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and
FABRICATIONS
about
SOVIET RUSSIA

BY
EVANS CLARK



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FACTS *and*
FABRICATIONS
about **SOVIET RUSSIA**

BY
EVANS CLARK

Formerly Director, Department of Information, Bureau of the
Representative in the United States of the Russian
Socialist Federal Soviet Republic



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FOREWORD

This is a guide-book for searchers after truth in a wilderness of intellectual confusion. It might be called a field key to American information about Soviet Russia. It is designed to enable the reader to identify a fabrication at sight, to make a fair guess at what is a fact and to know just where the truth may be found in the morass of conflicting propaganda.

The method used is simple. I have attempted to describe in brief review the most obvious falsehoods about Russia that have passed current in the United States since the October Revolution that swung the Bolshevik group into power,—those falsehoods which need no further refutation than subsequent events or the belated denials of their perpetrators. I have also tried to show the source of these fabrications and where they may be expected to appear in the future.

On the other hand, I have listed, with brief comments thereon, all the published material on Soviet Russia available in America which can be relied upon the present the facts with a reasonable degree of accuracy. This list includes books, pamphlets, and magazine articles. It has seemed unwise to attempt any survey of newspaper articles. I have, however, listed those daily papers which have shown a capacity to print reliable accounts of Russian conditions under the new regime.

It is my hope that acquaintance with already existing species of facts and fabrications about Soviet Russia will not only be of some assistance in the formulation of an intelligent opinion on the subject, but will also help to develop a technique which will be of value in future reading and study.

EVANS CLARK.

NEW YORK CITY,
JUNE 1, 1920.

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PART I

FABRICATIONS

TRUTH BLOCKADED

The blockade of Russia by the Allied and Associated Powers has been characterized by one of America's leading journals as "the most inexcusable and barbarous atrocity of the world war." The next place in the order of atrocities may well be assigned to the efforts of the powerful newspapers, magazines and individuals, both in and out of office, in the Allied countries, to overthrow the government of Russia by converting the channels of public information into propaganda designed to bring about a violent revolution and armed intervention against the constituted authorities of the Soviet State.

Both of these atrocities—like most atrocities—have worked more ill upon their perpetrators than upon the victims themselves. The blockade has prevented foodstuffs from reaching the famished inhabitants of Moscow and Petrograd, but it has also prevented information from reaching the people of London and New York. What little information has run the blockade has been converted into the most absurd canards against the Russian masses and the government they have set up. The one has reacted upon and strengthened the other in a vicious circle. The continuance of the blockade was made possible only because neither statesmen, nor the people they are supposed to serve, knew the truth about Russia.

The results of this policy of isolation and suppression and distortion of facts have already been written in three years' history of complete Allied disaster in Russia—military, diplomatic and commercial. On the one hand, the unprecedented policy of armed force and blockade, used in furtherance of the openly admitted object of overthrowing a foreign government with whom the Allies were at peace, has undoubtedly united all Russian factions in the support of the Soviet Government and contributed vastly to its invincible strength on the military and political fields. On the other hand, the same policy has cost the Allies millions of dollars, thousands of lives and

an almost incalculable volume of trade in manufactured goods, and raw materials for the reconstruction of their industries.

The Russian Revolution has, in fact, disclosed the complete bankruptcy of the conservative press, government officials, leading business men and publicists as sources of reliable information. Almost every prominent man in and out of government circles in the Allied nations has, during the last three years, made public confession of a density of ignorance about Russia that—were the same ignorance displayed on any other subject—would have destroyed his reputation for stability and sound judgment. The same is true of practically every conservative newspaper in Europe and America.

The attacks upon the Government of Soviet Russia by responsible officials of the United States Government, not to mention the governments of other Allied nations, have violated all canons of diplomatic and social custom and propriety. The United States has at no time been at war with Russia. President Wilson emphasized this in the famous fourteen points which he laid down as the conditions of a just peace. He went so far, in his address to Congress, Jan. 8, 1918, three months after the Soviet Government came into power, as to demand "the evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest cooperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire."

In spite of this solemn pronouncement the government of the United States, including the President himself, the press and prominent men and women the country over, have united in a campaign of abuse against Russia, to say nothing of the invasion of Russian territory by the armies of the United States, which would have amounted to a *casus belli* a hundred times over with any other country.

A brief review of the most striking illustrations of this anti-Russian propaganda is necessary for any understanding of American public opinion about Russia. The examples are so vast in number that it is difficult to make a choice. Those that are given are but an insignificant proportion of those that might be given. They are merely typical instances of what has been going on daily in every part of the country for the past three years.

BANKERS AS PROPHETS

The National City Bank is recognized as one of the leading authorities in the United States on financial and business affairs. In January, 1917, two months before the March Revolution and only nine months before the proletarian Revolution that swept away the entire structure of private property in Russia, the Executive Manager of this bank, Mr. Samuel McRoberts, delivered an address which was published as a pamphlet by the bank and sent to its clients as a guide for business men and investors. The subject of his address, and the title of the pamphlet, was "Russia."

Mr. McRoberts described with a considerable wealth of statistical material what he considered the condition of Russia from the point of view of the American investor. Toward the end of his address he gave his opinion on the future of the country. It is recorded on page 15 of the pamphlet:

In criticizing and forecasting the political future of Russia great emphasis has been laid upon the spirit of unrest and the agitation of the Nihilist, the Democrat, or the Conservative-Progressive. It has been overlooked that the great mass of the Russian people remain loyal to the hereditary ruler, and the discontent is not with the crowned head, but with what may be assumed to be the miscarriage of his intentions. Furthermore, the Russian people are a peculiarly religious people, with an unparalleled unity in religious belief and practice. These elements in the situation render it impossible for any revolution to make progress unless its aims are conservative and it contains a religious element. . . . It is well understood in Russia that a constitutional government must be evolved out of the situation and cannot be obtained by revolution and no apprehension may be felt for the stability of the personal or property rights of the foreign investor.

One of the chief executives of the same National City Bank, after a tour of most of the countries of Europe to observe social, economic and political conditions, and after having been received in this country by press and public as a sort of oracle on affairs abroad, said to the author of these lines in June, 1919, a week or so after he arrived from his tour:

The Soviet regime can last but a few months more at the most. The Allies will continue the blockade; it will not be lifted. The United States and the other Allies will never treat in any way with the present government. They will only negotiate with a government of sanity and stability.

THE ROOTS OF THE RUSSIAN MYTH

The words "sanity and stability" are typical. The myth which the rulers of the Allied countries have built up about

Russia rests upon the assumption, first, that the Soviet regime is unstable—"tottering" is the most thumb-marked word in this connection; and, second, that it is insane. These are its roots. From them the rest of the myth has grown and blossomed and borne fruit. Nothing but the delusion of "instability" in Russia could have explained and excused the attempt of the Allies to crush by force of arms the political structure set up by 200,000,000 people inhabiting an area of one-fifth of the entire surface of the globe. Nothing but the delusion of "insanity" could have explained and excused the complete and compulsory isolation of a whole nation from intercourse with the rest of the world.

Had public men and newspapers not continually prophesied the "early collapse" of the Soviet power, public opinion in the Allied countries would have made an end of the project of armed intervention before it was even put into effect. Had the public mind not been inflamed with the idea that Bolshevism was actually a disease of the mind that spread like small-pox, the cordon sanitaire could not even have been conceived.

Instability and insanity have been the roots of the Russian myth. The full bloom may be characterized in a single sentence. Soviet Russia has come to mean to the average man the temporary terrorization of the Russian masses by a small group of crazy cut-throats, murderers and assassins bribed by German gold. Starting with the assumption of insanity and instability this conception seems not only possible but probable. From such assumptions stories of atrocities, terror of every conceivable kind, German bribes, starvation, loot, rapine and unbridled fury, grew up over night and flourished and came to represent Russia in the public mind.

It has taken an army of 2,000,000 determined and disciplined men, and two and a half years of increasing civil and political order in Soviet Russia; it has taken the complete collapse of Allied strategy and diplomacy, and it has taken thousands of human lives, and suffering beyond measure, to undermine the Soviet myth. Insanity and instability do not produce order and discipline, military strength, and victory on more than a dozen fronts against the combined force and intrigue of the entire world. For the mass of people in America the myth still exists, but each week's batch of news dispatches makes its life more hazardous.

There has been, of course, about as much truth in all this pean of abuse that has come to represent Russia in the public mind as there was in the statements of the bank officials quoted above. Some of the grossest fabrications have already

been exposed and admitted, even by their authors themselves. But by far the majority of them, uncorrected and undenied, have been left to build up by mass impact, if nothing else, the point of view of the average man and the government official alike about Russia under the Soviet regime.

UNITED STATES OFFICIAL FABRICATIONS

The Sisson Documents

Perhaps the most impressive fabrication in the United States was perpetrated by the United States Government itself, and has probably caused more confusion and ignorance about Russia than any other purely American product. The so-called "Sisson Documents," purporting to be genuine original papers, were collected by the Committee on Public Information and issued in pamphlet form in October, 1918. In a rather lurid introduction the Committee pointed out "the truth" which the "documents" in their opinion proved—that the entire Bolshevik regime was a German conspiracy, conceived and financed by the then Imperial German Government. In the words of the introduction:

The documents show that the heads of the Bolshevik Government—Lenin and Trotzky and their associates—are German agents. They show that the Bolshevik revolution was arranged for by the German Great General Staff and financed by the German Imperial Bank. They show that the treaty of Brest-Litovsk was a betrayal of the Russian people by the German agents, Lenin and Trotzky. . . . They show, in short, that the present Bolshevik Government is not a Russian government at all, but a German government acting solely in the interests of Germany and betraying the Russian people . . . for the benefit of the Imperial German Government alone.

The issuance of this pamphlet was heralded by a flood of clever press publicity, which was eagerly seized upon by editors from coast to coast and featured with the most sensational displays. From that day to this, vast numbers of good-hearted but naive American citizens have been convinced that the Kaiser was responsible for the Russian Revolution and that Lenin and Trotzky were "nothing else than paid agents of the German Government," as the phrase runs. For some, the part played by Soviet Russia in the eventual collapse of the Imperial German Government has caused suspicion of the whole canard, but the mental processes of the vast majority probably still slip with accustomed ease from Lenin to the bribes of the former Kaiser.

A very few of the more careful editorial writers did not accept these "documents" from the first—the New York *Evening Post*, the *Nation*, the *New Republic* among them. Since then their prestige has rapidly declined even among the less cautious. One of the most pointed attacks of many which have been made by conservative critics appears in E. H. Wilcox's recent book, entitled "Russia's Ruin," published in 1919 by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Mr. Wilcox, who is an ardent opponent of Soviet theory and practice, was formerly Petrograd correspondent for the *Daily Telegraph* of London. On page 248 he says:

The great effort to prove Lenin's complicity with the governments of the Central Empires was the series of documents collected by the American Committee on Public Information and published by that body as a pamphlet, with the title, "The German Bolshevik Conspiracy." This pamphlet will always remain a monument of that paralysis of the critical faculties which seems inseparable from a state of war. In the introduction the documents are said to show "that the present Bolshevik Government is not a Russian government at all, but a German government, acting solely in the interests of Germany and betraying the Russian people, as it betrays Russia's natural Allies, for the benefit of the Imperial Government alone." Unfortunately, they show nothing of the kind. Indeed, the only thing they show quite plainly is the incapacity of those who collected them for the mission with which they were entrusted. The detailed examination of these documents is impossible here, but one illustration will suffice to characterize them.

The pamphlet includes some fifteen or sixteen facsimilies by way of corroboration. One of these facsimilies purports to be a circular sent out on November 28, 1914, by the "General Staff" of the German High Sea Fleet. Now, such a body as a "General Staff" does not exist in the German Navy. What corresponds in the Navy to the General Staff of the Army is the "Admiral Staff." The circular itself consists of eighteen lines. In these eighteen lines are two mistakes in grammar, seven mistakes in spelling and seven mistakes in phrasing. An expert on the German language has given the following opinion: "This circular was most certainly not written by a German. It would appear to be a very poor attempt to copy German official language." That, it is true, is only one of the documents; but its inclusion in the pamphlet undoubtedly shows a failure so gross to apply the most rudimentary tests that in itself it throws grave doubts on the authenticity of the whole collection.

"Inspired" Dispatches

Other departments of the United States Government have been engaged in the universal intrigue against the Soviet Government. The newspapers have continually printed dispatches from Washington and Paris giving an official interpretation of Russian events. The character and purpose of these inspired stories is obvious from a mere quotation of a few typical examples.

Washington, May 12.—Recognition of the Omsk Government by the Allied Powers may be forthcoming at any time, it was intimated today at the State Department. . . . Added to these developments is news of the steady loss of power by the Bolsheviki. The ring of nations hostile to their aims is still tightening, while from the East come the armies of Admiral Kolchak. The end of spring may see the end of Bolshevism according to the belief in well-informed circles here. . . . The Navy Department has received short reports indicating the early demise of Bolshevism.—(New York *American*, May 13, 1919.)

Washington, D. C., Sunday.—Reports coming to Washington from various official sources forecast the collapse of the Bolshevik state very soon, possibly within the next fortnight. Outwardly the Soviet Government continues to operate. Trotzky talks glibly about raising a red army of enormous proportions, and manifestoes and decrees are issued without interruption. But, according to information that sifts across the frontiers of the Bolshevik dominion, the organization is tottering. . . . Bolshevik Russia, the reports all indicate, is like a leaking ship. At a distance it looks formidable. Actually its radical crew is demoralized. The whole fabric of authority is waterlogged and at any moment it may go down like a plummet.—(New York *Herald*, June 2, 1919.)

Paris, April 30.—Bolshevism is fading out in Eastern Europe. President Wilson's experts on the Slavic, Polish and Magyar situations have sound information to this effect. The British and French Governments have received like news, and the opening of summer . . . finds the Bolshevik movement decidedly on the wane. Except for the points where Bolshevik troops are in contact with invading troops of foreign nations . . . there is little vigor remaining in the Bolshevik movement in Russia.—(Special article by William G. Shepard, Foreign Correspondent of the New York Evening *Post*, printed on June 3, 1919.)

The Cabinet Takes a Hand

The highest government officials have uttered the same absurdities. Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, was quoted in the New York *Herald* of May 19, 1919, as follows:

If Bolshevism continues its murderous acts much longer the reaction will be intensified everywhere. But Bolshevism is on the wane. Russia will adjust herself before long.

The fabrications about Russia have not been confined to prophecy. Misrepresentation of present conditions in Russia have even exceeded the misrepresentations of Russia's future.

Secretary of Labor Wilson said, according to the Washington *Star* of May 4, 1919,

. . . that Bolshevism is precisely as democratic as was the absolutism of Czar Nicholas, Kaiser Wilhelm and Emperor Carl, no more and no less.

Attorney General Palmer, in a letter dated January 27, 1920, and addressed to editors of magazines and newspapers

with the evident intention of influencing their editorial opinion, has expressed this version of the "truth" about Russia over his own signature:

. . . It is the contention of the Department of Justice. . . .
(1) That the present aim of the Russian Government and its officers is to foment and incite discontent, aiming toward a revolution in this country.

(2) That the entire movement is a dishonest and criminal one; in other words, an organized campaign to acquire the wealth and power of all countries for the few agitators and their criminal associates.

(3) The Red movement does not mean an attitude of protest against alleged defects in our present political and economic organization of society. It does not represent the radicalism of progress. It is not a movement of liberty-loving persons. Lenin himself made the statement at the Third Soviet Conference, "Among the one hundred so-called Bolsheviks there is one real Bolshevik, thirty-nine criminals and sixty fools." It advocates the destruction of all ownership in property, the destruction of all religion and belief in God. It is a movement organized against Democracy, and in favor of the power of the few built by force. Bolshevism, syndicalism, the Soviet Government, sabotage, etc. . . . are only names for old theories of violence and criminality.

Having lived at the expense of the Russian people for two years, these speculators in human lives and other people's earnings are trying to move to new fields to the East and to the West, hoping to take advantage of the economic distress and confusion of mind in which humanity finds itself after the terrific strain of five years of war.

Its sympathizers in this country are composed chiefly of criminals, mistaken idealists, social bigots and many unfortunate men and women suffering with various forms of hyperesthesia. . . .—(Letter reprinted in the *Nation*, Feb. 14, 1920, p. 190.)

Presidential Fabrication

Vice-President Thomas R. Marshall was reported in the *New York Times* of April 21, 1919, to the effect that he "would send a sufficiently large force to Russia to thoroughly exterminate the Bolsheviks." A dispatch from El Paso ran as follows:

"This is no time for temporizing with the Bolsheviks," the vice-president said. "Naturally, I am a Democrat and believe in the voice of the people, but I think that voice should come through the ballot box and not through lawless persecution and bloodshed."—(*New York Times*, April 21, 1919.)

President Wilson himself took a hand in misrepresenting the Russian situation on his speaking tour through the country in September, 1919. In many addresses he went out of the way to make statements like the following:

There are apostles of Lenin in our own midst. I cannot imagine what it means to be an apostle of Lenin. It means to be an apostle of the night, of chaos, of disorder.—(Speech at Helena, Mont., reported in *New York Times*, September 12, 1919.)

In the meantime some of them [the people of Europe], particularly Russia, are in danger of doing most dangerous things and substituting one kind of autocracy for another, rejecting the Czar, who was cruel at times, and setting up their present masters, who are cruel all the time. . . . (Speech at Bismarck, N. D., reported in *New York Times*, September 11, 1919.)

The men who now are measurably in control of Russia represent nobody but themselves. . . . They have no mandate from anybody. There are only 34 of them, I am told, and there were more than thirty-four men who used to control the destinies of Europe from Wilhelmstrasse. There is a closer monopoly of power in Petrograd and Moscow than there ever was in Berlin; and the thing that is intolerable is not that the Russian people are having their way, but that another group of men more cruel than the Czar himself is controlling the destinies of that great people. (Speech at Des Moines, Iowa, reported in *New York Times*, September 7, 1919.)

Commenting upon these charges of President Wilson's, the *New Republic* of September 17 remarked:

And so he asserts that the Soviet regime is more cruel than was that of the Czar. Does any one imagine that Woodrow Wilson ever made the least effort to ascertain the facts of either term of his comparison? Does he know now general was the use of "Stolypin's neckties" in the suppression of the liberal revolution of 1906? Has he any acquaintance with the statistics of Siberian exile, or any knowledge of the conditions under which transportation to Siberia was carried on? Has he examined the relation between Czaristic officialdom and such affairs as the massacre of Kishinev? No, he was too busy to inform himself. But, of course, he knows all about the spirit and the practice of the Soviet regime. No; he has been too busy to inform himself.

PROPAGANDA BY "INVESTIGATION"

The Overman Committee

There have been two carefully organized campaigns to discredit Soviet Russia on the part of government agencies. Both have had a considerable effect on the public mind because of the unusual amount of space devoted by the newspapers to their proceedings, and both have spread upon their official records the most unsupported fabrications and falsifications. The "Overman Committee" of the United States Senate and the "Lusk Committee" of the New York State Legislature have probably done more to muddy the waters of intelligence about Russia than any two other single agencies.

From February 11 until March 10, 1919, the American papers were screaming in scare heads, and in columns upon columns of news stories, the most scandalous misrepresentation about Soviet Russia, brought to the light by the careful

a
lie
manipulation of the United States Senate Committee Investigating Bolshevism. The proceedings were staged in such a way as to allow the testimony of only those witnesses who would attack the Russian Government in the most lurid style. It was only by injecting themselves rather unceremoniously into the proceedings that any witnesses at all were heard who were in any way sympathetic with the Russian revolution. The most notorious and unscrupulous of the enemies of Soviet Russia were invited to testify before the committee and were treated with respect, while the friends of Soviet Russia who contrived to compel the committee to admit their testimony were treated with frank indignity.

The details of these proceedings are too numerous to consider in this connection. Suffice it to quote some typical headlines with which the New York Times summarized in bold-faced type their daily columns of almost verbatim accounts of the hearings at Washington.

"TELLS SENATORS OF MASS TERROR BY BOLSHEVIKI—SECRET KILLINGS IN CELLARS—SOVIETS WARNED AGAINST 'HESITATION' IN THE EXECUTIONS." (February 12, 1919.)

"BOLSHEVISM BARED BY R. E. SIMONS—WOMEN ARE NATIONALIZED—OFFICIAL DECREES REVEAL DEPTH TO WHICH THEY ARE SUBJECTED BY REDS." (February 18, 1919.)

"DESCRIBE HORRORS UNDER RED RULE—R. E. SIMONS AND W. W. WELSH TELL SENATORS OF BRUTALITIES OF BOLSHEVIKI—STRIP WOMEN IN STREETS—PEOPLE OF EVERY CLASS EXCEPT THE SCUM SUBJECTED TO VIOLENCE BY MOBS." (February 16, 1919.)

"SENATORS HEAR BRESHKOVSKAYA—'GRANDMOTHER OF THE REVOLUTION' SURE LENIN AND TROTZKY ARE GERMAN AGENTS—SEES RUSSIA IN UTTER RUIN—MOSCOW LOOTED BY REDS." (February 15, 1919.)

"RED AGITATORS FROM THIS CITY POTENT IN RUSSIA—ATROCITIES TO YOUNG GIRLS—TERRIBLE FATE OF HUNDREDS OF THEM SANCTIONED BY OFFICIAL AUTHORITY—VICTIMS OF RED GUARDS." (February 13, 1919.)

All this was less than twelve months before the same New York *Times*, under the heading "Law and Order in Soviet Russia," printed the following statements from the first of its correspondents to actually enter Soviet Russia since the first year of the revolution, Mr. Arthur Copping.

The working millions, in their abiding fear and hatred of the despotism that is ended, cheerfully put up not only with a grievous shortage of food, fuel and other necessities that is associated with the democratic era that has dawned for them, but also with the asounding idealistic and hitherto untested economic principles upon which it is sought to build a new social fabric. I told Krassin . . . that the British Government and people were now beginning to believe that Soviet Russia today, instead of being a tyrannical chaos, was an orderly and upward-striving democracy. In contradiction to most of the testimony that has trickled through the frontiers . . . the members of Russia's government, so far from hatching schemes of robbery, spoliation and aggression, are toiling night and day in a self-sacrificing spirit which is almost fanatical, to build up a purely Utopian state based on theories and ideals adopted secretly under the despotism of Tsardom and nurtured through long years of exile. The only Russians who had acquired self-reliance and business efficiency . . . capable of firmly handling the national helm, were these extremists, who composed the following of Lenin. (1)

The Lusk-Union League Conspiracy

The New York "Lusk Committee," officially known as the Joint Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activities, was appointed in March, 1919, at the suggestion and stimulation of the Union League Club of New York, a body of the most prominent, wealthy and influential Republicans in the United States. This committee, under the guidance of a member of the club, Archibald E. Stevenson, pursued the same tactics as the Overman Committee in its efforts to discredit the Russian Soviet Government. The activities of the Lusk Committee, however, were directed primarily against the representative of the Russian Government in the United States, Mr. L. Martens and his staff.

The committee found a place on the front pages of the newspapers by staging a spectacular raid on the office of the Russian Soviet Bureau—Mr. Martens' office. Acting under a warrant of questionable validity, and aided by a score of state constabulary and private detectives, Mr. Stevenson forcibly seized all the documents, papers, books and correspondence of the Soviet Bureau on June 12, 1919, and carried them to the offices of the Lusk Committee at the Prince George Hotel.

(1) See article entitled "Getting Debamboozled About Russia," *New Republic*, March 10, 1920, p. 42.

There they remained for weeks under the close scrutiny of Mr. Stevenson and the committee's agents, together with a certain R. N. Nathan, chief of the British Secret Service in the United States. The committee subpoenaed Mr. Martens and his staff and examined them behind closed doors.

While this process was going on the press agent of the committee issued publicity matter made up of the grossest fabrications and directed against the good name and reputation of Mr. Martens, the Soviet Bureau and the Russian Government. These stories were featured by glaring headlines and columns of "news" matter in the newspapers.

The committee had possession of all the papers and records of the Bureau, it was admittedly hostile in its intentions toward the Bureau, and yet it produced not a single piece of concrete evidence that incriminated Mr. Martens or the Bureau in any way as having violated the laws of the United States. The best proof of this is the fact that no criminal proceedings have been instituted by the Lusk Committee or any one else against Mr. Martens on account of the activities of him or his staff. And yet day after day the committee would give out statements to the press which went so far as to charge that the Soviet Bureau was conducting a propaganda, under orders from the Russian Government, directed toward the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence. (1)

The following are typical examples of these false statements:

"The evidence will show that more than \$500,000 had been sent to the Reds in this country by the Bolsheviki of Russia," said Senator H. J. Walters, president pro tem. of the Senate and member of committee ex-officio. (*Brooklyn Eagle*, April 30, 1919.)

There is no doubt that there is a thoroughly organized plan worked out by the Russian Bolsheviki to seize the reins of government in this country. (*Ibid.*)

Attorney General Charles D. Newton, counsel to the Lusk Committee, declared yesterday that the Soviet Bureau, of which Ludwig C. A. K. Martens is the head, was the clearing house in the United States for the forces of destruction in Russia and the promoters of discontent in America. These forces, according to the Attorney General, had for their object the overthrow of the present form of government in the United States. (*New York Tribune*, June 30, 1919.)

(1) For further details of the Lusk Committee's activities see "The Truth About the Lusk Committee: A Report Prepared by the Legislative Committee of the People's Freedom Union," New York, The Nation Press, 1920, paper, pp. 32.

Radical agitation in this country, with its resultant social unrest, is not due to economic conditions, but to an organized, artificially stimulated movement under the inspiration of the Russian Soviet Government. This opinion will be submitted to the New York Legislature in an exhaustive report by the Joint Legislative Committee which has been investigating radical activities here since its organization last May, it was learned today. (New York *Evening Post*, December 9, 1919.)

As it happened, a statement from United States Attorney General Palmer on the same subject appeared in the *Times* of the same day. Mr. Palmer said:

It is clearly recognized that the present unrest and tendency towards radicalism arise from social and economic conditions that are of greater consequence than the individual agitator.

Perhaps the most absurd fabrication in the Lusk Committee's record was the statement made to the press by Deputy Attorney General Samuel A. Berger in the middle of November, 1919:

Ludwig Martens is here as an enemy of the United States, as the agent of conspirators in Russia who are planning to bring about a bloody revolution in this country and destroy its government by force. ("The Truth About the Lusk Committee," p. 30.)

The New York *Tribune*, on November 18, 1919, published a headline that ran across the entire front page in bold type. It said: "MARTENS ADMITS LENIN SENT HIM TO OVERTHROW U. S."

The news account below was a story of Mr. Martens' testimony before the Lusk Committee the day before. Not a word in the entire account supported the headline assertion. The nearest approach was the following:

"Isn't it a fact that in stating its wishes to overthrow the capitalist system, the Soviet Government wishes to overthrow all capitalist governments?" asked Mr. Stevenson.

"That is their wish. They wish to change from the capitalist to the Socialist system," answered Mr. Martens.

"How do they expect this change to come about?"

"The change may come by purely pacific means, or it may come through a bitter struggle. They do not care how it is done."

This is a sample of the cordial cooperation which the press gave to the Lusk Committee in its campaign to discredit Mr. Martens and, through him, the government he represents. The headline distorted a perfectly simple, truthful statement

of fact known to every student of modern social change into the most serious charge of criminal anarchy. The amount of truth contained in the headline has been revealed by the absence of any prosecution of Mr. Martens by Federal or State agents, on this charge, and by the institution of a libel suit for \$1,000,000 damages against the *Tribune* by Mr. Martens. But the impression upon the public mind made by the headline has cut far deeper than anything that has happened since.

PROMINENT PROPAGANDISTS

The opinions of prominent men in private life on Russia, provided they corresponded to this point of view, have been given the widest publicity in the American press. Some typical illustrations are as follows:

Major Montgomery Schuyler, former United States diplomatic represent and chief of the Intelligence Service of the A. E. F. in Siberia:

Bolshevism is radical and rotten, and it cannot survive. . . . Russia is too big, too vital and too sensible to stay long under the yoke of the irresponsible despotism of a minority led by criminals and renegade Russians helped by German money and German brains. (Quoted in *New York Herald*, January 25, 1920.)

Frank H. Simonds, the *New York Tribune's* expert on contemporary history:

Russian Bolshevism is again isolated and is manifestly on its last legs. During the recent week we have had in Paris a frank effort on the part of well-intentioned Americans and British humanitarians, possible victims of less well-intentioned intrigue, to carry food to Russia. So far this effort has failed. If failure remains constant it is possible to hope that Russian Bolshevism will fall of its own weight, solely due to starvation which it has produced and become the victim of the sin which it engendered. (*New York Tribune*, May 9, 1919.)

Elihu Root, member of President Wilson's Commission to Russia in 1917:

I feel sure that they [the people of Russia] will work out successfully a true democracy, based upon the principles of liberty and justice. Plainly this can be done only by destroying the power of the wicked and cruel Bolsheviki, who dispersed the Constituent Assembly, elected by the people of Russia, and in its place set up a tyranny just as bad as that of the Czar. (*New York World*, November 28, 1919.)

Jacob H. Schiff, banker and publicist:

It is evident that if we do not come to the aid of the elements in Russia who heroically battle to subdue the forces of disorder and anarchy, the present regime, which cannot remain permanently, will surely be followed by reactionary rule most likely as undesirable as was that of the Romanoffs. (Ibid.)

Gertrude Atherton, the noted novelist, in an article entitled "Time as a Cure for Bolshevism," said:

The fact is that all civilized Europe stands in terror of Bolshevism, not because the people care the least whether their governments ever see their fifteen billions [loans to Russia] again, but because Bolshevism means chaos, wholesale murder, the complete destruction of civilization. If it had been really animated by the true theories it professed; if it had solved the problem of poverty, let alone of human happiness, if it had brought freedom and prosperity even to one class, it would have triumphed; no doubt of that.

But the Bolsheviki, having seduced the ignorant masses of Russia with lies and gained control of the banks and ammunition, soon showed their hand. They are merely our old conventional anarchists under a new name and with power for the first time to loot and murder on a huge scale, instead of plotting a king now and then, or exhibiting their unfriendliness to the law by safe-cracking and murdering for pleasure or for hire. The Bolsheviki of Russia and elsewhere are merely the criminal classes organized. . . .

I wonder what posterity, reading history, will say to the statesmen of the western civilizations for not having sent an army into Russia long ago and exterminated Bolshevism at its source. . . . It would have been a simple matter. . . . (*New York Times Magazine*, March 16, 1919, p. 3.)

The following prominent men issued an open letter, in April, 1919, asking assistance for the "Russian armed factions fighting the Lenin-Trotsky regime":

Daniel Carter Beard, founder of the Boy Scouts, author and artist.

Charles Stewart Davison, lawyer and author.

Dr. William T. Hornaday, director, New York Zoological Park.

George A. Hurd.

Lyle E. Mahan.

Dr. William T. Manning, Rector of Trinity Church.

Cleveland Moffat, author.

George D. Pratt, banker and capitalist.

George Haven Putnam, prominent publisher.

Dr. Edgar Fahs Smith, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania.

Dr. Benjamin I. Wheeler, President of the University of California, and others.

Excerpts from this letter follow:

Bolshevism is the assault of greed, ignorance and brute force upon everything that Americans have learned to hold sacred. It destroys liberty, property rights, law, order, marriage, the home and education. It is the murderer of peace, enlightenment and progress. Its loot enriches a few black-hearted and red-handed leaders and beggars everybody else. . . .

But now the mad wolves of anarchy have a considerable portion of Russia by the throat and are fiercely sucking their lifeblood. It is just as if the unarmed people of America living east of the great plains and north of Jacksonville were today terrorized by organized bands of 200,000 merciless robbers, engaged in robbing everybody, wrecking banks, factories and industries en masse and instantly shooting everyone suspected of disliking them or their methods. (*New York Times*, April 27, 1919.)

Samuel Gompers, President, American Federation of Labor:

No more monstrous or degrading movement was ever set up anywhere in the world. Its entire existence has been one of terrorism, tyranny and brutal slaying of those who are seeking for a just government, for the Bolsheviks have proved more tyrannous than ever were the Czar and his brutal officials. They have brutalized Russia and used every means to throttle freedom by joining Germany in its efforts to enslave the world. (*New York World*, November 28, 1919.)

"NEWS" FROM RUSSIA

The press has been, perhaps, the chief offender against truth and fact concerning Russia. A candid examination of reports about Russia in American newspapers will convince the most skeptical that since May, 1917, there has been, strictly speaking, no news from Russia. There has been a vast amount of material published, but it cannot be called news. Two-thirds of it has been anti-Russian propaganda, and the remaining one-third denials and retractions and tardy corrections of the other two-thirds. It is needless to point out that the denials and retractions have received far less prominence than the fabrications they sought to correct. The net impression of Russia built up by the press has been completely at variance with actual fact.

The *New York Times* is generally conceded to be one of the most reliable of the conservative American newspapers. "All the News That Is Fit to Print" is the slogan that appears at the head of every issue. It makes a specialty of publishing in more detail than other papers original sources of information. A survey of the political news from Russia, specially featured in that paper, from May, 1917, will give a fair idea of the offense against Russia of the American press.

The following are some of the chief Russian items as they appeared in the *Times*.

A "TIMES" BIOGRAPHY OF LENIN AND TROTZKY

1917

- May 10—Lenin Reported Missing in Petrograd.
May 22—Lenin Still Alive.
June 25—Lenin's Real Name Said to Be Zederbluhm.
July 31—Lenin Still Missing. (Petrograd dispatch by Associated Press.)
August 13—Lenin Reported in Capital. (Petrograd, A. P.)
September 1—Lenin in Switzerland. (Special to *Times* from Geneva.)
September 28—Lenin Reported in Petrograd. (Petrograd, A. P.)
November 11—Lenin Heads New Russian Cabinet—Trotzky in the Foreign Office. (Petrograd, A. P.)
November 16—Lenin's Power Waning. (London, A. P.)
November 19—Lenin Government Split. (Special dispatch to *Times* from Harold Williams from Petrograd.)
November 30—Coalition Cabinet Forced on Bolsheviki. . . . After Peasants' Conference Turns on Lenine. (Special To *Times* from Harold Williams, Petrograd.)

1918

- January 16—Lenin in Sanitarium.
January 17—Four Shots Miss Lenin. (Petrograd, A. P.)
February 18—Attempt to Kidnap Lenin Foiled. Bolshevik Power Wanes and Anti-Semitism Is Growing. (Petrograd, London and Stockholm, A. P.)
February 20—Heard Lenin Had Fled. Rumor in Finland Bolsheviki Had Been Overthrown. (London, Special to *Times*.)
February 22—Party Turns on Trotzky and He may Resign. (Two-column head on first page. Petrograd, Special to *Times* from Harold Williams.)
March 10—Trotzky Resigns Office. (London, A. P.)
March 12—Lenin Dismissed Trotzky. (Petrograd, Special to *Times* from Harold Williams.)
March 31—Lenin Has Pneumonia.
April 28—Revolt in Russia—Grand Duke Michael Emperor.
April 29—Repeat Reports of Russian Revolt—Stockholm Now Hears Alexis Is Chosen Ruler. (Stockholm, A. P.)

- June 23—Lenin Ready to Resign—Czecho-Slovak Success in Russia Upsetting His Regime. (Zurich and Washington, A. P., quoting "official dispatches.")
- June 23—Moscow Reported Taken—New Czar Named—Red Leaders in Flight. (Eight-column headline on first page. London, Special to *Times*.)
- August 12—Lenin May Seek Refuge in Berlin—Prepares for Flight with Trotzky as Red Regime in Russia Totters. (London, A. P.)
- August 13—Red Leaders Flee—Reach Kronstadt—Entire Bolshevist Government Escaping from Moscow, German Papers Announce. (London, A. P.)
- August 16—Bolsheviki Flee Moscow. (Amsterdam, A. P.)
- August 16—Allies' Movements Hearten Russians—Washington Sees in Increasing Activity a Speedy Rout of Bolsheviki. (Washington, A. P.)
- August 18—Report Kronstadt Seized by Germans—French Hear Lenin's Refuge Is in Foe's Possession. (Paris, A. P.)
- August 20—Red Power Wanes as Allied Troops Push into Russia. (Special from Harold Williams to *Times* from London.)
- August 20—Bolshevist Chiefs Reported on Warship at Kronstadt Ready to Flee. (Washington dispatch.)
- August 27—Recent Reports That Both Moscow and Petrograd Had Been Virtually Abandoned by the Principal Bolshevist Leaders Appeared to Be Confirmed by Information Reaching the State Department Today from Sweden. (Washington Special to *Times*.)
- September 1—Lenin Twice Wounded by an Assassin. (London, A. P.)
- September 2—Lenin Reported Dead—Was Shot by a Girl. (Eight-column headline. London, A. P.)
- September 3—Lenin Not Dead, Bolsheviki Announce. (Amsterdam, A. P.)
- September 5—Lenin Has a Relapse. (London, A. P.)
- September 7—Lenin Reported Weaker. (London, A. P.)
- October 17—Reports New Attack on Premier Lenin—Amsterdam Hears the Bolshevist Leader Was Shot by a Member of Soviet Bureau. (Amsterdam, A. P.)
- December 9—Red Leaders Ready to Flee to Sweden. (Amsterdam, A. P.)
- December 16—Lenin Reported Ready to Give Up—His Plan to Abandon the Red Regime Was Barely Defeated at Central Council Ballot. (Stockholm, A. P.)

December 28—Ludendorf Chief of Soviet Army.

1919

- January 3—His Train Captured, Lenin Escapes. (Vladivostok, A. P.)
- January 9—Trotzky Dictator—Arrests Lenin—Ousts Bolshevik Premier and Now Rules Alone in Russia, Copenhagen Hears. (Copenhagen, A. P.)
- January 11—Kremlin Is Lenin's Prison—Trotzky, Red Dictator, Holds Deposed Premier in Moscow. (Washington, A. P.)
- January 11—Lenin Abolishes Money. (On another page.)
- January 18—Lenin Is Reported to Have Arrived in Barcelona. (Madrid, A. P.)
- January 24—Trotzky's Forces Quit Petrograd—Admit Cause Is Beaten. "Nikolai Lenin, the Bolshevik Premier, and Trotzky, speaking recently before the Moscow Soviet, confessed that the Bolshevik regime was bankrupt." (Copenhagen and London, A. P.)
- January 25—Assert Trotzky Was Taken—Libau Advices to Switzerland Say He Did Not Escape from Narva. (Basle, A. P.)
- January 27—Trotzky Not Captured. (London, A. P.)
- February 19—Red Leaders Are at Odds. (Stockholm, A. P.)
- March 15—Bullet Hits Trotzky's Hat. (London, A. P.)
- April 3—Trotzky Opposes Lenin—Break Between the Bolshevik Leaders Said to Be Definite Over Policy Against Allies. (London, Special to *Times*.)
- April 22—Red Rule Totters as Kolchak Wins—Troops and People in Revolt. (London, A. P., and Washington Special to *Times*.)
- April 22—Proletariat Plots Against Lenin—Premier Blames Trotzky. (Geneva Special to *Times*.)
- June 7—Lenin Tired of Struggle. (Geneva, A. P.)
- July 3—Trotzky Nearly Captured. (Ekaterinodar Special to *Times* from Harold Williams.)
- August 2—Talk That Lenin Intends to Retire. (Stockholm, A. P.)
- September 26—Says Lenin Is Captive in Kremlin at Moscow. (Copenhagen Special to *Times*.)
- September 26—Rumor That Lenin Is Slain. (Paris, A. P.)
- October 9—Thirteen Red Leaders Killed by Bomb—Moscow in Revolt. (Washington Special to *Times*.)

- October 31—Lenin Plans to Lie Low—Says Reds Must Await Another Chance When Soviet Regime Falls. (London, A. P.)
- November 23—State Department Gets News of Revolts All Over Red Russia—Rumor Soviet Has Given Up—Copenhagen Hears Lenin Has Agreed to Turn Power Over to United Socialist Parties. (Washington Special, quoting "advices to the State Department," and Copenhagen dispatch to *Jewish Daily Forward*.)

1920

- January 26—Rumor of Moscow Revolt—Soviet Also Reported to Have Moved to Tver Because of Plague. (Helsingfors, A. P.)

PETROGRAD IN FANCY

The dispatches in the American press dealing with military matters have been no more reliable. The impression sought to be conveyed to the American people about the strength and achievements of the Soviet Army may be gained by a survey of the "news" about Petrograd since September, 1918, as it appeared in the *New York Times*.

1918

- September 12—Petrograd in Flames—City Prey to Massacre, Pillage and Riots. (Washington dispatch.)
- September 13—Petrograd in Revolt Against Bolsheviks—Peasants Enter the City. (London, A. P.)
- September 14—Fall of Petrograd Again Reported. (Paris, Havas.)
- September 20—Thieves Looting Petrograd—Refugees Say City Is Entirely in Hands of Anarchists. (Stockholm, A. P.)
- October 23—Petrograd Sailors Rebel. (Stockholm, A. P.)
- October 31—Great Massacre Planned by Reds—Wild Panic in Petrograd. (Front page feature; Special from Harold Williams.)
- November 12—Petrograd Now Starving. (Stockholm special.)
- November 24—New Massacres Begun by Reds in Starving Petrograd. (Stockholm special: front page feature.)
- December 7—Petrograd City of Horrors—Middle Class Reported Dying by Thousands.
- December 13—Petrograd a Horror City. (Washington dispatch.)

1919

- January 5—Bolsheviki Fearful of Losing Petrograd. (Copenhagen Special to *Times*.)
- January 15—Thousands of Famine Victims Beg Death in Petrograd. (Wireless special from Copenhagen.)
- January 18—Revolt in Petrograd. (Helsingfors, A. P.)
- January 23—Reds Meet Defeat in North Russia—May Yield Petrograd. (Four-column headline, first page. Archangel, A. P., and Copenhagen special.)
- January 24—Trotzky's Forces Quit Petrograd—War Minister Admits Cause Is Beaten. (Copenhagen, A. P.)
- January 26—Petrograd Seems Doomed to Pillage. (Copenhagen special.)
- February 3—Red Artillery Shells Petrograd Seized in Anti-Red Revolt. (Copenhagen wireless.)
- February 26—Petrograd a City of Dead and Dying. (London Special.)
- March 23—Trotzky Prepares to Defend Petrograd. (Paris A. P.)
- April 3—Petrograd Rises Against Reds. (London, A. P. First page feature.)
- May 4—Petrograd Reported Won—Bolsheviki Beaten on Petrograd Front. (Paris, Helsingfors and London, A. P.)
- May 12—Entente Troops Prepare for Attack on Petrograd.
- May 13—Two Russian [Anti-Soviet] Columns Moving on Petrograd. (London, A. P.)
- May 17—Army of Finns Nears Petrograd. (Copenhagen special.)
- May 23—Allies Closing in on Petrograd. (London, A. P.)
- May 24—Fall of Petrograd Near—Vast Numbers of Red Troops Desert and Join Allied Forces. (London, A. P.)
- May 25—Petrograd Afire as Fall Impends—Reds Blow Up Munitions. (London and Helsingfors, A. P.)
- May 28—Foreign Reds Oust Bolsheviki—Letts and Finns Control Petrograd—Soviet Chiefs in Flight (Stockholm, A. P. First page feature.)
- June 3—Petrograd Said to Have Been Captured. (Copenhagen, A. P.)
- June 4—Petrograd Advance Slowed Up. (Universal Service, London.)
- June 4—Petrograd Said to Have Fallen. (London, A. P.)

PETROGRAD IN FACT

On June 6 the New York *Globe* published a special dispatch from Isaac Don Levine, its special Russian correspondent. He said, in part: "I have just crossed from Petrograd and am the only one on this side of the border possessing the real facts about the situation. Petrograd is grim but calm, and the people attend to their daily tasks unaware of the fairy tales being circulated in Western Europe about them. If Petrograd is being evacuated nobody there knows anything about it. If there is a panic in Petrograd its inhabitants are ignorant of it. . . . Soviet cars and trains run as usual."

PETROGRAD "FALLS" SOME MORE

Again in October came another propaganda campaign against Petrograd in the press. This time it was Yudenitch and his Northwestern Army around whom the fabrications were hung. The headlines tell the story:

1919

- October 5—Advance on Petrograd—General Yudenitch Begins an Offensive. (Copenhagen dispatch.)
- October 12—New Outbreak in Petrograd—Anti-Soviet Forces Capture Government Buildings. (Copenhagen and Helsingfors, A. P.)
- October 13—Anti-Red Forces Nearing Petrograd. (London, A. P.)
- October 15—Rout Red Forces Near Petrograd.
- October 16—Anti-Reds Winning on Three Fronts—Petrograd Doomed.
- October 17—Reds Evacuate Petrograd—Foe Near—Mutiny Among the Reds.
- October 18—Anti-Red Forces Now in Petrograd—Yudenitch Said to Have Entered Suburbs on Thursday. (First page, scare-head story.)
- October 19—Anti-Bolsheviki Grip Petrograd—End of Reds Seen—Fall Not Yet Confirmed. (London and Washington, A. P. First page feature.)
- October 20—Petrograd's Fall Again Reported—Yudenitch Troops Were in Suburbs on Saturday—Washington Hears Both City and Kronstadt Have Fallen. (Paris special, Reval and London, A. P.)
- October 21—Anti-Red Forces Near Petrograd—News of Fall of City Before Yudenitch's Army Hourly Expected—Kronstadt Yields Friday. (London, A. P.)

- October 22—Yudenitch's Army in Hard Fighting Near Petrograd—Expects Capture Soon—Kronstadt Fall Denied. (London, A. P.)
- October 23—Battle Goes on for Petrograd. (London, A. P.)
- October 25—Trotzky Mobilizes All Petrograd Men—Reds Claim Successes. (London, A. P.)
- October 27—Yudenitch Renews Petrograd Drive—Troops Advance North and East to Surround the Former Capitol. (Helsingfors, A. P.)
- October 28—Yudenitch Losing Ground to Reds—Reds Take Krasnoe Seloe.
- October 29—Bolsheviki Claim Decisive Advance—Offensive Near Petrograd. (London, A. P.)
- October 30—Reds Repulsed, Yudenitch Says. (London, A. P.)
- November 2—Petrograd Saved, Trotzky Declares—City Now Free from Danger. (London, A. P.)
- November 10—Yudenitch's Army Still Falling Back.
- November 17—Yudenitch Resigns—Command Transferred to Aout—Internment of Northwest Army in Esthonia. (London and Stockholm, A. P.)

“THE WEATHER WAS VERY COLD”

Commenting upon Petrograd, Lincoln Eyre, special correspondent of the New York World, wrote in an article printed in that paper on March 8, 1920, as follows:

English papers published in their issue of Dec. 27 the following alleged description, under a Stockholm date, of Christmas in Petrograd: “According to telegrams received by way of Finland, the people of Petrograd passed a very desolate Christmas, being without food or fuel, while spotted typhus and Spanish influenza were rampant. The sanitary conditions of the city baffle description. The water supply is frozen, so that water from the Neva or melted snow has been used for drinking purposes. The weather is very cold and kitchen furniture is being burned as fuel.

“Only one disinfectant is obtainable and only four infirmaries are open. Bands of robbers frequently visit unoccupied premises, and the authorities are quite powerless against these marauders, who carry off everything left by the Red Guards. Misery is so great in Petrograd that the inhabitants are contemplating death as a relief.”

I was in Petrograd several days before, during and after Christmas week. From my own comprehensive observation, I say without hesitation that the only accurate statement contained in the above dispatch is contained in these words: “The weather is very cold.”

While there were a few cases of typhus and Spanish influenza, neither of these diseases was “rampant.” Sanitary conditions were as good as could be expected in a city that a short time before had had an enemy at its gates. The water supply was not frozen and there was no necessity to burn kitchen furniture, since everybody had enough fuel for cooking purposes at least.

There were several kinds of disinfectants, and fully a score of infirmaries and hospitals were open. As for robber bands, I do not believe there ever has been a time in its history when Petrograd was more free from the peril of criminal marauders. I walked about the streets frequently late at nights unarmed and with the feeling of perfect security which the very harshness of the Soviet methods against the lawless elements cannot help but give one.

Many legitimate criticisms could be formulated against the municipal administration of Petrograd at the time in question, but none of the points touched upon in this Stockholm work of fiction could properly be included in such criticism. To my mind, the above quoted yarn is a charmingly complete specimen of the fanciful descriptions of life in Russia under the Bolsheviki.

A writer in a recent issue of the *Nation* has summed up the Petrograd fabrications in a sentence: Petrograd has "thus far fallen six times, been burned to the ground twice, been in absolute panic twice, has starved to death constantly, and has revolted against the Bolsheviki on no less than six different occasions—all in the columns of the *Times*."

THE "MASSACRE" OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW II

A few of the notable instances of newspaper falsification may be mentioned. All of them have left their impression deep in the American mind in spite of subsequently forced denials.

The famous St. Bartholemew's massacre that never happened but caused nevertheless an immense sensation in the United States is an illustration.

The New York *Times* on October 31, 1918, featured on the front page the following headlines:

"GREAT MASSACRE PLANNED BY REDS—NIGHT OF NOVEMBER 10 FIXED FOR A ST. BARTHOLOMEW OF RUSSIAN BOURGEOISIE—WILD PANIC IN PETROGRAD."

Under this head were the following news dispatches, both special cables to the *Times*:

Copenhagen, Oct. 30.—A special to the *Koebenhaven* from Petrograd reports that the Bolsheviki now openly declare that the night of November 10 will be a general St. Bartholomew, with the murder of the entire bourgeoisie and intellectual class. Indescribable panic is said to reign in Petrograd.

London, Oct. 30.—With reference to the Copenhagen report that the Bolsheviki intend to make November 10 a general St. Bartholomew for the bourgeoisie, Harold Williams writes: 'It is futile to cherish the illusion that the Bolsheviki do not mean what they say. During September their official organ announced daily 500 names of persons shot in cold blood without trial and without reason.'

Harold Williams, it may be remarked in passing, was the *Times'* star Russian correspondent whose dispatches have been always given the greatest prominence in its columns. He has been considered, in conventional circles, as a Russian authority.

These dispatches caused the greatest excitement in the United States. They were commented upon by papers from coast to coast as conclusive proof that the Soviet Government had let loose wholesale murder and assassination. A fair sample of editorial opinion is the *Times* editorial of November 1, 1918:

The opening up of the Dardanelles to their ships of war presents the opportunity and brings into view the duty of the Allies to put a stop to the bloody massacres planned and perpetrated by the Bolsheviki in Russia. They have proclaimed a St. Bartholemew for the night of November 10 when it is their purpose to surpass all their previous exploits in murder. They have decreed for that night the assassination of all Russians of the middle class, all the intellectuals who can be reached by their bands of murderers.

Mr. Harold Williams, in London, sounds a warning that should be heeded. He says there are the gravest reasons for fearing a reign of terror and bloodshed that will destroy what is left of the classes who alone keep alive the hope that Russia may be saved and reconstituted. The Bolsheviki are ravening beasts of prey, a large part of them actual criminals, all of them mad with the raging passions of the class struggle, preached into their dull minds by Lenin, Trotzky and their kind. There will be bloody work in Petrograd and Moscow if it is not stopped. . . .

Mr. Bakhmeteff, the so-called "Russian Ambassador" at Washington—appointed by the long-defunct Kerensky Government and at the time representing only the ambitions of the enemies of Soviet Russia—went so far as to propose, on November 7, to the Department of State at Washington that "the Bolsheviki and German agents be held personally responsible for the massacre before an international court."

On November 6 the *Times* printed the following news item:

The American-Russian Chamber of Commerce in New York appealed yesterday to civic and religious organizations throughout the country to protest against the massacre in Russia of all the bourgeoisie which, according to cable dispatches last week, the Bolsheviki intend to carry out on November 10. The Chamber has received information indicating that the Bolsheviki plan a massacre on a greater scale than previous advices have indicated.

The American-Russian Chamber of Commerce is an association of prominent business men of large interests which has kept up a steady stream of anti-Soviet propaganda. Its Board of Directors includes the name of Mr. McRoberts of the

National City Bank, who predicted internal tranquillity for Russia three months before the revolution. It also includes such solid names as Charles H. Sabin, President of the Guaranty Trust Company, and A. Barton Hepburn. The stability of such names would seem to insure accuracy of statement. But such is not the case.

On November 11, the day after the "massacre" was scheduled to occur, an obscure item in the *New York World*, announcing in its headline that "threat of massacre seems to have been a fake," appeared. No other New York paper carried even that denial. The only incident of the day in Russia, according to the *World* dispatch, was the granting of amnesty by the Soviet Government to political prisoners!

THE RED TERROR OF THE PRESS

The news columns of the American press have been given over to the most unrestrained fabrications about the "Red Terror." With a perspective of even a few months and more reliable accounts, it is possible now to see the magnitude of absurdity to which these stories went.

A fair sample of hundreds of such dispatches is one sent out by the Associated Press under a Stockholm date line on October 14, 1918, and published in the *Times* on the 17th.

Despite protests made by neutral Ministers, the wholesale slaughter of persons charged with counter-revolution continues unabated. . . . Large numbers were being executed daily on the slightest pretext and under the most revolting conditions. The mania for murder is so strong among the Bolshevik officials, the refugees say, that they even shoot their own partisans. The firing squads take delight in forcing condemned men to jump down automobiles and in shooting them before the eyes of the other victims. . . .

Another sample appeared in the *Times* of November 1 under the headline, "Mme. Breshkovskaya Executed by Reds."

Amsterdam, Oct. 31.—According to a Petrograd telegram Mme. Breshkovskaya, Little Grandmother of the Russian Revolution, was shot on October 27 on the charge of opposing the Bolshevik regime.

This was only a few months before Mme. Breshkovsky came to the United States for her extended lecture tour.

EDITORIAL MURDER AND RIOT

The impression of these dispatches was bolstered up and kept alive by a constant flow of abusive, and all but completely

fabricated, editorials. The following is a fair sample taken from the *Times* of October 5, 1918:

Concurring reports from several sources leave no doubt that the Russian Reign of Terror is becoming faster and madder; that Lenin becoming appalled has tried to check it; that he has failed, and that the power in internal affairs is slipping out of his hands into those of men of more brutal type than he. In other words, Lenin is duplicating the history of Robespierre, who found his own Reign of Terror wrested from his hands by far worse men than he was, who seemed disposed to check it, and who was killed by them. Like Lenin, Robespierre was a man of education. He was willing to set murder loose for a purpose . . . aimless massacre for mere delight in killing was not in his nature, though it was in that the Herberts who opposed him and the Billauds and Tallieus who killed him. . . . Who are Lenin's Herberts and Billauds? One of them is a man named Jacob Peters. . . . He is the man who is described as signing death warrants all day long without looking at them. . . . A woman applies to Peters for news of her husband. 'Shot by mistake,' callously answers Peters, the mistake being doubtless due to his habit of not reading the warrants he signs. Another is Zinovieff, the raging madman who is President of the Petrograd Svoiet. Another is Shatoff, once a New York anarchist and now head of the Extraordinary Commission against Counter-Revolution in Petrograd. . . . Now he is a murderer by the wholesale and is said to be the man who slew the Czar's wife and children, though most of his victims are far humbler.

These dispatches and the above-quoted editorial was written only eighteen months before the New York *World* carried a five-column story from its special correspondent, Lincoln Eyre, who met Zinoviev personally, saw his work at first hand and reported his conclusions with obvious fair-mindedness as follows:

There is no question, however, that the businesslike fashion in which Petrograd's affairs are conducted is the chief cause of her people's lesser suffering. For this great praise is assuredly due to Dictator Zinovieff. Five years ago had any one of his Socialist companions in exile in Paris told him he could prove himself competent to administer a great municipality, Zinovieff probably would have smiled. (*N. Y. World*, March 8, 1920.)

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE TERROR

It is of course true that a certain amount of "terror" was used by the Soviet Government to suppress attempts by unscrupulous minority groups to overthrow the government by force at a time when Russia was invaded on every front by foreign arms. The extent to which the truth was twisted by wild exaggeration into a complete fabrication may be gained by the following excerpts from an interview with Isaac Don

Levine, special correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News* and *New York Globe*, who was in Russia at the time and who has had the courage to report his observations as he made them.

The Soviet government came into power peacefully. It continued to rule peacefully for about five months, during which time no serious counter-revolutionary efforts were made by any one. In the spring of 1918 the Socialist Revolutionists assassinated Uritzky and Volodarsky. This party was the old party of the Terrorists of the Czar's time, of which Spiridonova was one of the leaders. When they used Terroristic methods to seek to overthrow the Soviet government the latter responded by seizing, imprisoning and executing leaders of that party.

During the whole period of government terror, almost two years in length, not more than 4,000 persons were executed by the Soviet Government. For example, I examined the records in Moscow for the first three weeks in May, 1919. During that time eighty-five persons were put to death, and nine-tenths of these were killed for civil crimes, such highway robbery, burglary and the like. (*N. Y. Globe*, March 3, 1920.)

THE NATIONALIZATION OF WOMEN—IN AMERICA

For weeks the papers were full of the stories of the nationalization of women; the text of decrees were printed purporting to prove that women were public property in Soviet Russia. The Associated Press, in a dispatch from London dated April 15, 1919, went so far as to transmit a long dispatch commenting on the administration of this decree. "The law providing for the nationalization of women in Northeast Russia," it states, "has been suspended in one province as the result of popular outcry" . . . and so on for three-quarters of a column.

This whole story of the nationalization of women was so obviously absurd that some of its chief disseminators finally retracted it. The *New Europe*, the English periodical in which the so-called decrees were originally published, admitted its mistake and made public apology in its issue of March 13, 1919. Even the United States Department of State took pains to deny the tale. In the official press release of February 28, 1919, the Department stated: "The rumor as to the nationalization of women is not true." It is safe to say, however, that out of one hundred people who read the original stories not more than one or two ever saw the denials.

The most authoritative and direct evidence about the origin of this canard has come from the pen of one of the most impartial Americans who ever visited Soviet Russia—Oliver M. Saylor. In his book "Russia: White or Red," published in 1919 by Little, Brown & Co. of Boston, Mr. Saylor says (p. 183):

In spite of the novelty of Samara's cosmopolitan guests, the talk of the city on our arrival was focused on a proclamation pasted broadcast on bulletin boards and stone walls. Copies of this document were at a premium, and here and there corners were torn away as souvenirs. From a complete text, I had the following translation made into English:

DECREE

'This decree is proclaimed by the Free Association of Anarchists of the city of Saratoff, in compliance with the decision of the Soviet of Peasants', Soldiers' and Workmen's Deputies of Kronstadt regarding the abolition of the private possession of women.' (Saratoff, with a population of 250,000 lies 200 miles southwest of Samara on the Volga River.)

Mr. Saylor then gives a verbatim translation of the "decree" in all the revolting details which the press has taken such special care to publish broadside throughout the United States.

Mr. Saylor then describes his personal experiences with the group of anarchists under whose name the "decree" was published:

An astonishing document, inexplicable and incredible anywhere except in Russia today. And even in Russia the explanation was difficult and elusive.

In quest of an explanation, however, I dropped into the Anarchists' clubhouse in Samara one morning with Smith and Humphries of the 'Y.' Not so very remotely, the luxurious and commodious building had been the home of one of Samara's millionaires, but the Anarchists had decided it would make an admirable clearing house for their social and political activities, and by virtue of their imposing numbers and power they had been permitted by the Bolsheviki to dispossess the owner and move in themselves. And so here they were, flying their black flag at the front door, just a few feet away from the Roman Catholic church of the city! Russia abounds in paradoxes today, but I doubt whether a stranger contrast could be found in all that stricken land.

Inside we found reading rooms and study rooms and dispensers of voluminous Anarchist 'literature' and propaganda. In one room a group of the leaders, strange-eyed, alert men and women of the fanatic type, gathered to ask us the latest news of Tom Mooney and of America's arch-Anarchists, Emma Goldman, Ben Reitman and Alexander Berkman. Humphries volunteered the desired information, but I was too overwhelmed by this uncanny reversal of accepted social phenomena to do more than stand agape as I would at an engrossing drama. I had no fear. Instead of brutality, the faces of our hosts reflected a strange spiritual quality akin to madness. But I felt a considerable relief when we reached the street again.

Before we left, a copy of a Proclamation in answer to the one purporting to come from the Saratoff Anarchists was thrust into our hands in reply to our questions concerning the document quoted above. This reply, translated into English, reads:

FROM THE SAMARA FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS

Regarding the Decree

'The enemy is powerless. The enemy is falling lower and lower. And in his fall he is blaspheming. And in his fall he is slandering. And he makes use of the most repulsive provocative means.

'The enemy of the oppressed—he thirsts for domination, and worst of all to him are the Anarchists who have raised high the banner of freedom.

'And the enemy is spreading the vicious slander that freedom goes so far as to do violence to women. In our name they spread with their dirty hands the Decree concerning the Socialization of Women.

'What a gross, absurd provocation!

'For centuries everywhere the Anarchists have been fighting against all decrees and laws of all powers—could they, then, issue such decrees?

'As enemies of all violence, could Anarchists demand or even admit forcible expropriation of women?

'How many asses of Buridan will be found who will believe this provocation and join the ranks of these hissing reptiles?

'No! No! Trying to incite against us the unconscious masses, the enemy did not think twice and only bared his own dirty little soul.

'Alas! he has not yet learned the sharpness of our swords—he will find out!

'Death to the provocateurs! Merciless death! On the spot—without hesitation—by any method and by any weapon!

'And everyone who will secretly or publicly spread this slander, feigning the befuddled lamb, will be declared an accomplice of this black gang, or he will be declared a provocateur. The fate of either will be the same.

'And everyone who is with us or not with us, but lives and struggles honestly, will help us to mete out punishment, will himself take revenge on these poisonous reptiles who are stirring up reaction.

'For the punishment we shall have plenty of fire (weapons)!

'And all means will be justified!

'(Signed) THE SAMARA FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS.'

Two solutions of this astonishing situation emerge from a study of these documents and the conditions under which they were posted. It must be remembered that in the spring and summer of 1918, before the Bolsheviki suppressed them by force of arms, the organized Anarchists had grown in several cities to the point where they threatened the Bolsheviki power. In Saratoff and Samara their strength was so great that the Bolsheviki did not dare openly oppose their desires. In Irkutsk, I found later, they had gathered a force of armed cavalry which they called the Black Guard in opposition to the Bolsheviki Red Guard. Some one versed in English in the old Siberian capital suggested making one word of the two and called them the Blackguards! Even in Moscow their desires and decisions were unquestioned by the Bolsheviki until in June and July the issue came to a bloody conclusion with the defeat of the Anarchists.

The most likely solution, of course, is that which is suggested in the answer quoted above: that the Bolsheviki themselves devised and posted the original Decree in the name of the Anarchists in order to bring discredit and opprobrium on their most dangerous political opponents. But it is barely possible that a detached group in the city of Saratoff, calling themselves Anarchists, actually did advocate and promulgate this

Decree, without possessing the power to carry it out. What authority such a group imagined it had in the matter from the Kronstadt Soviet, I was unable to determine. In the course of six months in Russia I had never found record or other allusion to any such document, although it was generally known that the Kronstadt Soviet, a local body, rearranged human affairs periodically and not always seriously and never with the authority of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets.

THE EDITORIAL WAR AGAINST RUSSIA

In their editorials the American press has exceeded every other source in the quantity and quality of abusive fabrications about Russia. The number of extreme examples are literally without number. To show, however, the lengths to which Americans have gone in their efforts to undermine the Soviet Government of Russia the following may be quoted as typical examples:

Washington Post, May 28, 1919:

Gradually the sane element in Russia is gaining the upper hand over the assassins and madmen calling themselves Bolsheviki. From Siberia a great broom is sweeping the human scum westward against the wall, while from both north and south other Russian forces are closing in on the Bolsheviki. Petrograd is about to fall to still another force and immediately upon the fall of the city Herbert Hoover will start in motion the machinery of feeding the starving people.

Harvey's Weekly:

We are through with Hapgood and his opinions of the relative merits of the two worst scoundrels and greatest murderers the world has ever produced. (Quoted from an editorial by Col. E. M. Harvey, N. Y. *Tribune*, January 9, 1920, referring to Norman Hapgood, ex-U. S. Minister to Denmark, and his views about Lenin and Trotzky.)

New York Tribune, December 31, 1919 (under the title "Recognizing a Cancer"):

Lenin is well known to the world. He was first generally heard of when the German Government forwarded him on a special train to Russia. Arrived in Petrograd he spent German money to induce Russia to betray loyal allies and to scuttle from the defense of civilization. He preached mutiny, an opening of the German lines. Next, setting himself up as a new czar, he dispersed with machine guns an assembly the Russian people had freely elected to write a constitution. Then he signed a treaty with Germany which betrayed Poles, Letts, Lithuanians, Finns and Ukrainians to Germany. When Central Russia objected to starvation he launched an atrocity campaign that shamed even the Germans and made the tyranny of Ivan the Terrible seem benevolent.

It is doubtful whether it would be humanly possible to pack more fabrications and more distortions of the facts of

history into a more concise and condensed form than this. Its effect on a peaceful understanding with the people of Russia may well be imagined. On this score, however, it is even exceeded by the following incitement to war and riot:

New York *Sun*, January 6, 1920:

The noose yearns for the crime mad leaders of Red Bolshevism for more reasons than one. Coiners of counterfeit government, counterfeit industry, counterfeit principles, the Bolshevist reds finished the ruin of Russia with counterfeit money. . . . In the hands of the plundering, butchering State it served to rob both the rich and the poor. It killed the last vestige of organized civilization. . . . The reds plotted to spread counterfeit bank notes and bonds throughout the countries of law, order and sanity, our own included. . . . Distribution of the counterfeits has been the stumbling block except where, as in Russia, the State itself is the criminal counterfeiter. If they had been intelligent enough, if they had been sane enough to know anything about the heart and the will-power of the American people they would have grasped where their concerted attempted attempts with their counterfeit distribution in the United States would have landed them. If they had gone past the police and the secret service agents of the National Government the American people, constituting themselves into national lynching parties, would have exterminated the whole Red tribe, root, branch and trunk.

New York *Herald*, May 19, 1919:

Bolshevism, drunk from its saturnalia of crime in Russia, has staggered into America to loose its base passions upon a progressive civilization and destroy it. The beast has entered the gate—when it is said there are comparatively few Bolshevists in the United States it must be remembered that there are very few, comparatively, in Russia also. But they are wielding the club of murder and robbery over an intimidated people who failed to suppress them when they had the opportunity.

If the big New York papers showed little restraint in their abuse of Soviet Russia the small-town papers showed even less. A typical example of the extremes to which they went is the following editorial from the Lawton (Okla.) *News* of December 19, 1919:

Let us bring to your attention the stripe of murderers now ruling in Russia. . . . We quote from a letter from a representative of the American Committee of Siberian Co-operative Union. . . . He writes from Helsingfors:

'The times of Ivan the Terrible, of the Spanish Inquisition are but mere child's play compared with atrocities there. The value of a human life is lower than that of a mad dog. . . . A few thousand scoundrels, monsters in human form, are sitting on the necks of the unhappy dying people. . . . The frankest and most outspoken of this whole damnable crowd of bandits is Lenin himself. . . .'

And these are the sort of beasts who are allowed to build the foundations of a monstrous conspiracy to plunge this country into a hell of anarchy, unmolested, using the machinery of your government itself for the spreading of the plot to destroy it. What is the matter at Washington?

"LITERARY LAPSES"

Other sources of misrepresentation and fabrication have been books published by authors claiming to have some right to speak with authority about Russia. The most vicious of these have been accepted by the largest publishers and have received the widest publicity. They have been, as a result, the most widely read and have, for that reason, caused the most confusion.

The books which have caused the widest misunderstanding have been John Spargo's two books, entitled "Bolshevism" and "The Psychology of Bolshevism," published by Harper's; Charles Edward Russell's "Bolshevism and the United States," published by Bobbs, Merrill, and Arthur Bullard's "The Russian Pendulum," published by Macmillan.

These three authors have all of them been at one time known as Socialists and, in the case of Spargo and Russell at least, their former affiliations have been capitalized to great effect in the sale and influence of their books. All three authors have bitterly attacked Soviet Russia. All three have employed the most dangerous and subtle of weapons: a show of scholarship, apparent wealth of authenticated detail and a disarming appearance of admitting the falsehood of much that has been said about Russia.

Spargo, Russell and Bullard, like most converts from a former faith, are extreme antagonists of Soviet Russia. Before they began to write on the subject their antagonism attracted much comment. Their books were, of course, written as anti-Soviet propaganda; written with the intention of discrediting the Russian Government and aiding the forces seeking its overthrow. To those who knew the personal history of these authors, and had reason to be critical, this fact caused deep suspicion of the validity of these books. The satisfaction of the great majority of their readers, however, who found in them "just what they had been looking for," more than counterbalanced that suspicion, and the books have been conspicuously "successful."

It is impossible in the space of a pamphlet to point out in detail the quality and quantity of the misrepresentation of which these works are guilty.

Mr. Bullard's is the least objectionable. The book as a whole paints the Soviet regime a dirty grey rather than a bloody red or filthy black. The general effect, however, is that the Soviet regime does not represent the Russian masses; that it was largely financed from Germany; that it cannot last, and that the Allies should establish a sort of benevolent protectorate over Russia recognizing a de facto government until some representative and stable regime should be set up. Subsequent events, of course, have shown how inaccurate any such estimate was. Mr. Bullard, in fact, has placed himself in a position where history can be written in his own words to refute his whole position.

Speaking of Kolchak's campaign in Siberia he says (on p. 279):

Something in the nature of a democratic election is in progress. Public opinion in the disputed territory on the relative merits of the two sides in the civil war controls the fluctuations at the front. It is very largely a war of propaganda. . . . The great advance of the Siberian Army indicates that a great part of the present population of this district sees more chance of realizing their aspirations under Kolchak than under Lenin. General Denikin's forces in Southeast Russia are operating in even more densely populated territory. So far as the anti-Bolshevist forces make themselves unpopular in the territory they occupy, their advance will be slowed up. If they advance rapidly it shows that the people are tired of Bolshevism.

Again, on p. 245, Mr. Bullard says:

A government which was obviously winning the consent of the governed, endeavoring to build up local self-government and the idea of majority rule would be sure of enthusiastic support in America. It would be very expensive for a Russian government suspected of reactionary intentions to float a loan in Wall Street. It would be easy to secure wide popular subscription on most favorable terms to build little red school-houses all over Russia.

Any comment other than the development of events in Russia on the one hand and Allied diplomacy—especially American—on the other is unnecessary.

Mr. Spargo has been far more violent in his misrepresentations about Russia. He paints the Soviet regime in the colors of conventional fabrication, luridly red and black: a bloody and reactionary autocracy challenging the opposition of a democratic world. And he does so by the skillful manipulation of facts, quotations and original sources. William Hard has exposed the process in a striking article in the *New Republic* of July 9, 1919. He has caught Mr. Spargo in the most glaring misstatements and the pettiest kind of text twisting and quotation distortion.

Mr. Spargo, for instance, gives voice to the usual assertion that there is "not much to choose between the ways of Stolypin and Von Plehve and those of the Lenin-Trotsky rule," but he supports this with the unusual claim that "the death penalty was never inflicted for civil crimes under the late Czar. It was never inflicted for political offenses. Only rarely was it inflicted for murder." As Mr. Hard points out, Prince Kropotkin, a more reliable authority than Mr. Spargo, wrote in his book on "The Terror" what would seem to be a matter of common knowledge, that "Under the military law now (1906) in action in most of Russian territory the smallest agrarian disorders, and even the setting fire to a landlord's barn or stock, are treated as implying the death penalty." (1)

Mr. Russell's book deals in much the same wares, but displayed in a less attractive showcase. He gives far less of the impression of the scholar and the scientist. A few extracts show the general tenor of his work.

Its [Bolshevism's] record for disaster is incomparable among all the movements known to man (p. 297).

According to this manifesto, the overwhelming mass of workmen and peasants is not only anti-Bolshevist, but on the point of rising in arms against Bolshevist tyranny (p. 285).

The atrocity stories that Mr. Russell advertises are as revolting and as unsupported as the most absurd obscenities that have been passed around as facts about Soviet Russia. He quotes the following as dependable:

'*Sovoepia*' is what the irreverent term the Socialist Federative Republic (Bolshevist regime) or, in other words, the blackest, most brutal tyranny that ever disgraced humanity. . . .

I have learned in the evidence of an imprisoned English woman that a drunken commissioner named Heller has women publicly stripped and subject to obscene treatment and chooses girls to violate at his leisure. . . .

It is reported that four grand dukes were abominably beaten before being murdered. . . .

The final stage of this abomination is the employment of Chinese torturers, who are also chiefly employed to carry out executions. It is impossible to speak with certainty, since the victims are not allowed to live afterwards, but I confidently believe the statements of credible prisoners, who say that they have heard, . . . [and so on for pages and pages (pp. 265 ff.)]

The present Soviet Government does not represent the Russian people. In comparison with the entire population only a small minority supports the government, and what is worse, to the supporters of the government are rallying all the hooligans, robbers and the like . . . (p. 279).

(1) See Hard, "Anti-Bolsheviks, Mr. Spargo." *New Republic*, July 9, 1919, p. 307.

MISINFORMATION FROM AN INFORMATION BUREAU

Certain organizations have added their share to American misunderstanding of Soviet Russia. Chief among these has been "The Russian Information Bureau," of which Mr. A. J. Sack is director, with offices in the Woolworth Building, New York. It has been one of the most active organs of anti-Russian propaganda in the United States. With apparently unlimited sums of money and with the generous cooperation of the press at its command, it has filled the newspapers with full-page advertisements, and column-long "statements" from Mr. Sack. It issues a magazine, *Struggling Russia*, and has published books on the subject of Russia. Mr. Sack has been able to get a half-column "story" into the New York dailies any day when sympathizers with the Soviet Government could not get half a line.

All this propaganda has been directed to the overthrow of the Russian Government by armed intervention of the United States on the side of Kolchak, Denikin and other counter-revolutionists seeking to set up the old order of things. It has, moreover, been openly charged by responsible people that the Russian Information Bureau has been subsidized and supported by the so-called "Russian Embassy" at Washington. The "embassy" and the "ambassador," Mr. Bakhmeteff, are still recognized by the Government of the United States as the representatives of the Russian Government, although one government they were authorized to represent—Kerensky's—went out of existence in November, 1917, and the other government they sought to represent—Kolchak's—collapsed before it ever gained control. (1)

The propaganda of the Russian Information Bureau, like other anti-Soviet propaganda, has been a tissue of falsehood. A fair sample is the following statement issued by Mr. Sack at the time when the press was falsely reporting "a general uprising against the Bolsheviki in Russia."

This is the end of Bolshevism, a rule of a criminal minority over an overwhelming majority. . . . The Bolsheviki find themselves in an iron ring from which there is no escape. Their situation is the more difficult because even in the territory they still control they find themselves face to face with a population which hates them and stands ready to throw off their yoke at the first opportune moment. The latest advices point to the end of Bolshevism, the nightmare of Russia and of humanity. (N. Y. *Tribune*, October 10, 1919.)

William Hard, writing in the *New Republic* of July 23 and 30, 1919, describes in some detail the "career of misinforming

and deluding the American people" which the Russian "embassy" and its inspired information bureau have pursued. Mr. Hard characterizes these activities as a "colossal creation and a colossal violation by the Russian Information Bureau and the Russian Embassy of the diplomatic hospitality of the United States."

THE AMERICAN DEFENSE SOCIETY FOMENTS REVOLUTION

The American Defense Society, an organization of powerful, conservative business men with large interests, established to further the "preparedness" campaign before the United States entered the war, has several times thrown the weight of its influence into the campaign to discredit the Soviet Government. On December 13, 1918, Charles Stewart Davison, chairman of the Board of Trustees (among whom were Mr. Roosevelt and President Hibben of Princeton University) addressed a letter, on the stationery of the society, to prominent clergymen urging them "to preach on Sunday, December 29, on the need for some action being taken in Congress to see that Russia is given the help she needs."

The character of the "help" asked for, and the real object of Mr. Davison and his associates, and the methods used in requesting it may be gained from the following excerpts:

Russia is the gigantic granery of the world and has untold wealth of every food product necessary to man's support, yet today she lies bleeding and destroyed in the grasp of a few pro-German foreigners who have been backed entirely by German money. . . . At the present moment Russia looks to America for deliverance from the Bolsheviki menace. . . . The party of law and order is at present personified by the party in Siberia headed by Admiral Kolchak. . . . America ought to cooperate with the Allies in supplying this party with every necessity to enable them to drive out the Bolsheviki and restore order to the country. . . . In Siberia there are from two to three hundred thousand troops who are waiting and willing to do the work, but are kept back because they have no arms and equipment. (See N. Y. Times.)

PEACE BY SLANDER

The New York Peace Society has furnished a striking and ironic illustration of anti-Soviet propoganda. A pamphlet on Russia has been issued in the form of the March, 1920, number of its periodical, the *Messenger*, and a leaflet supplementary to it written by Dr. C. H. Levermore. The motto of the peace society as printed at the first page of the pamphlet is: "For International Justice and Friendship." The title of the pamphlet is "A Pyramid of Tyranny."

Both pamphlet and leaflet, however, are devoted to an attack on the political structure of the Russian Republic. A speech by Representative Burton L. French delivered in Congress on December 9, 1919, attacking Russia, is reprinted in full. By means of parallel column comparisons between the Soviet and the United States governmental organizations, it attempts to demonstrate that—in the words of the pamphlet—“Sovietism, like the Czardom,” is a “highly centralized tyranny.”

By a strange coincidence a dispatch to the *Globe* from its Russian correspondent, Michael Farbman, was published on the same day these leaflets were issued. Mr. Farbman speaks of the recent elections for the Moscow Soviet.

In the old elections (under the Czar) 50,000 property owners took part; now the electors number from 500,000 to 600,000.

The last Soviet in Moscow had a big Communist Bolshevik majority. At the end of 1919 the Communist members constituted 69 per cent of the whole body. . . . The Mensheviki and the Social Revolutionists together had at that time 162 members, or 18 per cent. Now the Mensheviki have less than 1 per cent, while the Social Revolutionaries are not represented at all. The Communists have 89 per cent, the non-partisans 6 per cent and ‘Communist sympathizers’ 4 per cent. (N. Y. *Globe*, March 19, 1920.)

Dr. Levermore’s leaflet, in comparative charts, seeks to show that the Soviet Government is far less responsible to the Russian people than the United States Government is to the American people.

The purpose of these publications is not stated, but it may be assumed that it is not entirely in harmony with the motto of the Peace Society. Whatever may have been the motive behind them, the result, at least, is not calculated to promote “international justice” or “friendship” for the Russian workers among the American people.

The method employed in this propaganda is the usual one: a careful selection of documented facts, arranged in such a way as to discredit the Soviet Government, and an equally careful omission of those facts which favor it. For instance, to take but one point, both Mr. French and Dr. Levermore play up the indirect methods of election to the Congresses of Soviets as against the direct election of certain Federal officers in the United States. Not a word is mentioned by either of the universal application of the recall to all Russian offices and its complete absence in the United States machinery of government.

It is fair to assume that both Mr. French and Dr. Levermore would object to the issuance by a Russian “peace” soci-

ety of a leaflet attacking the United States Government as, let us say, a "periodical dictatorship," on the ground that under its constitution more power is vested in the president than in any prime minister of Europe, and that he may use this power without any check for four years, even though, during two of these years at least, the people of the United States in a general election may have repudiated his policies at the polls. Mr. French and Dr. Levermore would probably call such a pamphlet anti-American propaganda. And such it would be.

CONCILIATION BY ABUSE

The American Association for International Conciliation has joined the ranks of eminent and unscrupulous anti-Russian propagandists. The monthly magazine of this organization of the February 1920 issue in pamphlet form is entitled "Some Bolshevik Portraits." It contains a series of brief biographical sketches of prominent Soviet officials that descends in places to the worst kind of personal slander. The apparent object of the pamphlet is to arouse hatred of the Soviet Government in the United States by painting its leaders in the worst possible colors. How such a piece of anti-Russian propaganda can make for "international conciliation" it is difficult to understand.

The following are some illustrations taken at random from the pamphlet:

Of the twenty or thirty commissaries or leaders who provide the central machinery of the Bolshevik movement not less than seventy-five per cent. are Jews. Karachan is an Armenian. Peters, the head of the Moscow Extraordinary Commission, and Vatsseitis, the Commander-in-Chief, are Letts. Only Lenin, Bucharin, Petrovsky, Tchitcherin, Lunacharsky, and Krilenko are Russians. Of these Lenin is a law unto himself, Bucharin is an independent with independent views, and an independent attitude inside the party, Krilenko is a degenerate, while Tchitcherin and Lunacharsky are to be regarded rather as sentimental and somewhat feeble-minded visionaries than as active revolutionaries. (p. 56.)

A type very different from any of the preceding is represented by Lunacharsky. Tall, with slightly drooping shoulders, silky beard and mustache, and pince-nez, he is a man of mild appearance, mild manners, and soft speech. He radiates mildness and softness, and he dabbles in Bolshevism as he dabbles in art. He is essentially the amiable visionary, the Bolshevik crank, the Bolshevik educationist. While no one could possibly be afraid of Lunacharsky as a revolutionary force, there is no doubt that this revolutionary idealist is of considerable service to the Bolsheviks as a propaganda agent. He is at the head of the Bolshevik Department of Education, and in this position he has been responsible

for a number of decrees, many of them admirable in theory, for the free education of the whole people. In reality these reforms exist only on paper, all education having broken down under the oppression of a régime, which in spite of all Bolshevist inducements has alienated the sympathies of that hitherto most revolutionary body, the Union of Russian Teachers. (p. 60.)

Shatov* has in his face every indication of criminal degeneracy. A hopeless drunkard, a sexual pervert, this man is eminently fitted for the task of torture and oppression in which he revels now. His case is the best illustration of the undisputed fact that the whole Bolshevist régime is led mostly by criminals or criminal degenerates. (p. 67.)

The Executive Committee of the Association responsible for this pamphlet includes the President of Columbia University, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler; Thomas W. Lamont of J. P. Morgan & Company; James Speyer, and other Americans of great prominence.

RELIEF BY MISREPRESENTATION

An organization called the American Central Committee for Russian Relief has been another anti-Soviet Russia propaganda agency of considerable influence among wealthy Americans. With the generous cooperation of the press this body has contributed to American opinion a considerable supply of Russian fabrications. The object of the committee is stated to be relief of Russian refugees from Soviet territory, but it figures in the newspapers largely through the public utterances of its president, the Princess Cantacuzene, and of one of its lecturers, Hugh S. Martin, formerly chief of the United States Military Intelligence in North Russia.

The quality of this propaganda and how it is disseminated may be gained by the following examples.

Princess Cantacuzene spoke at a small meeting held at the Church of St. John the Evangelist on Waverley Place on January 31, 1920. The next morning the *Times* gave a whole column to an almost verbatim account of her address. The importance of the meeting as news, however, was obviously negligible. Princess Cantacuzene said in part, according to this report:

When the first revolution occurred in Russia, rich and poor alike joined in thanking God for the new day. . . . There was no class feeling and everyone was filled with a desire to develop a republic along the lines of the United States.

* William Shatov, Chief of the Petrograd Police.

In all the literature about Russia, both pro and anti-Soviet, this is the first and only indication that the Government of the United States, or one like it, furnished one of the ideals of the March revolution.

"Princess Cantacuzene charged," says the *Times* reporter, "that the present regime was brought about through German money."

"There were German gold and documents in Lenin's house, some of which I personally saw,' she said."

Captain Martin's contributions to the truth about Russia may be judged by the following report of a statement made by him at the Hotel Buckingham, the committee's headquarters.

Red revolutionists who have made their way into this country have been devoting their efforts largely to arousing racial hatred among the most ignorant of the blacks and they have staked their hopes largely on this class. (N. Y. *Sun*.)

GETTING AT THE CHILDREN

Certain organizations have carried their anti-Soviet propaganda of falsehood among the children of America. There are many examples. For instance, the Curtis Publishing Company, publishers of the *Saturday Evening Post*, the *Ladies' Home Journal* and other periodicals, sent to its army of boy subscription-solicitors the following statement in its monthly business-getter, *Our Boys*, of December, 1919:

What is a Bolshevik? A Bolshevik is a boy who believes there should be no teachers in school. . . . He believes that the best way to get his friend's jack-knife is to take it, and that maybe the best plan is to have no school at all—to burn down the building so that he can watch a bonfire. He believes that football should be played without rules and that he ought to be allowed to play it with a tennis ball if he wants to. This is exactly the kind of system that a lot of long-haired foreign agitators are trying to use in running their governments and they would like to see our country mixed up in the same sort of thing.

Current Events, a publication which styles itself "a condensed newspaper, weekly, for use in public and private schools," which goes by the hundreds of thousands into the hands of school children and is indorsed officially by many school principals, carried the following in its issue of November 15, 1918:

What is the meaning of the terms 'Bolshevik' and 'Soviets'? Bolshevik . . . refers to the party of extremists now in power in Russia and may be freely translated as 'Those who want everything they can lay

their hands on.' Selfishness and greed are, of course at the roots of it. . . . The party, if such it can be called, is made up of many discordant elements—Socialists, Anarchists, Nihilists, Communists, Socialist visionaries, thieves, pickpockets, robbers, terrorists, grafters and a great mass of ignorant, unthinking people, all united for the present in a blind desire to destroy all whom they fancy to be in a position superior to their own.

THE PROCESSES OF EDUCATION

How far the schools have been used to further anti-Russian propaganda will never be known. There is little doubt, however, that the public schools have been used without restraint to spread fabrications about Soviet Russia. This would seem to be the only reason for the expulsion of several teachers from the public schools for having suggested to their pupils that the current conceptions of Russian affairs might prove to be distorted and that, at least, it would be well for them to hear both sides of the argument.

The expulsion of Benjamin Glassberg from the Commercial High School, New York City, and the suspension of Miss Alice Wood from the Western High School, Washington, D. C., are cases in point.

The charge against Mr. Glassberg and the method of his dismissal were summarized by the *Tribune* in the news account of his "conviction" by the committee of the Board of Education sitting on his case as follows:

Benjamin Glassberg, history teacher, suspended . . . last January on a charge of declaring the State Department had suppressed the truth about affairs in Russia, has been found guilty by the Board of Education, it was learned yesterday.

Glassberg . . . was alleged to have told his pupils, in answer to questions, that the Bolsheviki are not as bad as they are painted, and that apparently Lenin and Trotzky are much more in favor with the Russian people than was Kerensky, since the former two have been permitted to remain in power so long. . . .

The testimony against Glassberg was furnished by eight pupils, but was contradicted by several other boys in the same class. (*N. Y. Tribune*, May 28, 1919.)

The complaint against Miss Wood, as stated by the District of Columbia Board of Education, was as follows:

Indiscreet discussion before young people of present international conditions, social and political; her defense of Bolshevism; her offer to instruct boys on the subject out of class; her advice to them to read certain named magazines, which would give the other and correct side of the aims and precepts of that form of government; her advanced ideas on individual direction and that such instruction was impressed upon immature youth with that added weight which a teacher's instruction carries. (Letter from Board of Education quoted in *Washington Post*, April 10, 1919.)

Miss Wood's statement of her own offense is as follows:

I gave definitions of Bolshevism and anarchy and Soviet. Following the approved practice in any such class discussion, I referred the students to certain articles in magazines—*Current Opinion* for February, the *New Republic* and the *Dial*, the first two being in the files of the school library. We never discussed the situation in Russia. I never defended Bolshevism, and a perusal of the articles in the magazines referred to will prove that they did not defend Bolshevism. (N. Y. *Times*, April 27, 1919.)

It was brought out in connection with this case that the complaint against Miss Wood came from parents of her pupils: Frank P. Reeside, secretary of the Equitable Cooperative Building Society, and Thomas Bradley, vice-president of the Washington Loan and Trust Company. The Board of Education which suspended Miss Wood included men of equal wealth and business interest, such as its president, George E. Hamilton, who is also president of the Capital Traction Company; John B. Larner, president of the Washington Loan and Trust Company; John Jay Edson, chairman of the Board of Directors of the same company, and others. (See N. Y. *Times*, April 27, 1919.)

In the examinations on the Great War given to pupils in the New York City high schools on June 12, 1919, the following questions were put:

- (a) Who are the Russian Bolsheviks and what are their chief aims?
- (b) Do you believe the following principles to be in accord with or in opposition to their aims:
 - (1) Rule by the majority.
 - (2) Progress under the law.
 - (3) The right of each person to the product of his efforts.
 - (4) Encouragement of individual initiative.
- (c) Do you believe Bolshevism to be a danger threatening the people of New York? If so, Why?
- (d) Tell definitely the sources of your information about Bolshevism.

Each pupil was also required to give the names of his teachers in history and English.

Two statements of Dr. John L. Tildsley, Superintendent of High Schools, disclose the real meaning of these questions in the light of current misrepresentation about Russia.

"We have no obligation to graduate a student whose attitude is hostile to our American institutions."

"The number of teachers that adhere to un-American doctrines is quite negligible and even if they desired to preach their doctrines to the pupils they would not dare."

MOVING PICTURES, TOO

The moving pictures were also made use of to spread among the masses the most extreme fabrications about Soviet Russia. Several films were released along these lines. An instance is the picture entitled "The New Moon," with Norma Talmadge as the star. This picture dramatized in the most revolting way the canard about the nationalization of women. It purported to show the women of the Saratov district placed at the disposal of the leaders of the Soviet Government and the members of the Red Army to be outraged at will—all by the decree of the Soviet Government.

Mr. Robert M. Buck, editor of the *New Majority*, Chicago's labor weekly, wrote to Miss Talmadge protesting against the lending of her artistic talent to spreading fabrications against the Russian people. The extent to which this canard was accepted even before Miss Talmadge spread it into hundreds of thousands more minds is shown by her letter in answer to Mr. Buck:

It therefore grieves me very much that the readers of the *New Majority* should doubt my sincerity. If you will remember the numerous articles that appeared in the New York newspapers on the subject of the decree issued at Saratoff and the meeting of the presidents of the women's clubs from all over the country to discuss this decree, it seems to me that you could hardly criticize my believing these things to be facts. (*New Majority*, July 12, 1919.)

THE LAWS OF FABRICATION

Even the briefest account such as this of American slander and abuse of the Russian people is not complete without an attempt to apportion the responsibility. Perhaps the simplest method is to compare the degree of fabrications with the character of their source.

Any tabulation which gives, on one side of the column, the fabrications in a descending scale of viciousness and absurdity and on the other the sources, with their economic, social and political connections, will disclose the presence of a well-defined sociological law. Stated in its simplest terms it is this: The more conservative the source, the more absurd is the fabrication. Those newspapers and the prominent men who are well known for their conservative position on public questions have been the worst offenders against truth and decency in regard to Russia.

To take the New York papers as an illustration. The *Sun*, the *Times* and the *Herald* have been the most unscrupulous in their disregard of fact through their news columns

and the most rabid in their villification of Russia through their editorials. The examples quoted above are a fair sample of the limits to which such papers have gone in their efforts to overthrow the Government of Russia by force of expletive. These three papers rank at the head of the list among the New York journals for the quality and quantity of their reaction. The *Evening Post* and the *Evening Globe*, however, have been less guilty. They are well known to be less reactionary.

There is another law of human behavior that can be applied in this case, one that has become an axiom of modern political thinking. The greater the property interests the greater the conservatism of men, of newspapers, of organizations, of institutions. Taken in connection with the law of Russian behavior we may restate it this way. The greater the wealth, the greater has been the fabrication and abuse of Russia.

This phase of the problem can be demonstrated by the same tabular proof. It can best be applied to individuals. Nowhere has the truth about Russia been more wantonly violated than in the exclusive clubs of upper Fifth Avenue, the drawing rooms of the fashionable East Side, and the inner offices of lower Broadway and Wall Street. A practical test is available for everyone whose acquaintanceship includes more than a single class of friends.

It has been, in short, the wealthy, cultivated, educated classes who have shown themselves the least able and willing to understand the most significant world events of the present time.

THE TECHNIQUE OF THE CLASS WAR

Underlying all the fabrications about Russia, all the intrigue, back of the laws of behavior by which they may be classified, is the basic fact of human society constantly pointed out by Socialist thinkers. The modern world is being driven by the forces inherent in its present organization into two increasingly distinct groups: capital and labor. Those who own for a living and those who work for it stand apart and opposed to each other. Between them a bitter war is being waged for the possession and control of the wealth of the world.

The situation in its broad outlines is very simple. The March Revolution in Russia established the supremacy of the business and trading interests at the expense of the feudal nobility. It was hailed throughout the Allied nations with a paean of praise from the press and from prominent men. The November Revolution established the supremacy of the work-

ing people and the poorer peasants at the expense of the business and trading interests. Property and trade were nationalized, the business man and trader were ousted from the pursuit of their activities for private gain and compelled to perform the same function for the benefit of the masses as a whole. The working people throughout the world responded with quickening interest. The supremacy of the business and trading class in every nation was threatened. The new revolution was heaped with abuse and villification from the press and from prominent men in all the Allied nations.

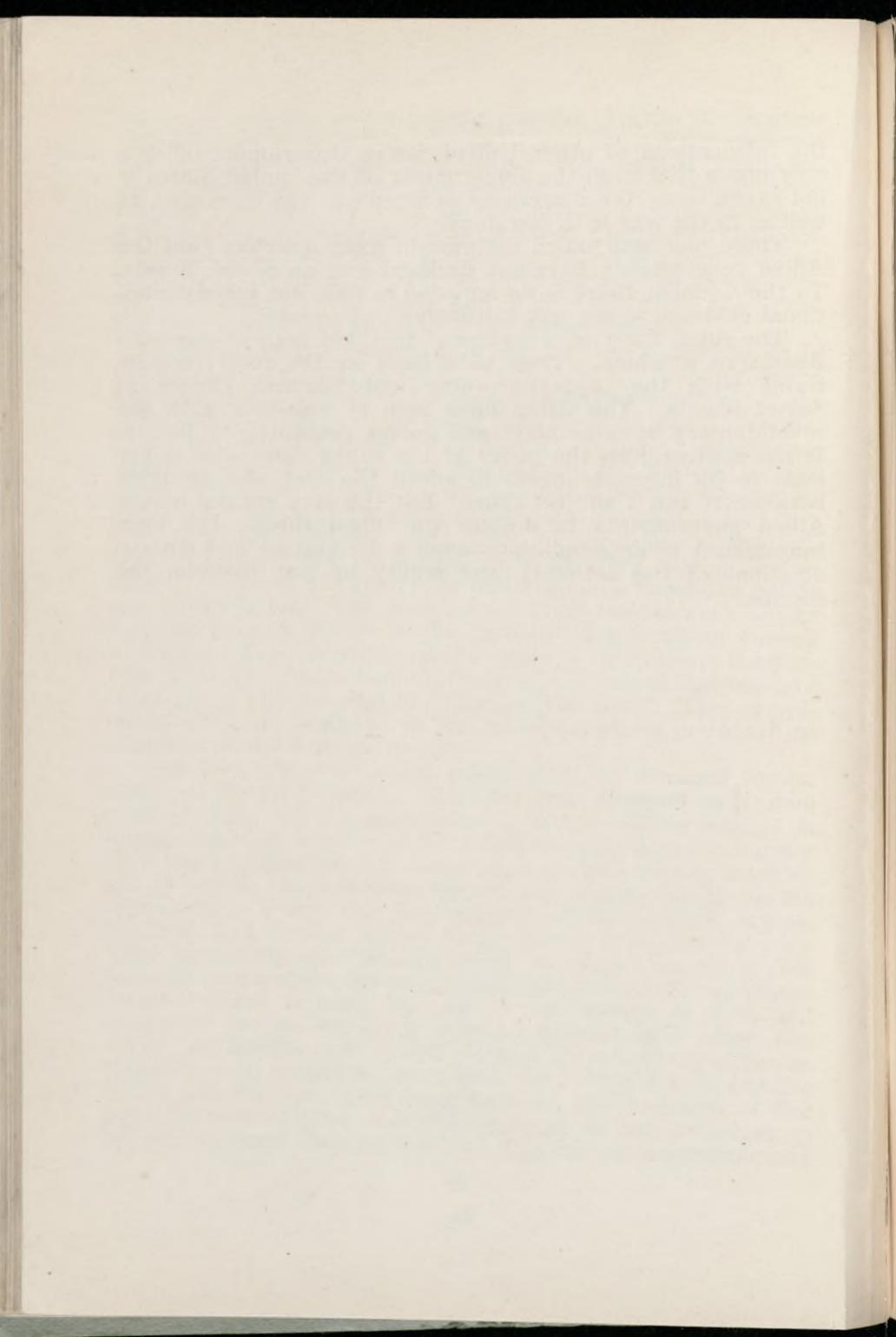
The class war is neither an aspiration nor a dogma. It is the outstanding fact of today. The conduct of newspapers and leading public men in the Allied countries towards Russia bears this out, for it shows every indication of war technique. In actual fact the whole machinery of "morale" was transferred from the making of war against the entire German population to the making of war against a part of the people of Russia—the working class and the government it had created. Atrocity stories, lurid tales of disorder, starvation, anarchy, dispatches predicting early military and civil collapse—the whole machinery for maintaining a favorable public psychology in war time—was turned from the German Kaiser and the German people to the revolutionary working masses of Russia. The maintenance of morale in war means the perversion of all standards of intellectual and moral honesty and integrity to the one end of "winning the war." This is precisely what has occurred in the Allied countries in regard to one class of the Russian people.

The fact that this same policy was not confined to the unofficial property-owning class, but was pursued with even greater vigor by the governments of the Allied nations is merely proof of what Socialist thinkers have been saying for fifty years: Governments are at bottom part of the machinery by which the dominant class in any nation maintains its supremacy. When the governments of the United States, England and France threw their troops into Russia they were furnishing the Socialist with an object lesson of his favorite propaganda theme. When the authorities at Washington refused to issue licenses for the export of food and medicines to the suffering Russian masses, and when the Allied battleships and troops stopped shipments into Soviet territory it all helped to prove that the United States and the Allied governments were responsive to the interests of the property-owning class and willing to go to any extremes to prevent working class supremacy. The Sisson documents and

the fabrications of other United States Government officials only prove that even the Government of the United States is not above using the machinery of morale in the class war, as well as in the war with Germany.

There has been much surprise in some quarters that the Allied governments have not declared war on Soviet Russia. To the Socialist there is no surprise in this, but merely additional evidence to support his analysis of society.

The Allies have, as a matter of fact, not been at war with Russia as a whole. They have been on the most friendly terms with the property-owning and business classes in Soviet Russia. The Allies have been at war only with the revolutionary working class and poorer peasantry of Russia. It has always been the policy of the ruling class—for it has been to its interest—never to admit the fact of a struggle between it and a subject class. But the very refusal of the Allied governments to declare war upon Russia has been tantamount to an admission—even a declaration and demonstration—of the actuality and reality of war between the classes.



PART II
FACTS

THE FOUNTAINS OF TRUTH

If it is true that the degree of Russian fabrication and abuse has been determined by the degree of conservatism and property-interest at their source, the converse of the proposition is equally sound. The more progressive and radical the sources of information and opinion about Russia, the more accurate and reliable have they proved themselves to be. The less connected with the interests of property and wealth, the more understanding have they shown about Russian affairs. It has been the Socialist and labor press, it has been men known for their radical sympathies that events have proven the most dependable source of information and opinion about Russia. Papers and magazines actually suppressed and persecuted by the United States Government because of their political and economic opinions have been the ones that have told the truth. The ultimate irony is the fact that it has been the truth about Russia that has often been the very cause of their suppression and persecution.

The *New York Call*, the *Liberator*, the *Revolutionary Age*, the *Communist* and the *Class Struggle*—Socialist and communist papers—took the lead in predicting the success of the Soviet regime and its triumph over its adversaries. They published original documents and other articles showing the actual organization and operation of the Soviet regime. Some of these have been suppressed, some of their editors are in jail; all of them have been persecuted, denied their second class mailing privileges and otherwise belabored; but the events of the past few months in Russia have proved that there has been more truth and sound judgment in one of their issues than in all the issues of the *New York Sun*, or the *New York Times* for a year put together. The *Nation*, the *Dial*, the *Public*, the *New Republic* and the *World Tomorrow* have been supported by the verdict of events in most of the evidence they have produced about Soviet Russia. They are all liberal papers and comparatively free from the domination of property and corporate interests.

The service of these journals to the cause of intellectual honesty, clear-thinking and common human decency cannot be overestimated. It has been human experience that both sides in war tend to use the same methods in maintaining their morale. It has been amply demonstrated that the diplomacy and publicity of the German Government during the recent war was not any more of an accurate guide to fact and truth than the press and diplomatic activities of his Britannic Majesty. The past three years have proven, however, that the organs devoted to or sympathetic with the cause of labor in the class war have been superior in this respect than those on the side of Capital.

What it has meant to keep faith with the truth during the past three years, and particularly with regard to Russia, will never be known except by the courageous few who have attempted the perilous task. Perhaps their reward is at hand. At all events, there is an increasing public demand for the real facts about Russia, and for opinions and predictions that rest on the facts.

A considerable amount of information has already been made available that meets the test. The sources of this information can be relied upon to produce in the future more of the same kind.

It is not the purpose of this pamphlet to refute in detail the fabrications and the abuse which has passed for the truth about Russia. Nor is its purpose to build up a structure of fact in its place. More people are asking every day, however, where they can find the facts for themselves and build up their own convictions on the truth as they find it. It is for them that this pamphlet is written. Its purpose is to list the most reliable sources of information about Russia—the magazines and the newspapers from which the facts may be expected to flow in the future as they have in the past, and to record the most dependable books and articles on Russia which have already appeared and have withstood the test of subsequent events.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

The following is a list of the publications in English now being issued which have demonstrated during the past three years a measure of understanding of Russian affairs, a capacity to get the facts and to interpret them with some degree of accuracy. The names of publications which are not now being issued have been omitted:

I. MAGAZINES

(a) Weekly

Soviet Russia

Address: 110 West 40th Street, New York City.

The official organ of the Representative in the United States of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. Each issue is devoted to articles, reprints of documents, editorials and other material dealing exclusively with Russia. Both internal conditions and relations with other countries are treated with particular reference to the United States.

The Nation

Address: 20 Vesey Street, New York City.

No American publication has made public more authoritative material about Russia than the *Nation*. Its weekly International Relations Section has reprinted a large number of Russian documents and its articles and editorial columns handle the Russian situation with a high degree of accuracy and understanding. Its policy is independent, non-partisan and liberal.

The New Majority

Address: 166 West Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

The official organ of the Labor Party of Illinois has featured Soviet Russia in news and editorials with understanding and accuracy.

The New Republic

Address: 421 West 21st Street, New York City.

Has demonstrated a devotion to fact and a greater understanding of contemporary Russia than most American periodicals. It is independent and liberal.

The Manchester Guardian

Address 10 Wall Street, New York City.

A weekly edition of the famous English liberal daily which has published more accurate news about Russia than any other newspaper in the world.

The Liberator

(b) Monthly

Address: 138 West 13th Street, New York City.

A Socialist magazine which has printed a great deal of the most valuable information on Soviet Russia which has appeared in the United States. Its policy is partisan to the present regime in Russia, but is intelligent and understanding.

The World Tomorrow

Address: 118 East 28th Street, New York City.

A magazine of Christianity applied to the problems of world reconstruction. Its editorials have shown a high degree of understanding about Russia.

II. NEWSPAPERS

The New York *Call*

Address: 112 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

The leading Socialist daily in the East makes a specialty of Soviet Russian news and reprints many articles on the subject appearing in English, French and American newspapers and magazines. Paul Wallace Hanna, its Washington Correspondent, has an enviable reputation for keen vigilance and political acumen in his reporting of Russian news from the capitol. The *Call* was the first paper in the United States to support the Soviet Government against attacks both from within and without.

The Seattle *Union Record*

Address: Seattle, Washington.

The fighting labor daily of the West has also made a special effort to print reliable and accurate reports about conditions in Russia.

The Milwaukee *Leader*

Address: Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Victor Berger's Socialist paper has done great service in giving prominence to reliable information from Russia.

The *Globe*

Address: Globe Square, New York.

One of the more liberal of the large New York daily papers. Its editorials and general Russian news have proven undependable, but not as much as the other New York dailies; and it has rendered a great service to the truth in printing articles from Russia by Isaac Don Levine and Michael Farbman, two correspondents whose devotion to fact is far above the average.

The Chicago Daily *News*

Address: Chicago, Illinois.

A conservative and unreliable Chicago paper which has, however, published Levine and Farbman's correspondence.

The New York *World*

Address: Pulitzer Building, New York City.

The *World* has performed a great service to the cause of understanding Russia by sending its special correspondent, Mr. Lincoln Eyre, into Soviet territory and by featuring his reports which have been far above the average in fairness and accuracy. The *World* also published some articles by Mr. Alexander Trachtenberg early in the life of the Russian Revolution, which predicted a Soviet regime for Russia and which history has completely vindicated.

The New York *American*

Address: 238 William Street, New York City.

Mr. Hearst's New York morning paper has printed a vast amount of fabrication in its news columns, but has waged a magnificent fight in its editorials for justice and truth and understanding towards Russia.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

The following is a list of books and pamphlets in English, published or available in the United States, which can, in the main, be trusted to give accurate information and opinion on Russian affairs. Publications written in opposition to, as well as in defense of, the Soviet regime have been included if they show a real understanding of the facts:

Albertson, Ralph. "Fighting Without a War." New York, Harcourt, Brace & Howe, 1920, pp. 238.

An account by an eye-witness and Y. M. C. A. member of the American Expeditionary Forces in North Russia of their invasion of Soviet territory and campaign against the Soviet troops.

Antonelli, Etienne (Translated by Chas. A. Carroll). "Bolshevik Russia." New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1920, pp. 307.

An attempt by an eminent French scholar and professor in the *College libre de Sciences Sociales* to write an objective and impartial account of the aims, methods and accomplishments of the proletarian revolution. This is a translation from the French of "La Russie Bolshéviste," written in October, 1918, and published in 1919.

American Association for International Conciliation. "Russian Documentets" (International Conciliation, issue of March, 1919, No. 136). New York, 1919, pp. 125.

A collection of verbatim texts of original documents, including the Soviet Constitution, the Land Law and the Franco-Russian alliance.

Beable, William Henry. "Commercial Russia." New York: Macmillan Company, 1919, pp. 278.

A review of the possibilities of trade with Russia from the British standpoint and on the basis of previous experience, written by the organizer of the Anglo-Russian Trade Commission. The political issue is carefully avoided, but much valuable data on former Russian trade are included.

Beatty, Bessie. "The Red Heart of Russia." New York: The Century Company, 1918, pp. 480.

A narrative story of the November revolution written around the personal experience of the war correspondent of the San Francisco *Bulletin*, now editor of *McCall's Magazine*.

Browne, Louis Edgar. "New Russia in the Balance." Chicago: The Chicago Daily News, 1918, paper, pp. 31.

Reprints of dispatches to the Chicago *Daily News* from its special Russian correspondent during April, 1918, describing with vividness and understanding the events of those days.

Bryant, Louise. "Russia in Revolt," with appendix. Buckley, "The Death Train of Siberia." Los Angeles: Socialist Book Shop, paper, pp. 39.

Reprints of a speech by Miss Bryant, delivered at Portland, and an article from the Red Cross Magazine.

Bryant, Louise. "Six Red Months in Russia." New York: George H. Doran, 1918, pp. 299.

A narrative of the months just before and after the November revolution, written by an American eye-witness and a confidant of the leading personalities in the drama.

T Bullitt, Wm. C. "The Bullitt Mission to Russia." Testimony before the Committee on Foreign Relations (United States Senate) of Wm. C. Bullitt. New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1919, paper, pp. 151.

An invaluable record of the attempts of President Wilson and Lloyd George to secure some understanding with Soviet Russia in the early part of 1919 and their failure due to French pressure. Told by a trusted member of the American Peace Mission.

Cumming, C. K., and Pettit, Walter W. [Ed.]. "Russian-American Relations, March, 1917, to March, 1920—Documents and Papers." Harcourt, Brace & Howe, 1920.

An invaluable service book on the policy of the United States Government toward the Soviet Government and the regime that immediately preceded it.

Dial Publishing Company, The. "A Voice Out of Russia." New York: The Dial Publishing Co., 1919, paper, pp. 48.

A reprint which contains the following articles from the *Dial*: (1) "Withdraw from Russia;" (2) "Soviet Russia and the American Revolution," by Lincoln Colcord; (3) "A Voice Out of Russia," by G. V. Lomonosoff; (4) Decree on Land, and (5) Decree on Worker's Control.

Goode, William T. "Bolshevism at Work." New York, Harcourt, Brace & Howe, 1920, pp. 143.

This is perhaps the most valuable short survey of conditions in Russia, and of Soviet aims and accomplishments that has been published. Written by a prominent and impartial British educator who saw first hand what he describes. It is at once discriminating, critical, and informing.

Hard, William. "Raymond Robins' Own Story." New York: Harper and Brothers, 1920, pp. 248.

A transcript by Mr. Hard of Raymond Robins' story of his experience in Soviet Russia. Mr. Robins, an ardent opponent of Bolshevism, is gifted with a sense of reality. As head of the Red Cross in Russia and as official medium of communication between Ambassador Francis and Soviet Government officials, he had an unequalled opportunity to learn the actual situation in Russia.

"International Reconstruction": The Annals (Volume LXXXIV, July, 1919). Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1919, pp. 223.

A reprint of speeches delivered at the Society's Annual Convention in Philadelphia. Includes: Story, R. M., "Russia Present and Future," pp. 81-89; Huntington, W. C., "The Russian Tragedy," pp. 90-97; Rosen, Baron, "The Menace of Bolshevism," pp. 98-101; Sack, A. J., "Democracy and Bolshevism," pp. 102-108; Nuorteva, S., "The Soviet Republic," pp. 108-112; Olgin, M. J., "The Intelligentsia and the Russian People," pp. 114-120; Thacher, T. D., "Economic Force and the Russian Problem," pp. 121-126, and Robins, R., "Social Control in Russia Today," pp. 127-145.

Kerensky, A. F. "The Prelude to Bolshevism" (The Kornilov Rising). New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1919, pp. 312. \$2.50.

The story of the events of July to September, 1917, by the leading figure in the drama—Prime Minister in the Coalition Government that preceded the Soviet regime. The real nature of the Kornilov rebellion is the chief theme of the book.

Laidler, Harry W. "Socialism in Thought and Action." New York: Macmillan Company, 1920, pp. 546.

Contains an invaluable chapter on Russia which gives a brief historical account of the revolutions of 1917 and subsequent events as well as an analysis of the programs and parties that dominated them.

Leary, Daniel Bell. "Education and Autocracy in Russia from the Origins to the Bolsheviks." Buffalo, N. Y.: University of Buffalo, 1919, paper, pp. 127.

A scholarly monograph by the Professor of Psychology in the University of Buffalo. Contains a brief consideration of Education under the Soviet regime.

Lenin, N. "A Letter to the American Workingman." Brooklyn, N. Y.: Socialist Publication Society, 1918, paper, pp. 15.

An example of Communist theory put into the practice of defensive propaganda against the government of an invading nation.

Lenin, N. "Political Parties in Russia." Brooklyn: Socialist Publication Society, 1918.

An analysis of the social forces and parties in Russia just prior to the November revolution, presenting in full the program of the Bolsheviks.

Lenin, N. "The Soviets at Work." New York: Rand School of Social Science, 1919 (5th ed.), paper, pp. 48.

A statement of the constructive tasks before the triumphant revolutionary forces in 1918 as seen by Lenin.

Lenin, N. "The State and Revolution." London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1919, cloth, pp. 122.

The translation of a Russian pamphlet giving an historical background for the author's theory of revolution. It was unfinished because of the demands made upon the author by the events of the November revolution.

Lenin, N., and Trotzky, L. Fraina, L. C. (ed.) "The Proletarian Revolution in Russia," New York: The Communist Press, 1918, paper, pp. 453.

A collection of articles by Lenin and Trotzky, edited and supplemented by L. C. Fraina, covering the theory of the Communists, the struggle for power and the problems of the Soviet republic.

Litvinov, Maxim. "The Bolshevik Revolution." British Socialist Party, 1918.

An historical account of the Russian revolution and the rise of the Bolshevik power, by the Assistant Commissar for Foreign Affairs.

Magnes, Judah L. "Russia and Germany at Brest-Litovsk." New York: The Rand School of Social Science, 1919, cloth, pp. 185.

A scholarly, impartial, documentary account of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations and their general background in Russia, Germany and other countries.

Malone, Col. Cecil l'Estrange. "The Russian Republic." New York: Harcourt, Brace & Howe, 1920, pp. 153.

An account of the personal observation in Soviet Russia of an English aviator and Coalition Member of Parliament who made a special trip to Russia to "see for himself." Informing but shows no great insight.

McBride, Isaac. "Barbarous Soviet Russia." New York, Thomas Seltzer, 1920, pp. 276.

The observations of an American journalist who spent several weeks in Soviet Russia and had access to all the leading figures and sources of information. Contains also some important documentary material not available elsewhere.

Melting Pot, The. "Voices from Russia." St. Louis, Mo.: The Melting Pot, 1919, paper, pp. 96.

Contains reprints of the following: A. R. Williams, "The Bolsheviks and the Soviets"; Letter of Lenin to the American Workmen; W. H. Thompson, "The Russian Democracy Is Red"; *The Nation*, "Is It True?" and various other documents reprinted from American publications.

Methodist Federation for Social Service. "The Russian Question." New York: Meth. Fed. for Soc. Ser., 1919, paper, pp. 4. (The Social Service Bulletin, Jan.-Feb., 1919.)

A most valuable attempt to present in capsule form the essential facts about Soviet Russia.

T Nation, The. "Decrees and Constitution of Soviet Russia." New York: The Nation Press, 1919, paper, pp. 89. (Reprints from the Nation.)

A collection of the full text of some twenty-four of the most important laws enacted during the first year of the Soviet regime, together with a text of the present Russian Constitution.

T Nation, The. "The Russian Constitution." New York: The Nation Press, 1919, paper, pp. 20. (Revised reprint from the Nation of January 4, 1919.)

A text of the Russian fundamental law included in the above pamphlet.

Newbold, J. T. Walton. "Bankers, Bondholders and Bolsheviks." London: Independent Labor Party, 1919, paper, pp. 16. X

An English pamphlet analyzing the economic forces behind Allied Russian diplomacy and containing an exposé of the property interests of prominent statesmen in Russia.

Nuorteva, Santeri. "An Open Letter to American Liberals."
New York: Socialist Publication Society, 1918, paper, pp. 31.

An eloquent plea to American liberal opinion for a humane and intelligent American policy toward Russia, with a note appended on the notorious Sisson documents.

Olgin, Moissaye J. Introduction by Vladimir G. Simkhovitch.
"The Soul of the Russian Revolution." New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1917, pp. 423.

A study of the background of the proletarian revolution—historical, economic, social, political, artistic and personal. The subject matter covers the period up to the February revolution.

"One Year of Russian Revolution." Brooklyn: Socialist Publication Society, 1918, pp. 32.

Celebrating the first anniversary of the founding of the Russian Soviet Republic, November 7, 1918.

Price, M. Phillips. "The Old Order in Europe and the New Order in Russia." Brooklyn, N. Y.: Socialist Publication Society, 1919, paper, pp. 31.

A brief account of the progress of the revolution from the Czar to the Soviet regime, with an estimate of its constructive accomplishments, by a former correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*.

Price, M. Philips. "The Origin and Growth of the Russian Soviets." London: People's Russian Information Bureau, 1919, paper, pp. 24.

An invaluable summary of the historical background of the Soviet system of government.

Price, M. Philips. "The Soviet, the Terror and Intervention." New York: Socialist Publication Society, 1919, paper, pp. 24.

Contains also "Red and White Terror in Russia" and "The Truth About the Allied Intervention in Russia."

Ransome, Arthur. "On Behalf of Russia: An Open Letter to America." New York: The New Republic, 1918, paper, pp. 29. (Reprint from *New Republic*, July 27, 1918.)

A stirring appeal to the educated classes in the United States to understand the Russian Revolution and not to be misled by partisan fabrications. Written by the former Russian Correspondent of the *London Times*.

Ransome, Arthur. "Russia in 1919." New York: B. W. Huesch, 1919, pp. 232.

Brief, clear-cut personal impressions of people and conditions in Soviet Russia by a man eminently equipped by education and experience to see the truth and to report it honestly.

Reed, John. "Ten Days That Shook the World." New York: Boni & Liveright, 1919, pp. 371.

A vivid narrative of the crucial days of the proletarian revolution—"a slice of intensified history," as the author describes it, "history as I saw it." Contains a wealth of documentary material as well as an engrossing story of people and events.

Reed, John. "The Sisson Documents." New York: The Liberator Publishing Company, 1919, paper, pp. 17.

Reprint of an article which appeared in the *Liberator* analyzing the obvious earmarks of falsification in the "documents" published by the United States Government to prove Lenin and Trotzky German agents.

Rickman, John. "An Eye Witness from Russia." London: People's Russian Information Bureau, 1919, paper, pp. 24.

Observations by a member of the staff of the Society of Friends War Victims' Relief Committee in Russia, whose work brought him into intimate contact with the peasants in their villages.

Ross, Edward Alsworth. "Russia in Upheaval." New York: The Century Company, 1919, pp. 354.

Personal impressions of Russia at the time of the Soviet Revolution, written by one of America's leading sociologists. "Scientific objectivity—this has been my guiding star in the writing of this book," says the author.

Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic: People's Commissariat of Justice. "Russian Code of Laws of Labour." (In English.) Petrograd, 1919, paper, pp. 24.

A poorly translated reprint of the labor laws of Soviet Russia.

Russian Soviet Government Bureau (New York City). "Labor Law of Soviet Russia." New York, 1920, paper, pp. 52.

An official reprint of the Soviet labor laws with an analysis of their provisions in the light of American misinterpretation.

Sayler, Oliver M. "Russia White or Red." Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1919, pp. 312.

An unusually impartial account of conditions in Soviet Russia by an American eye-witness.

Sayler, Oliver M. "The Russian Theatre under the Revolution." Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1920, pp. 261.

An account of the Russian theatre during the revolution by the dramatic editor of the Indianapolis *News*.

Schumiatzky, B. "The Aims of the Bolsheviki." London: People's Russian Information Bureau, 1919, paper, pp. 16.

An account of the aims of the Bolshevik group and of their differences in program and tactics from other Socialist groups in Russia.

Socialist Labor Party. "Withdraw from Russia." N. Y.: Socialist Labor Party, 1919, paper, pp. 16.

An appeal signed by the National Executive Committee to protest against Allied intervention in Russia and containing a review of the reasons, real and pretended, for the policy of the Allies.

Socialist Publication Society. "Education and Art in Soviet Russia" (in the light of official Decrees and Documents), with a Foreword by Max Eastman. N. Y.: The Socialist Publication Society, 1919, paper, pp. 64.

A well-documented description of the constructive work of the Soviet Government in the field of art and education.

Socialist Publication Society. "Radek and Ransome on Russia." Brooklyn, N. Y., 1918, paper, pp. 31.

A reprint from Ransome's "Open Letter to America," with an introduction by Karl Radek, former representative of the Soviet Government in Germany.

Trotsky, Leon. Introduction by Lincoln Steffens. "The Bolsheviki and the World Peace" (a translation of a pamphlet published in 1914 under the title "War and the International"). N. Y.: Boni and Liveright, 1918, pp. 238.

A series of papers written previous to the Revolution, but containing much of the philosophy and aims of the Bolsheviki which were later made into history. Written by the present Russian Minister of War.

Trotsky, Leon. "Our Revolution." N. Y.: Henry Holt & Co., 1919, translated by M. Olgin.

A collection of political essays written previous to the Revolution. Almost half of the book is devoted to a review of the accomplishments of the Petrograd Soviet established during the Revolution of 1905, and Trotsky's deductions with regard to the future role of Soviets in the Revolution.

Trotsky, Leon. "From October to Brest-Litovsk." N. Y.: Socialist Publication Society, 1919, paper, pp. 100.

A brief historical sketch of the November Revolution and the triumph of the Soviets. Gives an invaluable insight into the theory and practice of the Revolution.

United States Committee on Public Information. "German-Bolshevik Conspiracy." Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918, pp. 30. (War Information Service, No. 20.) Pt. 1. German-Bolsheviki: a report by Edgar Sisson. Pt. 2. Letter of Mr. Creel to National Board of Historical Service (October 18, 1918); report of special committee on genuineness of the documents (Oct. 26, 1918).

The notorious "Sisson documents" pamphlet which was the trump-card in the propaganda campaign of the United States Government against the Russian Soviet Government.

United States Senate, 66th Congress, 1st Session, Document No. 62. "Brewing and Liquor Interests and German and Bolshevik Propaganda." Report on Hearings of the Subcommittee of the Judiciary (United States Senate), Overman Committee, Vol. II, Bolshevik Propaganda. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919, pp. 1262.

The complete transcript of the Overman Committee hearings. Contains some of the most lurid examples of anti-Soviet fabrications as well as the testimony of reliable witnesses like Raymond Robins, Albert Williams and Louise Bryant.

Williams, Albert Rhys. "The Bolsheviks and the Soviets." Brooklyn: The Socialist Publication Society, 1919, pp. 30.

A series of questions and answers designed to cover the features of Soviet Russia about which the greatest confusion of thought has occurred in America.

Williams, Albert Rhys. "Lenin: The Man and His Work" (and the impressions of Colonel Raymond Robins and Arthur Ransome). New York: Scott and Seltzer, 1919, p. 202.

A biography of Lenin written by an American correspondent who knows him well. The book also includes observations of Raymond Robins and Arthur Ransome on Soviet Russia.

Williams, Albert Rhys. "Soviet Russia." Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company, 1919, paper, pp. 60.

Transcript of an address delivered at Ashland Auditorium, Chicago, February 19, 1919.

MAGAZINE ARTICLES

The following is a list of genuinely informative articles in English on Soviet Russia that have appeared in American magazines from November 1917 to April 1920. The references are grouped for convenience according to the subject matter of the articles. Articles which have appeared in *Soviet Russia* have not been listed. Practically every item that has appeared in *Soviet Russia* has been of value and any comprehensive understanding of Russian conditions necessitates a study of all the back numbers of this magazine, from the first issue, in June 1919, to date. These may be obtained from the Circulation Department, Soviet Russia, 110 West 40th Street, New York City.

ARTICLES OF GENERAL INTEREST

Beatty, B. "Gold and Fool's Gold: Colonel Thompson Stakes His Faith on the Russian People." *Asia*, August 1918, pp. 665-6.

An account of Colonel Thompson's sincere desire to understand and help Russia and his experienced reflections on the situation. Colonel Thompson was head of the American Red Cross in Russia.

Chamberlain, William Henry. "Bolshevik Russia and Jacobin France." *Dial*, July 12, 1919, pp. 14-16.

Draws a parallel between the French and the Russian revolutions; treats of internal progress, foreign relations, terror, leaders, emigres and diplomacy.

Bryant, Louise. "Petrograd Under the Bolsheviks." Travel, January 1919, pp. 26-30.

A personal narrative by an eye-witness.

Chicherin, George. "Chicherin on the situation of Soviet Russia." Nation, August 9, 1919.

Reprint of a wireless message from the Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs reviewing the political and military situation in Russia on June 16, 1919.

Davis, Jerome. "Christian Intervention in Russia: the Real Conditions under the Bolsheviks." Congregationalist and Advance, Feb. 27, 1919.

A record of personal experience by the former chief of the Y. M. C. A. in Russia, and an anti-Bolshevik, as to conditions under the Soviet Government in Russia.

Davis, Jerome. "Cooperating with the Commissars." Survey, Feb. 8, 1919.

An account of how the Red Cross, Y. W. C. A. and Y. M. C. A. have been able to cooperate with the Soviet Government.

Davis, Jerome. "Human Side of the Murderous Bolsheviks." Unpartisan Review, July 1919, pp. 57-73.

Mr. Davis shows the humanitarianism of Soviet policy and practice.

Davis, Jerome. "Struggling Russia." Public, June 21, 1919, pp. 656-8.

Observations by Mr. Davis on politics and government in Soviet Russia.

Davis, Jerome. "What We Can Do for Russia." Independent, Feb. 8, 1919.

Account of personal experiences in Russia showing the need for information and a definite American policy toward Russia, as well as Russia's failure to comprehend America's attitude.

Farbman, Michael. "Russia and the World." Nation, Feb. 8, 1919, pp. 188-190.

An historical background for the contention that the Allies should cease intervention in Russia as the only guarantee of self-determination.

Fraina, Louis C. "Proletarian Revolution in Russia." *Class Struggle*, Jan.-Feb. 1918, pp. 29-68.

An historical review of the processes of the November Revolution in the light of communist theory.

Hourwich, I. A. "Marxism in Russia." *Survey*, May 11, 1918, pp. 159-60.

The working out of the revolution in Russia will show whether Marxian principles are being carried out. But the government there is a Socialist one. Observations by the present Director of the Statistical Department of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau.

Lewis, Roger. "Something to Say to Lenine." *Collier's Weekly*, Dec. 6, 1919.

An American newspaper man's analysis of the confusion of ideas about Russia, containing charges against the United States Government of intrigues in Russia to overthrow the Soviet Government by force and violence.

Lomonossov, George V. "Recognize the Soviets." *Liberator*, August 1918, pp. 11-13.

A plea by the former head of the Kerensky Railroad Commission to the United States for peace with Soviet Russia and diplomatic recognition by the United States.

McBride, Isaac. "Russia Victorious." *Liberator*, Jan. 1920, pp. 5-14.

Verbatim report of a conversation with Mr. McBride soon after his return from several weeks in Soviet Russia, where he interviewed Lenin and other Soviet leaders and observed the general condition of the country.

Nuorteva, S. "Future of the Russian Revolution." *Class Struggle*, March-April 1918, pp. 171-185.

An article analyzing, at the most desperate moment of German invasion, the future of the Soviet Government in Russia, and predicting, in the face of almost universal pessimism of both friends and enemies, that "the Russian Revolution is not crushed, and, what is more, will not be crushed." Mr. Nuorteva is now secretary of the Soviet Government Bureau in New York.

Olgin, M. "Mass Rule in Russia." Asia, March 1918, pp. 188-194.

An explanation of the difficulties of Soviet rule: The unorganized peasants, the centralized government and the resultant confusion; the inevitability of peace and the workings of Bolshevik control.

Ransome, Arthur. "Leaves from a Moscow Diary." Living Age, June 21, 1919, pp. 728-736.

Impressions of Soviet Russia: Session of All Russian Executive Committee to discuss the Prinkipo proposal; descriptive pictures of Biedny, Steklov, Mme. Radek, Bukharin, etc.

"Reconstruction in Russia." Class Struggle, September-October 1918, pp. 455-491.

A brief but comprehensive statement of the theory and practice of the proletarian revolution in Russia, with reprints of fourteen typical laws of the Soviet Government, a statement of the first accomplishments of the revolution and extracts from the Soviet Constitution.

Reed, John. "How the Russian Revolution Works." Liberator, Aug. 1918.

Personal observations on the revolution in the theatre; the case of Countess Panina; Kollontai and Social welfare; reorganized education; the Church and state property; the scope of the press; the redivision of housing, etc.

Reed, John. "Triumph of the Bolsheviki." Liberator, March 1918, pp. 14-21.

Account of conditions just previous to and during the Bolsheviks' assumption of control; interview with Trotzky about formation of government of the First All-Russian Congress of Soviets; explanation of the Bolshevik success, etc.

Robinson, Geroid. "Russia Re-Examined." The Freeman, April 21, 1920.

An unusually able analysis of the forces at work in Soviet Russia and their future implications. Mr. Robinson shows with great skill that the position of organized labor in the Soviet state is one of complete domination.

"The Testimony of Raymond Robins." New Republic, March 29, 1919.

Editorial comment on Robins' opposition to intervention as maintained by him in a speech before the League of Free Nations Association.

"Soviet Russia Through Arthur Ransome's Eyes." *Current Opinion*, Oct. 1919.

An estimate of Ransome's views about conditions in Soviet Russia.

Thacher, Thos. B. "Address before the Economic Club of Boston," Dec. 1919. *National Economic League Quarterly*, Boston, March 1919, p. 26.

Observations on Soviet Russia by an American eye-witness attached to the American Red Cross.

Worst, Hans. "Conditions in Russia." *New Republic*, Oct. 5, 1918.

A correspondent of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, gives an account of his journey to Moscow from Berlin. He contrasts pre-war conditions, estimates peasant opinions; discusses the murder of Czar, the meeting of Central Executive Committee, Lenin's speech, Czecho-Slovak policy, territory controlled by Czecho-Slovaks, working class dissatisfaction and Bolshevik activities in general.

Williams, A. R. "Russia." (Address before the Economic Club of Boston.) *National Economic League Quarterly*, March 1919, pp. 13-20.

Personal observation and an estimate of the present and future of Soviet Russia.

Williams, A. R. "Red Funeral of Vladivostok." *New Republic*, Nov. 9, 1918, p. 41.

A vivid description of the funeral of the victims of Allied intervention at Vladivostok.

Yarros, V. S. "Russian Bolshevism—Tyranny or Freedom." *Public*, Jan. 25, 1919, pp. 82-86.

A discussion of liberty under the Soviet regime.

Williams, A. R. "The Soviet at Work." *Dial*, Dec. 14, 1918.

The story of a journey across Russia, with a description of industrial and living conditions under the Soviet.

(a) Articles of General Interest—Siberia

"K. D." "The Press and the Siberian Situation." Nation, Nov. 8, 1919.

A discussion of the censorship, anti-American propaganda, Kolchak, opposition to American aid among Siberians and communications from General Graves, commanding the American troops.

Moore, Frederick F. "The Vanishing Army of the Bolsheviki." Hearst's Magazine, June 1918, pp. 28, 29 and 73.

A description of Siberian conditions by a returned captain in the United States Military Intelligence in Siberia. He recites atrocities committed by the anti-Soviet forces and asserts that "95 per cent of the people in Siberia are Bolshevik."

"Mr. Embry Accepts a Challenge." New Republic, Aug. 27, 1919.

An attempt to discredit Joshua Rosett's article on Kolchak's tyranny in Siberia, by the former United States Consul at Omsk.

Rosett, Joshua. "Mr. Rosett Replies." New Republic, Aug. 27, 1919, p. 122.

Refutation of an attempt by John A. Embry to discredit Mr. Rosett's disclosures of Kolchak's tyranny in Siberia.

Rosett, Joshua, "The Rise of a New Russian Autocracy." New Republic, July 9, 1919, pp. 316-324.

An extended account of the oppressive tyranny of Kolchak rule in Siberia by an eye-witness and a representative of the United States Committee on Public Information.

Tobinson, Gertrude M. "The Soviet of the Far East." Liberator, April 1919.

A conversation describing conditions in Eastern Siberia under the Soviets: the army, wages, schools and food conditions, mines, counter-revolution, Czecho-Slovaks, land, railroads and other subjects.

BIOGRAPHY

a. Breshkovsky.

"The Truth about Breshkovsky." Liberator, March 1919.

A claim that Breshkovsky's present attitude is due to her loss of power, her old conceptions and approaching senility, and that her present condition is being exploited by the real enemies of Russia.

b. Gorky.

"Bolshevism Defended." *Living Age*, Jan. 25, 1919, pp. 200-202.

Speech by Gorky explaining his opposition, but showing the necessity of supporting the Soviet Government.

Gorky, Maxim. "Confession." *Class Struggle*, May 1919, pp. 237-239.

Gorky's appeal for the support of Lenin, written when he came over himself to the side of the Soviet Government in July, 1918.

c. Kalinin.

"The Man Who Runs the Russian Soviet." *Call Magazine*, Dec. 28, 1919.

A biographical sketch of the late chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

d. Lenin.

Eastman, Max. "Lenin a Statesman of the New Order." *Liberator*, October 1918, pp. 28-33.

A discussion of Lenin's policies and an estimate of his position in world politics.

e. Trotzky.

Olgin, M. J. "Who is Trotzky?" *Asia*, March 1918.

A descriptive picture of Trotzky's life, writings, revolutionary activities, etc.

"Trotzki." *Bookman*, March 1918, pp. 87-91.

A brief biographical sketch of Trotzky, reprinted from *New Europe* of London. January 17, 1918.

COUNTER-REVOLUTION

"Affair of the Russian Rubles." *Nation*, Jan. 25, 1919, pp. 147-149.

Documentary evidence of the activities of Serge Uhget, self-styled "Financial Attache" of the Russian Government, showing contracts made by him with the America Bank Note Company for the printing of ruble notes to be used to combat the Soviet Government.

Editorial: "More Truth About Russia." Nation, Dec. 28, 1918.

The letter of American Defense Society asking support for Kolchak, and signed by Charles S. Stewart Davison, read in American pulpits.

Editorial: "Who Shall Offend?" Nation, Jan. 25, 1919.

An arraignment of lies published in a school paper about Soviet Russian and given to school children in New York City.

Hard, William. "Anti-Bolsheviks—Mr. Bakhmetev." New Republic, August 13, 1919.

Analysis of conditions which brought Bakhmetev to America, story of Lomonossov, and of the so-called "Ambassador's" activities.

Hard, William: "Anti-Bolsheviks—Mr. Sack." New Republic, July 23, 1919.

Refutation of A. J. Sack's propaganda and a statement of the real facts about Siberia.

Hard, William. "Anti-Bolsheviks—Mr. Spargo." New Republic, July 9, 1919.

A pungent criticism of Spargo's book attacking Soviet Russia.

Hard, William. "Anti-Bolsheviks—The Twenty Million." New Republic, July 30, 1919.

Analysis of Mr. Sack's story of the Cooperatives and their support of Kolchak as part of the propaganda campaign in the United States against Soviet Russia.

Hard, William. "Anti-Bolsheviks—The Up-Rollers." New Republic, July 16, 1919.

A humorous account of an imaginary investigation; the summoning as witnesses of Tchaikowsky, Spargo, Lebedev, Bernstoff, Rickman, Frazier Hunt and others prominent in the struggle for or against Soviet Russia.

Lomonossov, G. "The Recognition of Kolchak—three Opinions." Nation, May 31, 1919, p. 265.

Professor Lomonosoff charges an allied plot to overthrow the Soviet Government in the setting up of Kolchak as Supreme Ruler in Siberia.

Spargo, John. "A Bolshevik Apologist—Mr. Hard." *New Republic*, August 20, 1919.

Spargo's reply to Hard's attack and Hard's rejoinder.

Zilboorg, Gregory. "Apologists of the Russian Reaction." *New Republic*, August 13, 1919.

Refuting statements of Sack's journal, especially Breshkovsky's upholding Kolchak, and exposing Platon's lies.

Zilboorg, Gregory. "Kolchak's Backers." *Dial*, Aug. 9, 1919, p. 87.

A consideration of the persons who supported the Kolchak regime and their reactionary affiliations, by the former Assistant Secretary of Labor in the Kerensky Cabinet.

DIPLOMACY, ALLIES

(a) General

Editorial: "Approaching Proof on Russia." *New Republic*, Dec. 3, 1919.

A summary of varying policies toward Russia by Allies and a protest against intervention.

Editorial: "More Revelations from Russia." *Nation*, Aug. 23, 1919.

Editorial comment on Czarist diplomatic documents made public by the Soviet Government, disclosing British diplomatic immorality of a sensational kind.

Editorial: "Some Astounding Diplomatic Revelations." *Nation*, Aug. 9, 1919, p. 161.

Editorial comment on diplomatic documents of the Czar's regime made public by the Soviet Government involving the admission of French press subsidation by the Russian Ambassador to France and prevarication by English Government officials.

Gannett, L. S. "League of Nations without Russia." *Survey*, Jan. 25, 1919.

Brief notes on the situation in Paris showing hostility toward Soviet Russia on part of France, unclear policy and strength of Russia.

Price, Philips. "The Truth about the Allied Intervention in Russia." *Class Struggle*, May 1919, pp. 145-154.

A brief review of the relations of the Allied governments toward Soviet Russia, written in August, 1918, by the former correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*.

(b) The Bullitt Affair

Editorial: *Nation*, March 3, 1919.

Editorial note on Lloyd George's denial of knowledge of Bullitt's mission.

"Latest Allied-American Dealing with Lenin." *Nation*, July 12, 1919.

First publication in the United States of the details of the Bullitt-Pettit-Steffens mission to Lenin. Outline of peace proposal in Philip Kerr's handwriting and charge of prevarication against Lloyd George.

(c) Economic Causes

Clark, Evans. "The Diplomatic Balance Sheet in Russia." *Nation*, June 14, 1919, p. 940.

Exploitation of Russian resources by private interests of Allied countries shown as the dominant motive in Allied Russian policy.

Colcord, Lincoln. "The Carving of Russia." *Nation*, June 14, 1919, p. 940.

The influence of international banking interests in Allied diplomacy; plan to pay for war debts by exploiting Russia under mandatories to Great Britain, France and Japan.

Editorial Note. *Nation*, June 28, 1919.

Comment on default of Imperial Russian three-year credit notes and its effect on the diplomacy of the United States.

Newbold, J. Walton. "Denikin's Dividends." *Nation*, August 23, 1919 (reprinted from the *Labor Leader*, London, July 17, 1919).

Influence of British oil holdings in Baku in determining support of Kolchak and Denikin; list of prominent British shareholders, etc.

(d) France

"Franco-Russian Alliance, The." International Conciliation, March 1910. Published by American Association for International Conciliation, 404 W. 117th St., N. Y. C.

Text of correspondence between the French foreign office and various French ambassadors at Petrograd relative to the origin and development of the Franco-Russian Alliance.

(e) Great Britain

Crozier, W. P. "British Policy in Russia." Nation, July 12, 1919, p. 5.

An interpretation of the uncertainty and confusion of British diplomacy towards Russia and a plea for self-determination.

Crozier, W. P. "The Lloyd George Policy in Russia." New Republic, March 24, 1920, pp. 113-115.

A study of British policy toward Russia in the light of Lloyd George's temperament and method.

Editorial: "Black Prospects for Russia." New Republic, Dec. 28, 1918.

Editorial criticism of British interventionist aims in Russia as voiced by Viscount Milner, British Secretary of War.

Trotsky, Leon. "In British Captivity." Class Struggle, Dec. 1918, p. 542.

A striking autobiographical statement of the unlawful persecution of Trotsky by British authorities in Nova Scotia during his journey from the United States to Russia in 1917, and a brief account of his experience with other governments since 1914.

"X." "His Majesty's Government Writes History." Liberator, June 1919.

A caustic review of the evidence presented in the British "White Book" issued by the British Government to discredit the Russian Soviet Government.

(f) Japan

Colcord, Lincoln. "Japan in Siberia." Nation, Jan. 10, 1920, p. 36.

A critical review of the press propaganda that preceded Japanese invasion of Siberia, showing the responsibility of President Wilson for the deplorable results of Allied intervention.

Editorial: "Japan and Russia." Nation, March 7, 1918.

Editorial comment opposing Japanese intervention in Siberia except with the sanction of the Russian Soviet Government.

Rosett, Joshua. "The Prussians of the Eastern World." Dial, August 9, 1919.

An extended and detailed description of the methods of Japanese imperialism in Siberia.

(g) The Nansen Proposal

"Bolshevist Reply to the Nansen Offer." Nation, Nov. 8, 1919.

Text of the communication from Chicherin in answer to the Nansen proposal.

Editorial: "The Letter and the Speech: Sense and Humor about Russia." New Republic, April 26, 1919.

A damaging comparison between Lloyd George's speech on April 16 on British aims in Russia and the Nansen proposal signed by Lloyd George.

"The Nansen Offer." Nation, August 9, 1919. (Reprinted from the Daily Herald, London, July 8.)

A Stockholm dispatch giving the Russian Soviet Government's version of the Nansen offer and the answer made to it.

(h) Prinkipo Proposal, The

Villard, Oswald Garrison. "Versailles and Princes' Islands." Nation, Feb. 1, 1919.

Cable dispatch, dated January 25, 1919, giving details of how the Prinkipo plan originated. The decision made by the "Big Four" on the recommendation of President Wilson.

White, William Allen. "What Happened to Prinkipo." Metropolitan, December 1919, p. 30.

Statement of the origin, development and collapse of the Prinkipo proposal by one of the American commissioners appointed to attend the conference.

(i) Treaties

"Full Text of Secret Treaties." (Reprinted from the New York Evening Post.) N. Y. Evening Post, paper, pp. 15.

Texts of treaties between Allies and Czarist Russia relative to territorial ambitions in the Great War and agreements in satisfaction thereof, made public by the Soviet Government upon its assumption of power.

(j) United States

Albertson, Ralph. "The Debacle of Archangel." *New Republic*, Nov. 19, 1919, p. 342.

The effects of Allied diplomacy on the morale of United States troops in North Russia, by a Y. M. C. A. worker in that section.

Clark, Evans. "What is a Blockade?" *Socialist Review*, Jan. 20, p. 85.

Statement of the legal basis for the refusal of the United States Government to grant export licenses to Soviet Russian ports.

Colcord, Lincoln. "An Unpublished Document." *Nation*, Feb. 21, 1920.

Text of, and comment upon, a note written by President Wilson in March, 1918, opposing intervention in Siberia.

Editorial: "Is it True?" *Nation*, Nov. 16, 1918, p. 574.

A striking editorial demanding an answer from the State Department to a series of questions on Russian policy: failure to respond to plea for help from Soviet Government on the eve of Brest-Litovsk; continued recognition of Bakhmetev as Russian Ambassador; seizure of property of Lomonossov Railway Mission to meet interest payments on Russian bonds, etc. This editorial created a considerable sensation and was quoted in the Senate.

Editorial: "Pitiless Publicity about Russia." *New Republic*, July 9, 1919.

Editorial advocating a public disclosure by the State Department of the details of the secret diplomacy carried on with the Allies in regard to Russia and specifying certain important phases needing explanation.

Editorial Note. *Nation*, July 19, 1919.

Text of secret diplomatic cable from Acting Secretary of State Polk to Colonel House in Paris repeating contents of a cable from Arthur Bullard of the Committee on Public Information describing Kolchak's regime as a brutal autocracy.

Editorial Note. Nation, March 29, 1919.

Quotations from a speech of Raymond Robins and editorial comment on his admission that he forwarded to the State Department a plea for aid from Lenin and a promise that if it were forthcoming the Soviet delegates would refuse to sign the Brest-Litovsk treaty.

Editorial Note. Dial, August 9, 1919, p. 110.

Criticism of American support of counter-revolution in Russia supported by documentary evidence.

Hard, William. "Anti-Bolsheviks—Mr. Lansing." New Republic, July 2, 1919, p. 271.

A critical and damaging analysis of the recognition of the Mannerheim Government of Finland in the light of the American refusal to recognize the Russian Soviet Government.

Hirschman, Harry. "Why American Soldiers in Russia?" New Republic, July 30, 1919.

American officers are puzzled, but repeat four reasons given them by English.

Johnson, Hon. Hiram W. "What is the Policy of Our Nation Towards Russia?" (Speech of Hon. Hiram M. Johnson of California in the Senate of the United States.) Washington, Government Printing Office, 1918, paper, pp. 15.

Speech on a resolution requesting the Department of State to make public diplomatic relations in Russia, and the War Department to make public the facts concerning the presence of United States soldiers on Russian soil.

(k) Sisson Documents

Editorial: "A Curious Choice." Dial, Nov. 30, 1918.

Foreign comment ridiculing the authenticity of the Sisson documents.

Editorial: "The Sisson Documents." Nation, Nov. 23, 1919.

Editorial condemning the indorsement of the Sisson documents by Dr. J. Franklin Jameson and Prof. Samuel N. Harper on the ground of Professor Harper's intimate affiliations with discredited agents of Kerensky in the United States.

Editorial. Nation, Sept. 28, 1918.

Cites Nuorteva's attack on Sisson documents as evidence of their doubtful authenticity.

Editorial Note. New Republic, September 21, 1918.

Casts doubt upon the authenticity of the Sisson documents.

DIPLOMACY, SOVIET

"A Bolshevist Outburst." Nation, Nov. 16, 1918, pp. 603-604.

Text of the reply of M. Chicerin, Commissar for Foreign Affairs, to note from the neutral states protesting against alleged terrorism.

Reed, John. "Foreign Affairs." Liberator, June 18, p. 27.

Description of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs under the new rule; formation of an organization of German-Austrian prisoners to support the Bolshevik peace terms; pen picture of Trotzky at work, etc.

"Russian Soviet Peace Offers." Nation, Jan. 17, 1920, pp. 83-91.

A summary of the twenty-one peace offers made to one or more of the Allies by the Soviet Government, and the text of eight of the more important of them. An official compilation made by the Russian Soviet Government Bureau in New York.

"Suppressed Peace Offer from Soviet Russia." Nation, March 13, 1920, p. 349.

Text of a peace offer made by the Soviet Government to the United States in March 1920. This note was suppressed by the State Department at Washington but was made public by the Hearst papers.

(a) Brest-Litovsk

"Brest-Litovsk Debates: Verbatim Report." Current History Magazine of New York Times, April 1918, pp. 61-67.

Report of the crucial session that preceeded Germany's new invasion of Russia.

Editorial: "The Issue at Brest-Litovsk." Nation, Feb. 7, 1918, p. 135.

Editorial: "Peace Negotiations and Peace Talk." Nation, Dec. 27, 1917, p. 708.

Editorial comment on Brest-Litovsk negotiations then pending.

Lenin, N. "The Chief Task of Our Day." Class Struggle, Sept.-Oct. 1918, p. 405.

A brief statement of the reasons advanced by Lenin in favor of signing the "Peace of Tilsit," as he called the Brest-Litovsk Treaty.

"Text of Treaty Signed by Russia." Current History Magazine of New York Times, April 1918, p. 54.

Official text of Brest-Litovsk Treaty—fourteen provisions.

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"Brilliance of the Russian Theatre under the Bolsheviki." Current Opinion, January 1919, p. 28.

Sayler, Oliver M. "Russian Theatre Under the Revolution." Bookman, December 1918.

An account of Mr. Sayler's experiences in gathering material about the Russian theatre; its remarkable achievements and wide repertoire in spite of wartime destruction.

Sayler, O. M. "World's First Theatre: Moscow Art Theatre." Bookman, June 1919, p. 434.

Picture of Stanislavsky, First Artist of the First Theatre. The spirit of the Art Theatre and its actors; description of theatre, efficiency of work, actors, etc.

Yarros, Gregory. "Melpomene under the Bolsheviks." Nation, Feb. 27, 1919, pp. 290-291.

Description of the relation of the Soviet Government to the theatre and revival of the drama under Soviet control. By an Associated Press correspondent in Petrograd and Moscow.

EDUCATION

"Adult Education in Soviet Russia." Nation, April 24, 1920, p. 565.

Reprint of an article by Mme. Oulianova, wife of Premier Lenin, outlining the educational plans of the Soviet Government.

Lunacharsky, V. "Appeal by the People's Commissar of Education." *Class Struggle*, May-June 1918, pp. 317-320.

The text of a call to teachers to rally to the support of the Soviet Government.

"Schools under the Bolsheviks." *School and Society*, July 5, 1919, p. 20.

FABRICATIONS

Bryant, Louise. "Are Russian Women Nationalized?" *Liberator*, April 1919.

Denial of story and copy of decree regarding care of children.

Davis, Jerome. "More Light on Russia." *Independent*, March 15, 1919.

Denial of some testimony before Senate Committee—nationalization of women, murder of Brusilov, explanation of necessity for getting true facts.

Durant, Kenneth. "Russia and the British Press." *Nation*, April 26, 1919.

The English seem to be ceasing wild fabrications and asking for real truth.

Editorial. *New Republic*, Nov. 16, 1918.

Asks source of lies and controverts "St. Bartholemew" story.

Editorial: "Getting Debamboozled about Russia." *New Republic*, March 10, 1920, p. 42.

Mr. Copping's dispatches to the *Times* quoted as an instance of the attempt by leaders of public opinion to destroy the fabric of falsehood which they had built up about Russia in order to create support for their change of policy toward the Soviet Government.

Editorial: "Wilson on Russia." *New Republic*, Sept. 17, 1919, p. 189.

An editorial refutation of the fabrications about the Soviet Government indulged in by President Wilson on his speech-making trip through the country in favor of ratification of the peace treaty.

Editorial Note. *Dial*, December 14, 1918.

Recitation of the facts relative to the "St. Bartholemew massacre," widely and falsely heralded by the press as planned by the Soviet Government.

Editorial Note. *Nation*, Nov. 23, 1918.

Comment with facts on the press fabrication about a "St. Bartholemew's" massacre.

Musgrave, Francis. "Lenin, the Times and the Associated Press." *Nation*, March 6, 1919, pp. 293-294.

A review of the fabrications about Lenin and Trotzky that have appeared in the *New York Times* from May, 1917, until January, 1920. A severe indictment of the American press.

S. M. "Russia and the American Press." *Dial*, Dec. 14, 1918.

Quotes lying statements and gives refuting facts.

"St. Bartholomew's Eve." *Liberator*, Jan. 1919.

A review of the fabrications designed to discredit the Soviet Government and featured by the press in the United States and other countries.

Sayler, Oliver M. "Bolshevik or Anarchist." *New Republic*, March 1, 1919.

Copy of "decree" about nationalization of women, attributing it to anarchists.

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Clark, Evans. "Americanism and the Soviet." *Nation*, March 22, 1919.

A comparison between the United States and Soviet Governments showing that the Soviet state is more in keeping with American ideals of democracy and popular control than the American Government itself.

Davis, Jerome. "Real Dangers in Bolshevism and How to Help Russia." *Arbitrator*, June, 1919, pp. 2-11.

Contains a description of the organization of the Soviet state, with a graphic chart of the organization of government.

Davis, Jerome. "Russian People and the Soviets." *Nation*, Sept. 6, 1919, pp. 350-353.

A consideration of the Soviet state and its capacity to represent the desires and aspirations of the Russian masses.

Humphries, W. R. "Political Basis of Soviet Russia." *Christian Science Monitor*, Dec. 9, 1919.

A description of the structure of the Soviet Government: (1) political (2) economic organization in city and village; the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, etc.

Kunz, C. "Soviet State of Russia." *Intercollegiate Socialist*, February, 1919, pp. 17-20.

An able analysis of the machinery of Soviet rule.

Lenin, N. "State and Revolution." *Class Struggle*, February, 1919, pp. 5-22.

An essay on the role of "the state" as a means of suppression and on the use of force in the social revolution.

Reed, John. "Structure of the Soviet State." *Liberator*, November, 1918, p. 32.

The first Soviets: work and organization; Soviet constitution, methods of election, election of delegates to All-Russian Congress, direct method; various power of the Soviets; land committees; land decrees; labor unions, shop committees, powers and functions; control by Workers' Council; function of Supreme Council, etc.

Ross, E. A. "How the Bolsheviki Got on the Top." *Independent*, June 8, 1918, p. 406.

The Soviet is the explanation of the Bolshevik success; how a Soviet functions.

Trotsky, Leon. "The State in Russia—Old and New." *Class Struggle*, March-April, 1918, p. 213.

An article written before the November Revolution, analyzing the inherent weakness of the Kerensky coalition in the light of historical circumstance and predicting a "crisis of unheard-of severity."

(a) Legislation

"Decree of Workers' Control." *Dial*, Dec. 14, 1918.

Text of the decree establishing organs for the workers' control of industry.

Editorial: "Russian Constitution." Survey, Jan. 11, 1919, p. 499.

Editorial comment on Russian Constitution showing land question's importance, no compromise, and absolute Socialist tendencies of government.

"Original Decrees of the Soviet Government." Dial, Dec. 14, 1919.

Full text of the original decree on the land issued by the Soviet Government immediately upon coming into power.

"Reconstruction in Russia." Class Struggle, Sept.-Oct., 1918, pp. 455-491.

Reprint of decrees concerning the following: Workers' Control, Supreme Council of National Economy, Nationalization of Foreign Trade, Extraordinary Commission, Repudiation of Debts, Safe Deposit Boxes in Banks, Confiscation of a Mining Company, Requisition of Leather, Militia, Municipalization of Real Estate, Courts, Unemployment Insurance, Nationalization of Land, Agricultural Implements. Also gives a brief resume of Bolshevik political theory.

"The Russian Constitution." International Conciliation, March, 1919, p. 72.

Complete text, without comment, of the constitution of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. (Reprint from the *Nation*.)

"Russian Documents." International Conciliation, March, 1919, p. 91.

Full text, without comment, of the second decree on land. "Russian Soviet Constitution."

"Russian Soviet Constitution." American Political Science Review, May 1919.

A scientific consideration of the structure of the Soviet Government by the Professor of Government at Amherst College.

"Textile Manufacture in Russia." Nation, April 5, 1919.

Text of the decree of January 19, 1918, regulating government control of the textile industry.

Trachtenberg, A. "Unemployment Insurance for Russia." Survey, May 11, 1919.

Explanation of the Unemployment Insurance Act, showing how it guarantees protection to labor.

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Beatty, B. "Rise of the Proletariat: Overturning a Nation." Asia, July, 1918, p. 542.

Narrative and descriptive account of Petrograd when first taken over by the Bolsheviki, and the capture of public utilities; the first Council meeting, etc.

Colcord, Lincoln. "Soviet Russia and the American Revolution." Dial, Dec. 28, 1918.

Draws an analogy between the American, French and Russian revolutions.

"Documents for Future Socialist History." Class Struggle, May-June, 1918, pp. 358-362.

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Text of three documents bearing on the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly: "The Rights of the Toiling and Exploited People," read by Sverdlov, chairman of the Soviet Executive Committee; "The Proclamation of the Bolsheviks," issued when the Assembly refused to recognize the program of the Soviets, and "The Manifesto Dissolving the Constitutional Assembly," stating the reasons for its dissolution.

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Reed, John. "Red Russia—Kerensky." Liberator, April, 1918.

Reed, John. "The Triumph of the Bolsheviki." Liberator, March, 1919.

Three articles recounting the history of the early days of the Soviet Republic, by an eye-witness.

Tobenson, Gertrude. "Story of a Commissar's Wife." Survey, March 1, 1919, p. 768.

Account of conditions in Vladivostok in 1917; opposition to Kerensky, life at Nikolskoy, organization of Soviets after November Revolution, account of schools established and work done, tribute to Far Eastern Republic.

Trotsky, L. "How We Made the October Revolution." N. Y. Times Current History Magazine, Dec., 1919-Jan., 1920, Part I, pp. 506-514; Part II, pp. 100-104.

Trachtenberg, A. "Two Years of the Russian Revolution." Intercollegiate Socialist, April 1919, pp. 29-32.

A penetrating sketch of the early days of the revolution.

Williams, A. R. "Six Months with Lenin." Asia, August, 1919, p. 764.

Williams' story of his first view of Lenin, his enlistment in the revolutionary army, and his work in organizing the International Legion.

Yarros, V. S. "Russian Revolutionary Drama." Open Court, Dec., 1918.

Resume of the First Provisional, Kerensky and Bolshevik governments, explaining the failure of the first two and the apparently unavoidable failure of the latter.

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Horsburgh, L. "Factory Under Bolshevik Management." Living Age, Jan. 25, 1919, p. 197.

Account of a certain factory controlled by Workers' committees; strict order and discipline and an account of the personal experience of owner.

Humphries, W. R. "Economic Basis of Soviet Russia." Christian Science Monitor, Dec. 10, 11, 1919.

A graphic description with chart of the organization and government of nationalized industries in Soviet Russia. Invaluable.

Lomov, A. "The Productivity of Russian Labor." Nation, May 17, 1919.

An official Soviet Government report of industrial efficiency during the first year of its control showing an increase in the productivity of labor.

Ross, E. A. "Labor and Capital in Russia." Century, May, 1918.

Explanation of the new control of industry by the workmen; their various demands and the results therefrom (decreased production, increased living cost).

Taylor, C. I. "New Era in Russian Industry." Survey, Feb. 1, 1919.

Discussion of the prominent part of women in Soviet factories, improved conditions there, social reforms; enforcement of 8-hour day, etc.

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Beatty, B. "Grave of Hope; Fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul Under the Bolshevik Revolution." Century, October, 1918, p. 805.

A picture of the various Kerensky officials imprisoned in St. Peter and Paul's Fortress and the conditions existing there; conversations with Tereschenko, Biletsky, Soukhomlinoff, etc.

Doty, M. Z. "Revolutionary Justice." Atlantic Monthly, July, 1918, p. 129.

An account of personal experiences at time of establishment of Bolshevik Government and during a visit to the Revolutionary Tribunal and Fortress of St. Peter and Paul; visit to Gorky.

"Revolutionary Law Court." New Statesman, Jan. 26, 1918, p. 396.

Description of revolutionary trials, lack of formality and training on part of court.

LABOR

"On the Labor Front in Russia." Nation, May 1, 1920, pp. 600-602.

A collection of Russian documents including an official summary of the Soviet labor laws from the Soviet Bureau in New York, a message from Trotzky to the first labor army, etc.

MANIFESTOS, RESOLUTIONS, Etc.

"A Cossack Manifesto." Nation, Aug. 23, 1919.

Manifesto issued by the Cossack section of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee urging all Cossacks to support the Communist International and seize power in their hands.

"An Appeal from Italy." Nation, Dec. 6, 1919.

An appeal of the Italian Federation of Labor to the organized workingmen of the world not to make any more munitions to be used against Soviet Russia.

Editorial Note: Nation, Feb. 22, 1919.

Quotations from a manifesto of the Socialist Revolutionary Party of Russia abandoning opposition to the Bolsheviks (Communist Party) under the stress of Allied intervention.

"From the People's Commissariat of Labor." Class Struggle, May, 1919.

An appeal issued to all workers urging organization and increased production in industry.

"Japanese Socialist Manifesto." Nation, April 5, 1919.

A resolution of sympathy with the Russian revolution and of opposition to foreign intervention. By the Socialist Party of Japan.

"Manifesto Issued on Dec. 19, 1917." *Class Struggle*, May, 1919, p. 243.

Manifesto by the Soviet of Railway Workers, Petrograd District, to the employees of all the Russian railway systems condemning sabotage by higher officials and urging support of the People's Commissars.

"A New Communist Manifesto." *Nation*, May 31, 1919, p. 890.

Text of the manifesto stating the principles and program of the Communist (Third) International formed at Moscow on March 2, 1919.

"Siberian Protest Against Intervention." *Nation*, July 26, 1919.

Proclamation of farmers and workmen protesting against intervention.

"Via China." *Nation*, July 5, 1919.

Reprint of a manifesto signed by the National Commissary for Foreign Affairs in Siberia declaring the Omsk Government an enemy of the workers and peasants.

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Beatty, B. "Fall of the Winter Palace." *Century*, August 1918, p. 523.

Description of Petrograd on the night of the fall of the palace, the spirit of the men, showing the fairness of the Red Guard soldiers.

Beatty, B. "We Fight for Russia." *Woman's Home Companion*, March, 1918.

Account of life in the Women's Regiment, story of its formation and the spirit of Russia's need which motivates the women.

Bek, Col. B. Roustam. "The Blind War." *Nation*; Dec. 20, 1919, p. 794.

Lack of coordination and unanimity in Allied coalition makes intervention hopeless.

"Conscientious Objectors in Russia." *Nation*, Dec. 6, 1919.

Conditions of exemption from military service enumerated. Signed by Lenin and three others.

Reed, John. "A Visit to the Russian Army." *Liberator*, April, 1918.

Descriptive and narrative account of army life and a visit to Venden; the new revolutionary spirit and the control by the soldiers.

Williams, A. R. Nation, Nov. 16, 1918.

Copy of wireless to German insurrectionists at Kiel and resolution of Baltic fleet calling for overthrow of Kerensky.

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Bryant, Louise. "Bolsheviki—The Masters of Revolution." Class Struggle, Jan.-Feb., 1918, pp. 101-106.

A brief sketch of the history of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (Bolsheviki).

Editorial Note: Nation, Nov. 16, 1918.

Contains summary of various provisional governments and decrees of Allied interventionists.

Ginzburg, B. "The Bolsheviki vs. the Social Revolutionaries." Nation, Aug. 9, 1919.

Analysis of differences in theory and reasons for different tactics.

"The International Communist Congress." Nation, March 8, 1919.

Incomplete copy of wireless statement of the Congress, enumerating organizations which shall belong to Third International.

Lenin, N. "Political Parties in Russia." Class Struggle, Nov.-Dec., 1917.

A series of questions and answers designed as aids to a proposed platform drawn up by Lenin for discussion at Communist meetings, mostly descriptive of Communist proposals and appending a resolution on war passed by April, 1917, conference of the Communist (Social Democratic) Party.

Lomonossov, Geo. V. "Russia at the Cross Roads." Nation, March 1, 1919.

States that Soviets are an institution, the Bolsheviki a political party. Actual power was with the Soviets during provisional governments. Enumerates non-Bolshevists who are helping Soviets.

"The Russian Social Revolutionists." Nation, Aug. 9, 1919.

Statements defining the attitude of Social Revolutionary Party to Bolsheviki from documents published by Social Revolutionary representatives in Paris.

PROPAGANDA

Reed, John. "How Soviet Russia Conquered Imperial Germany." *Liberator*, Jan., 1919, p. 16.

Account of various forms of propaganda employed by Soviet Government, pointing out that this and fraternization resulted in the German debacle.

Reed, John. "Case for the Bosheviki." *Independent*, July 13, 1918, p. 55.

Account of propaganda among Germans against their Imperial Government, organization of propaganda bureau, etc.

RELIGION

Bukharin, N. "Church and School in the Soviet Republic." *Class Struggle*, May, 1919, p. 131.

A brief article stating the theory and practice of the Communist attitude toward religion in the church and the school.

"Religion Under the Bolsheviks." *Liberator*, July, 1919.

An analysis and defense of the Bolshevik attitude to religion.

WOMEN

Doty, M. Z. "Russia and Her Women." *Good Housekeeping*, July, 1918.

Picture of Petrograd, women in political life, demonstration demanding equal suffrage, interview with Kollontay, description of Spiridonova, trial of Countess Panina, etc.

Dotz, M. Z. "Women Who Would A-Soldiering Go." *World Outlook*, Sept., 1918.

Description of life in the Women's Regiment.

Ross, E. A. "Russian Women and Their Outlook." *Century*, June, 1918.

Account of position of Russian women, their access to technical training and education; their broader social training, political freedom, and active participation in work.

"Women in Soviet Russia." *Nation*, February 7, 1920, p. 182.

Reprint of an article by Lenin describing in brief the improved status of women under the Soviet regime.

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