

A GRAPHIC MONTHLY REVIEW OF RUSSIAN AFFAIRS



ACROSS THE GLOBE: TRACTORS FOR OUR RUSSIAN FELLOW WORKERS



North Dakota in the Urals The Red Soldier, 1917-1923 Many Other Features



AFK 2 6 1923

May, 1923

Lunacharsky on Popular Education

(The following is a resume of a lengthy article by Lunacharsky, People's Commissar of Education, on the present condition of education and cultural activities in Russia.)

THE general economic crisis of the Soviet Republic arrested cultural activity, but after the worst of this crisis had been overcome with the aid of the new economic policy, this activity began to show a slow but continuous improvement. It may be called the "third fighting front", the first being the literal, bloody front of the civil war and the second the economic front. The general retreat of the revolution on the second front by way of the new economic policy, caused a similar retreat in cultural enterprise, but now it can again proceed, slowly but securely.

Lack of material means, of instruments and trained personnel left many highpitched hopes unsatisfied in the first years of the Revolution. Nevertheless positive and valuable work has already been performed in many fields. We may mention first of all the theoretical treatises about proletarian public instruction with their carefully elaborated programs, first of all, the valuable works of Comrade Krupskaya (Mrs. Lenin) and G. Blonsky. The idea of the "labor school" has already been given practical trials.

For the improvement of public instruction it is first of all necessary to train a new staff of teachers. One hundred and fifty institutions are busy at this job, among others the Pedagogical Institute in Petrograd, the Academy for Social Education and the Central House for Workers' Youth in Moscow.

Certain basic school reforms have already been put into effect, such as the abolition of the teaching of religion and of dead languages. All schools are mixed; boys and girls study together. The teaching of the "political ABC," i. e. the outlines of the Communist program, the history of the revolution and of the Soviet Constitution could not be introduced everywhere as yet because of the lack of teachers.

In the first years of the Revolution particular care was given to the organization of pre-school education. More than 250,000 children were placed in the best possible homes. This pre-school education, however, had to suffer most on account of the economic crisis and had to withdraw to the "second front": The kindergartens became feeding homes for starving children, children's colonies in which for the time being school education had to play a subordinate part. Over 600,000 children were saved in this way by the State.

There are at present in Russia two types of schools. The first provides general edu-



A. V. LUNACHARSKY Soviet Russia's Commissar of Education.

cation and consists of two parts of four and five years respectively. Those who finish this school can continue their studies in the University. The other type is the so-called seven-year school. The pupils leave it at the age of fifteen and can continue their studies in the technical schools.

The number of public schools giving elementary instruction during the reign of the Tsar was 60,000. It grew in 1920 to 70,000; but in 1922, on account of the crisis, it fell back to 40,000. The State was also forced to discontinue for a time giving education free of charge, except for very poor children. But the principle of unpaid instruction, providing the pupils with school supplies, food, clothes, etc., has not been given up. As soon as the economic conditions will warrant it, it will be translated into reality.

Compared with this step back, the *technical instruction* shows an important step forward. In Russia (not including the Ukraine and the Caucasus), 500 new technical schools have been opened in the course of the last eighteen months. They are attached to industrial establishments and take in a great part of the working-class youth.

University instruction also presents a much more satisfactory picture, because the workers' state is exerting all its efforts to recruit new forces for all public work, particularly for completing the teaching staff. In addition to the old universities there have been founded a number of new ones, and to each of them there has been added a "Workers' Faculty." This is a preparatory course of two or three years for workers who have been recommended for university education by the factory committee or by the labor union, but who have not yet re-

ceived a satisfactory preliminary education. At present these faculties are attended by 30,000 worker-students. In the course of the past year 3,500 such workers were already able to enter the universities. In the current year their number will probably amount 8,000. The university students are selected exclusively on the class basis : first of all Communists, then persons belonging to the working or peasant class generally. The material conditions of the universities are still very bad. But at present the students of the workers' faculties have been secured a certain minimum for their subsistence, and it is intended to extend this to the other university students.

For further political education of Communists, Marxian circles and schools are being founded. In every province there is at least one school of that kind, the courses in which last 8 to 12 months. Finally there are also in existence four large political universities: The Sverdlov University in Moscow; the Zinoviev University in Petrograd, and the Universities of the Eastern and Western Peoples.

The struggle against the illiteracy of the grown-up population is conducted with great energy. In 82,000 courses 2,800,000 persons have learned how to read and write in a single year. Here, too, there is great lack of material means. But the struggle is continued, particularly in the Red Army.

Numerous libraries, art collections, public reading rooms, propaganda trains and ships, theatre and cinema performances complete the armory of the "third front." In the course of the coming months alone more than 24,000 pages of new books are to be published in large editions.

CONTENTS FOR MAY, 1923	
	age
Lunacharsky on Popular Education	90
North Dakota in the Urals, by Anna Louise Strong	91
Editorials	92
Unknown Russia: An "Intimate" Study, by A. C. Freeman	94
Twenty American Tractors	95
A Trip to Russia	95
Nechayev: A Unique Type	96
Death of Martov	97
Facts and Fancies	98
The Red Soldier, 1917-1923	99
	100
Big News in Brief	101
	102
Engdahl	103
Friends of Soviet Russia Activities	104
Books Reviewed	105
Financial Report	111

"THE TRIUMPH OF THE MICE"-This remarkable peasant wood carving was on view in a recent domestic arts exhibit in Moscow. (P. & A. Photo)

North Dakota in the Urals

By ANNA LOUISE STRONG

"THE Russian peasant may be ignorant and poor and starved at present, but he has a darned sight better prospects ahead of him than the American farmer has." Such was the judgment pronounced in my hearing by a bunch of American farmers in Moscow who have been working all summer in the famine area of Russia. They were all enthusiastic over the fine qualities and the chances for the Russian "krestianin" as the peasant is called.

The liking was mutual. When Lenin was asked, after his serious illness, what pleased him in Russia, he answered: "The American Tractor Unit in Perm." These boys, a husky bunch from North Dakota, were appreciated both for the machinery they brought and the energy they put into their work.

They came to Russia last spring, the American Tractor Unit, sent by the Friends of Soviet Russia, with twenty-one large tractors, a full complement of other farming machinery for a grain farm, a machine shop and spare parts for repairs, and nine strenuous young westerners, mostly from North Dakota, to manage the job. It was up to them to plough the land and plant it with grain, and train in Russian peasants in the use of machinery.

They were pitchforked into the whirlpool of organization and disorganization created by the famine; they were landed at least fifty miles from a railroad in the midst of a backward community. Their gasoline reached them just before the beginning of August, and they lost twenty-eight days after that from fuel delays. The land was rolling and not especially adapted to tractor ploughing; the Russian assistants had many of them never seen a tractor or even an automobile. There were difficulties, delays, red tape of a hundred kinds.

But there were big bright spots also. The brightest spot of all, say the boys in talking it over, was the intelligence and enthusiastic co-operation of the Russian peasant. When they arrived at the railway station with their tractors, they discovered that the way to their place of work lay over impossible roads, with many bridges unable to bear the weight of tractors.

They laid the matter before the local peasants, and at once the village Soviets, led by the local communists, mobilized a force of peasants, who repaired twenty bridges in eight days and made the roads passable.



CUTTING ITS WAY TO THE FARM "We made a road drag out of railroad irons-"

"They were even out with their little hand hoes," says Harold Ware, director of the unit, "trying to cut down the ruts in the road, which they thought our tractors could not negotiate. But here we had a little surprise for them. We told them not to waste their labor on the ruts. We made a road drag out of railroad irons and dragged it behind us, cutting down the ruts and crowning the road as we went. After this one operation, we could go over the road in three hours in our tin Lizzie, instead of the eleven hours our first trip took.

"It certainly pleased these peasants to see what modern machinery would do. Not only the road drag, but still more the tractors when they got to work. They came from miles around to see us. We arranged demonstrations, having one peasant plough with his horse and another with one of our tractors, alongside him. One of the things that made them talk for days was when we had a woman run a tractor."

But if the Russian peasant has a lot to learn from the Americans about machinery, the North Dakota boys who were here this summer are rather envious of the Russian's opportunities, when once he gets started. I saw them in Moscow in December, some of them on the return to America and others getting ready for a winter in Perm. Harold Ware, Charles H. Heck, George Iverson, Otto Andstrom—these were the boys I saw, together with Joseph Broecker, who came out as the tractor company's expert to look after the machines. I asked them what they thought of the Russian peasant.

"His cheeks are filled out," laughed one. "He's sure some different from last spring."

"He's going to get ahead," said another. "He's been kept down in the past and so he's ignorant and illiterate, but he sure knows how to work. With his little primitive implements, his wooden ploughs, his hand sickle, he has shown himself able to build his own house, weave his own clothes, and support not only himself, but all the little towns of Russia with their golddomed churches. And now——"

"Now," broke in another, "if he gets a little help from outside and a chance at modern machinery, he'll be able to reconstruct Russian agriculture in the near future. And when he does, he'll be a darned sight better off than the American farmer is at home."

"How so?" I asked.

"Well, look at us Americans. Most intelligent, skilled farmers in the world, with the best machinery. But our fathers went to North Dakota thirty or forty years ago and worked all their lives, with their families. What have we to show for it? Nothing but a mortgage!

"Who got rich from our work? The railways, the bankers and the middlemen at Minneapolis. Last year some of our families raised a hundred times as much grain as these Russians did, and after we sent it to market we had to beg the grocer for credit.

"But the Russian peasant hasn't any mortgage on his land; it's against the law of Russia. He holds his land direct from the government and pays for it by a ten per cent tax on his grain crop. That covers his rent and taxes both, and in bad years, even that may be remitted. But if an American farmer rents land on shares, the least he has to pay is a fourth of his crop, and it may run as high as half his crop. Out in North Dakota, they've had a drought for five years, and have you heard of either interest rates or taxes being remitted? They keep on piling up, figured not on the crop, but on the value of everything the farmer owns.

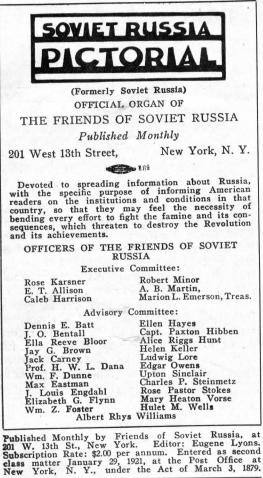
"Of course the Russian peasant is up against it right now. He has had seven years (Concluded on Page 106)



OHANSK WELCOMES F.S.R. TRACTORS Scene at the demonstration of welcome by the peasants of Ohansk, Perm.



PRESIDENTS OF FIFTY VILLAGES and hundreds of peasants attended this tractor demonstration.



EDITORIALS

VOL. VIII

No. 5 MAY, 1923

Cannons or Tractors?

WHEN the workers and peasants of Russia directed their cannons and guns against those who wanted to make Russia safe for capitalism, every class-conscious worker in the world grasped the meaning of those shots. And the meaning was grasped even more quickly by the master class.

It was this class consciousness of the bourgeoisie that kept the Russian revolutionary cannons sounding for more than three years. All the energy of the coun-try, all its machinery, all its resources, were used to supply the cannons, so that the hope of the workers of Russia and the world at large might not be thwarted.

The revolutionary cannons did their duty. Russia was finally let alone-victorious, but weakened, exhausted and bleeding from a thousand wounds. And like a recovering patient she needs iron to recuperate-iron in the form of machines, iron in the form of locomotives, iron in the form of agricultural implements. Her meagre supply of these necessities was depleted in the struggle. The deterioration of agriculture — through war, draught, the diminition of live stock, lack of implements - left the country practically without any grain surplus, its only asset for buying machinery.

Russia must get back on her feet. The first step must be the rehabilitation of agriculture. This will enable her to improve the living conditions of her workers and to apply their labor to the exploitation of her natural resources. But to rehabilitate her agriculture she needs big cannons with which to force the soil to be more generous than heretofore. She needs Tractors, the cannons of peace, the

life force of modern grain production, the emancipator that will make the Russian peasant, not the slave, but the master of the soil.

In applying to the American workers for help in procuring tractors, Russia does not ask for charity. She asks for a loan which she will pay back ten and hundredfold. A strengthened Russia will stiffen the backbone of the workers, increase their combativity and courage in their struggle for better conditions and final emancipation.

Unchanged

I N his reply to a delegation asking for the recognition of Soviet Russia Secretary of State Hughes cited the usual political grounds for his negative attitude. And he added a touch of unconscious humor by dwelling upon the Russian debt -that is, the \$187,000,000 granted to Kerensky, Bakhmetiev and Co. and expended exclusively for counter-revolutionary activities against the Workers' Republic. Of somewhat more substantial character was the statement of Mr. Hoover who in his kindly advice to Russia gave the real reason for the stand of the Adminis-tration and the powers behind it. "They," he said of the Russians, "may succeed upon the present line by the ultimate abandonment of large manufacture, for it is conceivable that they can do without large industry and establish a low-grade agricultural state dependent upon exchange of food to other countries for manufactured necessities." In other words, the American financiers want Rus-sia to remain a "low-grade agricultural state" that will never stand on its own feet and will never be in a position to develop with its own machinery its tremendous natural resources such as coal, iron, oil, gold, platinum, timber. This would eliminate Russia as a potential competitor in raw materials on the world market leaving the monopoly of the American financiers unimpared.

Atrocities Red and White

THE public opinion of the civilized world" is greather of world" is greatly affected by the reported execution of a Catholic prelate in Russia.

This public opinion has a strange way of reacting towards political events. It was silent fourteen years ago when the Spanish founder of the Modern School, Francisco Ferrer was executed at the behest of the Catholic clergy—for the sole crime of being a freethinker. It was silent in 1918 when the British arrested and shot without trial twenty-six Bolshevik Commissars in Baku. It was silent when Horthy executed hundreds of leading Communists in Budapest and members of the French and British diplomatic corps relished personally the agonies of the strangled men. It relented in its Hunbaiting when the Germans executed scores of Lettish Bolsheviks in Rigaa feat that was recorded in the American press as "German efficiency at its best." It did not conceal its glee over the assassination of two thousand radical workers by the Fascisti in the course of the last two years. It hardly took notice of the systematic murder - by policemen and thugs - of literally hundreds of radical labor leaders in Spain. It did not even record the execution of Kingisep, leader

of the Esthonian Communists, for the mere holding of opinions. But it cries out because a Catholic priest, a Russian citizen who openly proclaimed allegiance to Poland, has been dealt with in the way in which spies and traitors who give military information to the enemy in wartime are usually dealt with. It cries out in behalf of a man who in the time of his country's greatest calamity, the famine, with all his might encouraged violent resistance to the seizure of church treasures for the relief of the starving.

And those who shout loudest in the name of humanity are the Polish pogrommongers, the mercenaries of French and British imperialism, the oppressors of millions of Ukrainians, Jews, Germans and White Ruthenians. They are joined by the British Tories, the murderers of hundreds of Indian and Egyptian patriots, the inventors of the humanitarian and chivalrous method of bombing from the air recalcitrant villages in Mesopotamia to hasten the collection of the taxes. Is there any need to continue the roll call of this "public opinion" which Russia, in the execution of a traitor, seems to have offended?

Reprisals

HE State Department has cancelled the visa on the passport of Mme. Kalinin, adducing as its ground the execution of the Catholic prelate. We have looked up the newspaper files of 1911 when the Tsarist authorities publicly hanged the Sikat-ul-Islam, the chief Moslem ecclesiastic at Tabriz, the largest city in Northern Persia. The State Department did not at that time deny its hospitality to the representatives of Russia—arguing probably that it was a dire necessity prompted by the desire to spread Christian civilization among barbarians and to teach the heathens a lesson for opposing the Anglo-Russian agreement that divided independent Persia into a Northern i.e. Russian, and Southern i. e. British "sphere of influence." Thus the hanging of the Thus the hanging of the Moslem Archbishop had become an act of constructive statesmanship-the same as the massacring of five hundred unarmed Hindus at Amritsar and the shooting of Irish civilians and Catholic priests by the Black and Tans.

Gompers' Millionaire Valet

SINCE the beginning of the war, and particularly since the Russian Revolution, the American public has been witness to a comedy rarely vouchsafed a jaded people. It is the noble competition between two Socialist writers to outdo each other in denying their past beliefs (or was it only make-beliefs?) and in championing the cause of the Russian and American Kolchaks. They turned out volume after volume and article after article until the names of Walling and Spargo became as well advertised as those of Harry Orchard and Yevno Azev. The victory in this race eventually remained with the Yankee, as he could turn out more copy. He was a gentleman of independent means and did the thing for sheer pleasure, vanity and the satisfaction of personal grudge-while the poor immigrant Spargo had to work for his living and was interested only in hard In his zeal Walling overreached cash. himself; and the former direct actionist went even as far as serving as public in-

SOVIET RUSSIA PICTORIAL

93

former against the American Socialist Party in the ouster trial of five New York Assemblymen. That fact disgusted even a great number of capitalist papers and forced Spargo himself to protest against this extravaganza of his comrade-in-arms.

When the capitalist press ceased to take him seriously, Walling became official Russian specialist for the personal organ of Mr. Gompers, and in this capacity he continued his heroic struggle. In this capacity he even made thinly veiled attacks upon Hoover-for was not the activity of the American Relief Administration in its final analysis bound to save the Red oligarchy from its downfall through the famine? The occasion of the Russian grain exports was of course a new opportunity for using the organ of the A. F. of L. to air the personal dislikes of Mr. Gompers and his volunteer valet. The Soviet policy of exporting a certain quantity of grain in order to get agri-cultural machinery and thus prevent a chronic repetition of the famine, has been endorsed by Col. Haskell, Hoover's chief representative in Russia, by Hoover's chief representative in Russia, by Hoover him-self, by the Quakers, by Nansen, and by the Conservative National Information Bureau. But Mr. Walling prefers to give credence to a report by the League of Nations, which he calls a neutral body, proving that Mr Walling is not quite devoid of a sense of humor. To paraphrase an old war joke, the League of Nations' neutrality towards Russia consists in this that it does not care who hurts the Workers' Republic —Kolchak and Pilsudski with French, American and British ammunition, or Gompers and Walling with their mud and saliva.

"Forward"-ing Packages

THE success of working-class relief undertakings for Soviet Russia despite the fulminations of the Jewish Forward has maddened the Editors of that shameless sheet to the point of indiscretion. Although it has printed the advertisements of private package transmission agencies which fleeced the Russian-Jewish workers here, that sheet has now "warned" against the sending of packages. The warning, of course, follows close upon the announcement that the F.S.R. has undertaken this service. It may shed some light on the situation to know that exploitation of workers at the hands of Forward advertisers is one of the things that led the Soviet Government to entrust the F.S.R. with this work.

The Forward now urges sending money instead of packages through reliable private banks. We may confidently expect a crop of bank advertisements in the forthcoming numbers of that paper. There are plenty of parasitic banks ready to take advantage of such a chance. For our own part, we urge those who want to send cash to Russia to use the Amalgamated Bank, run by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and those who want to send packages to do so through the F.S.R. Both services are essential, and the greedy ministrations of the Forward are absolutely unessential.

The press reports that three Soviet officials connected with the Trade Commissariat have been executed for accepting bribes. At last an atrocity that is altogether unthinkable in a capitalist country. ON REVIEW May 1st, 1922, at Red Square, Moscow. A great enthusiastic parade in which



WORKERS





and CHILDREN took part.

STORES OF

May, 1923

Unknown Russia: An "Intimate" Study

"B EHIND The Red Curtain. Intimate Studies of Life in Unknown Russia. What Bolshevism Means for Those Who Live Under It." Under these rather melodramatic headlines *The New York World* of February 2 printed an account of Russian industrial and labor conditions by its staff correspondent, Samuel Spewack. I read the article with special interest because it was based upon the writer's observations of conditions in Kharkov, a Russian industrial city, where I had spent several weeks and visited a



BEST RED FACTORY MANAGER

K. Ukhanov, Director of the Moscow Electro-Trust "Dynamo," who won first prize in nation-wide contest for best Red Factory Manager.

number of factories last fall. After finishing the account I was driven to the conclusion that Mr. Spewack's "intimate studies" were little calculated to enlighten the American public about the real state of affairs in "unknown Russia."

In the first place the writer takes as a "model factory" a locomotive plant which was operating under peculiarly unfavorable conditions. The process of economic recovery which commenced in Russia with the end of the war and the blockade and the adoption of the new economic policy has not made equal progress in every industry. The factories which turn out goods for which there is an immediate and wide-spread demand are in the best condition as regards wages and social institutions for the workers. It is unfortunate but undeniable that Russia's basic industries, such as coal, metal and transport, have lagged behind the lighter industries in their recovery. Having suffered most severely from the devastation of civil war and blockade these heavy industries stand in need of greater capital expenditures than the hard pressed Soviet government is as yet able to afford. Now the Kharkov locomotive plant

Now the Kharkov locomotive plant which Mr. Spewack uses as the basis for his generalizations about Russian state industry had been closed for several months for lack of fuel and lack of capBy A. C. FREEMAN

ital. It had just opened at the time I was in Kharkov, in October. Naturally it was not in as good shape as other Kharkov state factories which had been operating continuously and which had a steady and adequate demand for their products. In this connection I recall especially a textile factory in the neighboring suburb of Novo Bavaria and the large electrical plant which stood near the locomotive works. No one who visited these three factories, as I did, could have escaped the conclusion that conditions in the locomotive factory were much less favorable than those which prevailed in the other two establishments. It would have been fair to describe the locomotive plant as an illustration of the difficulties which the revival of production in Russian heavy industry is encountering. But to represent it as a typical or "model" factory is, consciously or unconsciously, to give a grossly distorted and unfair picture of industrial life in present-day Russia.

Furthermore, the *World's* correspondent seems to have acquired only the haziest conception of the organization of Russian state industry and of the very elaborate machinery for the protection of the worker which the Russian Revolution brought into existence. For instance, he remarks:

"Production and not the welfare of the worker is the dominating force in industry. The worker is part of the 'machine' our radicals rail against. If his output isn't up to the standard, he's fired."

The first sentence quite overlooks the vital difference between Russian state capitalism and private capitalism. Under private capitalism the worker has no in centive to increased production, because there is no limit to the profits which the employer and the stockholders may draw from the enterprise. In a Russian state factory, on the contrary, there are no stockholders, and no one draws a penny of private profit from the enterprise. Mr. Spewack's antithesis between "production and the welfare of the worker" is, therefore, quite unreal. If production is raised in a Russian factory the benefits return immediately to the workers in the form of higher wages, more entertainments, better educational facilities.

As for the Russian worker being only "part of the machine," he is certainly the dominant part of it. The Russian state factory manager is not an irresponsible autocrat, like a capitalist employer. He is appointed only with the consent, sometimes upon the nomination of the trade union. Unlike the private capitalist, he has no absolute tenure of power. If he is unjust or oppressive in his relations with the workers, he can be summarily removed from his position.

Mr. Spewack's picture of the Russian worker being fired for inadequate output leaves out the rather important fact that no Russian worker can be discharged without the consent of the "zavkom," or factory committee. In fact, anyone who formed his opinion of Russian industrial conditions by reading Mr. Spewack's ar-

ticle would not know that such an insti-tution as the "zavkom" existed. In every Russian industrial plant which I visited I found this factory committee one of the most important institutions. Freely elected by all the workers of the factory, this body has the right and duty of watching over the observance of the elaborate Russian laws for the protection of labor, of making the best possible bargain about wages with the factory management, of carrying on cultural and educational work (for which it receives a stated appropriation from the management) and of pro-tecting the workers against arbitrary discharge. The depth and scope of Mr. Spewack's investigation of Russian industrial conditions can be measured by the fact that he never even mentions the "zav-kom" in his description of the Kharkov factories.

Another of the numerous blind spots in the *World's* article is the writer's statement that the Russian worker never has a chance to see a theatrical or moving picture performance. As a matter of fact many of the Russian factories have their own theatres; and the worker's opportunities both for recreation and for education have been enormously enlarged by the Revolution.

Mr. Spewack tells us that he took pains to find out what was being done for the worker in Russia that was not done for him in other countries. His researches in this direction do not seem to have been very fruitful. His informants, he says, were only able to mention accident insurance and evening high schools as distinctively Russian labor reforms. Both these things, he triumphantly remarks, are to be found in the United States and in other capitalist countries. But one would not have to go very deeply into Russian industrial conditions to find advantages and privileges which the Russian worker does not share with the workers of America. Anything like the twelvehour shift in the Pittsburgh steel industry or the fearful exploitation of child labor in the southern states would be simply unthinkable in Soviet Russia.

(Concluded on Page 107)



RED DIRECTOR, A WORKER S. J. Stepanov, head of the Tula Cartridge Factory, greatest Russian munition establishment.

SOVIET RUSSIA PICTORIAL

Twenty American Tractors

THE peace of Europe, and therefore of the world, depends in a large measure-upon the rebuilding of Russia's economy. This has been so often repeated by political observers of totally different social views that it has become almost a truism. Not until Russia's economy, of which agriculture is the basis, is restored will the economic balance of Europe be obtained; and so long as that balance is missing, war is in sight.

The question—Cannons or Tractors? is consequently more than a euphonious slogan. It is an actual alternative, epitomizing an international problem. It conjures pictures on the one hand, of bloodshed and futile destruction; on the other, of a Russia engaged in the tasks of peace, feeding itself and feeding, moreover, much of non-Russian Europe.

The Soviet Government has set aside great tracts of land as educational centers for the farmers of Russia. Here the best agricultural machinery will be applied to the soil with a twofold object; first, the actual production of food for Russia's workers; second, the spreading of modern agricultural knowledge among the peasants. The success of the Friends of Soviet Russia farm in the Province of Perm, about which Anna Louise Strong ("Anise") speaks in another part of this number, is an index to what can be done.

In the world-wide plan to put this reconstructive program into operation, the American workers, through the Friends of Soviet Russia, necessarily form the keystone. Their responsibility is large. But Russia, with the record of American working class help in the past years spread before it, looks confidently for the complete success of the new undertaking. Briefly it is this:

Twenty of the best available Tractors must be sent to Russia by the F. S. R. For this purpose \$40,000 must be raised immediately. By direct appeals, through newspaper advertising, through the local branches of the relief organization, the campaign for gathering this sum as a minimum contribution by America has been started. Already there are indications that the response will be good.

In connection with the campaign, a voting contest will be conducted as a result of which, for every \$10,000 collected an American contributor to the fund will go to Russia as a living message from America's workers and farmers to Russia's workers and farmers. Assuming that the \$40,000 set as a goal will be raised—four persons will be given a free round trip to Russia.

Those four will be chosen without reference to the amount that they personally contributed, or to any factor other than the number of votes cast for them by contributors over the country. The following voting schedule has been agreed upon:

1. Individuals get five votes for every dollar that they contribute. They can cast these votes for themselves or for whomever they please.

2. Individuals get ten votes for every dollar collected from someone else.

3. Organizations get fifty votes for every dollar sent in. These votes may be cast for anyone, whether a member of the organization or not.

From these rules it becomes obvious that the best way to get someone of your choice to go to Russia—even if that someone happens to be yourself—is not only to contribute yourself, but to get others, especially organizations, to give all they can toward buying the needed tractors.

Help to Russia—rather than the trip for the winners—is the essential object. The contest is one of the means to make vivid the living truth of a proletarian country in its giant efforts to construct a new system, so that America's workers may see the absolute necessity for extending immediate assistance.

A Trip to Russia

S EVERAL Americans will go to Soviet Russia in the near future to carry a message of good will from the American workers to those in Russia. Just how many will go? Who will they be? Somewhere in the United States they are at this very moment working—or looking for a job—in the calmest of spirits, oblivious to the wonders that fortune has for them in her mysterious sack.

But as they read these lines, if they do, they may get a vague foretaste of what is coming. It must be remembered that Russia even in the old days was the Mecca of discriminating travellers. There if anywhere, they found a meeting and merging of East and West, Byzantine, Tartar and European civilizations.

Since 1917, however, a new force was added to the magnetic power of Russia for the outsider. The proletarian Revolution has focused all eyes upon the country. A new world is in the making. A new system of society is being forged. The sparks fly in all directions and the hammering rolls like thunder through the land. Each foot of ground, almost—and especially in cities like Petrograd and Moscow—has a rich significance as the scene of some revolutionary episode.

And the fortunate ones who will go to the Workers' Republic as guests of the Friends of Soviet Russia will be ideally placed to savor everything that is most interesting in the land. The New York, Berlin and Moscow offices of the International Workers' Relief, with which the F. S. R. is affiliated, will have the guests in charge all along the route, eliminating the normal annoyances of visés, providing interpreters, making the visit more smooth and more interesting.



WINTER PALACE, PETROGRAD.

There will be a gala farewell in New York, so that the winners may bring their message of greeting directly from a great mass of American workers. Likewise there will be grand receptions in Berlin, Petrograd and Moscow. Opportunity will be provided, we are sure, for meeting the leaders of the Soviet Government, such as Trotsky, Lunacharsky, Kalinin, Kollontai, Zinoviev and others.

The prospect of Moscow in itself, when one stops to picture its treasures, is worth a trip across the ocean. Moscow — the city of a thousand glittering domes, the heart and nerve center of Red Russia with its Kremlin, its Red Square, its museums and statues, its quaint Chinese district, its theatres and cabarets.



UNLOADING TRACTORS BY STEAM CRANE A shipment of Ford tractors being landed at Novorossisk, Russia, on the Black Sea.



A RUSSIAN SCENE

It is a land of tremendous spaces, and all of them touched with a quaintness that will make the trip to the country a wonderful memory.

May Martyrs



LENIN'S BROTHER, ALEXANDER ULIANOV who was hanged on May 20, 1887, for participating in an attempt on the life of Alexander III.



GUSTAV LANDAUER German anarchist, philosopher and writer, Commissar of Education of the Bavarian Soviet, murdered by the Whites on May 2, 1919.



EUGENE LEVINÉ-NISSEN who was one of the leaders of the Bavarian Revolution and was executed after the Revolution was crushed in May, 1919.

Nechayev: A Unique Type

FORTY years will have passed on May 8th since the death of one of the most interesting figures of the early revolutionary movement in Russia. Interesting, not because of his lasting achievements or of new ideas that might have inspired his or the following generation, but on account of his personality which is practically without parallel in Russian revolutionary history.

Sergey Nechayev was born in 1847 and his activity covered only the short period from 1868 to 1872. The great wave of revolutionary enthusiasm that sent thousands of young men and women on their great pilgrimage "to the people" and from there to prison and to Siberia had not yet begun. He stood almost alone, for the number of students and intellectuals who at that time dared to think of active opposition to the all-powerful colossus of despotism was practically negligible. And they, too, were mostly dreamers and sentimentalists who came from well-to-do families and "loved the people."

Nechayev was neither a dreamer nor a sentimentalist. He had no reason to "love the people," for he came himself of the poorest of the poor; his father was a porter in an inn, and he himself had to earn his living from his earliest youth, as messenger boy, as floor washer, or porter—until a fortunate accident enabled him to study and to become a public school teacher. In the school of misery that he had gone through he conceived a burning hatred, supported by iron determination and force of will. He started a secret organization among the students of the Moscow university, drawing his inspiration from the ideas of Bakunin.

It was, however, the manner in which he conducted his organization, that made his name so famous or notorious. He considered that for the sake of Revolution a strong man was allowed to resort to any means-even to the point of deceiving his own friends and adherents. To fire his comrades with greater enthus-iasm, and self-confidence, and incidentally also with greater obedience to his orders, he told them fairy stories of a vast net of secret societies spread all over Russiaof which he was the head . . . A member of his group, the student Ivanov, was suspected by him as traitor, whereupon he did not hesitate a moment to kill him. For this he had to flee abroad in 1869, but soon Bakunin was thoroughly dis-gusted with his pupil's Jesuitic and Machiavelian methods. He broke with him completely and even refused to have anything to do with persons who still kept up any relations with the reckless fanatic. Nevertheless he had to give him credit for his devotion and zeal. "It is true too," says he in one of his letters to a French Socialist, "that Nechayev is one of the most active and most energetic men I have ever met. If service for what he calls the cause is involved, he does not hesitate and does not stop before anything and he proves to be as merciless against himself as against all the others.'

Nobody could have suspected that such a strong spirit could live in the slim, short, nervous youth who was always biting his nails; only his burning eyes and

violent gestures betrayed the fire that was in him.

He was arrested in Zurich in 1872, betrayed by a spy, and delivered into the hands of the Tsar's police. He was buried for life in the dungeons

He was buried for life in the dungeons of the Peter and Paul Fortress (in the dreadful "Ravelin of Alexis"). When the Chief of the Gensdarmerie, General Potapov proposed to him to betray his comrades he slapped his face in the presence of a number of officers and soldiers. For this he was cruelly beaten up and chained to the wall of his cell for a number of years.

The terrible confinement never broke his spirit. In this he proved a stronger man than Bakunin who twenty years before, under quite similar circumstances, had all but broken down. So strong was his personal magnetism and the compelling force of his fanaticism that he even converted a great number of his guards who called him "our eagle" and at the end of the seventies and the beginning of the eighties enabled him to communicate with the terrorists of the Narodnaya Volya ("Nihilists"), energetic fighters who succeeded the sentimental narodniks who "went to the people."

His liberation was at hand in 1880 when that organization led by Zheliabov and Sophia Perovskaya had made all the necessary preparations for abducting him from his grave. But Nechayev understood that this feat would have greatly impaired the execution of the plan then in preparation for blowing up the Tsar. The increased suspicion and surveillance might have even thwarted that plan for a long time to come. And for this reason he insisted that his personal fate be disregarded as the cause of the Revolution was paramount. He died two years later of consumption in his cell-the successful attempt on the Tsar had exhausted the forces of the terrorists. Besides, his connections with his prison guard had been discovered in 1882 and he was completely secluded from any communication .



SERGEY NECHAYEV

What is a Tractor?

A NEW YORK paper sent out a reporter at one time to find a boy in. the slum district who had never seen a cow. He found not one, but scores on every block. One of these youngsters was taken to see a specimen of the animal. His first query was,"What kind of cows give cream?" To a city worker, particularly in the large

industrial centers, a tractor is perhaps as strange and incomprehensible an animal as was the cow to that boy. At this time particularly he hears on every side the assertion that tractors will rebuild Europe, that Russia's future depends to a large extent upon its obtaining tractors. It would be interesting to record the mental images of the creature formed by those who have never

seen one in operation. . . . To the Russian peasant, plodding along with his ancient implements, the tractor must seem indeed a curious machine. On one side of the road they toil along on their acre. On the other side they see a machine which plants fifty acres in the same period of time, and they wonder.

What is a tractor? It is a self-propelled machine for use on roads and fields, designed to draw implements of all kinds. In its early stages it was steam-driven. Now it is run by a gasolene engine. It finds its chief application in drawing ploughs and other farm implements. Ordinarily its speed is about two and a half miles an hour.

The advantages over horse-power are manifold, that of speed being only one of them. Large territories which otherwise have to remain uncultivated can be brought into productiveness with a tractor, which can plough deeper. Where the planting season is short, due to climatic conditions, the tractor can cover a large enough area in a short time to overcome the handicap. In other situations, tractors can do the work where horses are unable because of unusual heat or dryness. By attaching the special implements, the planting and harvesting can be done by tractors.

The further advantages in Russia are social-the tractor, because it needs a large area for its usefulness, will encourage community farming and the co-operative spirit.



VLADIMIR ULIANOV (LENIN) AT 17 This rare picture shows Lenin at the time of his brother's execution.

The Death of Martov

HE death of L. Martov, the great exponent of Menshevism, brings to a close the career of a man who more than anybody else combined in his person all the contradictory elements of the international, and particularly Russian Socialist movement. Together with Plekhanov and Lenin one of the founders of the Iskra (The Spark), the main organ of the Russian Social-Democratic Party, he was considered as one of the foremost theorists among the Russian Marxians, although he had neither the brilliancy of Plekhanov nor the thoroughness of Lenin.

Since the split of the party in 1903 he was known as one of the chief spokesmen of its right or "Menshevist" wing. In spite of the bitterness with which the struggle between the two factions was waged at that time, when looked upon from the perspective of the November Revolution, the controversies of that time were a tempest in a teapot. One feature, however, stands out in relief, and that is that the Mensheviks were always more "respectable," less violent, more eager not to forfeit the sympathies of the bourgeoisie in the expected political revolution.

When the war broke out, to be followed by the Revolution, the three leaders of Russian Marxism took three divergent points of view which practically coincide with the three currents into which present-day So-cialism is divided. The position of Plekha-nov was frankly that of a Social-patriot who in the moment of "danger" to the country, either from without or from within, i. e. either in case of war or in case of revolution, forgets all that he ever said about class struggle and workers' interests and makes peace with the bourgeoisie. A middle position was taken by Martov. He opposed the continuance of the war "to the bitter end" and as a spokesman of the left wing of the Mensheviks ("Mensheviks - Internationalists") took a decidedly pacifist attitude. But like all middle-of-the-way Socialists

who believe in democratic reality and its bourgeois attractions for the present, and in Socialist ideals and their uncertain beauties for the distant future, he was a pacifist also in the realm of the class struggle. He opposed the November Revolution with all his might, he opposed civil war against the bourgeoisie and would have preferred if Russia had settled down for a century or so under conditions like those prevailing before the war in France or Germany. He did not believe in the possibility, nor in the necessity, of the proletarian revolution. For him, the bourgeois intellectual, political democracy was good enough, as long as it afforded him the opportunity to preach the Socialist religion to the proletarian masses. That the workers, after all they had gone through during the war, expected something more than Marxian theology, that they wanted Socialism as tangible reality and not as a lofty, unattainable ideal, was to him one of the mental aberrations brought forward by the war and spread by the mischievous Bolsheviks, who had turned their backs on the welltrodden toad of bourgeois democracy and had embarked on the adventurous path of Social Revolution.

It was not in vain that a New York capitalist paper reported his death under the heading of "Martov, Russian Anti-Red, Is Dead." It was the best and most deserved epitaph.

Russia's Friends in the American Labor World



JAMES H. MAURER

Among those who in the face of malicious attacks have dared always to speak up for Russia, James H. Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, holds a prominent place. He is a member of the National Labor Alliance for Trade Relations with and Recognition of Soviet Russia, has addressed recognition meetings all over the country and has helped in famine relief. With Gompers and his Wallings creating the impression that they speak for labor in their denunciation of Russia, men like Maurer and their backing constitute the proof that there is a great sentiment in Russia's favor in organized labor ranks.



WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

A Children's Home in Russia supported by the Chicago Branch of the Friends of Soviet Russia will be named after William Z. Foster, the American labor leader. The naming is being done on the request of the Chicago organization. And indeed it is appropriate, for Foster has exerted all his strength as a writer and organizer to interpret events in Russia to the American workers. The failure of detective Burns and his spies, working through the State machinery in Michigan, to imprison Foster is a victory for the American labor movement.

Facts and Fancies

THE world no longer reads the philosophers, but everybody knows Spinoza's saying that when two do the same thing it is not the same thing. Every good American knows, for instance, from the history of this country that when the Redskins attacked and destroyed a White settlement, it was a massacre; but when the Whites did the same thing to the Red man, it was heroic self-defense. He knows also that when the Reds in Russia, to prevent the return of Capitalism, gave the city workers a greater voting power than the peasants, it was an act of unmitigated anti-democratic tyranny; while it is purely "a matter of self-preservation" (according to W. J. Bryan, as quoted in the New York Times of March 25) if the Whites of the South exempt the "Blacks" from their electoral obligations. The sacred principles of democracy, according to Bryan and his Southern fellow-supermen, were meant to apply only to those real human beings created "In His Image"-to quote the title of a volume of that illustrious enemy of Darwin and defender of the Lord's achievements. They were not intended for the dark sons of Africa and their more or less dusky descendants, for whom he may be willing to admit the sufficiency of the Darwinian theory of evolution. Such a dualism is after all plausible, for while it may have taken God only six days to create the prototype of Bryan and his lynching admirers, it perhaps took considerably longer to produce a Pushkin, a Dumas or a Dubois-mulattoes all.

Getting Excited

On the occasion of the trial in Michigan the editorial writer of the New York Call (March 31) sneered at the indicted men on the ground that "no member of that gathering could tell the difference between the government agent and the Communist." Which is to say that the amiable editor is in possession of the mysterious philosophical stone that would enable a revolutionary organization to rid itself of every spy that enters its ranks. What a great misfortune for Russia that Mr. Oneal has not made this discovery some twenty years ago! He would have warned the Jewish Mensheviks of the "Bund" in Russia that in the very center of their organization there was a spy by the name of Kaplinsky who has delivered hundreds of "these fools" to the jails of the Tsar. He would have warned the "Social Revolutionists" whom he loves with so much tenderness that the chief of their fighting organization, Azev, was a provocateur. He would have given a hint to Lenin who at that time had not yet gone wrong and was still, so to speak, a "regular" Socialist, that a member of the Bolshevik group in the Duma, Malinovsky, was a government agent. What a great pity, indeed! Or if he does not care much for Russia, he could have at least seen through and saved his party from such adornments as English Walling, Spargo, Ghent, Frank Bohn and Slobodin who have rendered capitalism much greater service than the "regular" stool-pigeons.

Getting Still More Excited

The mention of Azev brings us back again to the trial of the Russian democrats calling themselves Social Revolutionists. Karl Kautsky, the great interpreter of Karl Marx—who has finally defined the teacher's term of the proletarian dictatorship as a fifty-fifty arrangement with the bourgeois government—has written a preface to a pamphlet recently published in behalf of the condemned men. There he writes that the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists "recognize that an anti-Bolshevist uprising at the present moment would only delay . . . the process of the desertion of Bolshevism by the

proletarian and peasant masses and their return to the other Socialist parties." He then speaks of the new economic policy and says that capitalism is being re-established "in the presence of a proletariat which they themselves have rendered unfit for struggle and resistance." Does the great theorist mean to say that they will become "unfit for struggle and resistance" by their forthcoming "return to the other Socialist parties"? For an enemy of the Bolsheviks, not bad reasoning. . . . Really not so bad, indeed. This is almost as good as the "pack of bloodthirsty hounds hired by the Moscow executioners to defend their miserable case in the European press" and finally "Bolshevism will fall in shame and disgrace, bemoaned perhaps only by the speculators of the capitalist world and accompanied by the curses of the entire world proletariat . . ." Positively, Comrade Kautsky!

Critics and Schoolboys

Even more merciless than the great Marxian who prefers Noske's company to that of Lenin, is Mrs. Dawson, the distinguished book critic of the New York *Globe*. In reviewing Mr. and Mrs. Webb's book on the "Decay of Capitalist Civilization" she dismisses the case against the present system by a short "Look at Russia and look at the United States." True, every school boy knows that America after the Revolutionary War was for many years in much worse shape than it was under the rule of the English king, but—well, Mrs. Dawson is not a school boy....

Miracles

The execution of a Catholic priest of Polish descent seems to have worked wonders in the matter of national reconciliation. For centuries the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox peasants hated their Polish oppressors and their Catholic Church appendage with a more burning hatred than a Catholic farmer in Ireland can feel towards an Ulsterite Protestant landlord. But on April 5, we read in the New York Globe a cable according to which hundreds of Ukrainians were killed by the Reds because they protested against the execution of Vicar General Buczkiewicz. The Christian spirit of these Ukrainian peasants deserves all the more our appreciation and admiration, as only two years ago the greatest religious monument of the Greek Church in the Ukraine, the St. Vladimir Church in Kiev, was wantonly blown up by the Poles when the Red Army drove them out of the old Ukrainian capital which they had invaded.-Or should it be possible that the cable made a mistake and that the victims were in reality unarmed Jewish traders, Hindu peasants or German workers killed by the Polish, British or French civilizers who are so greatly indignant over the shooting of one single spy?

A Bitter Pill

Since the inauguration of its new economic policy-outright subsidy and control by the Jewish Forward-the editors of the New York Call often lose their sense of proportion. In emulation of the great enterprise of ink-soiled print-paper with 2.75 per cent near-Socialism and per cent Hearst sensationalism, the Call used the occasion of the execution of a clerical counter-revolutionist and spy to borrow the anti-Bolshevik thunder of the ultra-reactionary New York Herald. It had already reprinted the first instalment of the Herald's article when it occurred to some of the S. P. leaders that such frankness brought them dangerously near to the Knights of Columbus and similar champions of freedom, and may alienate the sympathies of the few remaining radical readers; particularly as a number of liberal non-Socialist publications had taken quite a different attitude. What may be good for Jewish shopkeepers, union fakirs and half class-conscious

workers with pogrom memories, it occurred to them, may be disastrous in the case of Englishspeaking readers who have more or less broken with their religious beliefs and fail to see why the fate of a dealer in celestial opium should be the object of so much indignation. And the Board of Directors executed a somewhat disorderly retreat by publishing in the very next issue of the paper a retraction which will go down in the history of journalism as the most curious demonstration of swallowing one's own vomits.

Cahan, McCullagh and Co.

But while the Herald's correspondences were too repugnant even to the otherwise unscrupulous publishers of the Call, it was the real stuff for the Forward which reprinted them in extenso. Now, on April 11, the Herald runs another article by same correspondent, Francis McCullagh, the which throws an interesting light on the news value of his trial report and shows him up as a hundred per cent Jew-baiter of the vilest category with the fantastic imagination of the authors of "Elders of Zion." He reports that the "Jewish fordier there. The the second faction there—Trotsky, Kameneff, Zinovieff, Stalin (!), etc., is determined that Lenine will be replaced by a Jew" and so on for four columns. We wish we could force the Jewish *Forward* to print this as a sequel to the trial report as well as the real sequel of the trial report (of April 12) which outdistances anything ever written in Jew-baiting style by the scribes of Ford's "lit-erary" department, and of the London Morning Post. Then even the readers of that yellow paper might find out to what sources Mr. Cahan resorts to vent his "Socialist" grudge against Soviet Russia.

A Portentous Problem

Stalin, according to many guessers, the coming man of Russia, has been just "baptized" a Jew by the anti-Semitic second-hand correspondent of the Forward. Mr. Lewis in the New York Globe has repeatedly called him a Turk, and the New York Times a short while ago claimed that he was of Slavic origin. Now, Stalin's real name is Dzugashvili, which clearly indicates that he is a Georgian, i. e. a native of one of the small nationalities of the Caucasus mountains, and a "Christian" as things go. We must admit, however, that the ethnical origin of the Georgians has not been ascertained yet, so that Mr. McCullagh might advance the hypothesis that they are descendants of one of the ten lost tribes of Israel.

"L'Honneur Pour Moi"

In the Sunday literary magazine of the New York Times of March 18 there appeared a review of the novel "From the Double-headed Eagle to the Red Banner," written by General P. Krasnov. According to the reviewer "the plot is tied around the life of a well-portrayed nobleman and officer—Sablin—whose youth, animated by the device, "A Dieu mon âme, ma vie au Roi, mon coeur aux femmes, l'honneur pour moi" ("To God my soul, my life to the king, my heart to the women, my honor for myself") passes at the parades and receptions of the gone-by epoch."

It is quite apparent that the novel is largely autobiographical—for this General really kept "his honor to himself." When, after the November upheaval, Kerensky marched with some Cossacks against the Red capital, Krasnov was the commander of his troops. He was taken prisoner by the Bolsheviks, but released on his "word of honor" not to fight against the Workers' Republic. Allowed to go wherever he pleased, the gentleman went to the Don region and immediately started a counter-revolutionary campaign among the Cossacks.

It is to be hoped his achievements on the field of literature are as brilliant as they were on the field of "honor."

SOVIET RUSSIA PICTORIAL

The Red Soldier 1917-1923



Sick of the imperialist war, the Red Soldier strolls to his village, leaving the arms behind him. He will have to return to them later, to fight for his own cause.



pearance-a factory worker armed from top to toe and prepared to defend his gains. Embryo of the Red Army.



1920

"Workers to the horse!" cries Trotsky, and the Red Cavalrymen gallop to the fore. The forces of counter-revolution, the white hope of international capitalism, scatter at his approach.

In 1918 the Red Guard makes his ap-

Attacked by the entire world-hungry, ragged, cornered, almost despairing-he fights with a courage and perseverance that makes the rest of the world gasp.



The counter-revolution crushed, he begins the work of reconstruction-in one hand a rifle, in the other a tool of peace. The terrible famine interrupts his reconstructive efforts.



And now better times are ahead of him. after these furious years. He is resting, reading, making himself fit to carry on the work of peace time. (Drawings by Yefimov, in "Izvestia".)

Cannons or Tractors?

Colonel Haskell, Director of the American Relief Administration in Russia, in a report to Secretary Hoover, March 6, 1923:

"What Russia now needs is money or credits against which it can purchase necessities to rehabilitate agriculture, transportation, vital industries and medical institutions on a permanent basis, and destroy the ravages of pests in the agricultural areas . . . The decision of the Soviets to export grain is based on an effort to accomplish the above; but upbuilding without foreign financial help will be slow and ineffec-tive and sure to entail misery and suffering by millions over a long period of years.

Among the Delegates

at the recent Berlin Conference of the International Workers' Relief.



HENRIETTA ROLAND-HOLST Noted Dutch poetess and labor leader.



ARTHUR HOLITSCHER Prominent German writer and traveller.

Russia in the American News

N March 21, Secretary of State Hughes told a delegation of American women that the United States-that is to say, Mr. Hughes-would not recognize Russia. He also told them why: the debt to America, confiscation of private property, etc. But the delegation knew well enough that the real reasons were being withheld, that behind the attitude of the administration in Washington are the financiers who want nothing short of a free hand in the exploitation of Russia's natural wealth.

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Three days before Hughes made this latest pronouncement on Russia, Senator Borah spoke to six thousand New Yorkers congregated in Madison Square Garden. He answered the administration objections to recognition in advance. Among other things he said: "The reduction allowed to other creditors among our late allies is larger than the whole of Russia's debt."

* * *

Herbert Hoover, of the firm of Harding, Hughes and Hoover, has been quoted as urging that Russia abandon large industries in favor of agriculture. From that it may be surmised that the gentleman is not very anxious for Russia to become a self-sufficient country, since industrial reconstruction is essential to the building of the Workers' State which is the goal of the Russian workers.

The seed sown by the Jewish Forward, a sheet which does a wholesale and retail trade in "socialism," is beginning to sprout poison weeds. Its malicious charges against the Friends of Soviet Russia—exposed as groundless and inspired by hatred of Russia—have now been adapted to their own purposes by a number of labor-baiting organizations, which have called upon Daugherty to prosecute leading liberals and radicals of the country as Reds and Pro-Russians. At the head of the list of these dangerous characters is Frank P. Walsh. It is against him specifically that the Forward concoctions are used. The action of the united patriots was obviously timed to coincide with the opening of the labor case in Michigan, in which Mr. Walsh is chief counsel for defense.

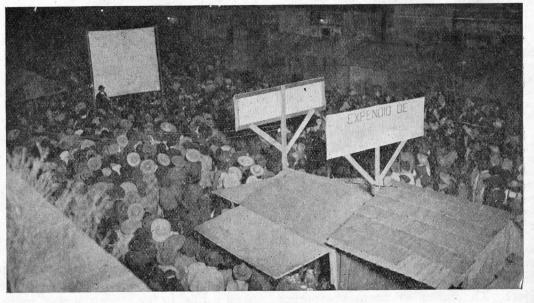
Among the others on the list with Frank P. Walsh are Charles Recht, Paxton Hibben, Anna Louise Strong, Max Eastman, Claude McKay and Hulet M. Wells. Hibben, feeling that the list might have been made more complete and democratically representative by the addition of other names of relief workers and correspondents in Russia, hastened to suggest as much in a statement, reading in part as follows:

statement, reading in part as follows: "At precisely the same moment that I was going into Russia in 1921, Mr. Walter Lyman Brown, representing Mr. Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, was in personal conference with Soviet Commissar Litvinov, negotiating a con-tract which the representative of the Secretary of Commerce formally signed with the official representative of the Russian Soviet Govern-ment. I suggest that the Attorney General in-vestigate also this action under the same statute under which investigation is asked of Frank Walsh, Charles Recht and myself. Col-onel William N. Haskell and a dozen or more officers of the United States Army associated with the American Relief Administration, for-mer Governor James P. Goodrich of Indiana, former Senator France of Maryland and scores of other Americans have committed equal vioformer Senator France of Maryland and scores of other Americans have committed equal vio-lations to the law cited, while 'claiming to rep-resent an American committee for the laudable purpose of relief,' namely, the American Re-lief Administration. I suggest also that the nefarious conduct of the Quakers be investi-gated under the same statute, and that the magnificent work which they have done for the salvation of Bolshevist women and children be dragged into the light of publicity. Mr. Allen Wardwell, Mr. Allen T. Burns and Mr. Graham Taylor of the National Information Bureau, should come in for investigation as well, on the same ground, not to speak of those dangerous Americans who are correspondents of The Associated Press and the American newspapers, who are in daily 'correspondence and intercourse' with the officials of the Soviet Government."

Washington B. Vanderlip, the American capitalist, upon his return from a year's sojourn in Europe and Asia, said that the Siberian concessions in which he was interested were at a stillstand until the United States recognized Russia.

*

Julian Wolfson, a Philippine Islands attorney, has filed notice on the Supreme Court, in behalf of the Soviet Government, that he would institute court proceedings to obtain possession of the Russian ships which brought White refugees into the port of Manila.



A RUSSIAN MEETING, MEXICO CITY

The significance of the Russian Revolution to the workers of the world is being told to a thousandfold audience in a main street of Mexico's capital.

K AMENEV, Chairman of the Moscow Soviet and Acting Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, has submitted to the Council a colossal building plan. Its aim is the construction of a "Pa-lace of Labor" in the heart of Moscow. Its central hall is to accomodate 8,000 per-sons, with four smaller halls around. The tower of the edifice is to be one of the highest, if not the highest in the world. The original plan was drafted by Shissuziv, President of the Russian Society of Architects. The final plan is to be obtained through a contest among all architects of the world. In order to get space for the tremendous edifice that will cover a surface of 216,000 square feet, the unemployed have already begun to clear a space of several square blocks. Building will be begun as soon as possible.

The Executive Committee of Podolia has decided to allocate 200 vacant places in its children's homes to the starving children of the Ruhr workers. The workers of an electrical factory in Kharkov are giving one per cent of their wages to the relief of Ruhr workers. Other factories in the Ukraine have made similar donations. * * *

The report that France plans to sell General Wrangel's ships, now at the French naval station Bizerta in Tunis, has evoked a note of protest from Maxim Litvinov. The note advices M. Poincaré that the ships are Russian property. The French Government, it is understood, intended to use the proceeds of the sale in covering part of the war subsidies advanced to Wrangel.

The Council of Commissars has approved a Russo-German enterprise for "conducting and developing of freight transportation through Russia to and from Persia." The scheme includes a proposed water route from Petrograd to the Caspian Sea, to be accomplished through the deepening of connecting canals and waterways already existing.

*

The Russian emigrés have now organized a "Russian section of the Fascisti." At a meeting recently held in Berlin the former Socialist Alexinsky suggested the organization of a fighting group of terrorists who would go to Russia to repeat the exploits of the Italian "blackshirts." The activities of the Russian hundred-percenters who hitherto contented themselves with the murdering of Soviet sympathizers, White "quitters" and even anti-Bolshevist Liberals, in France, Germany or in the Balkans, would thus enter upon a second, and more interesting stage.

At the All-Russian Press Congress Meshcheriakov quoted figures showing that there are in Moscow besides the State Publishing Department 68 publishing departments belonging to different Commissariats, 20 publishing companies belonging to the trade unions, 8 co-operative and 140 private companies.

Bukharin made a report on the general political situation. After him spoke Kalinin, Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, saying that at present the proletarian press has scores of millions of readers and thus improvement in the quality of the newspapers is essential.

An interesting table was published some time ago concerning the standard of living of the Russian worker. While in Germany, Austria, Italy and even in Switzerland the real wage of the workers is steadily decreasing, the condition of the Russian workers is just as steadily improving. The table indicates the present wages in leading industries by their percentage of pre-war (1913) wages:

Metal	42.9%
Shoe	33.3%
Textile	42.1%
Bakery	81.9%
Wood	57.9%
Chemical	58.6%
Sugar	66.7%
Tobacco	131.5%

The general average is thus 60 per cent of the wage of 1913; a great progress considering that Russia has suffered from the consequences of the war, the blockade, the civil war and intervention more than any other country.

CANNONS OR TRACTORS?

America lost 125,000 lives and some \$21,850,000,000 in the late war, according to official figures. They were largely the lives of workers, and the money was paid for by the sweat and muscle of American labor.

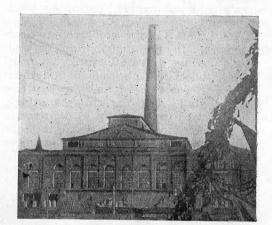
Now the American workers are asked to contribute voluntarily \$40,000 to buy tractors for Russia. The sum is so small in comparison that it cannot be seen.

The stability of Russia is an essential factor in assuring peace for the world. That stability depends, to begin with, upon rebuilding Russia's agriculture.



RYKOV, ACTING PREMIER

Speaking at the opening of the Kashira Power Station, near Moscow. In the absence of Lenin he is now one of the Acting Premiers.



THE KASHIRA POWER STATION One of the biggest in Russia, part of the electrification program for the country.



THREE BOLSHEVIK JOURNALISTS

Left to Right:-Radek, Soviet publicity chief; Thalheimer, editor of "Rote M Fahne," organ of the German Communists; and Bukharin, "Pravda" editor.



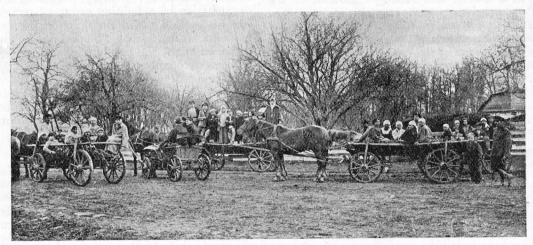
CHICHERIN AND KRASSIN RETURN FROM LAUSANNE Meeting Red troops after the Near East conference. Chicherin is the man with the derby hat; Krassin is the man with the cane.

The Lunda Colony by Elizabeth Hasanovitz

M Y hope of a happy reunion after twelve years of separation was not fully realized. We had just one day together—my brother and I. He was head of a battalion in the Red Army during the civil war, and is now a member of the Provincial Administration. We had not corresponded in years and there was much we had to tell each other. But just on the day of my arrival, he was to be off on a military scout hike (all members of the Party are reservists in the army and subject to military call at any moment). Duty and discipline come first and foremost. I did not try to detain him. He turned me over to Comrade M. and was gone.

The first place shown to me was the Lunda Colony, three miles out of Zhito-mir, of which Comrade M. was particularly proud, and with justice. The Government has given over a hundred *desiatins* of very fertile soil for the Jewish orphans who survived the infamous massacres of the Ukraine. Eighteen times that country had changed its masters, each time it was plundered mercilessly, with thousands of orphans remaining destitute among the ruins. And it was out of these ruins that the government was trying to rehabilitate the unfortunate country. Under such conditions the development and maintenance of children's colonies involved enormous hardships.

The Lunda Colony embraced two orphanages. In the distribution of children's feeding by certain capitalist relief bodies, those institutions had difficulties because it was claimed that they had too large a staff. But the children struck. They refused the food unless their teachers, nurse and cook would share the food with them. The staff in one of the homes consisted of three teachers, a nurse and general housekeeper, which in my opinion



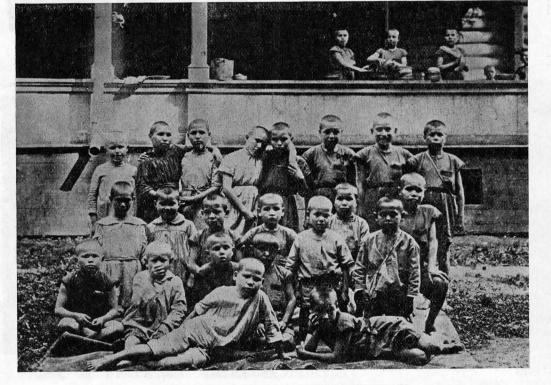
AT THE LUNDA CHILDREN'S COLONY

was none too large for the body of fortyfive children. It was the "Idgescom" (All-Russian Jewish Public Committee) that gave its full support to that colony. It had sixty-six boys and girls between the ages of five to seventeen. Their equipment was very scant. There was very little linen and clothing for the children; they were all barefoot, but looked forward to shoes and blankets for the winter. Their beds and tables consisted of clapped-together boards, and there was a piano on which the five-year-old tots were fond of fingering and banging the International.

By their own little efforts, they raised six hundred bushels of potatoes, enough beans, peas and carrots for the winter, and also hay for the cattle. The continuous contact with the teachers who shared all the work with them, helped to give them a practical understanding of everything they were doing. Their cultural development never slackened for a moment. The shortage of grammar, arithmetic and other elementary text books did not hinder them much, as it was substituted by oral education. Amidst the beautiful fields and forests they received their natural history lectures. Economics, history and music were taught through lectures. The instincts for beauty, together with strong class-consciousness, were brought out in the children. It was marvelous how they loved music.

There was complete self - government in the colony. The children, under the guidance of the elders, assumed full responsibility of administration. They strived for complete self-support. But with only five horses and two oxen at their disposal most of their land remained uncultivated this summer. "If only we could get a tractor or two, we would become self-sustaining in a short time," they all complained in chorus. But on the whole, they were a happy, enthusiastic family, and cheerfully enough they put up with hardship and inconveniences.

How I wished I could have given them a tractor! I stood in awe of these people. Half starved, weary from the long years of fighting, they kept on steadily forward, always with an eye for the happy future. I have seen such colonies spreading steadily. Children are given their chance wherever possible. They need our help now, and we must give it to them, so that out of the present ruins a mighty generation may rise in the pure spirit of comradeship and universal equality.



ONE OF THE NEW YORK CHILDREN'S HOMES At Orenburg, on the Volga; supported by the New York Branch of the F.S.R.

Cannons or Tractors?

Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce and head of the American Relief Administration, as quoted in N. Y.*Times*, March 23, 1923:

"... Progress in recovery has been retarded by the great famine from the 1921 crop failure in the Volga Valley and the Southern Ukraine, from the loss of animals, from the decreased output of agricultural implement factories over many years, and from the plagues of insect pests.

plagues of insect pests. "Fundamental recovery is taking place, but it will be slow and painful without help from the outside world.

"What Russia needs is economic reconstruction; the recreation of productivity. Her peasants need agricultural machinery and animals."

The News Cable At Work

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

E VERY night there flashes across the Atlantic cables to Moscow, capital city of the First Workers' Republic, from New York City a 300-word news dispatch on the most recent developments in the United States. Thus the workers in Red Moscow read the news of what the government is doing in Washington, what is transpiring in the latest American strike, or Wall Street's new moves in the financial world, at the same time that it is being read by America's workers.

At the sending end, here in New York City, is the former publisher of *Soviet Russia*, Kenneth Durant, with an office at 102 W. 13th St. At the receiving end in Moscow is "Rosta," the official Russian Telegraph Agency.

Thus the weeks and months of waiting for news by the Russian workers and peasants, that characterized the days of the blockade, the *cordon sanitaire*, have been completely obliterated. Moscow is as close to New York as is St. Louis or San Francisco, and the Russians who read know what is going on here in America, for their own papers tell them about it, day by day.

"Rosta" is developing rapidly into one of the world's greatest news collecting and news distributing agencies. It supplies news to the press of the workers and peasants throughout Soviet Russia, reaching into Eastern Siberia and Manchuria. It maintains correspondents in all the capitals of Europe. It has had correspondents at all the international conferences, especially at Genoa, The Hague and Lausanne.

Durant says that J. G. Doletzky, director of "Rosta" at Moscow, has instructed him in part as follows: "At present we obtain our news regarding United States foreign policy through the intermediary of London, and incidentally from Paris. It goes without saying that such news is always late and often unreliable. At the same time this news is undoubtedly of growing importance to us, especially now when the United States is about to take up anew, as it seems, its part in the European game. We hope you will be able to supply us with regular and reliable news concerning the United St tes foreign policy; official notes, Hardin conversations with the press, semi-offic...l statements from the White House, and other matters," indicating that the Russians are interested in all worth-while developments in this country.

The daily cable is supplemented by a mail service covering in detail all important developments, political and industrial, in the American labor movement, in which connection Doletzky writes: "We shall say frankly that we do not want you to handle labor news as propaganda stuff, but we would insist on being provided with full details and facts on strikes, unemployment, wages, the open shop movement and all trade union activities."

Thus the American delegates to the forth- to

coming congresses of the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions, will find that the Russians are fully informed on American conditions, that the 300 words hurrying across the cables, nightly, may grow into several columns in the two big Moscow dailies, *Pravda* and *Izvestia*, as the result of reference to American information on hand.

Durant is developing his service at this end. He has made connections with the Federated Press and other labor news organizations. He has special correspondents in Washington and elsewhere in America, who report to the New York office on special topics within their respective fields. "Rosta" has a reciprocal contract with the United Press Association of America, the rival of the "Associated Press." Thus Durant for "Rosta" has access to the complete American news service of the United Press in New York, while the United Press correspondent has access to the "Rosta" service in Moscow. Very few American readers understood this the other day when the United Press sent out, in this country, a declaration by Nikolai Lenin, for publication simultaneous with its appearance in the columns of the Communist Party daily, Pravda, in Moscow.

To be sure, the head of the State Department at Washington, Mr. Hughes, knows all about this arrangement between the United Press and "Rosta." But he does not object. The time has passed when Washington dares interfere with the development of a greater understanding between the workers of Russia and the United States. The news cable is bringing them closer and closer together.



This is a poster gotten out by the Soviet Government to announce a special tax in behalf of the famine sufferers. Those at the left, it tells graphically, are liable to the payment of the tax. Those on the right—soldiers, militiamen, students, cripples, widows, old people—are exempt, as indicated by the large cross. The lower right-hand corner indicates the penalties for tax dodging.

Friends of Soviet Russia Activities

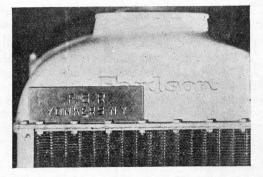
Whatever differences of opinion there may be on matters Russian, there is unanimity on this: that for the peace of the world and the guaranteeing of the life of the Workers' Republic, Russia needs reconstructive aid. Translated into terms of immediate action it means-the sending of American Tractors! In other parts of this issue appear articles dealing with the agricultural situation in Russia and the plans of the Friends of Soviet Russia for bringing concrete assistance. The national office and the many local branches of the F. S. R. will be humming with activity during the next few months in the nation-wide campaign for tractors. The progress of the work will be recounted on this page from month to month.

* *

The other activities of the organization, however, will not be suspended. By this time the routing of the moving picture and the drive for the adoption of orphans are well under way and will proceed with comparatively smaller investment of effort. But the work must be kept up. Propaganda to the effect that the need for relief is at an end has been launched from a number of places. To offset it, however, is the direct call for continued co-operation made by the Soviet Government through Comrade Kameneva at the Berlin Conference of the International Workers' Relief, an account of which was printed last month.

We may also quote a relief worker from another group to bear this out. Wilbur K. Thomas, executive secretary of the American Friends (Quakers) Service, declares:

"Famine conditions still prevail. People can be saved from starvation only by foreign aid . . . With from 70 to 90 per cent of their horses and cattle dead, thousands of orphan children to care for, no extra clothing to work with, the 20,000,000 peasants in the Volga region will call for our sympathy and interest for many years to come."



YONKERS, N. Y., DONATED A TRACTOR and a tablet will tell the Russians that fact.

Alma Gluck Zimbalist, the world famous soprano, has adopted four Russian orphans through the F. S. R. She will care for their upbringing and education, she told New York reporters, as if they were indeed her own children. Her adoption of the orphans, because she happens to be so famous, became a real "story" for the New York press. But the scores of working men and women who are likewise caring for orphans deserve just as much credit.

* *

*

The showing of the seven-reel film "Russia Through the Shadows" in Pasadena, Cal., on April 15, was in charge of Upton Sinclair, the Socialist novelist, much to the chagrin of the local "respectables." The record of success for the picture has been unbroken. In many parts of Ohio, Indiana and other States, large audiences responded enthusiastically. Chicago turned out en masse.

Chicago turned out en masse. A new film, to be called "The Fifth Year," will soon be ready for release.

The Detroit branch of the F. S. R. has sent in an initial payment of \$700.00 for the adoption of 100 children. The national office extends its thanks. The Chicago branch, likewise, has adopted 100 orphans and has sent in \$700.00 as a first payment. Its home will be known as the "William Z. Foster Children's Home." The F. S. R. in Yonkers, N. Y., is doing tremendous work, considering that it is a small group. What it lacks in size it makes up in quality. How is this for a record?—100 orphans adopted, a tractor sent to Russia, and a successful showing of the film, all in one month!

From a mining camp in Commerce, Alta., Canada, the F. S. R. has received a money order for \$23.10 for the relief of Russian orphans. It is the collection made by Henry Caton among the workers in that camp, and may be cited as a single instance out of dozens which show how the plight of the growing generation in Soviet Russia has touched the sympathies of the American workers.

* * *

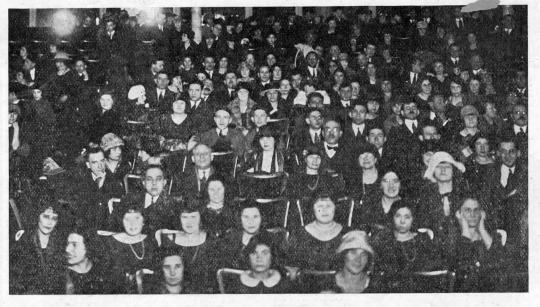
The duty-free package service to Russia undertaken by the F. S. R. is in full operation. According to a decree promulgated by the Council of People's Commissars of Soviet Russia in December, 1922, the International Workers' Relief has the privilege of sending private relief packages to Russia. The F. S. R. therefore, as the American branch of that organization, has that privilege. The decree so stating appeared in the official Russian publications and telegrams advising us to that effect, direct from Moscow, are in our possession.

* * *

The efforts of the various F. S. R. groups in the country to help in the work of the Russian-American Industrial Corporation continues with unabated energy. The official publication of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers credits the F. S. R. from time to time with the results obtained. The latest on our records is the purchase of 30 shares through the Denver, Colo., F. S. R.

* * *

Hospital Products Company, of Chicago, Ill., has sent another shipment of drugs and hospital supplies to Russia through the F. S. R. This second donation is as large and useful as the first of a few months ago. What is more, it is just as highly appreciated both by the American relief organization and the Russian recipients. The goods have been shipped on the "Eastern Star" and will be placed into a hospital through the Moscow office of the F. S. R.



PART OF THE "UNITED WORKERS' CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATION" AUDIENCE

At a benefit performance of "Anathema" in the Jewish Art Theatre, New York. The Association is composed of working girls, largely from the needle trades, with headquarters at 135 Lexington Avenue. The affair netted \$1,300 for Russian orphans. Among the active young women who ran the affair are Lena Goldstein, Anna Minz, Dora Brown, Sarah Shaimon, Mary Owrutsky, and Sarah Goldberg. fulft! Jelft! Jelft!

OVERTIME FOR RUSSIA

Employes of the Kästner factory in Leipzig, who, by working 28 hours overtime each, manufactured medical instruments and got in return from the management a case of instruments. This they sent to Russia. Through their sacrifice, they gave the Workers' Republic substantial help.

Colonizing Russia

THE frequent applications received by L the Soviet Government from all over the world prove that the attention of adventurous men and women is being attracted by the wide, uncultivated tracts of land in Soviet Russia. Their hopes are roused by the assurance that the adventurous energy devoted by the proletarian pioneer to the development of these virgin lands will receive encouragement from the Soviet Government.

At present Russia, it is true, can give the immigrant pioneer land. It can also offer him goodwill-but little else. Workingmen from other countries have come into Russia during the past year, but so far they have come mostly to give, and not to receive. They have come to offer their Western efficiency and Western technical skill to help rebuild Russia's shattered industries and her stricken agriculture. This aid the Soviet Government welcomes; it also appreciates the value to Russia of the example of modern agricultural methods applied to the development of uncultivated lands. It looks forward to the possibility of itself giving assistance to foreign working-class economic organizations and political refugees.

A land concession of this kind was recently granted to an American group of agricultural workers called the "Californian Commune," consisting of 1,000 dessiatins (about 2,700 acres) of land in the Salsk district of the Don region. The concession is for a term of twentyfour years, and the Commune undertakes to employ modern agricultural methods for developing the full capacity of the leased lands. One-half of the land must be broken up and prepared for sowing in the current year, and the remainder in the following year. Payment of lease rent will not be demanded until the lapse of three years, when it will amount to five per cent of the total crop.

A concession of a slightly different nature was the one recently granted to the Jewish colonizing society, "Echo." The object of this agreement is not that the society should itself engage in agriculture, but that it should assist by finance and credits Jewish cultivators already working in Russia. It will import agricultural machinery, live-stock, and farm material generally for supplying the existing Jewish land colonies in Russia, White Russia, and the Ukraine on credit. The society also undertakes to offer like assistance to the Jewish home industries by supplying them with tools, machines, raw materials, and so on.

Recently the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union decided to set aside 220,000 dessiatins of land (about 600,000 acres) in the south of Russia and in the Volga district as a land fund to be granted in the form of concessions to working-class settlers from foreign countries. This Russia can do, but it cannot itself provide the wherewithal for the development of these lands. The immigrant himself must bring with him all that is necessary in the way of tools and agricultural machinery for the transformation of virgin soil into fertile land, and sufficient funds to maintain himself and his family during the process.

BOOKS REVIEWED

Recent Economic Developments in Russia, by K. Leites, Edited by Harald Westergaard. Oxford, Clarendon Press. Published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 1922. 240 pages.

monographs on the A collection of three monographs on the "General Effect of the World War on the econo-mic life of Russia prior to the Bolshevik Revolu-tion," on the "Results of the economic policy of the Bolsheviks" and finally on "Economic life in Soviet Russia in 1920." The author purports to have drawn his information from the statistical reports in the official press of the Soviet Govern-ment which may be possible—though we know by the books of Mr. Spargo how information taken from the Soviet press may be distorted to mean their very opposite. collection of three mean their very opposite.

The investigations of Mr. Leites were carried only until the end of 1920, before the inauguration of the new economic policy. The author, whose sympathies are with the "liberal" counter-revolutionists, paints the picture of gradual decay of Russia's industry, finances, transport system and agriculture. And he blames it all on the Socialist theories and the incompetency, inefficiency and fanaticism of the Bolsheviks. That the blockade, the civil war, the complete separation from the outside world had something to do with Russia's plight is too hackneyed an argument to be con-sidered by the learned writer. True, on page 97 he says that "the future will show to what extent the Belberile ware right in their assertion that the Bolsheviks were right in their assertion that the external and internal struggle with the enemies of Soviet Russia was the main obstacle to their work of economic reconstruction." But having thus relegated the main issue to the distant future he proceeds immediately, "We will attempt to give only a general summary of the results of the Soviet management in a period of two and a half years.

He concludes with a frank proposal to continue the blockade of Russia by stating in his final sentence that "with better acquaintance, Europe is growing more and more sceptical in regard to concessions, as well as on the question of com-merce with Russia in general, and serious Euro-

pean and American financiers are losing any illusions which they may once have had." No wonder the book was published by the Carnegie Endowment for International *Peace*.

Russische Korrespondenz, Nos. 11-12, November-December, 1922. Published by Carl Hoym Nachf. Louis Cahnbley, Hamburg 8. 144 pages and 36 pages posters and cartoons.

A little encyclopedia on Russian affairs, published in commemoration of the fifth annivers-

A little encyclopedia on Russian attairs, pub-lished in commemoration of the fifth annivers-ary of the November Revolution. It contains a complete review of the five years' history of the Workers' Republic in its politics, industry, finance, national defense, internal self-protection, science, art and literature. The issue begins with an article by Nikolai Bukharin on the "Iron Squadron of the Revolu-tion," a study of the soul of the Russian Com-munist Party and the secret of its success. It is followed by the theses from the pen of Leon Trotsky on the "Economic Situation of Russia and the Prospects of World Revolution"—the out-line of a report made to the Fourth Con-g ess of the Communist International. Trotsky also has an article on the "Contradictions' of Soviet Policy," followed by "The Present Situa-tion and Our Duties," a speech pronounced by Lenin before the Moscow Soviet on November 20, 1922—practically his last public utterance before he fell sick, and "Five Years of Red Diplom-acy" by G. Chicherin. Professor M. Pokrovsky writes about the "Institute of the Red Profes-sorship," an establishment for preparing university teachers imbued with modern revolutionary ideas. But the most interesting part of the issue is sorship," an establishment for preparing university teachers imbued with modern revolutionary ideas. But the most interesting part of the issue is that devoted to the Russian revolutionary posters which aside from the article of V.Polonsky on that subject, contains twelve reproductions of posters in colore, and about twenty four reproductions subject, contains twelve reproductions of posters in colors, and about twenty-four reproductions of famous cartoons that appeared in the "Isvestia" and other papers, some of which were reproduced in preceding issues of our magazine. The issue closes with a vivid tale by Vsevolod Ivanov, a young writer of great power, entitled "Partisans"—treating an episode from the Siberian peasonte, guerila warfare against Kolchak

peasants' guerilla warfare against Kolchak.

MICHAEL KALININ, PRESIDENT OF RUSSIA, AND HIS WIFE Mrs. Kalinin has just been barred from entering the United States on a relief visit. The excuse Sec-retary of State Hughes gave is that it would serve as a protest against the execution of a priest who spied for Poland during Russia's most critical period.



North Dakota in the Urals (Concluded from Page 91)

of war and civil war that hit him right where he lived. His machinery, if he had any, which he mostly didn't, wore out long ago; his horses and livestock were taken by one of the half-dozen armies that crossed his land. If he had any animals left, they died in the famine, or he ate them to keep from dying himself. He has had three years of drought, and he's up against it, like our own pioneers when they went west with nothing but bare hands and land.

"But, oh, boy, when he gets a little ma-chinery! And he'll get it all right, one way or another. It would save lots of misery if he could get it quick.

"We trained in forty young peasants to run the tractors. Boys just out of the army, mostly, who already knew reading and writing and the essentials of organized workall this learned in the Red Army. Even if he had never touched a machine-he knew what it was supposed to do. He knew the land, and how deep the share should go, and that soft land needed different ploughing from hard land. And when he saw that machine work, he was crazy to get one. He is the fellow who is going to feed Russia. As fast as he knows what he wants, he is organized to get it, through his co-operatives and his village soviets, both of which he controls.'

The thing to do, they were all agreed, was to encourage the peasants to buy tractors in groups, for co-operative or com-munal farming. That is the plan which the Russian Government also favors, loaning credits to peasants' co-operatives. The American Tractor Unit was keen on a project for one more year's work along these lines. They propose to keep half their tractors on the present Soviet Farm of 14,000 acres, which belongs jointly to the

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGE-MENT, CIRCULATION. ETC., required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, of "Soviet Russia Pictorial," published monthly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1923.

published monthly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1923. State of New York,) County of New York,) Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Cyril V. Briggs, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the "Soviet Russia Pictorial," and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circu-lation,) etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

security holders owning or nonung the security holders of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None. 4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders and security holders are and the security holder appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

Cyril V. Briggs, Business Manager. Sworn to and subscribed before me this 9th day of pril, 1923. Gus. P. Macias, Seal) Notary Public, N. Y. (My commission expires March 30, 1924.) April, (Seal)

government and the Kissel miners, and which supplies the mines with bread. The rest of the tractors they want to put out in villages where the peasants organize their grain producing on a co-operative basis. The Soviet Farm would remain the center for advise and instruction and repairs.

There are grave difficulties and hazards in the way. Not only the utter devastation of war and revolution and famine. Not only the ruined fields, the flooded mines and oil districts, the demoralized industry, the heritage of ignorance, the vast distances, the rotten transportation. But hardest of all, the deliberate planning of all the great capi-talist nations of the world, who own the machines, and expect to sell them on their own terms, using them to make of the Russian peasants permanent tribute payers, as they have made the American farmer. It is a struggle in which victory is by no means certain, but there is a fighting chance of victory. And the Russian peasant has proved through long years that he knows

how to work, and endure, and co-operate; he has shown, in the last few years, that he is eager to learn and go forward.



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The SOVIET RUSSIA PICTORIAL has now opened its columns to advertising. Through the magazine, advertisers will offer you their various products. We have told them that, where the product was reputable, we thought our readers would patronize those who bought our space. If, then, in your ordinary purchases, you give preference to S. R. P. advertisers, and let them know how you came to want their product, you will be helping us to back up our contention, and thus make it possible for us to get further advertising.

We are working to make an even better magazine, and to reach an even greater number of readers. We take it that you will help. Remember: the advertiser is checking up. When ordering direct, let him know where you saw the ad. It would be fine, too, if, when you ordered, you could let us know about it.



Unknown Russia (Concluded from Page 94)

where the maximum eight-hour day is compulsory for all private and state factories and the prohibition of child labor is universal and strictly enforced. And where, except in Soviet Russia, are the best houses turned into workers' homes? Where, except in Soviet Russia, is the employer, whether he be the state or a private capitalist, legally bound to pay the trade unions a percentage of his gross earnings for the purpose of carrying on educational work?

"After a study of Soviet factories in the big industries," writes Mr. Spewack, "an outside observer is puzzled why capitalistic countries continue to fear the 'dic-tatorship of the proletariat.'"

The continuous war which the great imperialist powers have waged against Soviet Russia ever since its birth, first by open war and subsidized counter-revoby open war and substanced councer letter lution, then by the trade blockade, now by the credit blockade, is a reliable in-dication that international capitalism rec-ognizes in the world's first Workers' Republic a deadly menace to its system of privilege and oppression, even if Mr. Spe-wack doesn't. And the graves of the tens of thousands of workers who fell in the struggle against the Allies and the Whites offer eloquent proof that the Russian workers were able to appreciate the gains of the Revolution to which Mr. Spewack remains so persistently blind.

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A few of the institutions dealt with:

A few of the institutions dealt with: The University of the House of Morgan; The University of Lee-Higginson; The University of U. G. I.; The Tiger's Lair; The Bull-dog's Den; The University of the Black Hand; The Univer-sities of the Anaconda; The University of the Chimes; The Univer-sities of the Anaconda; The University of the Latter Day Saints; The Mining Camp University; The Colleges of the Smelter Trust; The University of Wheat; The University of the Ore Trust; The University of Standard Oil; The University of Judge Gary; The University of the Grand Duchess; The University of Auto-mobiles; The University of the Steel Trust. The University of Heaven; The University of Jabbergrab.

A few other chapter headings:

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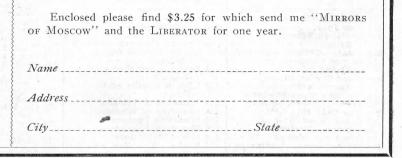
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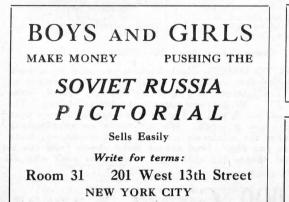
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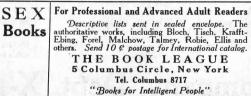
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May, 1923

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SOVIET RUSSIA PICTORIAL

Financial Statement of the Friends of Soviet Russia

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

RECEIPTS AND DI	ISBURSEN	IENTS		
From date of organization, Augus	t 9, 1921,	to Februar		
 The INCOME of the National Office is re F. S. R. Locals and other Workers' Orga are issued for income received and public For the first fiscal year, ended July 31, 1922, and reported, Receipt Nos. 1 to 12115 For the second fiscal year, Receipt Nos. been reported in detail, a total of For January, 1923, of the second fiscal year, to 19510 are to be published in detail e Through American Federated Russian Famin as reported in detail 	there was 12116 to 19 Receipt M Isewhere e Relief Co	Nos. 19026	State	ment "A" \$734,922.70 84,468.60 14,314.22 45,318.87
Total Received and A	cknowledge	ed		\$879,024.39
The above income was deposited in a bank it was withdrawn for relief there was re amounting to: For the first fiscal year For the second fiscal year to date	account an eccived IN	nd before TEREST	\$878.96 245.44	1,124.40
Making a Total of From which is DEDUCTED the following:				\$880,148.79
For the first fiscal year, previously de-			\$5,448.01	
tailed For the second fiscal year to date:			<i>ф</i> 3, 44 0.01	
Bank charges, etc Error in Receipt No. 17099 Lawyers' Fees for redeeming War		$$15.62 \\ 3.00$		
Lawyers' Fees for redeeming War		15.00		
Savings Stamps Lost through Burglary: Contributions previously detailed Less duplicate checks issued by donors for Receipts Nos. 13694, 13731 and	\$300.60	15.00		
for Receipts Nos. 13694, 13731 and 13721	19.50	281.10		
Local Movie Charges: Legal expense, Philadelphia censor- ship Refund on ticket sales Cost of Acquiring Toys Cost of Selling Toys	\$150.00 1.50 \$1,759.89 1,926.46	151.50 3,686.35		
Adjustment to Prior Year, Credit		\$4,152.57 72.46	* 4,080.11	9,528.12
	INTONIAT			
Leaving INCOME RECEIVED BY N. BUSINESS OFFICE EXPENSES: In order to carry on the work of rec uables and clothes, making appeals money for relief and aid, the Natic secretary, office employes and a bi The expenses paid for these needs ar For first fiscal year, previously d For second fiscal year to date A.F.R.F.R.C. previously detailed Final Audit Fee balance	ceiving fun and spen mal Office asiness off e: letailed	nds, val- nding the needs a fice. The	\$29,222.40 15,656.53	\$870,620.67 51,538.64
Leaving INCOME LESS BUSINESS O	FFICE EX	PENSES.		\$819.082.03
 Part of this amount was used for PUBLICIT (a) In raising the total income. (b) In collecting clothes. (c) In aiding Soviet Russia by the disse (d) Latterly, the friendly information 1 of the Russian-American Industrix Workers of America). The appeals for funds and clothes and the largely through locals. In order to assist Locals and other Workers speakers and films throughout the country and furnished supplies. The amount of m for these purposes is explained in detx The National Office could charge much pay for speakers' services and expenses 	emination has for its al Corpora ne dissemin s' organiza	of friendly specific c ttion (Am nation of in tions the	informati bject the algamated nformation National (are made Office sent
speakers and hims throughout the country and furnished supplies. The amount of m for these purposes is explained in deta The National Office could charge much pay for speakers' services and expenses territory, although that would mean a stead of that these expenses are deduc by Locals and other Workers' organiza income received by the National Office expenses whether poid by Locals or h	lot more ted from tions in o amounts	work, mor the amoun order to s to after t	e bookkee t which i how how he deduct	ping. In- s sent in much the ion of all

Through A.F.R.F.R.C. previously detailed..... 21.117.63 154,984,75

\$664,097.28

\$595,651 22

Brought Forward Tool Drive Purchases direct, and freight thereon...... Russian Red Cross, Medical Unit No. 2, specific contribution remitted thereto Manufacture of 1000 dresses by donated labor of L.G.W.U. Society of Technical Aid to Soviet Russia-Subsidy for training technicians for Agricultural Relief Unit...... Freight, express, trucking, warehouse, packing, cartage and shipping charges on old clothes contributed...... Federated, International and Russian conference expense for distribution of relief and organization of further aid 1,365.00 1,987.50 2,288.94 4,105.00 9,925.17 21,057.19 636,380.02 29,925.45 DEDUCT: Funds held awaiting definite instructions...... \$208.19 Funds reserved for payment of expenses incurred 1,000.00 1.208.19 27.717.26 BUSINESS OFFICE EXPENSES For seven months of the Second Fiscal Year to February 28, 1923 Statement "B" Wages: Secretary Office Staff Office Rent... Office Space—Fittings, alterations, maintenance, cleaning, light and heat Office Supplies, etc... Printing and Stationery. Telegrams Telephone Outside 'phone calls, carfares, etc... Auditor's charges... Insurance, fire... \$1,200.00 \$1,200.009,040.00 1,330.00 233.86 583.09 483.06 181.50 198.55 190.89 2,028.95 98.13 88.50 Insurance, fire..... Food Draft Department, direct expenses..... Total \$15,656.53 PUBLICITY AND APPEAL EXPENSES For seven months of the Second Fiscal Year to February 26, 1923 Statement "C"

 Wages:
 State

 Speakers and Organizers.
 Addressers

 Publicity: Writers, Translator, and Movie Director.
 Traveling—Speakers and Organizers.

 Postage
 Envelopes and Wappers.

 Official Organ, "Soviet Russia,"—subsidy.
 Bulletins

 Bulletins
 Eaflets and folders printed and distributed.

 Posters and Stereopticon Equipment.
 Miscellaneous Movie Expenses.

 Cuts, mats, cartoons, etc...
 Organization supplies, lists, buttons, etc.

 Information Service.
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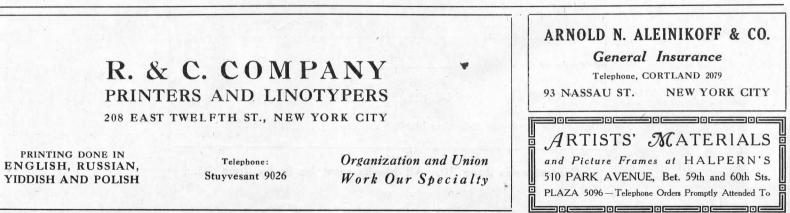
 \$1,713.00 4,481.58 3,033.40 2,839.99 6,463.77 917.83 3,900.00 397.00 4,160.48 567.65 4.389.24 355.60 1.237.36 146.33 \$40,385.66 Less Sale of and Refunds on Pamphlets and Cards Total \$39,978,41 AUDITOR'S CERTIFICATE

Brought Forward .

AUDITOR'S CERTIFICATE I have examined the accounts of the National Office of the Friends of Soviet Russia, New York, N. Y., for the first fiscal year, August 9, 1921, to July 31, 1922, and for seven months of the second fiscal year to February 28, 1923, and of the American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee for the period of its existence. I received all the information and explanations I demanded. Any contributor not receiving both an official receipt and a published acknowledgment of his con-tribution should communicate with me. Clothes and other necessaries received for shipment are not included. In general, expenses have been paid promptly, but expenses incurred and not paid are not included. The above statements, "A," "B," and "C," are of the National Office and the American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee only and are not con-solidated to include receipts and disbursements of affiliate locals. Remittances from locals on account of net income are included. Locals are responsible to their own contributors for the acknowledgment and disposition of funds collected. In my opinion the above statements, "A," "B," and "C," are drawn up to present a true and correct view of the cash transactions for the period of the state of the funds as at the close of the period. J. B. COLLINGS WOODS,

299 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y. March 23, 1923.

J. B. COLLINGS WOODS, Chartered Accountant.



111

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Namé	
Address	
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Record my votes in favor of	
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