informed correspondent of the *N. Y. Times*, Walter Duranty, puts it on February 15, 1923:

Granted that they might use it now for direct famine relief, but if they did no greater area would be sown this year than last, and the aftermath of famine would still continue. So they have decided to utilize it to buy plows, etc., abroad, simultaneously appealing to the population of the Russian territory unaffected by the famine to help the famine victims carry on till after the harvest. This will probably be done, for the Russian peasants are generous and most of them have still extra and undeclared private stocks of grain against emergencies.

It is easy to understand that it was much better policy to sell the grain abroad, obtain articles necessary to the peasant, and then appeal for his help, than to distribute the grain outright. This the peasant would have seen only in the light of a return to the system of requisitions, so hateful to him, with the result that next year he would sow only grain enough to satisfy his personal needs, leaving the cities to starve.

A New Generation

THE reports of a greater grain supply are, of course, most gratifying to the friends of the Workers' Republic. In the moment of jubilation, however, it is too easy to overlook those who are in distress: the Russian children. No matter how plentiful the grain, the two million boys and girls orphaned by war, blockade and famine will remain undernourished and exposed to all manner of evil until they are taken into Homes equipped for their care. Upon the shoulders of the growing generation will revert the burden of carrying on the epoch-making work initiated in Soviet Russia. It must be a strong and resolute generation, and any help extended to Russia's children at this time is help essential to the very life of the proletarian state.

A Dangerous Move

A RECENT issue of the Journal of Railway Maintenance of Way Employees reports that certain business interests, particularly the Northern Pacific Railway and the Billings (Montana) Chamber of Commerce, are planning to import Russian prisoners of war now held in Germany. These interests are seeking cheaper labor. They see in these helpless prisoners a source of greater profits. In order to facilitate the importation of these workers the capitalists have petitioned Secretary of Labor Davis and the Senate Immigration Committee to lift the present legal bars against Contract Labor.

This incident is only a link in the long chain of evidence that the workingmen of every country have common interests. If the Soviet Government had been recognized no such condition could arise. Soviet Russia has room for many millions of workers, but the Governments and ruling classes of the other countries are doing everything possible to make Russian reconstruction impossible. Had the Soviet Government been recognized, the workers of the northwest would not be confronted with the slightest possibility of their own wages being lowered through

this application of the Contract Labor System.

The Russian workingmen have won their strike against landed tyrants and capitalist exploiters. The American workers should help their Russian brothers maintain their victory. It is in their own interests as well as in the interests of the Russian workers that the Soviet Republic flourish. The American workers have every reason to bend all their energies to secure the recognition of the Soviet Government.

The Trial Again

MANY months have passed since the trial of the "Social Revolutionists" in Russia. In the meantime the Workers' Republic has celebrated its fifth Anniversary and on this occasion the sentences of the condemned men were commuted and substantially reduced. But the well-oiled machine of yellow Socialism has not given up its campaign against the Soviet Government on that score.

The concert was started this year by a letter of the Belgian war-Socialist Vandervelde, addressed to Trotsky, taking him to task for the "gradual killing of the political hostages whose entire crime consists in opposing violence." It was followed by similar attacks in this country.

Our magazine treated the question of that trial exhaustively in the latter part of 1922. For the present we will therefore content ourselves with making the following modest remark:

The "opinions" for which that party was persecuted, consisted in organizing terrorist attempts on the lives of several People's Commissars (Commissar of the Press Volodarsky was assassinated and Lenin gravely wounded); in blowing up bridges and railroads; in robbing money depots; in helping the revolt of the Czecho-Slovaks; in paving the way for Kolchak; in a word, in doing everything—from individual assassination to civil war and intervention—to bring about the downfall of the Soviet Republic.

Mr. Vandervelde in his elegant style calls it "opposing violence".

Borah Goes to Russia

UNITED States Senator Borah has announced that he has accepted the invitation of the Soviet Government to visit Russia. The Senator has been one of the most energetic spokesmen for the resumption of trade relations with and the recognition of the Soviet Government. He has made repeated efforts to force a change in the Administration's Russian policy. Unquestionably Borah's trip will greatly help the forces favoring and working for a sane official policy towards Russia.

The present Russian policy of the American Government, the refusal to recognize the Soviet Government, is largely based on the lies spread by the bankrupt supporters of darkest Tsarism. Let other Senators and Representatives follow Borah's example and visit Soviet Russia. We are sure that the Soviet Government will extend all these American visitors every courtesy and facility to study conditions at first hand.

Russia's Friends in the American Labor World

Trade Unionism in Soviet Russia

By EARL R. BROWDER



MAX S. HAYES

As editor of the *Cleveland Citizen*, as a member of the International Typographical Union, as chairman of the Farmer-Labor Party convention in Chicago, 1919, as delegate to the American Federation of Labor conventions—Max S. Hayes has always used every opportunity to demand a square deal for Soviet Russia from the American people, especially from the American workers. He is a member of the Advisory Committee of the National Labor Alliance for Trade Relations with and Recognition of Russia, and has been active in all relief efforts.



JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG

Joseph Schlossberg, secretary of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, is one of the staunchest friends of the Workers' Republic in the American labor movement. In every one of the laudable enterprises to help Russia undertaken by his organization, Brother Schlossberg has had a leading part. In a few instances these activities are directly traceable to his suggestions and enthusiastic support.

In 1917 the Russian trade unions had a few thousand members hiding away in secret organizations—in 1922 their membership numbered more than 5,000,000, and they exercised more power than any trade union movement in the world. In the five years which witnessed this tremendous change the Russian unionists have accumulated a wealth of experience and have developed the keenest labor leadership in the world.

From the beginning to the present the trade unions have been the basis of the Soviet Government. During the period of civil war and capitalist intervention they were semi-state organizations, with automatic membership (similar to the check-off of the United Mine Workers in this country). During the expropriation of the industries, the unions were the chief organs of administration, working in close conjunction with the Council of Public Economy. With the taking over of all industries, strikes and wage struggles were largely eliminated, as the managers of industry were mainly the unions themselves with the State institutions. The unions functioned to build up administration, establish rationing systems, regulate wage scales to the resources of the industry, establish standard housing facilities, hospitals, rest homes, and develop the cultural life of the workers.

With the new economic policy, and the cessation of war, the Russian unions are now taking on more the aspect of European and American unions. Membership is now entirely voluntary; strikes to enforce wage scales and labor laws are more common, particularly among the new small capitalist industries, more attention is given to systematic raising of the living standards of the entire industrial proletariat. The unions have developed an elaborate code of labor laws, adopted by the Soviet Government, which gives them almost complete power

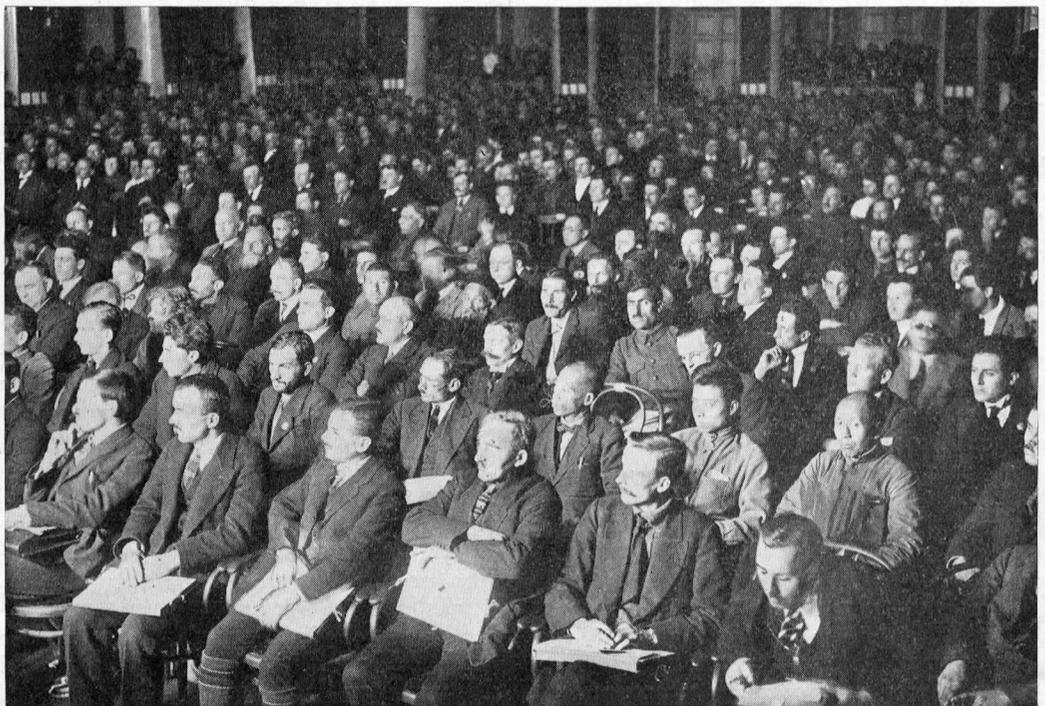


A. LOZOVSKY, Secretary of the Red International of Trade Unions.

of enforcement against private capitalists, and even against State administrators. They have nominative powers on all labor offices in the Government, and in the administration of industry. They are now establishing elaborate social insurance institutions, protecting against sickness, unemployment, etc. Wage standards, in terms of food and clothing, have been brought back to 60 per cent of pre-war levels, in some industries being even higher than before the war. The Russian unions have already brought the workers better conditions than are enjoyed by the Germans, with their old union movement.

Structurally, the Russian unions are built on the industrial form. They now have 22 industrial unions which include

(Concluded on Page 80)



AT THE RECENT CONGRESS OF THE RED INTERNATIONAL OF TRADE UNIONS.

Russian Invasion Reaches the Movies

By WILLIAM F. KRUSE

The invasion of America by Russian artists and their enthusiastic reception by native audiences have been the feature of this season. In grand opera, Chaliapin; in classic dancing, Rubinstein and our own Duncan; in variety, the Chauve-Souris; in drama, the Moscow Art Theater—and now a series of motion pictures in which the Moscow Art Theater actors take leading roles. These artists who have won the plaudits of our theater-going public despite the handicap of an alien tongue will now appear on the screen, in some respects to better advantage since the element of language will be eliminated.

The first film to arrive in this country is based upon Leo Tolstoy's story, "Polikushka." The entire presentation, acting, settings, story, direction, feeling—is typically Russian. Not in the slightest degree does a foreign atmosphere intrude. The film was made by the "Russ" Motion Picture Co-operative Society, made up of the actors of the Moscow Art Theater and of the Moscow Mali Theater. The picture was directed by Alexander Sanin, co-founder with Stanislavsky of the Moscow Art Theater, and director of the Grand Opera and Mali Theaters. He also is on leave of absence for a year from Russia, spending his vacation at Madrid as director of the Royal Opera there. A special score of folk music was arranged for the picture by the world-renowned conductor, A. Dubrovin.

The story "Polikushka" is Russian tragedy in all its epic simplicity. It is a tale of serfdom in the period of 1830, set on a feudal estate and the nearby district town. Polikushka is a stableman, a serf of course, with all the weaknesses inculcated by his debased station. He drinks all he can get and is not above petty thievery to get money for vodka. On the basis of his unsavory reputation the harsh old steward, a freed serf, tries to send him off into the conscript army, but the mistress protects him for the sake of his family and on the strength of his professions of repentance.

She trusts him to bring a large sum of money from the nearby village. Before he goes he swears not to drink or loiter on the way. He keeps steadfastly to his promise. But his old hat, in which he carries the precious envelope, develops one hole too many; he loses the money, cannot find it, and in desperation hangs himself.

This bald outline hardly indicates the immensity of the drama as a vehicle for great artists. Only those who have seen the performances of the Moscow Art Theater in New York, crowded to the doors every night by audiences that for the most part did not understand a word of the actors' language yet gloried in the finished artistry of the acting, can appreciate the possibilities presented by this story in the films.

It is most probable that this film and its followers will be exploited commercially on a very large scale in this country despite the utterly unfounded charge of "propaganda" made against them. Other pictures in this series are "Tsar Peter, the Great," "Jola—

the Sleepwalker's Romance," "The Downfall of Satan," and the "Miracle of the Soldier, Ivan." The first three are feature dramas and the last is a comedy.

Should a possible anti-Russian boycott on the part of film distributors make it impossible to assure commercial distribution of these films they will be guaranteed an audience by the many thousands of members of organizations affiliated with the "Friends of Soviet Russia." That this audience must be reckoned with is shown

Kisheniev, April, 1903: A Ghastly Anniversary

HISTORY repeats itself. A wave of anti-Semitism now sweeps most of the countries of the European and American continents. It is an important weapon in the arsenal of counter-revolution. One might say, altering the famous saying of Voltaire about God, that if there were no Jews they would have to be invented. The famous Austrian Socialist, Victor Adler, once said that anti-Semitism is the Socialism of the blockheads; and as these amiable bipeds still constitute the majority of the human race, this kind of "Socialism" never fails to find adherents. The "Awakening Magyars" in Hungary, the "National Socialists" in Germany, the "Christian Socialists" in Austria, the "National Democrats" in Poland, the Ku Kluxers and Fordians in America—they all exploit the racial prejudice and economic hatred towards the Jewish capitalist and shopkeeper as a means to divert the dissatisfaction of the exploited masses from the bourgeoisie as a whole and to direct it into convenient channels. It is an old device taken over from the dark ages and applied in the course of the nineteenth century in most European countries. The spurious accusations of blood rituals in Hungary, Rumania, Austria and Germany, and finally bloody massacres in Russia were the crowning outcroppings of this Macchiavellian combination of medieval obscurantism and modern statecraft.

The Tsarist system had particular reasons to be incensed against the Jews. From the ranks of the Jewish workers and intellectuals arose an unusually great number of active fighters for political liberty and democracy. Of all the subjects of the White Tsar they were the most downtrodden. Their humiliations could only be compared with those visited upon the Negroes in the United States.

It was in the first years of the dawning twentieth century, at a time when strikes in various industries and disturbances in the universities showed the Government that dissatisfaction was growing. Unwilling to abdicate, the beneficiaries of the old system—the landed noblemen, the clergy, the bureaucracy—organized a society for the defense of the old traditions. It was the "Society of True Russian Men"—otherwise called the "Black Hundreds." An organization equipped with funds and arms by the Government, and assured complete impunity—like the Fascisti in Italy, and the hooded heroes in

by the stupendous success of the first famine relief film, "Russia Through the Shadows." Almost forty thousand feet of film are being gone over to prepare the next news film of conditions in Soviet Russia, to be called "The Fifth Year." These include the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, the Fifth Anniversary celebration, and many other recent events.

Russian art films in the country are handled through the Intercontinental Pictures Agency, 160 W. 45th St., while the news films are exploited directly by the motion picture department of the Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 W. 13th St., New York.

the sunny and chivalrous South. Those "true Russian men" decided to "teach the dirty Jews a lesson" and to afford to their own "white trash" of the cities and villages the innocent pastime of lynching, raping and pillaging, that for a while they might forget their own misery and their Christian masters.

Mass slaughters of Russian Jews had taken place even before the organization of the Russian Klan. Such was for instance the *pogrom* of Kiev of May 9, 1881, instigated by the police after a series of successful terrorist attempts against the Tsar and his minions. But the most spectacular *pogrom* took place exactly twenty years ago, on April 19, 1903, leaving in its wake a devastated city, hundreds of murdered, raped and mutilated victims, and thousands of beggared petty shopkeepers and artisans. It is known in history as the *pogrom* of Kisheniev—a populous city of the province of Bessarabia—now annexed by Rumania.

That *pogrom* marked the beginning of a systematic campaign of murder by which the Tsar's Government intended to detract the Russian masses from the growing revolutionary movement. Playing the poor Gentiles against the poor Jews, and the Moslem Tartar laborers against the Christian Armenians—then a most revolutionary element in the Russian Caucasus—became part of the established governmental policy, in line with the shooting of strikers, mass arrests and executions.

It goes without saying that the main sufferers of these massacres were the Jewish poor—the rich Jews generally being protected by the police. And the Jewish bourgeois more than once tried to placate the government by betraying and denouncing the revolutionary elements of their race, sometimes delivering even their own children. . . . But the Jewish workers stuck to their guns and offered their Gentile brothers valuable help in the struggle against the common enemy.

The abettors of the pogroms have been since swept away by the revolution of 1917. The less fortunate among them are now sweeping the streets of Constantinople and Bucharest, or living on the "earnings" of their self-nationalized daughters and wives, or even marrying elderly widows of American millionaires. The luckier ones are conspiring in Paris and Berlin for the overthrow of the "Bolshevik Jewish tyranny"—or supplying Mr. Ford with "material" . . .

"Polikushka": First Film from Soviet Russia



Above—Ivan Moskvina as Polikushka.
Right—"Who shall be the conscript from Pokrovskaya?"



Above—V. Pashennaya as Polikushka's wife.
Left—At the cross-roads, where life and death meet.



Above—V. Bulgakova as the Lady of Pokrovskaya
Right—Polikushka promises to reform.

Russia's Red Army

THE success of the Bolsheviks in the November days of 1917 was due in large measure to their determined attitude against the use of Russian workers and peasants as cannon fodder in the imperialist war. As Leon Trotzky puts it in a recent article celebrating the fifth anniversary of the Red Army, "The Revolution developed as a direct consequence of the war. One of its main demands was for the ending of that war. One of its attendant symptoms was war-weariness and disgust of war."

The disintegration of the Tsarist army, of course, did not wait for the events of November. Immediately after the March Revolution the bourgeois liberals ("Cadets") and Kerensky-Socialists had to adopt certain measures to clip the wings of the Tsarist officers. The decrees abolishing the obligatory salute to officers outside of the service, and introducing soldiers' councils came in the first months after the fall of the old system. They were dictated by the absolute necessity of curbing the authority of the officers, who as a body were Tsarist in sympathy, and therefore a menace to the Revolution. But Kerensky, despite these measures forced upon him, wanted to continue the war. The result was a strengthening of the reactionary militarists and the attempt of General Kornilov to crush the revolutionary proletariat. The Kornilov failure upheld the hands of the Bolsheviks and led to the overthrow of Kerensky. A further disintegration of the old army was an inevitable consequence.

The danger of Tsarist restoration was thus avoided, but the absence of an army able to defend the Revolution delivered the Workers' Republic to the tender mercies of the German militarists. The Peace of Brest-Litovsk and the steady advance of General Hoffmann worked a change in the psychology of the masses. The encroachments of Germany led the people to support the Bolsheviks when they began to organize a Red Army.

At first service was voluntary. But the composition of this volunteer force was too heterogeneous for effective action. There was, of course, the dauntless working class youth, ready for any and all sac-

rifices, but their strength was sapped by the presence of elements from the old decayed army. Their power of resistance was small, and their incompetence was demonstrated tragically in the war against the Czecho-Slovak Legion.

The Czecho-Slovaks had been prisoners of war or deserters from the Austrian army, into which they had been forced, their country forming at that time part of the Austro-Hungarian empire. Once on the other side of the trenches they had joined the Russian army. After the November Revolution their leaders were approached by the French and British who promised them national independence if they would help in overthrowing the Workers' Republic. In a comparatively short time the Czechs and the Russian counter-revolutionists allied with them, succeeded in defeating the Red Guards in practically every encounter; they occupied the entire Volga valley, took half of the Russian gold reserve in Kasan, and prepared an attack against Moscow. This was in August 1918.

The Soviet Government answered first with a mass mobilization of Communists and the creation of a centralized apparatus for the political command and education of the troops at the Volga front. The next step was the mobilization of several classes of workers and peasants in Moscow and the Volga region. After initial vacillations and hardships the mobilization went on successfully. All new military organizations were re-enforced with Communist workers from Petrograd, Moscow, Ivanovo-Voznessensk and other cities. An intensive propaganda was conducted and the Commissars attached to the various bodies of troops became the revolutionary leaders and the immediate representatives of the Soviet Government. Stern measures against desertion and insubordination were adopted to strengthen the morale of the troops. The Red troops soon took the offensive and in September, only a month from the moment of greatest danger, all the cities on the Volga were again in the hands of the Bolsheviks.

But the organization of the Red Army had only begun. Many measures had to be taken to strengthen and consolidate it. Some

of them seemed to be anti-revolutionary in character and were denounced as such by the leftist elements—such as the Left Social-Revolutionists and the Anarchists; the abrogation of the right to elect commanders and the restriction of the power of the soldiers' councils, for instance. The reason for these measures is given by Trotsky in his article, mentioned above, as follows:

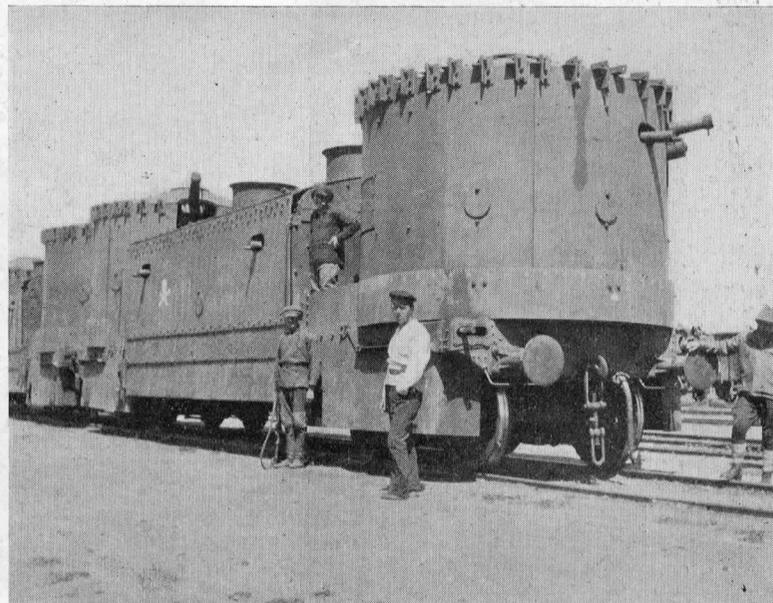
"The right of the soldiers to elect their commanding staff in the old army meant the possible elimination of agents of the counter-revolution. But this right did not assure the revolutionary army the election of competent commanders. The Red Army was built up from top to bottom, on the principle of the dictatorship of the working-class. The commanding staff was selected and examined by the Soviet Government authorities and the Communist Party. The election of commanders by the military bodies composed of politically unripe peasants that had just been mobilized, would inevitably have had a disintegrating influence and would have prepared the ground for the activity of plotters and adventurers. Likewise the revolutionary army—as an army of action and not an army for propaganda—would have been unthinkable with a system of elective committees which in fact eliminated every centralized direction leaving to every individual military body the right to decide whether it should attack or remain on the defensive."

There was strong opposition within the revolutionary ranks against the creation of a centralized army. This tendency showed itself in the partisan or guerilla warfare against the forces of the counter-revolution. But as soon as the counter-revolution—under Kolchak and Denikin—consolidated itself and was strengthened by foreign intervention, there no longer remained any doubt that only a centralized command could offer effective resistance.

One of the chief problems of the Red Army was the creation and selection of a commanding staff. There were a great many old officers of the pre-revolutionary epoch, very few of them sincerely devoted to the new cause. The distrust in them was largely responsible for the creation of many guerilla



RED SOLDIERS drilling inside the Kremlin. The cannon are those captured from Napoleon.



ARMORED TRAIN NUMBER 17, the watchword of which is "Victory or Death"

bands in which military "specialists" were not needed. A certain number of commanders were created by the Revolution itself, especially during the first period of the guerilla fighting.

In connection with the commanding staff it is necessary to mention the institution of the army commissars, drawn from the ranks of the revolutionary workers. While the activity of the Commander was purely military, the Commissar had to see to it that the military authority of the Commander should not be directed against the interests of the Revolution. Many Commissars became acquainted with the art of war and developed into capable Commanders.

Simultaneously with the creation of the Red Army a network of military schools was organized. But their courses were very short—as a rule four months—and did not produce commanders. At best they turned out good Red Guards. In the period of continuous struggle, however, these could often

be elevated to the command of squads and even of companies. Pliable material for the education of Red Officers was found in the "non-coms" of the old Tsarist army whose hostility to the commissioned officers from the nobility and the intelligentsia was of long standing. From this element came the famous Budenny, organizer and commander of the Red Cavalry. The officers' schools have since made tremendous progress and our readers have had opportunity to read on many occasions of the Red "Kursanty," the heroic pupils of the Red Officers' Schools.

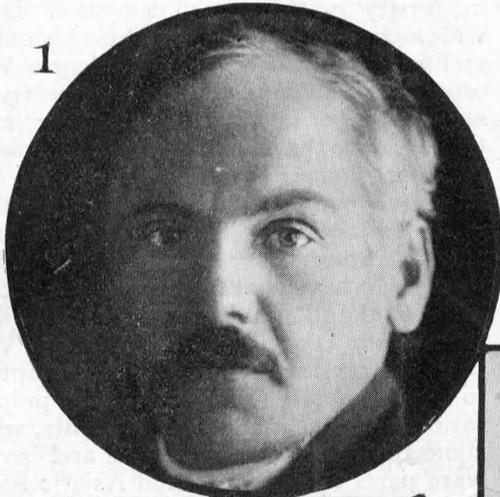
The Red Officers Schools are the crowning of the general educational activity conducted by the Government within the Army as a whole. While the army of the Tsar was mostly composed of illiterates, every Red soldier is at present able to read and to write, illiteracy having been completely stamped out from the army. And this is an achievement of which the armies of most of the "civilized" countries cannot boast.



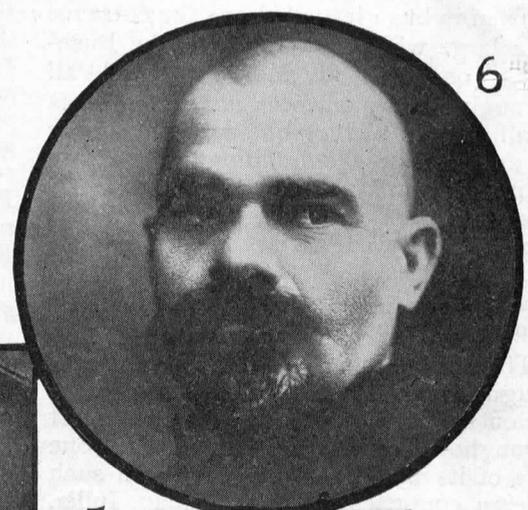
RED ARMY SOLDIER
He is a better soldier than he looks.



RED COSSACK
The Cossacks form an important part of the Red Army.



1



6



2



5



3



4

LEON TROTSKY

1. N. V. KRYLENKO, sub-lieutenant before November, 1917; headed army afterwards.
2. K. E. VOROSHILOV, a Lugansk worker in command of Lugansk Division during the German-Ukrainian advance in 1918.
3. P. K. DYBENKO, peasant, in 1917-18 leader of Baltic Red Sailors.
4. S. M. SKLIANSKY, till November, 1917, head of Revolutionary Army Committee.
5. N. I. PODVOYSKY, military organizer of November uprising in Petrograd.
6. N. I. MURALOV, private during war; later in presidium of Moscow Soviet of Soldiers' Deputies.



Russia's University of Oriental Communism

By A. C. FREEMAN



"COMMUNIST University of the Toiling East." This inscription is written in huge letters above the entrance to a large white building near the Pushkin Monument in Moscow. And all through the day one sees eastern students in all sorts of picturesque costumes going in and out of the building. There are Turcomans in high black wool hats, Sarts from Bokhara with bright embroidered caps, almond-eyed Tartars from the Volga and the Crimea, Moslem mountaineers from the Caucasus, political refugees from India, China, Japan and Korea.

The University is not, as one might imagine from its title, primarily an institution for spreading revolutionary unrest throughout Asia. This certainly is one side of its work; the students from such foreign countries as China, Japan, India, Persia and Turkey, are most of them accepted upon the recommendation of the Third International. They are undoubtedly expected to go back to their native countries and work for the triumph of the Communist idea.

But these foreign students represent only a very small part of the University's enrolment. Most of the Oriental young men and young women whom one finds studying in the crowded class-rooms of the institution and living in the various houses which have been taken over as dormitories come from the eastern and southern provinces of the vast federa-

tion of Soviet Republics. And the chief purpose of the Soviet Government in maintaining the University is not to turn out professional revolutionaries, but rather to train the future political and economic leaders of the more primitive sections of the Republic. Most of the students come from Mohammedan countries, but there is no attempt to cultivate Pan-Islamism or any other religious or nationalist sentiment among them, for Russia herself would be the chief sufferer if a wave of racial or religious fanaticism should unite the innumerable Moslem tribes who are scattered over wide stretches both of Europe and of Asia. The strictly international character of the instruction given in the University was emphasized by one of its leading directors.

"We regard any display of nationalist feeling as the most fatal disqualification for our students," he said. "Of course we teach the students who come from countries outside the frontiers of Soviet Russia that they must fight against imperialism, whether the imperialism comes from within or from without. But this fight must be carried on in the name of international communism and the right of every people to self-determination, not through appeals to racial and religious prejudice and fanaticism."

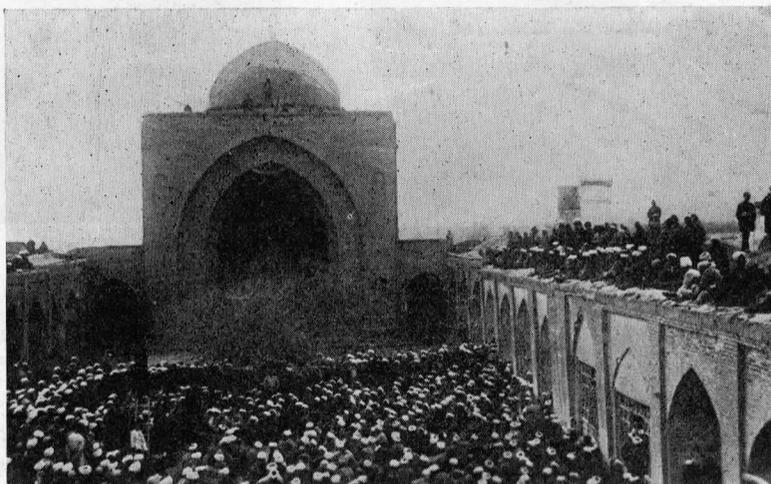
I asked the director how the courses of study were planned and arranged.

"We have to be very flexible in fixing

our requirements for entrance and graduation," he replied. "I doubt if any other university in the world can show such wide variations in the mental background and previous training of its students. We often get Mohammedan peasants from some village in the Caucasus or the Crimea who have never seen a factory or a large city, who are barely able to read and write, who haven't even the most rudimentary ideas about science and literature. And side by side with these we have political refugees from China and India and Japan who hold degrees from Oxford and Heidelberg. We have a large number of courses, adapted to the most varied mental preparation. To the bulk of our students, who come from the more primitive and backward parts of European and Asiatic Russia, we try to give a good general training in history, science and literature, along with courses in the fundamental principles of Marxian Socialism. We have instructors who can speak all the various native dialects; and then the students usually learn Russian very rapidly."

"What is the chief purpose of the University?" I asked.

"To spread the ideals of Soviet Russia among the peoples of the East," replied the director. "This purpose finds expression in two ways. We are not imperialists. We do not believe in taking up the white man's burden, in Kipling's sense of the phrase. And so we don't attempt to train Russians



WHENCE THE UNIVERSITY STUDENTS COME TO MOSCOW

Top, Left—Members of the local Soviet in Charjui.
Bottom, Left—Part of a Kirghiz tribe.

Top, Right—A scene in New Bukhara.
Bottom, Right—Mass meeting in the yard of a mosque in Turkestan.

As Bolshevik Cartoonists See It—



THE MADHOUSE "EUROPE"

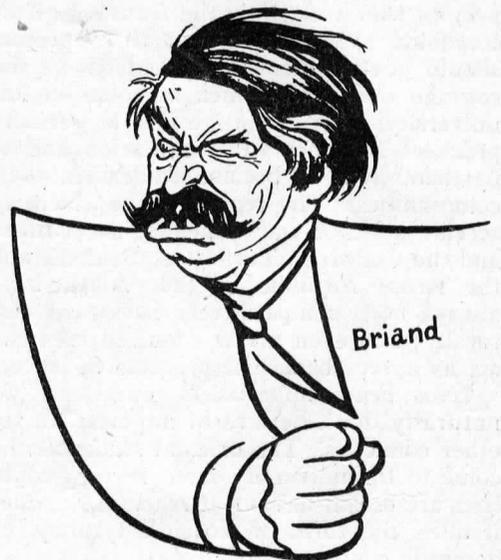
(Material for the Congress of the Neurologists)

No. 1 (Poincaré, shouting R-r-r-u-u-u-h-r-r-r and brandishing the Versailles Peace Treaty) RAVING MANIA; No. 2 (Mussolini, shouting: "Italy—that is Me"), and No. 3 (Pilsudski) MANIA OF GREATNESS; No. 4 (Burtsev) MANIA OF PERSECUTION; No. 5 (Horthy) SADISM; Nos. 6, 7, and 8 (Russian émigrés—Chernov in the middle) SOFTENING OF THE BRAIN; No. 9 (Markov 2nd—Tsarist and Jew-baiter, shouting "She-e-e-n-y"), No. 10 (Savinkov, former Revolutionist, now White Guard leader) RAVING CRETINISM; No. 11 (Rumania) QUIET IDIOCY; No. 12 (Lord Curzon—by an oversight the cartoonist seems to have borrowed the face from Woodrow Wilson—stretching his hands out for Oil) OBSESSION; No. 13 (Lithuania grasping for Memel) KLEPTOMANIA.

—Drawn by Boris Yefimov.



—Drawn by Boris Yefimov.



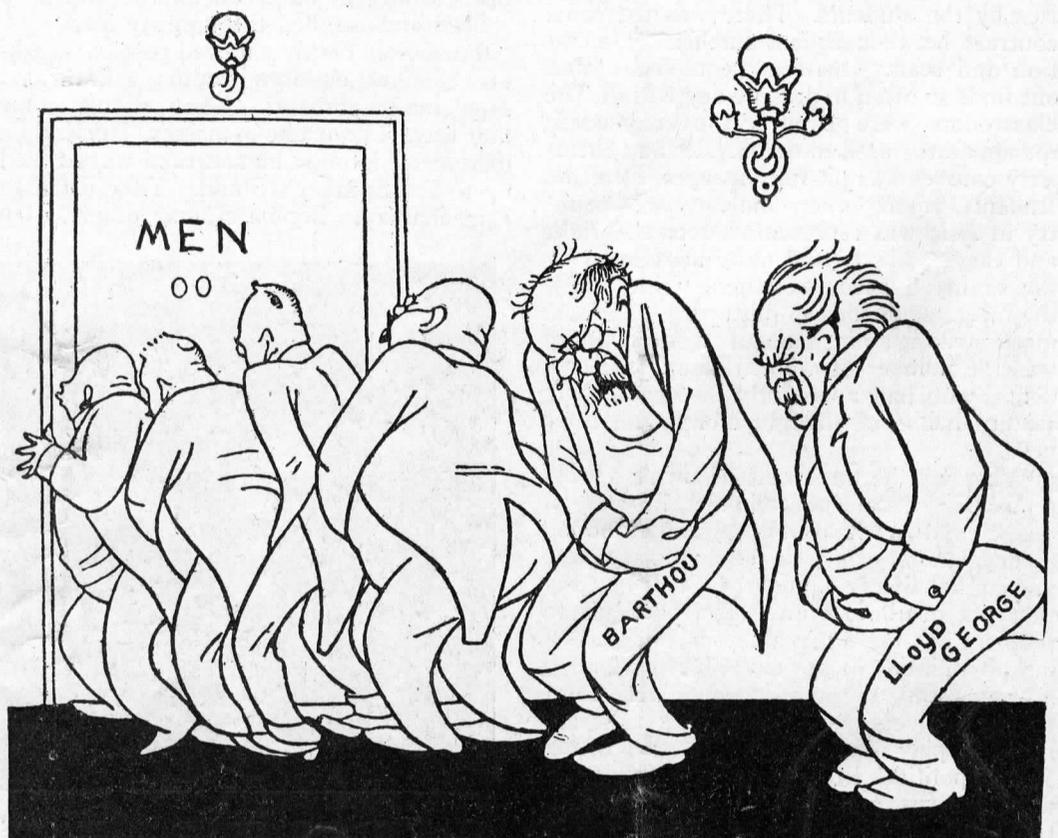
—Drawn by Deni.



Above—Lenin, as Russia's great cartoonist, Deni, sees him, with Russia's great Communist daily, Pravda, as a background.

Right—European statesmen very much upset by news of the Russo-German treaty.

—Drawn by Deni.



American Farmers in Russia

By HAROLD WARE

TRY to rush him and some peasant will mildly remind you that "Work is not a bear," meaning that you don't have to chase it; it will be there always so take your time; *but* keep at it. That philosophy was perhaps the hardest lesson the honest-to-god American "dirt farmers" who went with the Friends of Soviet Russia tractor unit had to learn. The boys wanted to make a record. They had the psychology bred by our system of exploitation whereby the farmer must hurry fourteen hours a day, pay interest on machinery and mortgages until the farm is taken away and he has the choice of becoming a tenant or a city truck driver.

From the Baltic seaport of Libau to Perm and later on as far east as Tomsk in Siberia we learned many other lessons and had to take a lot of press out of our home-grown impressions of Russia and the Russian peasant. He is not superstitiously opposed to modern machinery. The Tsarist regime and subsequent wars and blockade have prevented him from its use; that alone has kept agriculture in its present primitive state. For he is a true craftsman. And of all the types, city mechanic, student and what not, the young Russian peasant learned best how to operate the tractors; for he already knew the land and appreciated the tremendous step from his home-made plow. It was the appreciation of the peasants who came from distant villages to see us work and the realization that they "got" the contrasts of a large modern tractor pulling two grain drills, throwing in the seed at the rate of fifty acres a day while across the road women with sickles were harvesting, just as their mothers did a hundred years ago, that encouraged us.

Although the grain we were producing was for the Kisel miners, our outside work in villages and the educational effect of our main work was all for the peasants. This correlation of work is the new purpose of workers' reconstruction. Russian industrial workers need food. It will be years before the lost horse-power of Russia will be restored. These two facts point to the most effective way in which American workers can help.

Why not have miners' unions in America organize tractor batteries, and clothing workers and other groups, other bat-

teries? Send them over just as the F.S.R. unit was sent to support the workers with food and to teach and help the peasants to a new agriculture. A great tract of land has already been assigned for this purpose in the rich level, black soil district east of Cheliabinsk.

The Russian government and the International Workers' Relief are going to start the ball rolling with two batteries of twenty-five tractors each. With each of the batteries will be twenty Americans, including farmers, mechanics, company experts, etc. The correlation of work and solidarity extends to America for the personnel of the batteries is recruited from progressive farm organizations of the North-west. The Trans-Siberian railroad is only fifteen miles from the land and a spur track from the main Siberian line will connect it. Fuel can then be delivered direct from the River station at Samara to the job in tank cars. Along the main line at the station are warehouses and, best of all, a giant grain elevator.

There has been appropriated \$350,000 to start the first batteries and to build the foundation for the biggest grain farm in the world. But that is only a start. American farmers and workers should organize units of machinery for every industry and raise its banner over one of the battery camps which will operate as a separate productive unit of the whole. Each battery camp will resemble the portable gangs common in our western grain fields and will be managed by men who were brought up in that country. They will start out in the Spring with their tents and kitchen on wheels; planting and harvesting, returning to the central farm base in the fall to overhaul the tractors and machinery and hole up for the severe Russian winter.

It was in proving that this type of farming could be done and that it would serve as a true link between proletarian and peasant that the F. S. R. tractor unit accomplished most. But in proving this under difficulties it planted four thousand acres of grain and thereby wrote a concrete message of solidarity; not only between workers but also between American and Russian farmers for the boys have much to tell their neighbors when they get home.

Economic Leveling Among The Russian Peasantry

AT the recent provincial conference of the Communist Party of Kiev an interesting report was presented on economic leveling in the country. The statistics included demonstrate the work of equalization accomplished by the revolution in the villages, to the detriment of the wealthy and the benefit of the poor. Thus:

In 1917 there were 40,000 propertyless farmers in the Province of Kiev; there were 275,000 poor peasants owning less than 7 acres, 130,000 middle peasants owning from 7 to 15 acres, and 65,000 rich peasants owning 15 to 75 acres.

In 1920 there were only 28,000 propertyless farmers; the number of small owners had increased to 394,000; the number of middle peasants had fallen to 95,000 and large holders to 14,000.

In 1917 farmers engaged in work other than agriculture to the extent of 31 per cent; in 1920 this percentage had dropped to 9.

In 1917 out of every 100 farms or homesteads, 57 had no horses. In 1920 only 29 out of 100 had none; and in 1921, 28. On the other hand, the number of farms with a single horse rose from 17 per cent in 1917 to 33 per cent in 1921.

As to the percentage of homes having not a single cow, it varies as follows: 45 per cent in 1916; 14 per cent in 1920; 13 per cent in 1921. Those having one cow; 44 per cent in 1916; 63 per cent in 1920; 68 per cent in 1921.

The new economic policy has not, at least in the Province of Kiev, produced any notable change in this process of equalization. The big peasants, it is true, can rent out their land. But their activity is counteracted by the work of the "Committees of the Landless" (Komnye-zam). In ten counties of Kiev 1,500 landless peasants rented farms collectively. The majority of those without property turns toward collective work. Out of 15,000 who registered more than 10,000 have signified their intention of forming communities.

In brief, experience in Kiev shows that the level of well-being has been noticeably equalized in the country.



KALININ AMONG THE PEASANTS

To keep in close touch with the Russian people, Kalinin, President of the Republic, makes regular tours through the peasant villages, talking to the inhabitants.

Facts and Fancies

VARIOUS suggestions have been made from time to time for saving Russia from the terrible situation she has been led into. The most touching one was that Russia needs a Washington, or at least a Roosevelt. As for us, we would vote for the first-mentioned—he would certainly extricate the eastern giant from the danger of "entangling alliances" that besets him at present. This danger seems to be very real. For how else could two such antagonistic publications as those of the Ku Kluxers and those of the Wobblies come to the same conclusion?

The New Menace wrote some time ago (December 2) that "The Pope has now diplomatic relations with France and Turkey, and secret treaty compacts with Soviet Russia and the Turks." And the frightened Catholic- and Jew-baiter cries out: "Italy, France, Russia, Popery and the Turk!" adding, "We believe and hope Italy's new cabinet will shake that nation loose from such company." (Mussolini—the "new cabinet" referred to—has since introduced the crucifix in all schools and taken energetic steps against the Masonic enemies of the Pope all over the country.) The *Protestant*, another paper of the same character, writes (November) that the "Holy See is now in treaty compacts with the Soviet and the unspeakable Turk. Those compacts create a combination amounting virtually to a coalition." Add to these items an editorial statement of the *Industrial Solidarity* of March 10 (official organ of the I. W. W.) which under the sad caption, "Soviet Russia's Finish," reports that "now comes news of an alliance between Socialist Russia and Imperialist France . . ." and the picture of Russia's downfall is complete.

We thought that the "secret compact" with the Pope was just an arrangement allowing a Catholic Relief body to go to Russia much under the same terms as Hoover's organization, and that the "alliance" with France consisted of a feeler stretched out by the semi-official *Paris Temps* as to the possibility of re-establishing normal relations with the Soviet Republic. But we see that we were mistaken. How could we doubt any statements made about Russia by the editor of *Solidarity*, who some time ago dwelled seriously in his leading editorial on the capitalist character of the Russian Republic on the basis of a letter published in the capitalist press by a certain Gregory Weinstein, a New York employer, whom *Solidarity* immediately identified with his namesake, Gregory Weinstein, secretary of the Russian Soviet Bureau, deported together with Martens more than two years ago!

Neither a Washington nor a Roosevelt being able to come at present to the rescue of the Russian people, this noble task seems to have fallen to a female scion of the great founder of the American dynasty of mountebanks—to use the expression of that impudent H. L. Mencken. In a letter published in the *New York Times* on February 27, Mrs. Ethel Roosevelt Derby dwells in touching words on the misery of a few Russian Colonels, Generals and Princes now living in Paris. Only lack of space prevents us from reprinting that appeal. What is, after all, the starvation of millions of children or the dreary misery of thousands of Russian revolutionary emigres before the revolution in comparison with the plight of this elite set? Did not Jesus himself say that "The poor ye will always have with ye," and does not the famous saying of an Austrian aristocrat that the "human being begins from the Baron upwards" hold quite as good for America, merely changing the "Baron" into Colonel or \$100,000?

Those Colonels, Generals and Princes do deserve our sympathy. We therefore suggest that they be awarded the \$37,000 recently collected by an ingenious crook from a number of business men on the promise of commercial "pull" with the new Russian Government as soon as those Generals and Princes would come back to their own. Justice demands, however, that part of this booty

should go for the relief of that other martyr to the Russian cause, Ole Hanson, who might never have landed in prison as fraudulent oil stock promoter had not his struggle against Bolshevism induced him to leave his quiet Seattle and to start his "activities" on a larger scale. . . .

True, there might be another way of relieving the misery of these fallen grands. They might go back to their country and find some occupation there. But they will not do it, for it is no longer "their" country in the exclusive sense of the word. They will probably prefer to live on American

alms than be treated on par with the rest of the Russian population.

Fortunately not all of the Russian emigres have such a highly developed sense of pride. Some of them are ready to talk matters over, evincing on such occasions a considerable amount of unconscious humor. An instance in point is Mr. Maklakov, formerly Kerensky's and later Kolchak's Ambassador in Paris. He is ready to come back, if the Bolsheviks are prepared to give up their dictatorship and to introduce democratic

(Continued on Page 81)

R. A. I. C. News

Advance, official organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, has this to say of the drive by the Friends of Soviet Russia:

"The intensive campaign conducted by the Friends of Soviet Russia for the sale of R. A. I. C. stock has had a very remarkable success. Hundreds of shares of stock have already been subscribed for and the undertaking of the R. A. I. C. has been brought to the attention of thousands of individuals and organizations.

"Over 100,000 pieces of literature were distributed in the course of the campaign through the mails, organizations and in the theaters where the F. S. R. motion picture, 'Russia Through the Shadows' was being shown."

* * *

In undertaking the transmission of money to Russia, the R. A. I. C. has won itself thousands of friends throughout the country. The fact that in the first five weeks of the existence of this service approximately \$100,000 was sent into Russia through the Amalgamated Bank in Chicago is ample proof of the need for the service. The R. A. I. C. has a few vital advantages over other transmission enterprises:

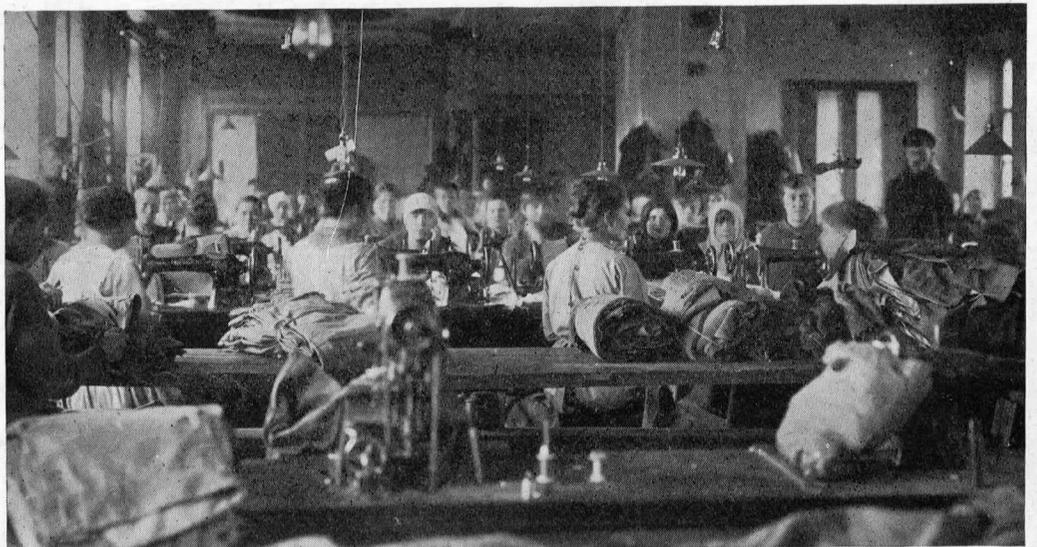
1. It guarantees that money sent will be paid in American dollars.
2. It charges only 7 per cent, where others charge as high as 15 and 20.
3. Because of its excellent Russian connections it transmits money with record speed. From Chicago to Odessa in ten days! That is a, typical case.

* * *

From Moscow the R. A. I. C. has received appreciative thanks for its work in serving both the workers of Russia and of America. The opening of the New York bank will make the service more effective. With the possibility of Russian recognition by the United States and the consequent trade looming large on the political horizon, it will be an advantage for the Workers' Republic to possess an ally in a labor bank on this side.

* * *

Among those who have subscribed for shares in the R. A. I. C. recently are Arthur Gleason, the well-known journalist and sociologist; P. W. Whitting of the University of Iowa; John Quinn of the Chicago Federation of Musicians; Mrs. Montford Hillsmith, of South Danbury, N. H.; Bishop Paul Jones, of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, New York; Dr. Ella Scarlett-Synge, of Freiburg in Baden, Germany.

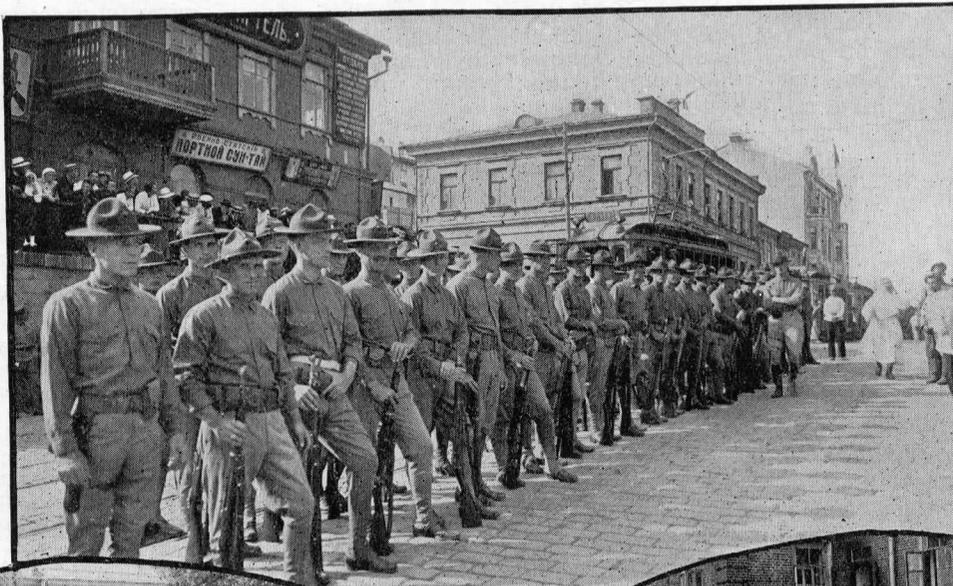


IN A MOSCOW CLOTHING FACTORY

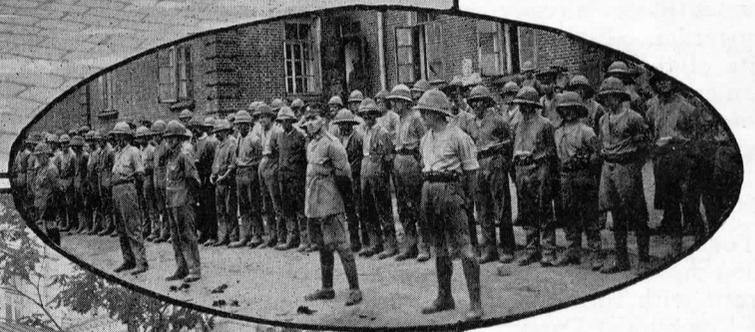
The above scene is from one of the busy factories already in operation under the joint management of the Russian-American Industrial Corporation and the Soviet Government.

Vladivostok: A Drama in Seven Scenes

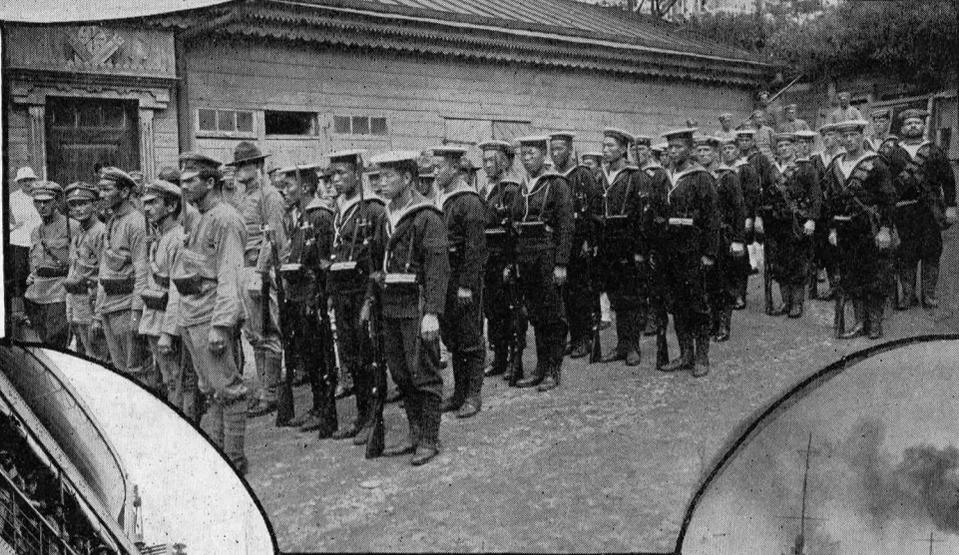
Right — American troops entered Vladivostok in the spring of 1918. They found Japanese, British and Czecho-Slovak soldiers already on spot.



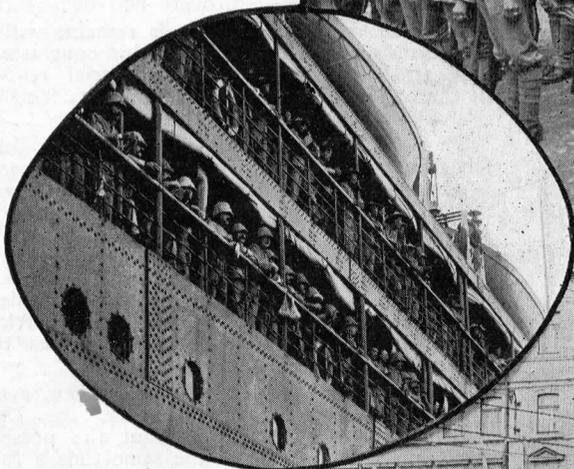
Below — British troops in the Far Eastern city, 1918. Great Britain acted from the beginning in concert with the Japanese.



Above — Czecho-Slovak artillery on a Vladivostok street. The Czechs were lured by Allied promises of independence to fight against the workers' revolution.



Left — An international brigade, composed mainly of Japanese, re-enforced by Russian Whites.

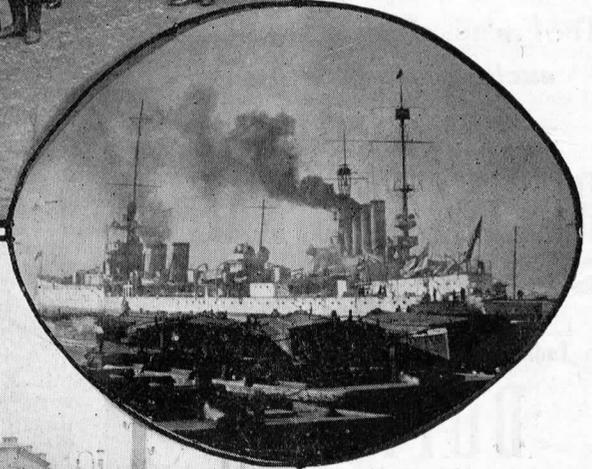


Above — The arrival of French troops in the harbor of Vladivostok.

Right — The assault of the whole world having failed to shake the power of the workers in the Far Eastern Republic, the Japanese evacuated the city toward the end of 1922, and the Red Army entered triumphantly, as shown here.



Above — The smoke of American, British, French, Japanese and Chinese warships mingles over the harbor of Vladivostok. For long years groups of warships remained thus at the gate of Russian Asia. But one by one they slid out of the harbor, defeated and shamed, their stories a blot upon the countries of their origin.



Russian Trade Unionism

(Continued from Page 69)

the entire working class. This is a higher development than in any other country of the world. But the Russians are not satisfied with this. They are working now to amalgamate several related unions, and when this is accomplished they will have but 16 divisions, all basic industries, in the entire trade union movement.

From the beginning of their active life, the Russian unions have striven with all their power to establish international relations with the labor movement of the world. It was on their initiative that the Red International of Labor Unions was formed. Standing at all times for the unity of the labor movement, they have refused to enter into any movement to establish new industrial internationals against those already existing in the Amsterdam International. This is in spite of the fact that the Amsterdamers have caused the Russian unions to be excluded from all the industrial international organizations. The Russians are indefatigable workers for international unity of the labor movement.

Today, as in the beginning, the trade union movement of Russia is in complete accord with the Soviet Government and the Communist Party. The Government and Party are always in the closest connection with the unions, and draw from them continually for new blood and fresh strength. The trade unions, from the beginning of the revolution to the present, are the foundation of the First Workers' Republic. The youngest movement outside of Asia, they are already the leaders of the labor movement of the world.

BOOKS REVIEWED

The Mirrors of Moscow, by Louise Bryant. New York: Thomas Seltzer, 1923, 209 pages.

If Louise Bryant does not quite enable us to see the leaders of Russia "through and through," as the jacket of the book promises rashly, she does take us round and round a good many of them. Indeed, it seems to us that where she essays penetration too conscientiously the book suffers in consequence. The central charm of the collection of word portraits lies in the delineation of surfaces, rather than their explanation. Where the author is off guard and permits herself the joy of some frank narrative, as in the chapter on Enver Pasha, she seems most true to her talents.

Those who start the book will finish it, which is more than can be said for many more pretentious books. But the reader will remember the stories and characteristic quotations rather than the definitive estimates of this or that Russian's place in history. It may be, of course, that Bukharin is "by far the most brilliant of the Russians," or

The chapter on Kalinin seems to us the most successful in the collection, perhaps the only one that leaves the impression of a full-sized portrait. With rare art the author has drawn him against his natural background, the Russian peasantry, in such wise that both Kalinin and the Russian peasantry gain in clearness and significance from the juxtaposition. The simplicity of the man's ways, his painstaking Communist evangelism among the peasants, his quiet kindness, give Kalinin a peculiarly original aspect among the revolutionary leaders. Revolution calls for more dramatic, more colossal qualities than these. These things Miss Bryant has limned indelibly through a simple record of the man's work and habits.

Those who pride themselves on a knowledge of Russian affairs cannot afford to miss this book. The author's knowledge of the Russian leaders seems to be only in a few instances really intimate, but at least it is always close. For the most part they are characters whom we know vaguely anyhow, so that the book serves to round out the images that we have formed. Besides, it is tremendously absorbing in its sheer opulence of anecdote and incidental comment. E. L.

From Nep to Socialism, by E. Preobrazhensky, Moscow, 1922.—In Russian.

What further developments await Soviet Russia now that it is on the road of the new economic policy? How can Russia, its economic life under socialistic leadership within capitalist forms, attain socialism? These are fundamental questions, to answer which requires the outlining of a program over a long period of time.

The author attempts an answer in a retrospective "history" constructed like Bellamy's "Looking Backward". Imagining himself in the year 1970 he outlines the events of the fifty years proceeding. He starts with the period of military communism, shows how the country was forced to promulgate the tax in kind and to make concessions to capitalism. The new economic policy, he seeks to demonstrate, can lead to a reconstruction of national economy, a strengthening of the proletariat and finally to socialism.

What is most striking in the book is that Preobrazhensky builds his scheme without enlisting the aid of a world revolution. He presents the development of Russia as in largest measure independent of Western Europe. Reconstruction proceeds through her own force.

The author's scientific Utopia remains within the bounds of the possible, and his conclusions are rather optimistic. The industrial revival of the country, as conceived by Preobrazhensky, is swift and extremely gratifying.

The story tells how with the help of long term state credits the concentration of industry is accomplished. In agriculture the big Soviet farms become of paramount importance, working as they do with the very latest technical improvements. Simultaneous with the improvement of agriculture there is the electrification of the country; in the end every town considers it a point of honor to have its own electrical power station. The automobile becomes the ordinary vehicle of every worker.

Preobrazhensky also sketches the "new man" of 1970. There is, for instance, the University Professor lecturing about the present transition period—he is at the same time a railway shop mechanic.

The last chapter deals with the Western European countries, showing how the decay of the capitalist world, going hand in hand with the revolutionizing of the working class, finally leads to civil war and to the establishment of a Soviet Republic—first in Germany and later all over Europe. At this point Soviet Russia, formerly ahead of Europe politically, takes her place behind the advanced industrial countries of the proletarian dictatorship. F. R.

Russia Today and Tomorrow is the title of the March issue of the *Survey Graphic*, devoted exclusively to Russian matters. It was edited by Mr. Savel Zimand who recently returned from Russia and wrote a number of interesting articles for various American papers. *Russia Today and Tomorrow* contains contributions by Lunacharsky, Lozovsky, Mme. Lenin and many other authoritative writers on Russian affairs. It is splendidly illustrated, and well worth careful reading.



ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI

—Césaire in "Mirrors of Moscow"

that Rykov, despite his palpable greatness, will not "go down in history as a great figure." But these are things that the mirrors of Moscow, be they ever so polished, do not reflect. The readers, fortunately, may be depended upon to forgive the presumption of hard-and-fast judgments on comparatively little evidence in consideration for Louise Bryant's honest recital of things she has heard from and about the men and women with whom she deals. Except for a few, the portraits are extremely sketchy, yet they lose nothing on that score. It is the sort of sketchiness with which we know our friends and acquaintances, leaving plenty of play for the imagination and consequently for the affections.

Both major and minor heroes of revolutionary Russia are included in the collection, and the surest proof that the author looks around rather than through them is that their heroism does not suffer from the scrutiny. In addition to Lenin and Trotsky—whose names go as glibly together as a well-advertised trade name—she treats Kalinin, Kamenev, Zinoviev, Dzierzynski, Lunacharsky, Kollontai, Chicherin, and such less familiar figures as Jacob Peters, Peter Stuchka, Krasnoshchokov, Krassin, etc., etc. Five caricatures by Césaire take the edge off a few of the author's superlatives.

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201 W. 13th St. New York City

An Appeal for the Children

By HELEN KELLER



IN A CHILDREN'S HOME, YEKATERINBURG

I FEEL more than "sympathy" with the destitute children of Russia. Words of sympathy crowd to my lips when I read how they suffer. I love them because they are children, and because they are denied the joy of childhood. I love them because round them clings the sanctity of the ideals and aspirations, the incredible courage and sacrifice of a people who uphold the hope of humanity. My heart is smitten by the bitter cry of those hungry little ones. The thought is unbearable that they should be sorrowing in a land where there is a passionate desire "to bring the light of joy into every child's eyes." Because the fathers and mothers of Russia have overthrown imperialism and established a Republic of Workingmen, their children are victims of the reactionary forces of the old social order. It is because the life-blood of the new order flows in their veins, because those children will be light-bearers to mankind, that they are made to languish and cry for bread. Starving and homeless they die because this rich, powerful America which we call our country wills that they shall die.

What a terrible thought that is! I do not mean that the people of this country are guilty of this ruthless crime. I believe that the United States is full of people who want to help Russia in her extremity, but they are thwarted by the government at Washington. Multitudes of men have been misled and bewildered by false propaganda. But now, it seems to me, a glimmering of the truth is beginning to penetrate the minds of the people.

Until saner ideas dominate governments, we who love Russia and believe in the Soviet Republic must help her bear the colossal burden which the ignorance and selfishness of men have laid upon her shoulders. The workingmen of America will surely come to the support of their fellow-workers in Russia if they understand the situation—if they can be made to realize that Russia's fight is part of their own fight for economic freedom.

The hostility of labor organizations to the Russian Revolution has been one of

the darkest tragedies of the class struggle. Oh, the ignorance of the workers! They fall with both feet and open eyes into the traps set for them by those who profit by their folly. It is a spectacle to make the gods weep to see the way they hang on to outworn formulas and obsolete methods. They are individualistic and selfish in their aims. Like their masters they are in the hands of two omnipotences, that of the wilfully blind and that of fools. I think, however, the workers are going through a process of getting new light on a number of subjects, and their employers are doing all in their power to make the process effective.

Pending this consummation, the great work of Russia in building up an industrial republic based on the common good is retarded. Never before has a nation been occupied with an enterprise so full of hope for the working class. Yet how feeble has been the encouragement of the workers! Will Russia reach her goal? Will the better world which the saviors of humanity have beheld at the bottom of their souls spring up before our eyes? Without doubt that world exists for the leaders of Soviet Russia, but will they succeed in establishing it upon earth? O ceaseless struggle! O anxiety! O travail! O Russia, your fate is charged with significance for the weal or the woe of mankind.

Fortunately for civilization, a great genius and a great heart are at the head of affairs in Russia—a man equal to his prodigious work—Nikolai Lenin, the "Little Father." Nothing turns him aside—ridicule or arguments or calumnies or the threat of enemies or the promises of would-be friends. Hailed a visionary and a fool, he calmly faces difficulties without, anguish within. To all who listen he says, "Be of good courage, be patient. The worst may yet be to come, but beyond that is a better world." And this is the spirit of the noble race we are called upon to help. Every one of us should feel it an honor to contribute all the assistance in our power. "Save Soviet Russia!" should be our watchword and sign of comradeship.

Facts and Fancies

(Continued from Page 78)

capitalism and capitalist democracy pure and simple. After that he could be relied upon to give the Communists a fair trial and dispatch them without any superfluous tortures as would have been done by Kolchak, possibly by the more democratic and progressive route of the guillotine or the electric chair. If the Communists really loved Russia they would accept this suggestion, hastening thereby the resumption of relations with the United States which time and again they have declared so necessary to their country.

Not all the untitled emigres are, however, in such a conciliatory mood. There is, for instance, the great writer, Dimitri Merezhkovsky—celebrated author of the "Antichrist." He declares that Bolshevism has contaminated all nations—or else these nations would have helped his unhappy country in her predicament. He foresees new wars, the Reign of the Beast (we suppose this is the Worker) and the end of the world. And he prefers to wait for his fate in sunny France.

There is still Alexander Kerensky whose opinion might be of interest. If you will believe a report in the *Industrial Solidarity* of February 12 (you don't have to), he is now working as a waiter in London and is probably too busy for writing. Poor Sasha! Had he not persisted in serving Russian mujiks to the imperialist slaughter-house on the command of his British masters, he would not have to serve English beef now in an ungrateful country. . . .

The name of Kerensky brings us back to his brothers-in-arms in other countries. We mean those "Socialists" who all over the world are the most loyal defenders of bourgeois democracy against the illegitimate encroachments of the revolutionary working class. Here is Eduard Bernstein, the theorist of Socialist "Revisionism," an honest soul who as early as twenty-five years ago blurted out the secret of the bourgeois, peaceful character of the Social Democratic movement. In the *New York Call* of March 8, we saw a report of an article of his in which he compared the November Revolution of Russia with the November Revolution of Germany of a year later. He comes to the conclusion that what happened in Russia was only a "coup d'etat against a revolution that was in full swing," while in Germany the revolution has created a real democracy which has greatly benefited the worker. True, the German "revolution" has not driven out a single landed nobleman, nor a single capitalist, nor displaced a single judge appointed by the Kaiser. True, the monarchist conspirators can murder any labor leader or even liberal or pacifist politician or journalist without being persecuted (of 400 cases of murder committed by the Whites in Germany hardly five have been brought to trial), but the "Socialist" job hunters gained admission to many positions that were closed to them under the Kaiser, and for that reason Germany has had a real revolution. . . .

After all this talk about Revolution and the miseries following in its wake it may be a relief to hear of some place in Central or Eastern Europe which has not suffered from its consequences. It has remained for a son-in-law of the interesting Mrs. Margot Asquith—the Rumanian Ambassador, Prince Bibesco—to point out this Eldorado. It is Bessarabia, the South Russian province grabbed by Rumania with the endorsement of the League of Nations. "Bessarabia," says this amiable gentleman in the *New York World* (February 25), "today is probably the only region of what was Imperial Russia which is happy." This is right. At least the Colonels, Generals and Princes there are—their estates and jobs have not been taken away by dirty peasants and workers, and they don't have to apply to Mrs. Roosevelt Derby for charity. . . .

Friends of Soviet Russia Activities

THE difficulty and unpleasantness involved in sending packages to Russia—difficulties both for the senders and for those to whom they were sent—are now a thing of the past. The Friends of Soviet Russia Transmission Department, 201 West 13th Street, New York, is in full operation. It works through the International Workers' Relief, which has been conducting package service for European countries for a long while and has its transmission machinery well organized. These are the essential points in the new service:

1. Packages enter Russia *duty-free*. The F. S. R. is the only American organization which has this privilege. It means that the addressee will have nothing whatever to pay.

2. Delivery is guaranteed. The payment for transmission covers insurance, which will be paid promptly in case of loss.

Those desiring to avail themselves of the service should obtain a copy of the application form from the Transmission Department. The form also contains a complete statement of rules and conditions.

* * *

Charles P. Steinmetz, the internationally famous electrical engineer, and Helen Keller, the writer and humanitarian, are now on the Advisory Committee of the F. S. R.

* * *

Helen Keller, whose article appears in another part of this issue, donated \$100 towards the Home for Blind Children in Russia which bears her name. The John Reed Homes and the Eugene V. Debs Children's Village are also established already. From Chicago comes the news that a Chicago Children's Home will be undertaken by labor groups from that city. Local New York of the F. S. R. has 1,000 Russian orphans under its care. The Detroit local is going to adopt 100. These are but a few indications of the work under way.

* * *

Harvesting machinery is needed on the F. S. R. farm in Perm in order to round out the success of the Agricultural Unit. That is the message brought by Harold Ware, just returned from the scene of the undertaking.

* * *

The success of the F. S. R. film, "Russia Through the Shadows," is far greater than our most ardent well-wishers even dared to hope. After the great reception in Philadelphia came one in Boston, with Symphony Hall crowded to capacity and enthusiasm running high. Then it reached New York, and had Lexington Theater been twice its present size it might have held the crowd that clamored to get in. As it is, great numbers went away disappointed because they could not gain admission.



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.

The Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor has adopted a vigorous resolution condemning the State Board of Motion Picture Censors for its interference with the film "Russia Through the Shadows." Although the National Board of Review has passed the picture with high commendation, the Pennsylvania Board insisted upon changes, most of them anti-labor in character.

What the workers of Cleveland and St. Paul have done for Russia (see photograph), those of other cities are doing also. Recently Yonkers, N. Y., and Peabody, Mass., branches of the F. S. R. have donated tractors to the Workers Republic. Ansonia, Conn., and Indiana Harbor, Ind., have also joined forces to raise funds for one tractor. The F. S. R. urges such co-operation of cities unable to buy tractors alone.

Russia's Foreign Trade in 1922

IMPORTS: JANUARY-OCTOBER, 1922

THE following table gives the imports during the first ten months of 1922, divided into ten categories for goods used by the Russian Customs offices. The figures are in tons and in thousands of gold roubles at 1913 prices. The totals for the categories are given in separate columns from the detailed amounts, of which only the more important items are given. Please note that the amounts in the last two columns are in *thousands* of gold roubles (1 gold rouble equals 51 cents).

IMPORTS ANALYZED BY GOODS

	Tons (total)	Tons (items)	Thousand gold roubles	Thousand gold roubles
1. Foodstuffs	964,580		88,289	
Grain		767,700		56,515
Sugar		49,200		8,218
Meat		12,250		5,796
Fish		114,500		10,630
2. Animal products	7,230		9,728	
Manure		3,800		92
Hides		1,800		8,728
3. Timber & Seed	199,800		3,760	
Timber		189,980		1,140
Seed		8,870		2,249
4. Earthenware	5,700		691	
5. Fuel (coal)	552,250		11,715	
6. Chemicals	24,920		13,560	
7. Metals, etc.	129,450		72,930	
Metals		14,000		2,899
Locomotives		61,580		34,494
Tanks, Freight Cars		12,150		4,124
Agricultural machinery		4,780		1,722
Various machinery		11,270		11,985
8. Paper	47,370		10,506	
9. Ropes and fabrics	6,830		12,968	
Cloth		1,550		9,709
Sacking		3,830		2,439
10. Clothing	2,050		23,705	
Total	1,939,980		247,853	

In addition to the imports detailed in the above table some 632,500 tons were imported directly for famine relief. The value of these stores may be estimated at 173,000,000 gold roubles at 1913 prices. The total quantity of goods entering Russia during these ten months thus exceeded 2,500,000 tons in weight and 420,000,000 1913 roubles in value (about \$210,000,000).

It will be remembered that before the war Russia occasionally found it cheaper to buy foodstuffs in North America for the north-eastern provinces, although there was an exportable surplus of grain in other parts of Russia. The Russian railways before the war were carrying a heavier load daily per mile of track than even the American railways, and the resultant level of freights, combined with the great distances, made the transport of wheat from one end of the country to the other extremely costly. The loads per track-mile on the Russian railways are now, of course, very much less, but the shortage of equipment and the destruction caused by the civil war makes the carriage of large quantities of wheat even more difficult than formerly. It may therefore be necessary to import a certain amount of foodstuffs during the present year and in 1924, despite the possibility that Russia, given good harvests, will again be exporting grain on a considerable scale in a year's time from now.

In the following table the imports for famine relief are taken together with those for commercial and industrial purposes, and the total figures for 1921 are compared with those for the first ten months of 1922. The table shows the countries which mainly benefited from Russia's return to the world market, and the extent to which each country participated. The countries are those of origin, not those in which the purchases were made.

IMPORTS ANALYZED BY COUNTRIES

	In tons		In thousand gold roubles	
	1921	Ten months, 1922	1921	Ten months, 1922
United States ..	132,400	852,200	43,422	143,711
Germany	170,500	278,100	48,176	117,051
Britain	241,800	602,250	56,384	50,088
Latvia	9,300	86,800	2,288	22,960
Sweden	51,000	75,500	12,259	12,656
Estonia	36,450	94,450	6,364	12,306
Norway	11,200	112,450	2,915	11,353
Poland	900	21,000	226	9,551
Finland	7,500	217,500	1,780	9,189
France	2,300	11,000	7,815	5,288
Argentina	6,000	48,700	645	4,004
Other countries ..	54,000	140,000	1,639	22,104
Total	723,300	1,939,950	193,913	420,261

EXPORTS: JANUARY-OCTOBER, 1922

The goods exported are divided into the four main categories which cover the pre-war exports of Russia. Two of these categories, cattle and manufactured goods, have practically disappeared, and foodstuffs also show a very much smaller proportion to the total exports than was the case before the war. The figures for raw and semi-manufactured materials can be left to speak for themselves. The figures in heavy type are the totals for each category, those in ordinary type are the important items in each category. The values in thousand gold roubles are at pre-war prices:

EXPORTS ANALYZED BY GOODS

	10 mths. 1921 (tons)	10 mths. 1922 (tons)	10 mths. 1921 (1,000 gd.rbls.)	10 mths. 1922 (1,000 gd.rbls.)
(1) Foodstuffs, etc.	7,900	7,300	835	2,882
Salt	5,950	2,000	90	28
Tobacco	900	3,800	530	2,050
(2) Raw and semi-manufactured materials	163,000	778,050	12,388	60,135
Timber	135,350	550,300	3,187	13,347
Flax	5,200	29,200	1,623	9,131
Hemp	1,400	7,900	52	2,960
Hides and skins	1,750	5,700	3,992	7,085
Lubricating oil	—	6,700	—	472
Oil	250	41,500	54	8,336
Pitch and tar	6,000	4,600	294	233
Manganese ore	3,100	28,300	37	328
Metal ores	—	55,000	—	5,709
(3) Cattle	15	30	9	67
(4) Manufactured goods	70	2,600	148	2,708
Total	171,985	787,980	13,379	65,795

EXPORTS ANALYZED BY COUNTRIES

	10 mths. 1921 (tons)	10 mths. 1922 (tons)	10 mths. 1921 (1,000 gd. rbls.)	10 mths. 1922 (1,000 gd. rbls.)
Britain	77,900	322,600	7,190	19,976
Germany	4,300	97,550	565	10,231
Turkey	7,000	40,500	574	9,570
Latvia	44,650	83,400	2,759	8,248
Estonia	1,500	47,000	—	—
Finland	—	87,600	—	3,335
Poland	—	13,650	—	2,212
Persia	900	3,950	64	1,156
Holland	5,900	80,600	157	1,037
Italy	100	10,400	5	962
Norway	27,950	11,100	1,495	466
France	—	13,700	—	368
Other countries	700	16,200	132	1,024
Total	170,900	828,250	13,379	65,795

The Blacksmith of Yekaterinoslav

(The following extract is taken from a letter to the Moscow "Pravda" from B. D. Vladimirsky, a worker of Yekaterinoslav):

IT happened this way: just before the anniversary of the Revolution, in November, the workers in our factory held a meeting and decided to rename it the "Lenin Works." And they decided that Ilyich (Lenin) himself was to be put on the staff list as the first worker of the factory.

Next month the workers came to get their wages, and someone asked "How much is Ilyich getting? What class of workers have they put him in?"

The paying clerk did not know. It seemed that there was no record of the

factory's new worker, V. I. Lenin. The workers began to ask questions, all at once. "Well," answered the paying clerk, "we should be delighted, of course, but we don't know how to class him. And then his qualifications . . ."

"You're a fine lot," grumbled the workers. And then and there, in the paying office, a meeting was called to decide on Ilyich's wages. A member of the factory committee was told to report on Lenin's qualifications. He replied, "To the best of our belief he has passed all the tests there are, and can carry out any job needed of him." Then a hot discussion developed.

"We are the majority—he is one of us," said the spokesman of the smelters. "No, no," cried the turners, "we have already claimed him." And the moulders said he must belong to them, and there was a fine confusion.

At last the factory blacksmith, who has a big voice, got up in the corner of the room. His voice drowned the others and they were quiet. "Our Ilyich ought to be a blacksmith. (General uproar.) Be quiet and listen! Why a blacksmith? Because he holds the hammer; Russia belongs to the hammer and the sickle; and because he is breaking the chains of capitalism."

General applause and agreement. There are two blacksmiths now at our factory. Lenin gets the highest rate of wages, category nine; and the money is used to carry out his slogan "Down with illiteracy." Half of his wages goes to support the illiterates' class, a quarter to the education of the factory workers' children, and a quarter to help in supporting workers sent by their unions to technical schools or to the universities.



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Do you know the extent to which the interlocking directors of railroads and steel and oil and coal and credit in the United States are also the interlocking trustees of American "higher" education? Do you think that our colleges and universities should be modeled on the lines of our government, or on the lines of our department-stores? Do you know that eighty-five per cent of college and university professors are dissatisfied with being managed by floor-walkers. Do you know for how many different actions and opinions a professor may lose his job? Do you know how many professors have to do their own laundry? Do you know why American college presidents with few exceptions are men who do not tell the truth? Do you know to what extent "social position" takes precedence over scholarship in American academic life? Do you know to what extent our education has become a by-product of gladiatorial combats?

A few of the institutions dealt with:

The University of the House of Morgan; The University of Lee-Higginson; The University of U. G. I.; The Tiger's Lair; The Bull-dog's Den; The University of the Black Hand; The University of the Lumber Trust; The University of the Chimes; The Universities of the Anaconda; The University of the Latter Day Saints; The Mining Camp University; The Colleges of the Smelter Trust; The University of Wheat; The University of the Ore Trust; The University of Standard Oil; The University of Judge Gary; The University of the Grand Duchess; The University of Automobiles; The University of the Steel Trust; The University of Heaven; The University of Jabbergrab.

A few other chapter headings:

The Interlocking President; Nicholas Miraculous; The Lightning-Change Artist; The Academic Department-Store; Stealing a Trust Fund; Peacocks and Slums; The Fortress of Mediaevalism; The Dean of Imperialism; The Stanford Skeleton; The Academic Wink; Education F. O. B., Chicago; The Harpooner of Wales; The Process of Fordization; The Growth of Jabbergrab; The Large Mushrooms; The Little Toad-Stools; The Orang-Outang Hunters; The Semi-Simian Mob; The Rah-Rah Boys; Damn the Faculty; The Foundations of Fraud; The Bolshevik Hunters; The Helen Ghouls; The Shepard's Crook; The Academic Rabbits.

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Russian Art Objects

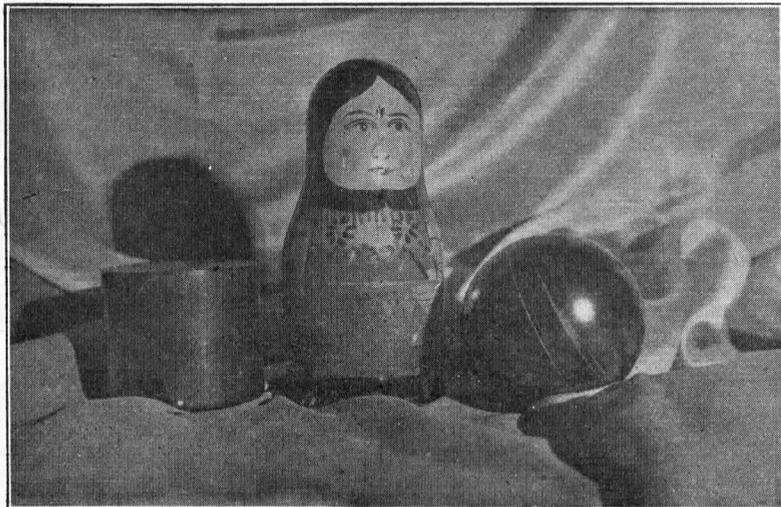


Fig. 1—Complete Set

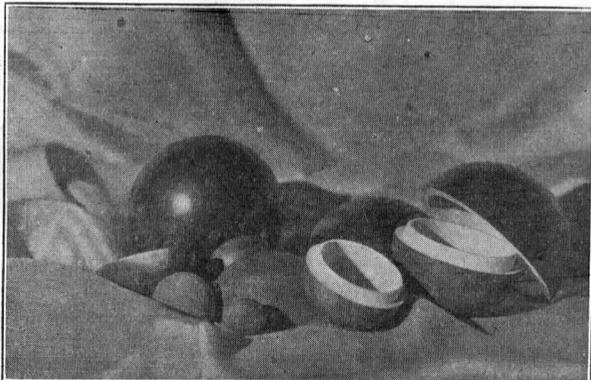


Fig. 2—Ball

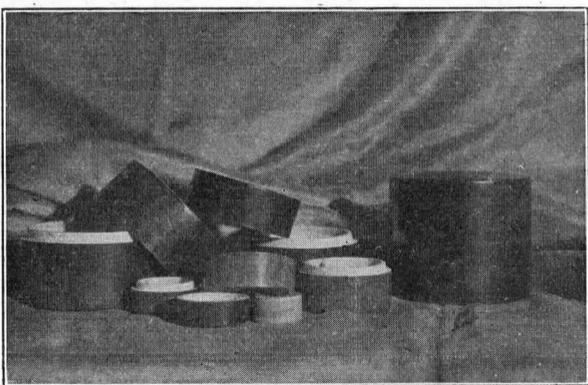


Fig. 3—Box



Fig. 4—Doll

as premiums with subscriptions and renewals to the *Soviet Russia Pictorial*.

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(If not entitled to full set, mark which you want.) Address _____

Fig. 1 shows a set of three toys. Figs. 2, 3 and 4 show each of these separately. The toys are a Russian novelty. When the cover is taken off a smaller duplicate of the objects is revealed. When that is peeled off, a third still smaller edition appears, etc., etc. The sets come in LARGE and SMALL sizes.

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book, but distribution costs remain the same—5c per book. That is the problem I am working upon now, and I may solve it. I have a plan which I intend to try out with readers of this announcement. In brief, what I must do is simply this: the sales cost per book must be reduced from 5c per book to 1c per book. That means we must get five times as much business on the same advertising and distribution outlay. Am I asking too much? That remains to be seen. The response to this amazing announcement will decide the question. There is nothing so convincing as an actual test, and that is the real reason for this sale.

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Financial Statement of the Friends of Soviet Russia

National Office, 201 West 13th Street, New York City.

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

From date of Organization, August 9, 1921, to January 31, 1923

Statement "A"

The INCOME of the National Office is received chiefly from F. S. R. Locals and other Workers' Organizations. Receipts are issued for income received and published in detail. For the first fiscal year, ended July 31, 1922, there was received and reported, Receipt Nos. 1 to 12115 \$734,922.70

For the second fiscal year, Receipts Nos. 12116 to 17505 have been reported in detail, a total of 67,668.76

For January, 1923, of the second fiscal year, Receipt Nos. 17506 to 19025 are to be published in detail elsewhere 16,799.84

Through American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee, as reported in detail 45,318.87

Total Received and Acknowledged \$864,710.17

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

For the first fiscal year \$878.96
For the second fiscal year to date 245.44
1,124.40

Making a Total of \$865,834.57

From which is DEDUCTED the following:

For the first fiscal year previously detailed \$5,448.01

For the second fiscal year to date:

Bank Charges, etc. 15.63
Checks Returned by Bank, Receipts Nos. 13710, 14315, 15633, 16505, 16852, 17105, 18148, 18470, 18564, 18663 37.90
Lost through burglary:
Contributions previously detailed \$388.60
Less Duplicate checks issued by donors for Receipts Nos. 13742, 13733, 13728, 13710, 13706, 13724, 13690, 13734, 13692, 13718, 13732 .. 88.00
300.60
Cost of Acquiring Toys \$1,759.89
Cost of Selling Toys 1,925.71
Cost of Advertising Toys 33.00
3,718.60

Adjustments to Prior Year, Credit \$4,072.73
72.46
4,000.27
\$9,448.28

Leaving INCOME RECEIVED BY NATIONAL OFFICE \$856,386.29

BUSINESS OFFICE EXPENSES:

In order to carry on the work of receiving funds, valuables and clothes, making appeals, and spending the money for relief and aid, the National Office needs a secretary, office employees and a business office. The expenses paid for these needs are:
For first fiscal year, previously detailed \$29,222.40
For second fiscal year to date detailed in Statement "B" below 13,376.98
Through A.F.R.F.R.C., previously detailed 6,587.56
49,186.94

Leaving INCOME LESS BUSINESS OFFICE EXPENSES \$807,199.35

Part of this amount was used for PUBLICITY and APPEAL EXPENSES:

- (a) In raising the total income.
- (b) In collecting clothes.
- (c) In aiding Soviet Russia by the dissemination of friendly information.
- (d) Latterly, the friendly information has for its specific object the promotion of the Russian-American Industrial Corporation (Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America). The appeals for funds and clothes and the dissemination of information is made largely through locals.

In order to assist Locals and other Workers' organizations the National Office sent speakers and films throughout the country, published advertisements and literature and furnished supplies. The amount of money which the National Office spent for these purposes is explained in detail in statements herewith referred to. The National Office could charge much of this amount to Locals, making them pay for speakers' services and expenses and for literature distributed in their territory, although that would mean a lot more work, more bookkeeping. Instead of that these expenses are deducted from the amount which is sent in by Locals and other Workers' organizations in order to show how much the income received by the National Office amounts to after the deduction of all expenses, whether paid by Locals or by the National Office; thus:

Publicity and Appeal Expenses by National Office:
For first fiscal year, previously detailed \$93,888.71
For second fiscal year to date detailed in Statement "C" below 33,618.52
Through A.F.R.F.R.C. previously detailed 21,117.63
\$148,624.86

Leaving a balance AVAILABLE for MATERIAL RELIEF of SOVIET RUSSIA \$658,574.49

Most of this amount has already been SPENT FOR RELIEF as follows:

American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee, shipped food, equipment and an agricultural relief unit Remitted to Arbeiterhilfe, Auslandskomite, Berlin (The Workers' Aid—Foreign Com.) \$498,503.48
Food Shipments direct 79,881.25
In transit through delegate for purchase of tools in Germany Tool Drive Purchases, direct: and freight thereon 2,185.73
10,000.00
Russian Red Cross, Medical Unit No. 2, specific contribution remitted thereto 865.00
1,987.50
\$593,422.96

Brought forward \$593,422.96
Manufacture of 1000 dresses by donated labor of L. G. W. U. Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia—Subsidy for training technicians for Agricultural Relief Unit 2,288.94
Freight, express, trucking, warehouse, packing, cartage and shipping charges, on old clothes contributed 4,489.50
Federated, International and Russian conference expense, for distribution of relief and organization of further aid 9,799.80
20,203.06
\$630,204.26

Leaving a BALANCE ON HAND OF \$28,370.23

Which is mostly in CASH ready to be spent for RELIEF, but is also represented partly by OTHER ASSETS to be used for raising funds or for EXPENSES of the business office, as follows:

Cash in Bank \$22,023.44
Petty Cash on Hand 1,000.00
Advance to Speakers and Sections 3,135.08
Office Furniture and Equipment (Cost less one year's depreciation) 2,283.12
Deposits for Electricity, Gas and Lease 145.00
Books and Busts purchased for sale, less sold 763.31
Expense, paid in Advance 375.92
\$29,725.87

DEDUCT:
Funds held awaiting definite instructions \$ 355.64
Funds reserved for payment of expenses incurred 1,000.00
1,355.64
\$28,370.23

BUSINESS OFFICE EXPENSES

For six months of the Second Fiscal Year to January 31, 1923

* Wages
Secretary \$1,040.00
Office Staff 7,710.00
Office Rent 1,140.00
Office Space—Fittings, alterations, maintenance, cleaning, light and heat 212.56
Office Supplies, etc. 480.89
Printing and Stationery 430.06
Telegrams 152.58
Telephone 172.47
Outside phone calls, carfares, etc. 177.44
Auditor's charges 1,762.85
Insurance, fire 98.13
\$13,376.98

* Maximum rate of wages is \$40 per week.

PUBLICITY AND APPEAL EXPENSES

For six months of the Second Fiscal Year to January 31, 1923

* Wages
Speakers and Organizers \$1,300.50
Addressers 3,997.46
Publicity: Writers, Translator, and Movie Director 2,663.40
Traveling—Speakers and Organizers 2,041.61
Postage 5,876.57
Envelopes and Wrappers 796.01
Official Organ, "Soviet Russia,"—subsidy 3,900.00
Bulletins 331.00
Advertisements 3,224.30
Leaflets and folders printed and distributed 2,026.87
Posters and show cards 403.65
Motion Picture and Stereopticon Equipment 3,897.39
Miscellaneous Movie Expenses 348.60
Cuts, mats, cartoons, etc. 1,215.62
Organization supplies, lists, buttons, etc. 1,915.81
Information Service 81.68

Less Sale of and Refunds on Pamphlets and Cards \$34,020.47
401.95
\$33,618.52

* Maximum rate of wages is \$40 per week.

** On January 22, 1923 the Friends of Soviet Russia, National Office, absorbed the American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee, New York, which operated from September 20, 1921, to that date as a separate organization, but virtually as a purchasing department of the Friends of Soviet Russia. The accounts of the two organizations were consolidated as of January 22, 1923.

AUDITOR'S CERTIFICATE

I have examined the accounts of the National Office of the Friends of Soviet Russia, New York, N. Y., for the first fiscal year, August 9, 1921, to July 31, 1922, and for six months of the second fiscal year to January 31, 1923, and of the American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee 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. Clothes and other necessities received for shipment are not included. In general, expenses have been paid promptly, but expenses incurred and not paid are not included.

The above statements, "A," "B," and "C," are of the National Office and the American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee only and are not consolidated to include receipts and disbursements of affiliated locals. Remittances from locals on account of net income are included. Locals are responsible to their own contributors for the acknowledgment and disposition of funds collected.

In my opinion the above statements, "A," "B," and "C," are drawn up to present a true and correct view of the cash transaction for the period and of the state of the funds as at the close of the period.

J. B. COLLINGS WOODS,
299 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.
February 26, 1923.
Chartered Accountant

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WHY DOES THE WORLD KNOW ABOUT THE RUSSIAN FAMINE?

In Russia

famines have been a common occurrence since the year 1891.

During the Tsar's regime Cossacks were always sent to the afflicted area with instructions to force the peasants not to leave their villages.

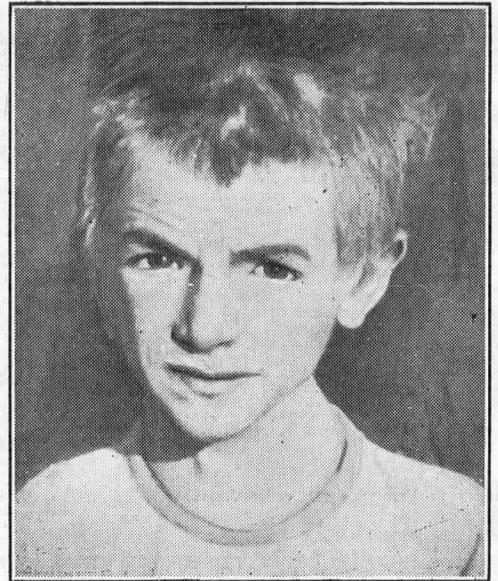
In this manner thousands died but the world knew nothing about it.

To-Day

the Soviet Government has thrown open the best buildings to the sufferers. It has attempted in every possible manner to save the unfortunates.

It has appealed to the workers of the world for assistance in this gigantic undertaking.

That is why the whole world knows about THIS famine. That is why we know that



There Are Two Million Orphans

a percentage of which are a direct result of the famine.

The greater portion are the toll paid for the capitalist war and blockade waged against the First Workers' Republic.

We appeal to you to **ADOPT AN ORPHAN.**

Fill in blank below and mail to

FRIENDS of SOVIET RUSSIA, 201 West 13th Street, New York

OPEN THE GATES TO NEW HOMES

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?

S. R. P.

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

S. R. P.