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CONDITIONS IN RUSSIA

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. KING

A SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF UTAH

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Mr. KING. Mr. President, the Russian question has been the subject of frequent discussion in the Senate during and since the World War. It has provoked great interest not only in the executive and legislative departments of our Government but among the American people. Not only in the United States but throughout the world the situation in Russia under Bolshevik rule has profoundly affected the people and has been the cause of serious disquietude, if not grave alarm. Russia's vast territory, her unnumbered millions of population, her dominating position in Europe and Asia, her menacing attitude toward the governments and social system of the world—all conspire to make the Russian problem one of the most important with which the world has had to deal. This problem is not a local one; it is a world problem. The future of Asia is involved in the future of Russia; and Europe's future can not be dissociated from the Russian people. While Russia is in part oriental, she reaches far into the Occident, and a Pan-Slav movement draws within its circle many States of Europe. It is not Pan-Slavism alone which compels the attention of the world, but it is the proposed schemes and avowed policies of Bolshevism that produce international apprehension.

With the triumph of Bolshevism, the overthrow of the Kerensky Government, and the establishment of a cruel and despotic Bolshevik régimé which announced its purpose to overthrow all governments and establish world communism, Russia took on a new aspect and to many became an object of terror—a devouring and destroying monster. Bolshevism is still a mystery to many. So much of myth and fable have been published throughout the world concerning the Soviet Government and Russia under the Bolshevik régime that many honest people who have sought the truth have been unable to learn what was the truth.

Perhaps thousands of volumes have been written about Russia during and since the war; most of them have dealt with communism and Bolshevik leaders, and conditions in Russia particularly as affected by the Bolshevik régime. Many writers attempted to study the questions involved objectively. Some were concerned in establishing the thesis

that the world was ripe for social and economic changes and that Russia under Bolshevik rule presented a most interesting experiment. There were some who examined the experiment critically—others sympathetically. Some books and pamphlets were so manifestly unfair to the Soviet Government and so inaccurate and prejudiced in the presentation of the facts as to call for criticism. They misrepresented conditions and gave currency to falsehoods against which Bolsheviks and fair-minded persons had the right to protest.

Pamphlets and books in ever-increasing numbers have been published for the purpose of not only defending Bolshevism but propagating the communistic faith. Most of these publications have disregarded economic and political conditions, the facts of history and the events which were transpiring in Russia. The zeal of their authors in behalf of Bolshevism lead them to pervert the facts, falsify the records, and support a propaganda intended to deceive the world.

As stated, the Russian question is not settled. In various European chancelleries statesmen are seeking to deal with Russia in a manner compatible with the honor of their country and conducive to the peace of the world. China has been shaken by Bolshevik intrigue, and radical movements in Japan are being fostered by emissaries of Russian communists. What shall be done with Russia is a question not yet answered to the satisfaction of most nations. It is perceived by most that both European and Asiatic problems can not be finally and satisfactorily determined unless Russia participates in the settlement. Recent congresses between various European nations and Turkey found that the specter of Russia was at every council table, and the uplifted hand of Russia was a warning against every contemplated movement. And the chief executives of this Republic and the State Department under Democratic and Republican administrations have been brought face to face with the question "What shall the attitude of this Republic be toward the Bolshevik Government?" A resolution is now pending before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee declaring in favor of de jure recognition of the Bolshevik Government by the United States.

Mr. President, I have upon a number of occasions presented to the Senate my views in regard to Russia and have submitted what I believed to be the facts as to conditions in Russia. My interest in Russia is not new. I have for many years believed that Russia was destined to play a most important rôle in the history of the world. The Slav race, with its genius and strength, its patience and resignation, its capacity for suffering and endurance, its remarkable qualities—subtle, stolid, evanescent, incongruous, and irreconcilable—will powerfully influence the future history of mankind. There are those who believe that as the scepter of authority and greatness has passed from races and nations in the ceaseless tread of the centuries, so sooner or later the scepter of power will be held by the Russian people as the representatives of the Slavic race.

However, it is unprofitable to speculate upon this matter; the important question is, What shall be the attitude of our Government toward the Soviet régime? Mr. President, because of my deep interest in the Russian people and in order that I might more intelligently act upon matters brought to the attention of the Senate, involving the relations of our Government with Russia and her people, I seized the opportunity a short time ago of visiting Russia. Early in July of 1923, in

company with the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. LADD] and Prof. A. A. Johnson, of New York, I sailed from New York for Russia. We spent a few days in Germany, where we were joined by Congressman FREAR of Wisconsin. With the party were Mr. Frank Connes, a linguist of ability, who has for many years been interpreter for the Supreme Court of the State of New York (he was familiar with Russia, having been there at various times and also knew the Russian language); Mr. Isaac Don Levine, a journalist of ability and intellectual integrity—having been born in Russia and having traveled extensively throughout that country, he was in a position to be of great assistance in our efforts to obtain a knowledge of conditions in Russia—and Dr. George A. Bowen, of Washington, a young man of ability, who acted as secretary for Senator LADD, Congressman FREAR, Mr. Johnson, and myself.

Leaving Berlin we proceeded to Warsaw, where we remained for a few days and then by train departed for Moscow. We crossed into Russia in the latter part of July, stopping at Minsk and then continued our journey to Moscow. We spent 10 days at this ancient capital of Russia. There we met the Bolshevik leaders, practically all of them except Lenin, whose precarious physical condition made it impossible for him to see visitors. We held numerous conferences with the political leaders and the important officials of the Soviet Government. We spoke with them frankly and freely about conditions in Russia and asked for data showing the industrial, economic, social, religious, and political conditions of the people. We visited churches and mingled with the worshipers. We visited the shops and factories and plants and conversed with the workmen and sought to learn their views and to obtain the facts as to wages paid and the conditions, industrial, social, and economic, by which they were surrounded. To the leaders, as well as to the people, in public and in private and in interviews given to the Bolshevik papers, we stated that our object was to learn the political, industrial, economic, religious, and social conditions existing throughout Russia. It was known in Russia that I had opposed recognition, and Mr. Chicherin had stated when application was made for permission to enter Russia that I was regarded as an enemy of the Bolshevik Government. I stated to him, as I did to hundreds of Bolshevik leaders, that I differentiated between the Bolshevik Government and the Russian people, that I disapproved of communism, and that if the Bolshevik régime persisted in its efforts to enforce it upon the people of Russia, the sorrows of the Russian people would be multiplied and the rehabilitation and development of Russia would be postponed for an indefinite period.

Permit me to state at this point that our party traveled freely without the slightest restraint in all parts of Russia. We were subjected to no annoyances, to no espionage, and no obstacles were placed in our pathway to prevent the fullest and most searching inquiry into the conditions to be found in Russia. We went when and where we pleased, without direction from any Soviet authorities. We were permitted to see substantially everything we asked to see, and there appeared to be no hesitation in replying to all questions propounded, or in furnishing information in regard to any matters of which the Soviet Government had knowledge. I should qualify this by saying that I was not satisfied with the information in regard to the number who had been killed and imprisoned by the Bolshevik Government, nor with the information given as to

the activities of the Cheka; nor was I satisfied with the information in regard to the propaganda carried on by the Bolshevik Government, the Communist Party, and the Third Internationale. But generally speaking, with reference to conditions in Russia, questions were answered, in most instances, in a frank and satisfactory manner.

Leaving Moscow we proceeded by train easterly to Kazan, the center of the Tartar republic. From there we continued easterly to Ekaterinburg, near the border line separating Siberia and Russia. We visited the building in which the Czar and his family were living at the time of their murder and met some who were familiar with that awful tragedy. If time permitted, it might not be improper to describe the rooms in which the Czar and his family lived, and their surroundings and treatment during their last days, the cellar in which they were killed, and the manner in which they met their death. But others have told the story, which perhaps, is not pertinent to the discussion at hand, so I shall not enter into a description of these matters.

Leaving Ekaterinburg we proceeded southeasterly to Chilyabinsk, crossing the line into Siberia. We visited smelters and mills and mines and learned much of the mineral wealth of the Ural Mountains. From the point just mentioned we proceeded Zlatoust and from thence to Ufa.

Passing on we reached the city of Samara upon the Volga River. It is the center of the famine area in which millions of persons suffered incredible hardships and hundreds of thousands met death from starvation. May I add, in passing, that the horrors of that period have not yet been told. Starvation, cannibalism, death, and awful tragedies swept away villages and almost depopulated provinces.

There our party divided, and a number of us went by boat down the Volga River, stopping at various points, including the city of Saratov. At the important city of Tsaritsen we left the boat and were there joined by Senator LADD. In the journey thus far we had crossed Russia, traveling thousands of miles, had penetrated and passed through the Ural Mountains into Siberia, had crossed through the Tartar States and met with millions of Mohammedans, and had been carried by boat upon the majestic bosom of Mother Volga, beloved by all Russians and regarded with much the same reverence as the Ganges River is by the people of far-off India. From Tsaritsen we went by train to Rostov on the Don River, a beautiful city situated at the head of the Sea of Azov. From there we proceeded southeastery to the Trans-Caucausus district. Leaving the train at Vladikavkaz, we crossed by auto the range of mountains separating Asia from Europe.

The Caucausus Mountains are famed for their beauty and grandeur. To the ancient world heroes, gods, and demi-gods inhabited them, and they were the silent witnesses of sanguinary conflicts between savage and contending armies many hundreds of years before the Christian era.

Emerging from the mountains we soon entered the city of Tiflis, often called the "Paris of the trans-Caucasus." We visited Armenia, the little State which has been absorbed by the Bolshevik Government. We went to Alexandrapol, and there saw thousands of orphans who were being cared for by the charity of the American people. Their fathers and mothers had been victims of the war and the cruelties of Turkish armies and fanatical Moslems. We approached the boundary separating Turkey from Armenia, and looked toward the south where

could be seen the shining heights of Mount Ararat. Traveling eastward we reached Baku, the center of the famous oil fields, a most interesting city, which looks proudly out upon the Caspian Sea.

The trans-Caucasus district is full of interest. Here are the descendents of peoples whose origin is lost in the shadows of the past. Here are the remnants of the Armenian race, whose origin can be traced hundreds of years before Athens reached the zenith of her glory. Here are to be found the Georgians, a heroic and proud people, who trace their lineage back to a period before civilized man appeared in Europe. Tartars and Turks, and Kurds and Persians, and peoples of many tribes and races inhabit this ancient and mysterious land, over which for centuries passed the invading and retreating forces, which had their origin in the deserts and mountains of Asia. The changing scenery, the physical beauty of the country, the polyglot population, the variety of life and customs and habits—all these are inviting subjects upon which one might dwell if time permitted.

After examining the Baku oil fields and mingling with the Tartar and Turanian peoples who so greatly preponderate in Azerbaijan, we continued our journey along the borders of the Caspian Sea for hundreds of miles. Leaving this beautiful sea we continued by train northwesterly to Rostov on the Don. From there we went to the Donetz coal basin, where we visited coal mines, conferred with miners and peasants, and studied industrial conditions. We spent some time at Harkov, a city of importance and the Bolshevik capital of the Ukraine; then proceeded westerly to the renowned city of Kiev. This was the former capital of the Ukraine, the richest agricultural section of Russia. If time permitted much could be said concerning this vast territory with its rich, black soil, its hundreds of villages and towns, and its millions of people.

From there we proceeded northwesterly to Moscow where we remained for sometime. From Moscow I proceeded to Petrograd, then by boat, sailing out upon the Baltic Sea, I continued my journey to Germany.

Our party separated at various points in Russia in the endeavor to cover as much territory as possible and come into contact with as many people as possible. I remained in Russia some days longer than Senator LADD and Congressman FREAR. Our travel through Russia and into Siberia consumed more than eight weeks, and covered the most important parts of European Russia. An examination of the map will show that we traveled approximately 8,000 miles and visited the most populous and, as stated, the most important parts of Russia. We spent weeks among the peasants, visiting their homes and their villages, and seeing with our own eyes their condition and learning from their lips their views and opinions upon the various matters which we were investigating. We saw their poverty and squalor and learned of the hardships which they had encountered and the tragedies through which they had passed. I visited their fields, examined their crops, handled their primitive agricultural implements, and learned of the obstacles which they have to encounter and the problems which confront them. They told me of the wrongs which they had endured; of the burdensome taxes and illegal exactions to which they had been subjected; the horrors of the famine through which they had passed; and the hopes and the fears which they had for the future.

I saw little patches of land which were being cultivated by men, women, and children, who had no horses or suitable

agricultural implements, and would do with their hands and rude implements what should have been done with modern machinery, tractors, and horses. I visited men in the factories and mills and mines, and went into the homes of workmen, conversed with their wives and children and learned something of their sorrows and problems. I talked with the Drosky men upon the streets and with men and women who were repairing railroad tracks—and may I add that women were doing most of such work. I visited residences and apartment houses in cities and towns and learned how the people lived, and obtained information as to their wages, employment, habits, and social conditions. I visited shops and talked with the proprietors and those who were purchasing commodities. I went into the Government stores and factories and institutions and met hundreds, if not thousands, of employees of the Government who worked therein. I visited railroad shops and stations, and various Government institutions, including post offices, telegraph, and telephone stations. I mingled with students in the universities and schools and talked with them and learned their views concerning Russia and Bolshevism and upon questions affecting Russia and the world. I met professors and doctors and lawyers and publicists and teachers and men and women of culture and education whose lives, since the war, had been an unending series of sorrows and unspeakable tragedies.

I met Tichon, head of the Greek Orthodox Church, and leading prelates who were supporting him. I talked to Krasnitsky, who was the principal figure in the Living Church, and conferred with priests who were giving support to the New Church Movement. Throughout Russia I met priests of high and low degree and learned of their views and of the issues which confronted the church. I visited priests who were imprisoned, and many who had escaped death and had been freed from dungeons and the hands of the Cheka.

In the Moslem region through which we passed, I met thousands of Mohammedans; I visited them in their mosques, at their fairs and market places and talked with their religious teachers, learned their attitude toward the Bolshevik Government and the economic and political problems which they were called upon to encounter.

I visited military stations, conversed with officers and soldiers, talked with officers who served under the Czar and were now occupying positions in the red army. I saw military maneuvers, both of infantry and cavalry; I met Bujenny, perhaps the most famous cavalry leader of Europe, and witnessed the movement of some who had followed him in his swift and victorious attacks. I visited leaders of the Bolshevik Government and discussed with them in the frankest possible manner the history of Bolshevism, its mistakes, its crimes, its inefficiency, and the economic confusion and industrial chaos which was to be found in Russia. I criticized their confiscation of property, their oppressive measures, their denial of the right of free speech, and of the press, and what I believed to be reactionary economic and political policies which they pursued. I attended banquets given by the Bolshevik leaders in various parts of Russia and spoke frankly and plainly to them pointing out what I conceived to be the weaknesses and imperfections in their system of government and the evil consequences which inevitably must result. I listened to eloquent speeches from able and cultured Bolsheviks and was convinced of the sincerity and earnestness of many

and their desire to bring about better conditions than had prevailed under the Czar and to promote peace and happiness among the Russian people.

Mr. President, I think it can be truthfully stated that no party visiting Russia since the Bolsheviks came into power had as favorable opportunities to see Russia and learn of the conditions of the Russian people as did the party of which I was a member. We had able American interpreters who were acquainted with Russia and the Russian people, and we could thus obtain trustworthy interpretations of our interviews with those whom we met, but who did not speak our language. Our extensive travels brought us into contact not only with the cities and industrial and manufacturing sections of Russia but indeed with all parts of the country. We saw perhaps millions of Russians and conversed with thousands. We traveled both day and night and did not spare our strength, and indeed jeopardized our health by the constant, unremitting, and strenuous efforts which were put forth. With carts and primitive means we went into the rural districts, seeking to learn the minds and psychology of that part of Russia's people, the peasants, who constitute perhaps 85 per cent of Russia's population and whose power will ultimately determine Russia's fate.

Much might be said concerning the Soviet leaders and their qualifications and our interviews with them. Tchitcherin, Krassin, Kalinin, Trotski, Thomsky, Schmidt, Radek, Rykov, these and many others with whom we spoke are most interesting types and possess ability and qualities which challenge the attention of all who come in contact with them.

My interview with Kerensky, who is now in Berlin, where he edits a paper devoted to the interests of Russia, was not without interest and profit. I was impressed with his ability and his intellectual strength. He believes in Russia and exhibits no doubt as to her progress and ultimate emancipation from Bolshevik rule. However, he is opposed to any interference by other nations in the internal affairs of Russia. He stated that the Russian people must and would solve their own problems and that the evolutionary forces operating in Russia would push back Bolshevism until it would be lost in the great tide of progress which would sweep over the land.

If Kerensky had been less a Menshevist and had possessed more of audacity and perhaps a little more of cruelty at the critical juncture, his government would have been saved, and the Bolsheviks would have failed in the successful coup which they executed. In Berlin I met many Menshevists and Social Revolutionists and Russian intellectuals and bourgeoisie who had been driven by the Bolsheviks from Russia and who were awaiting, some with patience, many with impatience, the day when they might return to their beloved Russia.

While in Russia I also met many who had been members of the Menshevik, Social Revolutionary, and Social Democratic Parties. Most of them had been silenced and lived in fear, content, for the moment at least, to be left alone and to be permitted to obtain food for themselves and families and clothes to hide their nakedness. I conversed with some who were in prisons; and also there met anarchists who had been convicted, or who were awaiting trial.

Mr. President, I have mentioned these matters to show the opportunities presented to learn the truth about Russia and to ascertain the facts as to conditions there existing. I want to repeat that the members of our party had the fullest liberty to study the situation in Russia. The Bolshevik

leaders were courteous and considerate. They gave full opportunity to see Russia and learn of the weaknesses, imperfections, mistakes, and evils of Bolshevism. Undoubtedly they would have been gratified if each member of our party had approved of the Soviet Government and its policies, but they believed that we had gone there to learn the facts and that we intended to discover them with our own eyes and see them in our own way. Foolish statements were wired by irresponsible newspaper reporters to the effect that the Bolsheviks were "staging," or "setting up," situations to deceive members of our party, or were making efforts to conceal shocking conditions or matters which would be offensive and distateful to us.

Nothing of this character occurred. We saw Russia as she is. The picture has many ugly and hideous features. There were dark shadows, and there were rays of sunshine. The picture is so huge, Russia is so vast, the forces operating are so numerous, and their courses are so sinuous and labyrinthine that one is bewildered. One can learn much in Russia, vast and mysterious as she is, with the opportunities which I enjoyed, but to know Russia, to be a true interpreter of the Russian people, one must spend not months but perhaps years in that country.

I went to Russia with a feeling of profound sympathy, indeed with a deep affection, for the Russian people. I left Russia with still greater sympathy for the people and with undiminished affection for the millions of struggling people whose pathway, for many years to come, will be strewn with thorns and upon which will be left the impress of their bloody feet, recording the march of Russia toward the heights where there is sunlight and where peace abounds.

Mr. President, since my return from Russia I have been requested by Senators and a number of persons to address the Senate upon the Russian question. The pendency of the resolution declaring in favor of recognizing the Soviet Government, and the fact that the Senator from Idaho [Mr. BORAH] has spoken in favor of the resolution, as well as the fact that hearings will soon be had before the Committee on Foreign Relations, together with the requests to which I have just referred, induce me to take the floor and to present at some length my views concerning the Russian situation and some of the facts which I learned upon the occasion of my visit to that country. In the views I express I speak only for myself, not for other members of the party.

For more than a thousand years what is now known as Russia has been a land of fable and mystery, of sorrows and tragedies. For hundreds of years, when under Mongol rule, it was cut off from Western Europe and, indeed, from the world. It has been the theater of titantic conflicts between different races. Asiatic hordes—Mongolians, Tartars, and Turks—have swept through its forests and over its steppes and deserts and plains, and for many generations exercised control from the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean and from the Arctic Ocean to Peking and the Himalayas, and the nations of western and southern Europe as they emerged from medievalism felt the influence of this fabled land and its extraordinary people.

From the days of Peter the Great to the World War Russia made nations tremble and created fear and anxiety among the peoples of two continents; and, whether from unfounded fear or from a true prognosis of the revolution and its consequences, there are still many nations that regard it under Bolshevik rule as a sinister and malignant force in the world.

A brilliant writer, Mr. Henry C. Norman, former member of the British Parliament, asks the question, "What is Russia?" and in part replies:

> Siberia is Russia—5,000,000 square miles in which whole countries are a quivering carpet of wildflowers in spring, a rolling grain field in autumn, an icebound waste in winter, stored full of every mineral, crossed by the longest railway in the world, and largely inhabited by a population of convicts and exiles. * * * It would be easier to say, "What is *not* Russia?" In world affairs wherever you turn you see Russia, whenever you listen you hear her; she moves in every path; she is mining in every claim; the "creeping murmur" of the world is her footfall—the poring "dark" is her veil. To the challenge of the nations as they peer from their borders, comes the same reply—"Who goes there?" "Russia."

The territorial extent of Russia is so vast as to be bewildering. Without the Caucasus district European Russia contains nearly 2,200,000 square miles. Before Turkestan, Bukhara, and Khiva passed under its control Russia's area was more than 8,000,000 square miles. When it is remembered that the whole of Europe, excluding European Russia, contains but 1,724,300, and that Russia's area approximates 8,500,000 square miles, the immensity of Russia becomes apparent and compels the admission that she is and will continue to be a mighty force and power in the world. An examination of a map of Asia and Europe will surprise even careful geographers, because it will so strongly emphasize the bigness and vastness of this Bolshevik State. From the Ural Mountains, which divide European from Asiatic Russia, to the Pacific Ocean, which washes the eastern coast of Russia's possessions, is a distance of nearly 4,000 miles, and from the Arctic Ocean to the boundary separating the Chinese Empire from Russian territory it is nearly 2,000 miles. Great rivers rising in China flow northerly and find outlets more than 3,000 miles from their source. Before the war these rivers bore upon their bosoms great merchant fleets carrying to European nations not only the products of Asiatic Russia but also important commodities produced in China.

Russia is not only of the West but also of the East. While preeminently a Slav State, partaking in particular of the spirit and culture of Europe, she is of the East and is caught within the subtle and mysterious influence of the Orient.

Adventuresome sons of Russia but a few centuries ago—1581—passed beyond the Urals. The Stroganofs, a powerful Russian family, sought to penetrate that unknown land. Vasali, the Boatman of the Volga, began the conquest of western Siberia. He seized the city of Sibir, which constituted the capital of a Tartar chief, and brought extensive territory under the domain of the Russian Crown. Others followed the advancing Russian tide, and within 70 years the Arctic Circle had been reached, and the banks of the Amur River, the waters of which find their way into the Pacific Ocean, constituted the eastern boundary of the Russian Empire. The outposts of the Chinese Empire were challenged by a new power. A new force was at their door and the Orient was threatened by a new master.

No further Asiatic conquests were made until the time of Alexander I. He brought tribes and peoples under his dominion, extended his power to the trans-Caucasian States, and then turned his eyes to the east, where he sought further conquest. In 1847 General Muraivief became governor gen-

eral of eastern Siberia. He pushed onward, carrying the flag of Russia until the Pacific was reached, and the outermost bounds of Siberia brought under the dominion of the Czar of all the Russias. And to-day Siberia, containing nearly 5,000,000 square miles, lies like a crouching lion over torn and distracted China. The trans-Caucasian States have been added to Russia's imperial domain. Turkestan has been annexed; Bukhara and Khiva acknowledge the supremacy of Russia; Persia, like ripe fruit upon the tree, sooner or later will be gathered by this expanding nation; Afghanistan is in the pathway of Russia's development. Turkey, Mesopotamia—are they not but passing figures, yielding to Pan Slavism, which many believe to be the coming power not only in Europe but in the Far East? Notwithstanding the claimed pacific character (by some) of the idealogy of communism, the Bolshevik Government is a militant force, pushing forward and onward the flag of Russia, whether it be red, as the symbol of revolution and conquest, or whether the sunlight of peace and freedom transforms its color into golden sunlight.

Japan's recent catastrophe, while it excited profound sympathy among the Russians, was by some regarded as the removal of an obstacle to Russia's expanding power in Asia and in the Pacific.

The fanatical and doctrinaire communists, when they obtained control of Russia, believed that the proletarian movement would encircle the earth. They envisaged capitalistic nations in ruins, through the revolutionary outbreaks of proletarian forces, and the establishment of proletarian dictatorships in all lands, integrating and uniting with the Bolshevik Government of Russia. They sought to arouse the "class consciousness" and incite hate against the bourgeoisie; they extensively propagandized in many States and expended liberally of the funds which they had seized to overthrow the struggling republican Government of Germany, the new government in Hungary, and the constituted authority in other States. Their call for a world revolution was not answered as they had expected; and as the working classes in Europe and in other countries rejected Bolshevism they reluctantly came to the conclusion that their paramount immediate task was to tighten their grip upon Russia and the Russian people and consolidate the gains which they had made. Nevertheless, they continued their propaganda wherever possible and unintermittingly proclaimed their purpose to destroy the capitalistic governments of the world. To many countries they sent their emissaries and expended large sums to spread communist principles, foment industrial strife, paralyze economic development, overthrow governments, and promote world communism. As the triumph of communism in the world appeared more remote there was developed in Russia, even among Bolshevists, a "nationalistic spirit," a spirit which for centuries has been in the Russian heart, which even Bolshevism could not eradicate, and to which it not only has succumbed, but added strength. Some of the leaders of the Bolshevik Government perceived that the gains of the Bolsheviks in Russia would be lost and the government overthrown unless concessions to capitalism and the normal processes of life were made, and unless the government developed sufficient strength to meet internal evolutionary forces and impress external powers with the vitality and vigor of its organization and system.

The economic chaos which existed in Russia, they had the perspicacity to see, would end in revolutionary movements, not

only by the peasants but by the workingmen and the submerged bourgeoisie. Therefore, many of them, with zeal but not with intelligence, addressed themselves to the economic and industrial revival of the State and to its preservation as a political entity. They concluded that to save Bolshevism from destruction involved the saving of Russia. Perhaps they did not know this meant a repercussion of capitalism and nationalism, and that if Russia was saved, saved economically and morally, Bolshevism would in the end be destroyed. While there was a flood of pamphlets published by the Bolshevik rulers in which the theories of Marxian communism were explained and elaborated and glorified, and while conferences and conventions were frequently held at which Bolshevik orators proclaimed their abhorrence of nationalism and of any policies calculated to preserve States as such and races and peoples from an international gregarious mass, they nevertheless gave heed to some rational plans suggested by a few men who foresaw ruin to Russia and to the Bolshevik régime if the fantastic views of the Marxian internationalists were adhered to.

And so, much of the enthusiasm which had been devoted to the exposition of the communistic creed and to the bringing about of a world revolution was transferred to the task of strengthening locally the Bolshevik régime and developing the languishing and, in most cases, the destroyed industries of Russia, although in so doing it meant the awakening of the old and the inextinguishable spirit of Russian nationalism and pan-Slavism. Representations were made that the capitalistic nations of the world were arrayed against Russia and only waited the favorable moment to devour it, and that it was imperative that the Russian people should unite, under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, to strengthen and rehabilitate it industrially and economically, and so enable it to protect the Russian people and save the country from the wicked designs of imperialistic and capitalistic nations.

The paradox was presented of a governing group which denounced nationalism and patriotism and love of country and sought by world revolution to destroy all nations and establish throughout the world a class government, developing a nationalistic spirit among those whom it governed.

The Russian people, long before the days of Peter the Great, sought to build a powerful State, to extend its boundaries, and to be a dominating force in the world. With the expulsion of the Mongolian rulers the succeeding Czars added territory to their possessions, extended their authority over Tartar tribes and divers people, and inculcated in the hearts of the people an imperialistic spirit which has always remained with the Russian people, whether peasant, or priest, or intelligentsia. Mensheviks and social revolutionists, as well as Bolsheviks and those professing devotion to an internationalist creed, have great pride in the territorial gains of Russia and the expanding power of the Russian State.

The present course of the Bolshevik Government is based upon the formula that a great and powerful Russia is desired, primarily to advance the cause of world communism, but also to preserve communistic gains in Russia. The Bolshevik régime is proud of its power, elated over its conquests, and is planning for further territorial gains and is asserting strong nationalistic policies. There can be no criticism of a policy which seeks to develop among the people a love of country and that fine spirit of patriotism which is always found among those who love liberty and justice and have courage to defend the same, and if

the communists were guided by that spirit many of their problems would soon be solved.

I encountered some internationalists in Russia of whom it could be truthfully said they were not patriotic Russians, nor did they possess that proper nationalistic spirit which finds expression in devotion to country and loyal service to the State. But speaking generally, the Russian people are passionately devoted to their country; their sorrows and tragedies have only intensified their love for their motherland, which to them is the promised land.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE BOLSHEVIK GOVERNMENT.

When the Menshevik government of Kerensky was overthrown, Lenin had a political organization, compact and determined, which seized all authority and set up a communist government. There was no pretense that the will of the people should be regarded or that the wishes of the majority should prevail. Repeatedly, since the seizure of authority, the Bolshevik leaders have declared that the government was, and would continue to be, a dictatorship and that it would be directed by members of the Communist Party.

They scoffed at the idea of a democratic form of government, or of submitting to a vote of the people any question relative to the form of government under which the people were to live. Euphemistically, it was stated that it was a "soldier's and workman's government," and more recently it is declared to be a government of the "peasants and workmen." In fact, it was, and is, a government of the Communist Party. At no time have the wishes of the people been consulted. It is not intended now or in the future that their voice shall be heard in the affairs of the government under which they live.

The existence of any other political party is not possible. Indeed, none would be permitted. I asked Chicherin, Kamenev, and other Bolshevik leaders whether a democratic party or any other political party would be permitted, and in every instance the reply was in the negative. Meetings or gatherings for the discussion of political or governmental or economic questions in opposition to the policies or program of the Bolshevik Government are regarded as counter-revolutionary and subject the participants to immediate arrest and imprisonment, and perhaps execution. Thousands of the Menshevik Party and the Social Revolutionary Party have been driven from Russia, many banished to Turkestan or to the Arctic regions, large numbers are in prison, and many have been executed.

Members of these parties suffered cruel persecutions at the hands of the Czar's government. But most of them sought only legitimate and proper reforms and greater liberty for the people. The Mensheviks were followers of Karl Marx, but interpreted Marxian philosophy differently from the Bolsheviks. Some members of the Menshevik and Social Revolutionary Parties, when the Bolsheviks triumphed, and particularly when persecution came, joined the Bolshevik Party; still others, fearing persecution, concealed or denied their faith and have scrupulously abstained from any political activity, content to live and to be let alone, and to have opportunity to procure food and clothes for their families.

When in Tiflis a conference was being held with considerable ostentation and no little journalistic display in the Bolshevik press, of a number of so-called Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists—some of whom it was reported had just been released from prison—for the purpose of "disbanding" any remnants of these organizations. The gathering had the

appearance of having been "staged," and a number of intellectuals who were opposed to Bolshevism and who had been former liberals and Mensheviks stated to me that the gathering had been arranged by and under the direction of the Bolshevik Government. There was a formal resolution of dissolution of the parties.

There is in Russia no freedom of speech or freedom of press; nor can there be, under the present régime, any public or free discussion of political or governmental questions. Several of the Bolshevik leaders were asked whether the publication of a newspaper would be permitted that did not support, either actively or negatively, the Bolshevik régime. Their answer in every instance was "no." One leader justified the suppression of free speech and free press and the exercise of the despotic power wielded by the Bolshevik Government by saying that the Bolshevists regarded the situation as "still one of war." That this fiction will be adhered to for an indefinite period is manifest, but the flower of liberty is growing and the people will ultimately compel reforms. When asked if a constitutional convention or a national assembly was to be called to draft a constitution or agree upon a form of government, the Bolshevik leaders unanimously declared that there was no such intention.

A strict censorship extends to all letters and written communications as well as to telegraph and telephone messages. All letters written or received by me while in Russia passed through the hands of the official censors. No business activities can be carried on by private persons, even though they have concessions from the Government, or special contracts or privileges (which involve the use of the mails or the telephones or telegraph), without the censors knowing of the same. This knowledge of the condition and business of all who are engaged in private enterprises is imparted to those officials who are conducting governmental concerns of the same character, and this places the private business man at a serious disadvantage.

Any act upon the part of any person or group of persons which is interpreted by the Bolshevik leaders or the local Soviets as inimical to the Communist Party or the Bolshevik Government, is regarded as counter-revolutionary and results in imprisonment and often death. The writing of a letter in Baku to a person who had made inquiry concerning property which had been confiscated by the Bolshevik Government was considered a counter-revolutionary act and led to a death sentence by the Cheka. Intercession by a number of persons secured a reprieve.

A hopeful sign is found in the fact that there is a steady increase in the number of newspapers published in Russia. The number of daily newspapers is 900, and there are 35 weekly and 60 monthly publications. The aggregate circulation of all papers is 2,000,000 copies. The Isvestia's daily circulation is 200,000. This paper is the organ of the Bolshevik Government. None of these publications oppose the Government. All are subject to its control. All printing plants and equipment were nationalized and are operated and controlled by the Government. Not only the newspapers and magazines, but also all books that are published, are printed in the Government establishments. It should be added, however, that from some of these printing establishments excellent literature is now emanating. Whitman, Jack London, O. Henry, and Upton Sinclair are read more extensively than any other American authors, and some of their works have been translated into Russian and issued from the Government printing houses.

No private printing presses of any kind are or would be permitted, so that nothing can be printed that is not approved by the Government. To print or circulate any paper, pamphlet, or book not authorized by the Government is a counter-revolutionary act the punishment for which may be death.

In all cities and towns numerous bookstalls and stores are found. In Moscow there are scores of small stands and shops where pamphlets and magazines are sold. These publications relate almost exclusively to the revolution, giving the Bolshevik view, or are devoted to the exposition of Marxian philosophy and the achievements, aims, and purposes of the Bolshevik régime. In a few book stores were found a variety of books, published before the war, a few in English, many in French, some in German, and others in Russian.

Foreign newspapers are not admitted into Russia, although a short time before my departure it was learned that a few German newspapers were admitted. However, no impediments are offered to the introduction into Russia of revolutionary papers published in Germany or other countries. Various Bolshevik departments, however, receive leading newspapers published in Europe, the United States, and other countries.

The membership of the Communist Party varies. The largest membership was approximately 700,000; it is now about 400,000. Many have been expelled from the party, and communist officials stated another "purging" of the party would soon take place, as many members had violated party discipline or had been accepting bribes or had been guilty of graft and corruption in connection with their official duties or had found the obligations of the party too onerous to be performed. Members of the Communist Party are subjected to iron discipline. They are, in every sense of the word, soldiers subject to orders which may not be disregarded. Frequently communists were met who had been ordered to remote parts of Russia or had been brought from distant points for service in Moscow or in other parts of the country. Most of the commissars of the local Soviets were nonresidents of the provinces or districts which they served, but had been sent for official work, theoretically by the government but actually by the Communist Party.

The key positions in the government are held by communists, and practically the heads of all trusts and industrial enterprises are members of that party. In visiting an important coal mine, where skilled engineers and operators were required, a youthful communist, lacking in technical knowledge or experience, was at the head. No matter how important the industry, an active communist will have charge of its operations, though he may lack technical skill, or the requisite executive ability. The government is compelled to rely upon noncommunists to furnish the technical knowledge and administrative ability in substantially all activities, whether political or industrial.

The communist leaders have been careful and discriminating in selecting members for admission into the party. They have preferred a limited membership, believing that the organization could thus act more effectively in the execution of the common purpose and in retaining undisputed political power.

There are in Russia, however, perhaps tens of thousands of persons who believe in communism and declare that they are communists. Many have sought and are seeking admission into the Communist Party organization, but their admission is deferred pending a probationary period, in which the applicants may conclusively demonstrate their devotion to the communist creed, their loyalty to the Bolshevist Government, and their fitness for service in the party. A further reason for restrict-

ing admission is because, as stated, the communist leaders desire a small, thoroughly disciplined, fighting, militant organization.

That communism is growing in Russia is undoubtedly true. The disintegration of the other political parties added to the strength of the communists. Moreover, as was stated frequently by workmen and others, the communists have privileges denied to others, and those employed in the Government service who are in the party or who are communists and seek admission into the party are greatly favored over the so-called "nonpartisans." When forces are reduced, as they have been in many departments, the bourgeoise and noncommunists are the first discharged. Members of the party are always sure of positions, and the active communists outside the party feel assured that their interests will be better guarded and protected than if they did not evince interest in communism and faith in its creed. It is not infrequent to find persons of the communist faith replacing former employees of the Government, or those who were known to be unsympathetic towards the philosophy of Marx.

An active campaign is being carried on to increase the membership of the Young Communist Party and it was frequently told me that the number exceeded 1,000,000. Many inducements are offered to young men to become members of this organization. Many beautiful and commodious buildings which had been confiscated by the Bolsheviks have been converted into clubhouses for workingmen and young communists. They become the centers of amusements and recreational activities and movements for the teaching and glorification of Marxian philosophy and the leaders of the Bolshevik Party. Many young men, first out of curiosity, visit these clubs, and later, for various reasons, become members. Gratuities and rewards of various kinds are often given to stimulate membership. And the sons of workers in the factories and shops and railroads, as well as the members of these clubs, are favored in making selections for entrance into the higher schools and educational institutions.

Political and communist teachers are active in these organizations, the result being that the children in the larger villages and towns and cities live constantly in contact with communist teachings and are brought within the influence of communist organizations. In the smaller villages and in the homes of the peasants the communistic influence is not so pervasive, although in the village schools, as well as in all schools, its teaching is compulsory. And in villages where communists are found they constitute the political or governmental officials and administrative officers. In this situation it is not surprising that many Bolsheviks express supreme faith in the conversion of the children of this generation to the creed of communism. The conferences of the Communist Party are devoted principally and almost entirely to a discussion of what the policies of the Bolshevik Government shall be, and how the will of the Communist Party as expressed shall be enforced through the Bolshevik Government in Russia and elsewhere. Likewise the international aspect of communism is considered, and how and in what manner the capitalistic governments of the world may come under the control of an international Communist Party.

A committee with supreme authority is selected by the Communist Party. That committee at present consists of Trotski, Dzerzhinsky, Bukharin, Stalin, Rykov, Kamaneff, Zinoviev, and

Thomsky, and alternates are chosen to act with the executive committee and to take the places of any who may be disqualified or absent. Among this number are Kalanin and Radek. I should state, however, that several officials in the Soviet Government told me that this committee consisted of but seven members. Lenin, who died but a few hours ago, was a member of the committee.

An examination of a list of the officials in the Bolshevik Government will show that they are, in the main, the executive committee of the Communist Party. Trotski is the commissar of military and naval affairs; Dzerzhinsky is commissar of transportation and acting commissar of the interior; Rykov is chairman of the supreme economic council and also acting premier and acting president of the council; Lenin was president of the council of commissars; Kamaneff is the acting president of the council and acting premier, and also head of the Moscow soviet; Kalinin is president of the central executive committee of the soviets and usually called the president of Bolshevik Government. It is the Communist Party which selects individuals for the various positions in the Bolshevik Government and for the various soviets or local organizations in all parts of Russia. The foreign or domestic policies of the Government are determined not by officials of the Government as such, but by the Communist Party, which is the source of authority and power and from which emanate the final orders to govern the conduct of Bolshevik officials and the course of the Bolshevik Government. Krassin as Commissar of foreign trade in the federal Government and Chicherin as Commissar of foreign affairs, and Sololnikov as commissar of finance for the Government; indeed, all officials, high and low, are amenable to the Communist Party and must act conformably to its instructions. The communists state that they made and won the revolution, that they set up the present Government, and that they intend to control it and to control Russia and her people and to enforce the political and economic doctrines of Karl Marx.

There are no scruples in the use of force or the military arm of the Government to execute their purposes. They frankly state that the people are not competent to govern themselves; that a dictatorship is needed; and that the communist principles can only be made effective in Russia or elsewhere through a coherent, well-organized, and thoroughly disciplined minority who are ready and willing to fight to maintain their power and to enforce their policies. The so-called autonomous Republics of Ukraine, Georgia, and others are powerless before the central government and execute its orders.

It has been said that the new constitution adopted July 6, 1923, has resulted, or will result, in material changes in the political structure of Russia. A critical examination of the new constitution will demonstrate that the power of the Communist Party is not diminished or the rights of the people extended. Under the constitution Russia is still a communist State governed by the Communist Party, which uses the machinery provided by the new constitution to execute its will.

It states that—

> The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (R. S. F. S. R.), the Ukrainian Soviet Republic (U. S. S. R.), the White Russian Socialist Soviet Republic (W. R. S. S. R.), and the Transcaucasian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (the Socialist Soviet Republics of Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Armenia) hereby unite into one Federal State—the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

Theoretically these political States or Republics are independent, but the constitution gives them no greater power than they have enjoyed in the past. An analysis of this new constitution shows but little authority is possessed by the associating States, and how perfectly the instrument is drawn to perpetuate in power the communist group and their successors who are in political control of Russia. This constitution was not ratified by the people, but it is, nevertheless, superimposed upon them. The important provisions of the constitution were directed toward the creation of a small body of individuals with supreme executive, legislative, and judicial power. The so-called "contracting republics" are required to modify their constitutions to conform with the one under consideration.

Executive committees are created by the constitution, and these are then selected by the Communist Party. These committees govern Russia under the Communist Party. The constitution provides for a supreme court for the "maintenance of revolutionary law," but it is made the creature of the executive committee, which may also "suspend or set aside decrees, regulations, and orders of its presidium, the soviet congresses, and the central executive committees" of the so-called republics constituting the union, as well as of other governing bodies throughout the entire territory of Russia.

One of the darkest pages in the history of the Bolshevik Government relates to the Extraordinary Commission, or what is known through the land as "the Cheka." This was a political organization or agency which spread terror throughout Russia, arrested, imprisoned, and executed tens and, indeed, hundreds of thousands of persons, and ruthlessly reduced the Russian people to a condition of terror and slavery. It had a most perfect system of espionage and executed the orders of the leaders pitilessly, silently, and effectively. Men, women, and children disappeared and no one knows whither they have gone; many never returned. Relatives and friends were afraid to make inquiry. They were the victims of the Cheka. No one will ever know the number of victims. The figures published by the London Times and other newspapers—European and American—state that the official figures of the Cheka show executions up to February 22, 1922, to have been 1,766,168. Of these 6,675 were professors and teachers, 8,800 doctors, 355,280 other intellectuals, 1,243 priests, 54,860 officers, 260,000 soldiers, 59,000 policemen, 12,950 landowners, 192,360 workmen, and 815,000 peasants.

Numerous inquiries made by me of Bolshevik officials, as to the number of executions, elicited no satisfactory reply. Some stated that it was impossible to determine the number imprisoned, banished, or executed, and that many executions attributed to the Cheka ought rather be charged to the civil war and the excesses which it developed. They also stated that most of the peasants executed met their death in resisting the execution of food levies ordered by the government and in revolts precipitated by peasants in many villages against the Soviet Government. Undoubtedly it would be unfair to attribute to this political organization (Cheka) the execution of all of the numbers within the various classes above referred to.

That hundreds of thousands were executed by the Cheka there can be no doubt. It had an army at its command and its spies and agents were in every part of Russia. There were local and provincial Chekas, and they were often under the control of cruel and inhuman monsters. That was notably true

in Petrograd, where a woman for a time ordered the executions, and in Odessa, where, following the occupation of the city by the Red Army, more than 20,000 were butchered within two or three days. The trail of the Cheka is a sinuous and a bloody one, and its crimes weigh heavily upon Russia.

The time came when even the Bolsheviks who had created this dreadful monster became afraid of it. Instead of its being a Saturn, devouring its own offspring, it threatened to be a monster seeking to devour its own mother. And so its powers in all parts of Russia, except the trans-Caucasian States, were curbed, and by decree its power to decree death was abolished. However, in Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan the Cheka still flourishes. Eighty-four men were executed at one time but a few weeks before our party reached Tiflis.

The head of the Trans-Caucasian Soviet Government seemed bored when interrogated as to the activities of the Cheka. He defended it and its arrests and executions of individuals without trial and in secret. At a banquet given by the soviet organization, at which a communist from America and a Japanese communist—both representatives of the Third International—were present, our party was introduced to the "Head of the Cheka" of the Georgian State. Of the 84 just referred to who were executed, some were intellectuals and men of unblemished reputation. They had criticized Bolshevism, and others were a few of the hidden and scattered remnants of the Menshevik Party. It was charged that others of the number had been arrested in the woods and mountains where they had been hiding to escape arrest and death, and upon discovery they were promptly executed as bandits.

Assurances were given our party, however, that the purpose was to restrict the authority of the trans-Caucasian Cheka and limit the power of the organization as it had been limited in other parts of Russia.

There was great rejoicing throughout Russia when the power of the Cheka was restricted, and it was with profound regret that some communists and all the Russian people found that in the new constitution a provision was inserted which revived the Cheka, though with diminished authority. Article IX—paragraphs 61 and 62—of the constitution is as follows:

> 61. In order to unify the revolutionary action of the contracting republics in their struggle with the political and economic counter-revolution, espionage, and banditism, a joint state political department is established, attached to the Union Council of People's Commissaries; the chairman of this department is a consultative member of the Union Council of People's Commissaries.
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> 62. The Union State political department controls the work of the local branches of the State political department through its representatives in the Council of People's Commissaries of the contracting Republics; these representatives act in accordance with special and legally ratified regulations.

This constitutional provision did not meet the progressive spirit which was slowly developing throughout Russia and was a triumph of the extreme left of the Communist Party and a backward movement toward the shadows and the horrors of the past; it perpetuates the fiction that the Bolshevik Government is still at war, not only with capitalistic nations but with the Russian people, and thus becomes the pretext for despotic and cruel edicts and the subjection of the people to a system of espionage and military oppression intolerable to those who have any love of freedom or regard for justice.

Under this constitutional provision Dzerzhinsky, who perfected the Cheka organization and directed its cruel and sanguinary activities, was placed at the head of this so-called "State political department." He has organized this department precisely as the Cheka was organized. There are tens of thousands of his agents and spies throughout Russia. The organization is known as the "G. P. U." There is also a branch of this organization, or a minature or parallel one, connected with the transportation system, of which Dzerzhinsky is also the head.

This vast army constitutes the eyes and ears and the silent but powerful hand of the Bolshevik Government. The very walls seem to be its listening ear, and the footfall of approaching night is discovered by its omnipresent forces. It provides nocturnal domiciliary visitors who terrify the innocent as well as the guilty and furnishes inquisitorial agents who without warrant or authority arrest, imprison, and exile.

In all parts of Russia where our party went there were not only soldiers and militia but the silent and compelling forces of the G. P. U. And these three organizations, the army, militia, and the G. P. U., unite to uphold the Bolshevik Government and execute its decrees.

In a village of four or five hundred inhabitants in the Caucasus Mountains, a man of fine appearance and intelligence, in reply to questions by two members of the party, stated that there were only three communists in the village, two of whom had been sent there; that the people were not communists and were not satisfied with the Communist Government. When asked how the three men could govern so large a number of people against their wishes, he replied that they and the Bolshevik Government were "supported by Russian bayonets."

As herein indicated, acts or omissions, which reasonably may not be interpreted as revolutionary, become such in Russia, and are dealt with by this extraordinary political department, notwithstanding there is a criminal code and courts and executive officers to enforce the orders and decrees of the courts.

This powerful, unrestrained, and terrifying agency is made a law unto itself, accountable to no superior political or governmental body or authority, and is the sole judge of its own conduct. Any act or omission it may declare to be a part of the revolutionary struggle or political or economic counter-revolution. Criticism of any law or policy of the government is a revolutionary act against the government. Views or acts which the G. P. U. may think or affect to believe do not coincide with the economic theories or policies of the Bolshevik Government, or the Communist Party, are counter-revolutionary. The most innocent acts became crimes, construed, as they often are, as attempts to overthrow or undermine the Bolshevik régime. And in all the States and Provinces local G. P. U. branches are set up and are controlled by a representative of the central organization. These local organizations are often manned by fanatics who regard as enemies of the Government all who are not communists; and so there are still many innocent victims of this despotic organization which belongs to the dark ages. It is an anachronism, even in Russia.

Under a law or decree any person may be arrested by the G. P. U. without a warrant, and may, without trial or information as to the character of the offense, be exiled to Turkestan or the Arctic regions or to any other remote part of Russia for three years. Many cases were brought to my attention where

individuals had been arrested and held for many months without any charge or hearing.

To many it is incomprehensible how a mere handful of communists retain control over more than 140,000,000 people. First, it must be remembered that the Russian people are somewhat different from the Anglo-Saxons and have for centuries been under an autocratic government. The overwhelming majority were illiterate, and perhaps 85 per cent lived in villages and paid reverence to the Czar and devotion to the church. They were satisfied with their condition, their village, and local affairs; they were controlled in a somewhat patriarchal way, but were not much troubled by the affairs of state or the great world beyond their limited horizon. Given sufficient to satisfy their limited wants, the mass of the Russian people were satisfied.

Obedience to authority was ingrained in them; and so, when political power was seized and exercised by Lenin and a few communist associates, the people, while dazed and bewildered, lacked the initiative, that vigorous militant spirit which was necessary to organize resistance or promote a revolution.

The World War had brought great sorrow and suffering. Knowledge of the horrors of the western front had been brought back to the people, and there was a longing for peace. The boldness and audacity of the Bolsheviks stupified the people, and they dumbly submitted to their rule.

Later, when the armies of Kolchak and Wrangel and Denekin were advancing, the Bolshevik leaders shrewdly appealed to the people, declaring that the plan was to restore the Czaristic rule and deprive the peasants of the land. And it is freely said by many in Russia that these military leaders opposing Bolshevism would have been victorious and overthrown the Bolshevik Government if they had been less reactionary and had shown greater consideration for the people in the districts where they operated. But in many parts of Russia the peasants actively supported the revolutionary forces of these generals and constituted the bulk of their armies. With the defeat of the Wrangel movement, the Bolsheviks controlled Russia. War had exhausted the resources of the country and the people were in misery and want. It was apparent that production must be had or starvation was inevitable. Even those who hated Bolshevism and suffered from its ruthless exactions and its oppressive policies were constrained to a sullen but pacific course. The whole population were intent only upon one thing and that was to get enough to save themselves from starvation.

The sufferings of the people from hunger and exposure and lack of clothes during the past five or six years can scarcely be exaggerated. There was not sufficient energy or strength left among the people to oppose the governing power. The strength of the government, aside from the Communist Party, rested with the workers in the various factories and plants. It is true that they were not satisfied with existing conditions; and revolts often occurred which were suppressed, oftentimes with great cruelty by the Bolshevik Government. But the workers were told that it was their government and that, while conditions were difficult, they would be worse under a return of the monarchy.

Notwithstanding the military triumph of the Bolsheviks, and the lifeless and impotent condition of the people, conditions became so intolerable that a formidable revolt occurred at Kronstadt among the sailors and later, because of the repressive measures pursued by the government against the peasants

and the seizure of their limited crops, revolutionary outbreaks occurred in various parts of Russia. This situation threatened the overthrow of the government, and undoubtedly would have resulted in its destruction except for the concessions which were promptly made through the dominating personality of Lenin.

He perceived that further attempts to enforce the doctrinaire principles of communism would lead to the overthrow of the Government. Communism had failed. The confiscation of all property and the attempt to compel production by the military enslavement of the people had brought Russia and her people to the very depths of misery and sorrow. The peasants wanted their own land and to be their own masters and to enjoy the benefits of their own toil. Factories were closed, the transportation system collapsed, cities were deserted, farms untilled. The hand of death rested over the land. The conscription of the people and of labor and the military orders and cruel and oppressive decrees could not bring life into the state or make communism a success.

Lenin, notwithstanding his idealism, was preeminently a practical man, and when he perceived the fallacies of Marxian philosophy when applied in a concrete way and its indaptability in the existing situation, he promptly ordered a retreat, which alone saved the Bolshevik Government.

In November, 1922, he reported to the eighth session of the fourth congress of the International Communists at Moscow the results of the new economic policy which he had forced upon the communist leaders of Russia. It was a remarkable apology for abandoning the doctrines and policies of the communists and a clever and unanswerable justification for so doing. He referred to the fact that a crisis compelled the changes made, the crisis reaching the breaking point, as he said, "when the broad masses of the peasantry were against us." He referred to the collapse of the finance system under the former policy; the "quadrillions" of paper money issued; the destruction of commerce; the failure of production and ensuing famine, misery, and want. And he emphasized the "strategic position" now held by the Bolshevik Government. It is clear from his speech that he ascribed the improved conditions and the salvation of the Bolshevik Government to the policy which permitted trading and a movement by the people in the direction of capitalism and the normal processes of business and the realities and fundamentals of life.

The Bolsheviks still say they are communists and many argue that their Government is communistic. Marx is still their patron saint, and his philosophy is the textbook of the schools, and so far as the Bolshevik leaders can enforce their will, the guide of the people. But economically State capitalism enforced in a ruthless manner by a small minority and an obedient army and not communistic philosophy prevails. Of course, politically, as indicated, the Government is a dictatorship by a few men, whether it be called a Soviet Republic or given any other name.

With the adoption of the new economic policy, it was as if a ray of light were shot into a dark dungeon. The light has increased, and to-day the dungeon has several windows and many shafts of light are streaming in to purify the air and to bring a slight measure of happiness to the people.

Two years ago Russia was a madhouse, and the people were dying from madness and starvation. Since then progress has been made, not because of Bolshevism but in spite of it; and whatever progress has been made has been the result of departure from communism and from predetermined Bolshevik

policies. The new economic policy was not accepted by all communists, and it caused a schism in the party. But it saved the Bolshevik régime, and the capacity of that régime to modify its principles and predetermined policies still saves it from destruction.

The heavy taxes imposed upon the peasants in 1921 and 1922 brought not only complaints but produced incipient revolts. Everywhere that I went peasants protested against the exactions made by the Government. They were taxed according to the number of dessiatines of land they held and the crops they produced and the animals they owned and the chickens they raised and the eggs that were laid, and there were labor and cartage taxes and a house tax by the central government. Then there were a multitude of provincial taxes imposed by the local authorities on the peasants for various purposes—hospitals, schools, public bureaus, and so forth.

But there are clever and able men among the Bolshevik leaders. They perceived that a continuation of such oppressive levies would provoke revolts, if not a revolution, among the peasants, which might overthrow the Soviet régime. Accordingly, they projected a revenue plan which afforded some relief to the peasants, though it still weighed heavily upon them. Moreover, it had discriminating features and bore with crushing force upon all persons who were endeavoring to take advantage of the new economic policy and establish private enterprises and engage in private trade. Indeed, many such were destroyed and their new business or industrial enterprises taxed out of existence.

Mr. OVERMAN. The Senator has stated, as I understood one of his statements, that the Bolsheviks seek the destruction of capitalistic nations. Does that include our own Nation also?

Mr. KING. Yes.

Mr. OVERMAN. I should like to ask the Senator if it be true that Lenin is dead, who will succeed him?

Mr. KING. As I came into the Senate Chamber this morning I was advised of the death of Lenin. It has been known for more than a year that he was seriously ill and his death was not unexpected. Authentic reports were published from time to time concerning the nature of his ailment, and when I was in Russia I made inquiry of Bolshevik leaders who confirmed statements that I had read many months ago as to the serious nature of his illness. Not only was he suffering from paralysis and other ailments but for a time his mind was affected.

The Senator asks who will succeed him. In my opinion there is no communist competent to fill his place. It can be said of him that he founded the Bolshevik government and is its outstanding figure. Early in his life he became a devoted follower of Karl Marx, and was one of the revolutionary leaders who for a number of years before the World War sought to modify, if not destroy, the Russian Government. He played an important part in weakening the morale of the Russian people in the closing hours of the Czar's régime, and led the forces which overthrew the Kerensky government and established the despotism which has controlled Russia since that period. His dominating personality, his audacity, his commanding ability, and his iconoclastic work assure him a primacy among the Bolsheviks which none dare challenge.

The waves of the French Revolution carried upon their crest Mirabeau, Danton, Robespierre, Marat, and others whose names will long survive. That revolution was an important

epoch in the history of mankind. The Russian revolution by historians of the future will undoubtedly be regarded as an event unique, unparalleled without precedent as to its purposes and results, and important in its reactions upon contemporary conditions, if not upon succeeding generations. And Lenin, his character, motives, and work, will produce an increasingly large bibliography with diverse and irreconcilable views as to his character and achievements and upon all matters with which he was concerned. Many Russians stated to me that without Lenin the provisional government of Kerensky would have succeeded, a constitutional government would have been established, Russia would have continued with the Allies in the great world contest, and the woes and tragedies which have overwhelmed the Russian people would have been averted. But it is of no advantage to speculate upon these matters. Lenin, by his genius, his courage, his cunning, his profound knowledge of the psychology of the Russian people, struck down the Kerensky régime, hurled back the rising tide of democracy, and seized the reins of authority and drove his country into the destructive and deadly experiment of Bolshevism. He and many of his associates, because of their former revolutionary activities, had been imprisoned and exiled. They were familiar with history, with the slow progress which humanity has made toward the summit of liberty and justice; they ignored the teachings of history, and sought by violence to strike down all governments, destroy the social and economic structures existing throughout the world, and upon the ruins of the great temples which centuries had erected, establish a new order, the principles of which had been ably presented, at least academically, to the world by Karl Marx. Undoubtedly many of these communists were sincere and believed that their philosophy would free the world of social inequalities and establish a new and better social and political system among mankind. Of course, there were mountebanks and characterless persons who attached themselves to the Bolshevik organization. Vicious and criminal elements without morality or religion, saw in Bolshevism the overthrow of society and the triumph of licentiousness, and so sought and obtained positions of power where they preyed upon the people and committed brutal crimes and hideous excesses. Many, filled with hatred of the cultured and better elements of society, as well as all ruling classes, believed that the mission of Bolshevism was to subjugate, if not destroy these classes, and to place in power those who had dwelt in the shadows.

Lenin determined to establish communism, no matter what the cost might be. He and his followers were insensible to the sorrows and tragedies and horrors which their purposes and activities brought to the Russian people. The opportunity had come to found a communist State, and the communists of Russia were to establish it and carry the torch of communism to set the world on fire. They determined upon the destruction of all governments and the reorganization of society upon new lines. Whatever obstacles stood in the way of their plans were to be removed. Human life was unimportant. The old order of things was to be destroyed, root and branch, with a thoroughness and a ruthlessness that would prevent any possible recrudescence of the spirit which had directed and controlled the movements of the past.

Lenin was not naturally a cruel or pitiless man. Indeed, he had a kindly nature and possessed generous impulses. He had sympathy for the oppressed and a desire for social order. He had the paradoxical nature found in many great men, and

those conflicting traits that so baffle the interpretation of their mental processes and purposes. He had denounced the Government of the Czar as being cruel and undemocratic. He and other communists had bitterly assailed governments, particularly the Russian Government and its efforts to prevent revolution and to neutralize the activities of those who were seeking its overthrow. And yet Lenin and the Bolsheviks resorted to the most cruel persecution to perpetuate themselves in power. They erected as brutal a tyranny as the world ever beheld. Human life was sacrificed without remorse and the most hideous crimes were perpetrated, crimes which for cruelty and barbarity have scarcely ever been equalled and seldom surpassed.

But Lenin perceived that the ambitions of the Bolsheviks could not be realized, that communism could not be forced upon the world. He ordered retreats while still proclaiming his devotion to communism; he explained conditions to the Russian people by declaring that communistic policies could not be fully realized in Russia until other nations accepted them. Against the views of many of his associates he introduced policies which were at variance with communism, and when he was stricken he was projecting further changes which would have been of advantage to the Russian people.

Replying to the Senator's inquiry, may I say that Lenin held various positions. He was a member of the political bureau of the Russian Communist Party, which practically controls the Bolshevik Party. This political bureau theoretically is not a part of the Bolshevik Government, and it carries out the policies and mandates of the Communist Party, and the Communist Party controls the Bolshevik Government and its officials. Lenin was also a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, and a member of the All-Russian central executive committee of the Russian Soviet Republic. Under the new constitution, the Soviet Government is called the Federation of the Soviet Republics, and Lenin was a member of the central executive committee of this federation. He was also president of the Soviet of the People's Commissars in the Rusian Soviet Republic, and also held the same position in the Federation of Soviet Republics. He was also president of the Soviet of Labor and Defense, and held the position of alternate in the Cummunist Internationale, commonly called the Third Internationale. The chart or diagram submitted by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] in his address a few days ago shows the integration of these various organizations and the manner in which the final power is vested in the political bureau of nine men of whom Lenin was the controlling figure.

Undoubtedly the vacancies caused by Lenin's death in these various committees will be filled. Theoretically Lenin had the same power as other members of these various committees possessed, but, as stated, he was the dominating and directing force.

Kalinin is the President of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Federated Republics, and is commonly spoken of as the President of Russia. It is an empty title and gives him no particular authority.

But no one can take the place of Lenin as the leader in the Bolshevik Government. I learned while in Russia that his influence over the Bolsheviks was very great and many of the Russian people were beginning to regard him in a more favorable light. There were those who believed that if he had not been incapacitated during the past year and a half greater reforms would have been inaugurated, and more liberal poli-

cies would have been adopted. I met Russians bitterly opposed to communism who spoke in kindly terms of Lenin. His picture appeared in many homes and in every public place. Streets were named after him. Institutions of learning have been given his name, and in public squares and public buildings busts of Lenin are to be seen. He was already becoming the patron saint of the Bolsheviks, and appeals on behalf of schemes and policies made by communist leaders were fortified by solemn asseverations that they were desired or would have been desired by Lenin. I might add that perhaps the busts and pictures of Karl Marx were as often seen in some cities as those of Lenin. Many streets and squares were also given the name of Marx, and some were named after the German communist, Leibnicht.

The house in which the Czar and his family were killed faces a large square in the city of Ekatrinburg, and my recollection is that the statue of one of the Czars had been removed and one of Karl Marx erected in its place. The square now bears the name of the "Square of the People's Revenge."

Perhaps Tsiurupa may be assigned a position with the political bureau and the central committee and other committees upon which Lenin served. That, however, would not give Tsiurupa or any other person the power exercised by Lenin. I met most of the Bolshevik leaders and talked with them freely and frankly about conditions in Russia, and expressed my disapproval of the Bolshevik Government and its oppressive and cruel conduct. Perhaps Rykof is the ablest economist and undoubtedly would be a more liberal and progressive leader than others who might be selected. Rykof is regarded as honest, courageous, and sincere, but his modesty and impediment of speech will militate against his selection as the active leader in the Government. I was impressed with his knowledge of public affairs and his apparent desire to promote the welfare of Russia and her people. Many with whom I talked expressed the view that Trotski would more nearly carry out the policies of Lenin than any other Bolshevik leader.

Krassin impressed me as a man of ability and dynamic force. In my opinion, if the Bolsheviks would give greater heed to his views, Russia's development would be more certain. He does not take the cloister view held by so many Bolsheviks. He and other Bolshevik leaders perceive that Russia's period of isolation must end if she is to survive economically. And I have no doubt that they sense the importance of recognizing private capital and of removing many of the obstacles interposed by the Bolshevik Government to freer trade among the Russian people and between Russia and other countries.

Trotski possesses great versatility. He is a brillian writer and earnest student. He has displayed considerable ability in organizing the military department of the Government. He has a cosmopolitan mind, but has a strongly nationalistic view when dealing with Russian problems. I confess to being favorably impressed with Trotski and can understand the firm hold which he has upon the affections of communists and the great interest which the Russian people feel in his personality.

Mr. OVERMAN. He was at the head of the Red Army, was he not, and was the brains of the army?

Mr. KING. For some time Trotski has been the Commissar of War and as such he may be said to be the head of the Red Army. Reports have been published of late that he is seriously ill, but he looked to be in perfect health when I saw him a few days before leaving Russia.

I am inclined to believe that Trotski or Rykof or Kamenef will take the place of Lenin—that is, will be selected as the head of the Communist Party—and that ipso facto gives him the position of authority in the Bolshevik Government. In view of the more liberal attitude which Trotski has recently taken and the representations made to me by many Bolsheviks, that he was seeking to carry into effect the more progressive policies of Lenin, I am inclined to the view that it would be best for Russia if the responsibilities of Lenin were placed upon Trotski, if leadership is to be selected, as it will be, from the left wing of the Communist Party. Senators will observe that I classify the communists of Russia. Broadly speaking, there are the left and right wings; and the left can be properly subdivided, the extreme portion containing the fanatics and visionary doctrinaires who would destroy all governments, and even civilization itself, to establish communism. Then there are the moderates, who still adhere to communism, but will make concessions when they regard them as imperatively required to save the Bolshevik Government. They reluctantly permit the new economic policy, and for the present allow small capitalistic enterprises to be established. Within the last-named category, I should place Rykof, Trotski, Chicherin, perhaps Stalin, who was the alter ego of Lenin and his secretary for some time, Sokolnikov, Schmidt, Lomanov, Lunacharsky, Kalinin, Tsiurupa. To the extreme section I should assign Zinoviev, Kamenev, Tomsky, Bukharin, Litvinov, Radek, Chubar, Rudzutak, Dzerzhinisky, and Krylenko. The moderates of the left wing shade into the right wing. There are able men, such as Krassin, who, while communists, perceive that neither Russia nor the world is ready for applied Marxian principles, and that concessions and departures from orthodox communism must be made or the whole fabric of Bolshevism will be laid in the dust. Within this group are to be found those who will seek to entrench the Bolshevik Government behind state capitalism, based upon the ownership and control by the state of the "key" industries.

Mr. OVERMAN. Did Trotski give forth the teaching of which the Senator has spoken, namely, that the Communists were to overthrow all governments?

Mr. KING. Trotski took the same position that the Bolsheviks have taken from the beginning, namely, that the proletariat in all countries should unite and overthrow existing governments and establish a dictatorship of the proletariat.

Mr. OVERMAN. And still the Senator hopes that he will be the head of the Russian Government?

Mr. KING. I have attempted to convey the view that Trotski is more liberal than some Bolshevik leaders, such as Bukharin, Zinoviev, Dzerzhinsky, Radek, and Tomsky, and that it would therefore be for the best interests of Russia if Lenin's mantle should fall upon him rather than upon one of the extremists. I do not contend that he is the most liberal of the Bolshevik leaders. Upon the contrary, there are others whom I regard as more progressive than Trotski. I might say to the Senator from North Carolina, that where there are two evils, it is better to choose the lesser. Trotski is to be preferred, as I regard the situation, to many others who belong to the extreme left of the left wing of the Communist Party. From all that I could learn while in Russia, the Communist Party has factions. However, when a policy is agreed upon, generally the factions unite to execute such policy. There are, as might be expected, various forces within the Communist group. There

are some such as Zinoviev, Bukharin, Radek, Dzerzhinsky, who are ruthless, cruel, and reactionary; they resist all progress and seek to "row up the stream." Others, as I have stated, are more temperate and rational in their views.

Of course, Trotski is a communist. He advocates the dogmas of communism; and he and all communists would rejoice in the destruction of capitalism and the overthrow of all governments.

The reforms which have taken place in Russia under the Bolshevik rule, as I have indicated, were not desired by the Bolsheviks. They resisted every movement in the direction of capitalism and away from the idealogy of communism. But there were those among them (of whom Lenin had the clearest vision) who perceived the weakness of communism, or, at any rate, its inadaptability to existing conditions, and had the sagacity to urge upon their followers such modifications as would prevent the absolute destruction of Russia and the complete overthrow of the Bolshevik régime. Trotski gave some support to Lenin in this forward movement, as did Krassin and Tchitcherin and Rykov. Others opposed these reforms and still contend for a return to the earlier days of Bolshevism, with its fantastic, cruel, and destructive policies.

Mr. BROOKHART. Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MOSES in the chair). Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. KING. Yes.

Mr. BROOKHART. In conversation with Colonel Haskell last night, he and I had the opposite impression with reference to Trotski that the Senator has. We had the impression that he represented the radical crowd and that the others are in opposition to him and more in accord with the ideals of Lenin.

Mr. KING. If the Senator means that he and Colonel Haskell are of the opinion that Trotski belongs to the most radical wing of the Communist Party, then I am not in accord with their view. That there are some of the Bolsheviks who are more liberal than Trotski, I concede, but from my conversations with such leaders as Tchitcherin, Krassin, Kamenèv, Tomsky, Tsiurupa, Radek, Schmidt, Noreteva, and Orkhalashvili, and from all that I could learn from various sources in Russia, I reached the conclusion that Trotski was opposed by the extreme communists in his efforts to introduce more freedom among the members of the Communist Party. It was also my view that Trotski had a more comprehensive knowledge of world affairs, and realized the present impossibility of founding a State upon purely communistic theories.

Mr. BROOKHART. Colonel Haskell had two years of close association with all of those men, and I value his judgment very highly.

Mr. KING. I also have great confidence in Colonel Haskell, and I concede his superior opportunities to learn conditions in Russia. However, I am giving my impressions and expressing my views, based upon what I learned in Russia. The Senator and Colonel Haskell may be right, but my opinion is as I have expressed it; and I still think that Russia's progress would be greater under Trotski than under Zinoviev and the extreme left wing of the Communist Party.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Florida?

Mr. KING. I do.

Mr. FLETCHER. May I inquire of the Senator how this committee of nine of whom he has spoken is elected?

Mr. KING. It is selected by the Communist Party which, as the Senator knows, is a compact organization and limited to approximately 400,000 members.

Mr. FLETCHER. I mean in what way. What composes the Communist Party? Is there any election or ballot, or how does the Communist Party express itself?

Mr. KING. A majority of the communists reside in Moscow and the cities and large towns. The party is thoroughly organized and so functions as to provide for periodical conferences or conventions. The local units send delegates to provincial conventions, which select representatives to the central conference at Moscow. The last conference was held (as well as earlier ones) in the large throne room of the Czar's palace in the Kremlin. I visited this room and saw the rude platform which was still in place, with a few chairs thereon; and over the platform were red banners and flags and streamers with appeals to the proletariat of all the world to unite. At this conference the nine delegates referred to were selected, and they serve until the next general conference or convention of the Communist Party. I was told that at this congress only tried and true Bolsheviks were present.

Mr. FLETCHER. Then they are selected at a convention?

Mr. KING. Yes; a convention or conference of the party. Of course, there are no elections in Russia, as we understand the term. The political bureau of nine, who direct the policies of the Bolshevik Government, are not elected by the Bolshevik Government, but by this extraneous and outside organization known as the Communist Party; and the Communist Party provides its own machinery for the selection of representatives or delegates to the national conference or convention, at which the program of the Communist Party is framed and the policies which the Bolshevik Government are to pursue are determined upon and the political bureau of nine selected. This political bureau then carries out the wishes of the Communist Party and controls the Bolshevik Government. The officials of the government are not responsible to the people, but to the Communist Party, and may be disciplined by or removed from office by it. In other words, the Bolshevist officials are the creatures of the Communist Party. Even though they may be selected by what is called the "All Russian Soviet Congress," or by the various local and provincial soviets, they are amenable to the Communist Party and are controlled by the agencies which it establishes.

Mr. BROOKHART. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. KING. I yield.

Mr. BROOKHART. Those elections as I found them out to be were something like a caucus. They would meet in a town meeting and somebody would get up and move that Bill Jonesky be sent as a delegate to the district meeting. They would hold up hands and vote him in. He would go over there and move that John Smithsky be sent up to the State meeting. Then from there another delegate would be sent on to the All-Russian Congress, and they would elect Lenin, and this committee would have charge of the government. The system as I have figured it out seems to me to be just about like our system of nominating a President of the United States, and I was against it because I am for the primary.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I can not see the rosy picture my friend has painted as to the character of the elections in Russia. First, let it be understood that there are two organi-

zations (at least in theory)—the Communist Party and the Bolshevik Government. There is also the Third Internationale, to which I shall refer later, but it is the child of the Communist Party and has been organized and largely supported by it. As I have stated, wherever there is a local communist organization, it selects one or more delegates to attend a convention of one or more Provinces, at which convention delegates are selected to the parent or central conference held in Moscow. The party determines upon its own machinery and permits none but communists to participate in its meetings.

At the various local and provincial meetings and conferences the rule is for the head of the communist organization to arise and name the person or persons to be sent to the convention. There is no voting by ballot, and the demand of the leader is usually acceded to. At the congress of the Communist Party the will of the communist leaders (and that was notably true when Lenin was alive and active) determined the policies of the party.

In addition to these conventions and meetings there are gatherings for the selection of local officials who constitute a part of the Soviet Government. For instance, in a village or town there will be a local soviet. The head of the soviet is always a communist. The communists are always active and attend these meetings. I talked with hundreds of Russians who had been at various soviet meetings in cities and towns and political subdivisions of Russia. They were unanimous in stating that the communists controlled the meetings. The communist leader would announce that delegates were to be elected to some provincial convention at which representatives would be chosen to attend the All-Russian Soviet conference at Moscow. This leader would name the persons to be selected, and his action was acquiesced in by those assembled.

I recall speaking with an intelligent and educated engineer who was attached to one of the government plants. He was not a Bolshevik. I asked him if he attended the various meetings of the soviet and the gatherings for the selection of delegates to the All Russian Soviet Congress. He stated that he did and that there were others not communists who occasionally attended these meetings. In reply to my question as to how the elections were conducted, he said that there was no such thing as an election. Whatever the occasion, a communist would take charge of the meeting and declare its purposes and the program which should be carried out, and would then say, "'Are there any opposed?" He had never seen any persons signify any opposition, though perhaps there would be many in attendance who were not communists.

At another place I recall asking a gentleman as to the manner of conducting elections, and he stated that the communist leaders would send notice to workingmen and others that there was to be a meeting and that their attendance was desired. The number of communists would often be less than the nonmembers of the party, but the latter would never take any part, and the communists would preside, announce the purpose of the meeting, state the names of the persons who were to be elected (either as officers of the local soviet or as delegates to conventions) and then ask if there was any opposition. No one ever ventured to indicate any negative view. I asked him why the people submitted to the rule of a few communists. He stated that if there were any opposition it would promptly be met with persecutive measures from the Bolshevik government. Those who signified any disapproval of the proceedings would lose their positions or be denied liberties and rights to

which they were entitled, or, if they carried their opposition to the extreme, they would be imprisoned. He said that the people had discovered that the only thing to do, was to submit to the dictation of the Communist Party. Leaders of the Bolshevik government stated to me that they intended that the party should control the government.

As I have heretofore stated, the Communist Party is a disciplined army. The leaders designate communists to go into all parts of Russia and take charge of the cities and towns and provinces and of the local soviet governments. In most of the provinces visited I found that the soviet leaders were not residents of the district in which they were officiating. Changes are frequently made, trusted communist officials being sent to Siberia as well as other provinces in the State, and others being brought from remote parts of Siberia and assigned positions in European Russia and trusted communists sent to Siberia; and I met communists who had just been ordered to Turkestan and to provinces of Russia in which they were strangers.

There are no elections—no freedom of action in the selection of officials of the Government. The people so understand, and they submit to the dictatorship, knowing that opposition would bring upon their heads imprisonment or banishment or cruel persecution. Mr. Tomsky, the head of the labor union, stated to me that the communists had won the revolution and they intended to maintain control of the Government. I asked him, "How is it possible that with more than a million members in the union, a few communists can hold the positions and control the union?" He replied, "That is what we (meaning the Bolsheviks) fought for."

Most communists have audacity, and many are courageous. Some are sincere and are willing to make sacrifices to defend Bolshevism. Others are subtle, intriguing, insincere opportunists, and are more concerned in retaining power than establishing communism. They preserve, as I have stated, the fiction that Russia is still in a state of war and that military rule must prevail. Bolsheviks scoff at the suggestion of a constitutional government or a constitutional convention to frame a constitution, and they jeer at the mention of free elections and secret ballot. If an election were held in the manner obtaining in the United States and the people understood that they could secretly vote for such persons as they pleased for positions of responsibility, the communist government would quickly be displaced.

Mr. OVERMAN. Did the Senator find any Americans over there? It was stated before a committee of which I was a member, in an investigation conducted a year or two ago, that some Americans who were traveling in Russia recognized the head of the transportation division as a person whom they had seen working in an East Side restaurant in New York. This person recognized the American party and said "Hello, boys! Are you going to Brooklyn?" He turned out to be an American.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, in the various Provinces visited I met the soviet leaders as well as hundreds of people. We addressed a number of meetings at which political leaders and leading citizens were present. I do not recall seeing in all my travels in Russia more than a dozen persons who were holding political positions and who had been in America. There were a number of Americans in Russia; some engaged in business, and some seeking concessions and opportunities for trade and commerce, while a few were visiting Russia to obtain information. There were also a number engaged in charitable work, and a few were liquidating the relief organizations which

had accomplished so much good, particularly in the famine-stricken areas. I was surprised to find so few who had been in America occupying positions in the Bolshevik Government or engaged in business activities. I recall meeting a few who had been in America, among them being Mr. Trotsky, Gregory Winestein, Mr. Naureteva, the president of a bank at Rostov (his name has just escaped me), and the I. W. W. leader, Bill Haywood. I met Mr. Haywood in the office of one of the Bolshevik commissars. He did not seem particularly happy, and upon investigation I learned that he possesses but little influence in the Bolshevik Government. He is attached to the Third Internationale and claims to be the representative of the United States to the Third Internationale.

Mr. OVERMAN. Did the Senator see Mr. Williams?

Mr. KING. I presume the Senator refers to Mr. Rhys Williams who testified before the committee investigating Russian propaganda in the United States, of which the Senator was chairman. I met Mr. Williams and had a very interesting conversation with him. I obtained considerable information from him, and he spoke frankly and intelligently of conditions as he found them.

While not responsive to the questions suggested by the Senator, I am prompted to suggest that there are many false statements published in American papers and in the press of Europe regarding conditions in Russia. Many fantastic and foolish stories have been printed in regard to the Bolshevik leaders and the political and social conditions in Russia. I found much to admire in the Russian people and much that confirmed the view which I have entertained for many years, that they will play an increasingly important part in the affairs of the world. That Russia will make progress I have no doubt. The submerged and inarticulate masses will respond to enlightened forces that will be developed among the Russian people, and Russia—not in this generation, but in the near future—will occupy a proud place among the nations of the earth.

THIRD INTERNATIONALE

Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator tell us what connection there is between the Third Internationale and the Communist Party and the Bolshevik Government?

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I shall not attempt a comprehensive reply to the Senator's question, but will state in a most general way that the Communist International, or, as it is more frequently called, the Third Internationale, is so closely allied with the Bolshevik Government and the Communist Party that it is somewhat difficult to determine where the functions of each begin and where the authority of each terminates. I have stated that the Communist Party controlled the Bolshevik Government. Indeed, it is more accurate to say that the Bolshevik Government is the creature of the Communist Party. Theoretically the Third Internationale is no part of the Communist Party or the Bolshevik Government, but in a practical sense it is a coadjutor of the Communist Party and thus impresses itself upon the policies and course of the Bolshevik Government. The Communist Party which set up the Bolshevik Government also organized the Third Internationale. It has furnished funds for propaganda and the necessary sinews of war to carry on its destructive operations. It has supplied the Third International with one of the most commodious buildings in Moscow, where its activities are centered and from which go forth directions to guide

communists in all parts of the world. I visited the headquarters of the Third Internationale and there discussed with Radek its policies and activities. Representatives of communists from various countries find positions with the Third Internationale and occupy offices in the building which I have just referred to. The literature printed by this organization comes from the printing presses of the Bolshevik Government. The plans and policies of the Communist International are determined by the Russian Communist Party.

In other words, both the Bolshevik Government (comprising the Russian Soviet Republic and the Federation of Soviet Republics) and the Third Internationale are dominated, controlled, and directed by the Russian Communist Party. As stated, the Third Internationale was organized to carry on a world-wide propaganda in behalf of communism and to promote the destruction of all organized governments. Senators are familiar with the fact that soon after the Communist Party seized control of Russia, Lenin and other Bolshevik leaders perceived the impracticability of the communistic scheme and sought to appease their followers by declaring that the goal of communism could not be reached until all nations had accepted the communistic creed. Thereupon they organized the Communist International, and the Russian Communist Party has masqueraded behind it in the international activities and propaganda carried on for the destruction of the so-called "capitalistic" governments of the world. The Russian communists have subsidized the Third Internationale have directed its movements, and have absolute control of its activities.

Its officers are the important officials in the Russian Communist Party as well as in the Bolshevik Government. Zinoviev, the most reactionary and cruel of the Bolshevik leaders, is a member of the political bureau of the Russian Communist Party which controls the Bolshevik Government as well as the Third Internationale. He is a member of the central committee of the Russian Communist Party and a member of the Central Executive Russian Soviet Republic, and also holds a similar position in the Federation of Soviet Republics. He is president of the Communist International and a member of its executive committee.

Zinoviev, as president of the Third Internationale gets his instructions from the political bureau of the Communist Party, of which he is a member. Lenin was an alternate member of the executive committee of the Third Internationale, as was Trotski, who still holds the same position. Bukharin is a member of the executive committee and of the praesidium of the executive committee of the Third Internationale; and is also one of the political bureau of nine controlling the Russian Communist Party and the Bolshevik Government. He is also a member of the executive committees of the Russian Soviet Republic and the Federation of Soviet Republics.

Radek is a member of the executive committee and also of the praesidium of such committee of the Third Internationale. He is also connected with the political bureau of the Russian Communist Party, is a member of the central committee of the Russian Soviet Republic, and holds a similar position in the Federation of Soviet Republics.

Litvinov occupies a position in the Third Internationale and is the second in command of the foreign office of the Bolshevik Government and holds important positions in the Communist Party as well as in the Soviet Government.

If time permitted, I could show that the Russian members of the Third Internationale are members of the Russian Com-

munist Party and are connected in various ways with the Russian Bolshevik Government. The Third Internationale has a newspaper organ which is published in Moscow, in the printing establishment of the Soviet Government. Its editors and managers and most of its contributors are members of the Russian Communist Party. A few articles appear from time to time written by communists beyond the borders of Russia.

When conferences or meetings of the Third Internationale are held, they are dominated by the Russian Communist Party and are under its auspices. The Third Internationale would have disappeared except for the Russian Communist Party. Perhaps I should qualify this statement by saying that there are a few communists in various countries—and they might be able to maintain a skeleton of an international organization without the aid of the Russian Communists; but whatever strength the Third Internationale has must be attributed to the Communists of Russia and to the support, financial and otherwise, which they have given it. The fact is that the Third Internationale is merely a torch in the hands of the Russian Communist Party which it employs to work destruction and havoc throughout the world.

I spoke frankly to Tchitcherin and other Bolshevik leaders in regard to the Third Internationale and suggested that they could not expect the Bolshevik Government to be recognized by this Republic so long as freedom of speech and freedom of the press was denied, and it pursued its present course, and particularly so long as an alien and extraneous organization, like the Communist Party, controlled the Soviet Government, and that government gave countenance and support to the Third Internationale and its sinister propaganda. I called attention to the activities of the Russian Communists, to the millions of pounds which had been paid to the Communist newspaper published in London, and to the fact that money had been sent to the United States from Russia to spread sedition and to organize the workers for the overthrow of our Government. In various parts of Russia, where I addressed local Soviet leaders, I challenged attention to the Third Internationale and to its close connection with the Bolshevik Government and to the propaganda which was being carried on in various countries by the Russian Bolsheviks and members of the Third Internationale. A number of Soviet leaders admitted that such propaganda had been carried on, and that protests had come from Great Britain and other countries against the revolutionary activities of Russian Bolsheviks, and in my interviews with Soviet leaders I referred to the fact that Litvinov had been expelled from Great Britain because of his offensive propaganda in behalf of communism. I also referred to other Bolshevik emissaries who had been expelled from various countries because of their violation of conventions and their intriguing and corrupting influences aimed at the destruction of industry and the overthrow of existing governments. Tchitcherin contended that the Third Internationale bore no different relation to the Soviet Government than did the Second Internationale, whose headquarters are in Belgium, to the Government of that country.

It is manifest that the comparison suggested by Tchitcherin is without basis, and this I attempted to demonstrate in my conversations with him, as well as with other Bolshevik leaders. I also said to them if the communists of Russia and the Bolshevik Government were not behind the propaganda of the Third Internationale they could quickly convince the world of

that fact by withdrawing subsidies and support and, finally, by denying a home to the organization.

The confessions, admissions, and pleas in avoidance made by soviet leaders furnish convincing evidence of the fact that the Russian communists are hoping for a world revolution and expect to aid the so-called proletarian movement for the overthrow of existing governments and the establishment of a communistic world régime.

I learned from Bolshevik leaders while in Russia that they were in touch with communistic forces throughout the world and were contributing financially and morally to impending revolutionary movements.

I shall refer later in my remarks to the visit of German communists to Russia while I was in Moscow. Bolshevik and communist leaders, who were also members of the Third Internationale, held prolonged sessions in the Kremlin, where the question was considered of the extent to which the Bolshevik Government would give financial aid to the communists of Germany who were organizing for the purpose of overthrowing the German Republic.

In the trans-Caucasus district I learned of the activities of the Bolsheviks in Persia and Afghanistan as well as in India, China, and Japan. There seemed to be no concealment among the communists of Russia of the fact that the Bolshevik Government was supporting movements to bring the world to the communist faith. There was frank discussion concerning the Bolshevik propaganda in India and among Mohammedan countries; and Russian Bolsheviks seemed arrogant and proud in the knowledge that they were carrying the banner of communism to many nations.

Mr. President, I have been diverted from the line of my address by the questions of Senators and in my replies have covered in part, at least, matters to which I have referred and which I may elaborate further before concluding. I have no objection to being interrupted, but this may lead to some repetition, for which I crave indulgence.

CONDITIONS IN RUSSIA UNDER THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY

With the announcement of the new economic policy, private domestic trade was slowly introduced among the people. Prior to that time it was a crime, which might be punished with death, to engage in the purchase or sale or exchange of commodities. To sell upon the streets grain or the products of the farm brought punishment to the peasant. Communism meant not only the ownership of all property but its operation and control and the control of all production. The people were conscripted, assigned to their places of labor, and were given cards which it was represented would provide them the necessities of life. But such a condition was impossible, and the Bolshevik leaders were compelled to modify their program.

The change that followed inspired hope in the people and they began to work and to produce. In the cities and towns stores and business buildings which had long been closed were opened and shops appeared in which a limited number of commodities were offered for sale. Peasants brought their wares into the cities and freely exposed them for sale. Markets were provided where commodities of all sorts were bought and sold. This freedom of trade among the people soon wrought important changes, socially and industrially. Goods and commodities which had been secreted were brought from their hiding places and exchanged or sold. Thousands of individuals with

but little, if any, capital traversed the country buying and selling and bartering and trading.

These conditions called for banks and for credit and for the things found in so-called capitalistic countries. With the increase in trade more stores and buildings were required, and to make them available for use improvements and repairs were necessary. In the cities and towns not only private residences and apartment houses but the buildings which had been used for stores and banks and business generally had deteriorated and in many instances, without large expenditures, could not be occupied.

Following the decree of confiscation under which all property was taken over by the Government, the buildings within the cities and towns were given over to the control of the local soviets. The Soviet of Moscow under this policy found itself in possession of all real property within the city, including all buildings, public and private, numbering many thousands, and of enormous value. Scores of the most costly and beautiful buildings were used by the officials of the central government and by the various organizations of the Moscow Soviet. Many commodious and beautiful buildings were turned over to communists' organizations, to the Third Internationale, and to the Soviet Government for use in its business enterprises.

Thousands of persons from other parts of Russia crowded into Moscow, so that the population became and is now greatly congested. The owners of all buildings, as has been stated, were deprived of their property. Many of them were driven from Russia. Many were lost during the revolutionary period. Persons who owned apartment houses or other fine structures often found themselves with no home in which to live, or at most with one or two rooms, depending upon the size of their families, in some poorly constructed and practically valueless building. Many tragic cases came to my attention where persons who had erected beautiful homes or valuable apartment houses were turned into the streets and the buildings filled with the lowest types of society.

Visits to a number of residences and apartment houses which when in repair would be a credit to the finest cities in America found them occupied by workmen from the streets and factories or persons who never owned property and whose habits under any industrial or political system would have prevented them from acquiring the same. The owners and former tenants had been expelled and the rooms had been allotted in many cases to persons who would not make repairs, and the Soviet Government had no funds with which to make needed repairs or keep the buildings in habitable condition. As a result many fine structures were practically wrecked or were so deteriorated as to require large expenditures in order to make them suitable for further occupancy. The occupants not owning the property were indifferent to its protection or preservation. As a result the injury to and indeed the destruction of buildings confiscated by the Bolsheviks was enormous.

Evidence was brought to my attention that in allotting rooms to the people the soviet officials discriminated against the owners, the intellectuals, and the bourgeoisie, and these classes have been the greatest sufferers under the Bolshevik régime.

The soviet leaders finally awakened to the fact that property worth hundreds of millions of rubles (gold) had lost much of its value, and that it would soon be destroyed unless extensive improvements were made.

I was told by communists that a proper use of the buildings in possession of the Moscow soviet would make the municipal government of that city the richest in the world if there were an industrial revival in Russia. When it is remembered that Moscow had a population exceeding 2,000,000 and business structures, private residences, and apartment houses that compared favorably with those found in most cities in the world, one can easily understand something of the wealth which was confiscated and which is now controlled by the Bolsheviks of Moscow.

As stated, a change in policy was necessary to save the buildings. Accordingly, many of them are now being leased for periods varying from 1 to 49 years. But no modification of the principle that the Government owns the land has been made. It was perceived that some plan must be adopted to give value to the land and to bring the appurtenances thereof into use. Under the new policy important repairs are being made and dilapidated and useless buildings put into shape for occupancy. No new buildings, however, are being erected and practically none has been constructed since the Bolsheviks came into power. Only at Baku and at the fairgrounds in Moscow did I observe any new buildings being erected.

Where important improvements are required of lessees the rents demanded are unimportant, and in some cases, because of the magnitude of the improvements contracted for, no rent is required, the theory being that the costs incurred by the tenant are equivalent to a reasonable rental during the demised period. Under this policy Moscow and other cities which but a few months ago were dilapidated, and in part almost in ruins, have taken on new life. The repairs call for labor and materials, and this has given employment to thousands and called for the reopening of plants and factories which had been closed, in order to meet the growing demands for materials and other supplies and commodities.

There were more than 20,000 stores and shops in Moscow in August last, most of which had sprung into existence within the six or eight months preceding. It is true the stocks of merchandise in most of them were limited, but great artistic skill had been exercised in exhibiting the wares to the best possible advantage, so that, to the superficial observer, the shops had the appearance of abundant supplies.

An absence of six weeks by our party from Moscow showed remarkable improvement within that period. More buildings had been opened, streets had been repaired, houses had been painted and renovated, and a general air of business activity prevailed throughout the city.

Petrograd, which before the war was one of the most beautiful cities in the world, presents a melancholy appearance. Its glory has departed and ruin and desolation abound. Indeed, there was much unemployment and considerable discontent; many buildings were unoccupied, and in many parts of the city there was evidence of neglect, deterioration, and decay. However, business houses were being opened and considerable trade and commerce was being carried on. The population of Petrograd has been increased from the low level of six or seven hundred thousand, but its present population is perhaps 1,000,000 less than it was prior to the war. In Kiev, Rostov, Tiflis, Baku, and other cities visited by the party there were marked signs of business improvement. The spirit of depression and despair was giving way to hope and faith. The initiative of the people, which had been submerged—in many instances almost destroyed—was again appearing and new ventures and small

business enterprises were being started. But much of the business was artificial and brought no material gains to the people.

Hundreds of persons were engaged in exchanging articles and commodities or in buying the same for the purpose of moving the products to other parts of Russia for exchange or sale. It was a system of barter, an exchange of articles and commodities, such as old clothes, household utensils, small parcels of leather, hides, cheap jewelry, fragments of cloth (cotton and woolen), food products, ill assortments of an infinite number of small and inconsequential articles, many of which of the pre-war vintage, and the exchange of which did not add to the wealth of the community. In the cities large markets had been opened, and there immense throngs gathered to buy and sell products of farm and factory. During the nights the roads leading from the country to the cities were filled with carts and small vehicles laden with vegetables and fruits and wood, drawn by small oxen or horses lacking strength and size, beside which plodded through the darkness the silent and patient peasants who hoped to be able to buy a little sugar or tea or cotton cloth or, perchance, shoes for the bare feet which would soon be exposed to the snows of winter. There were some shrewd and active traders and merchants who were making large profits, and there was being developed a noveau riche class, called in Russia the "Nepman." As the number of private stores and shops increased the taxes and burdens placed upon the owners increased. These burdens became so oppressive that private trade was menaced. In the month of August 5,000 private shops and stores were closed in Moscow alone, some of the owners stating to me that the taxes and demands of the Government, local and general, were so exorbitant it was impossible to meet them. One individual who was engaged in a small manufacturing undertaking employing 10 men stated that he had been asked to pay the equivalent of 10,000 rubles in gold for a tax or license for six months, and that the entire assets of his business would not pay the tax, and he had, therefore, closed the doors and abandoned the enterprise.

Complaints were frequent by merchants that enforced contributions to various causes, such as the fund for airplanes, the bread loan, and other governmental enterprises, were made by the Bolshevik Government. The Government was attempting to float a domestic loan of approximately $100,000,000, and a very vigorous campaign was being waged to induce, not only employees of the Government but all other persons to subscribe to this loan. The law or decree which related to the loan provided that those who purchased bonds could not dispose of them or use them as collateral.

Private merchants were also subjected to the handicap resulting from the Government being engaged in domestic trade. Government stores and shops and merchandising institutions are numerous throughout Russia. Indeed, before the new economic policy, as stated, the Government controlled all trade and commerce, whether foreign or domestic, and in order to carry out such policy it established warehouses and shops and stores throughout the country. In addition to the Government stores, which are in competition with private stores, there are many cooperative organizations engaged in furnishing commodities to their members as well as to the public.

I was unable to obtain information sufficient to definitely determine whether cooperative stores were successful. The evidence as to the Government stores was that they were not

economically or skillfully managed and sustained great losses. One of the burdens of the Soviet Government arises from the deficits resulting from its operation of various industries, including the stores and trading establishments which it conducts. Complaint was also made that the Government favored its own stores and business enterprises and discriminated in many ways against private concerns. The best buildings were supplied to Government enterprises, and the rents, it was claimed by many persons were relatively less than those charged private institutions. Complaint was also made that the Government furnished banking credits to its business enterprises but denied them to private business; and there was considerable evidence to support the complaint that the taxes collected from private business were much higher than those levied upon similar governmental institutions. This situation has provoked considerable resentment against the Government, and many persons believe that it was the beginning of the end of private business in Russia and that a return to governmental operation of all activities was soon to come. Undoubtedly those who are endeavoring to establish private enterprises and to introduce private trade and to save Russia from economic destruction will encounter fierce opposition from the extreme Bolshevists, and many will be ruthlessly destroyed, but the movement toward private ownership of property and the capitalistic system can not be defeated. It may be checked and halted, but it will in the end triumph. I should add, however, that State capitalism in exaggerated form will persist for an indefinite period in Russia. Even under the Czar the State owned and controlled some enterprises and engaged in some business activities.

A controversy exists among the Bolshevik officials as to the program to be followed respecting internal trade. A number of the leading Bolshevik officials stated to me that they would be glad to see all private trade in the hands of the Government or of cooperative organizations which would function under the direction of the Government and in contact with Government enterprises. They also oppose the policy which permits private stores and shops and banks and other private business organizations. Other Bolshevik officials stated that the new economic policy would not be repealed; and Trotski, in answer to my question, said that this policy was an "imperative necessity for 90,000,000 peasants," and that "if we wanted to smash our heads, we would abandon that policy. The conditions in internal life fully demand its stability."

A soviet official said that one of the important sources of revenue was and would continue to be that derived from the shops and stores and the private enterprises that would be developed, and that to tax them out of existence or to project the Government again into the entire field of private endeavor, and thus destroy what the new economic policy had gained, would be "to kill the goose that lays the golden egg."

However, under this new policy private enterprise has gained but little in the industrial and manufacturing fields. As stated, the peasants are free to buy and to sell, and the shopkeepers have gained a foothold from which they will not be dislodged; but the mines and mills and factories and plants and railroads and all "heavy industries" are owned and operated by the Government. In 1912 there were 1,100 important manufacturing and industrial concerns within Russia, 198 being metallurgical, 146 being denoted as metal industry, 243 textile, and and others relating to the cotton, wood, mineral, chemical industries, and also animal products and foodstuffs. This num-

ber had greatly increased at the time the World War began. Hundreds of millions of rubles were invested in these large enterprises, which were rapidly increasing, and Russia's industrial progress during the 10 years preceding the war was remarkable.

Many of the plants and factories have been closed by the Bolsheviks and others have fallen into decay or have been destroyed and still others are producing but a small per cent of their former output. Before the war there had also been developed a large number of small business enterprises. There were thousands of mills and brick plants and business concerns which employed an aggregate of tens of thousands of persons, and constituted no inconsiderable part of the wealth as well as the business activity of the State. Most of these enterprises and concerns have been blotted out.

Wherever our party went I saw dismantled buildings which had been devoted to industry. Plants and factories were in ruins, and gave melancholy evidences of Russia's industrial degradation. A few of the smaller plants seized by the Government have been leased to private persons, but the soviet officials repeatedly declared that the key industries would remain in the hands of the Government.

But the disappointing results experienced in State ownership and operation may lead to further concessions and greater retreats from communism. This is the belief of well-informed persons in Russia, and is my opinion.

Small residences of but limited value (10,000 rubles or less) are being restored to their former owners. However, the title to the ground remains in the State, and the occupants may not mortgage or sell the same or do anything to injure the land or impair the title. Rents for business properties are very high. Six hundred gold rubles per year are charged for some buildings for each 50 square feet. As much as 3,000 rubles (gold) are being paid in Moscow for the privilege of taking over the lease of an apartment consisting of but a few rooms. Those who have made extensive repairs upon apartment houses or business blocks are renting the same, receiving therefor very large sums. The city soviets controlling houses give preference and advantage, both in choice of buildings and in rents, to communists and members of labor unions. Lessees pay for light, heat, and water, and become responsible for pavement and street charges.

Where houses have been repaired by lessees the Government requires that 10 per cent of the space be furnished free for the use of its officials and employees. Complaints were made that the Government was not scrupulous in keeping its contracts, and one instance was called to the attention of the party where large expenditures were made to convert a dilapidated building into one which was habitable. Under the contract the person making the repairs was entitled to its use for two years, but when the repairs were made he was informed that the occupancy must terminate at the end of one year.

During the Czar's time all corporations organized in Russia were special and had to receive the approval of the Czar. Corporations may now be organized by filing articles with the proper officials of the Government and obtaining certificate of approval. The council of labor and defense has control of corporations. Stock may be issued and private ownership of the stock is recognized. This stock may be sold or mortgaged or disposed of by will. While there are the obstacles and impediments usually encountered in bureaucracies, the obtaining of

certificates of incorporation are not insuperable. Corporations are limited to such activities as are permitted to private individuals and to such business enterprises as are not controlled by the Government. However, corporations may be formed to engage in foreign trade and commerce, but there are very stringent requirements imposed, as conditions precedent, and they are subject to Government regulation and control.

Under the law property exceeding 10,000 rubles (gold) in value upon the death of the owner goes to the State. If a person were the owner of a business which was worth more than 10,000 rubles, upon his death the State would be entitled to all above that amount. Provisions are being made, however, for the continuing of the business, the State being regarded as a partner therein. In the event of concessions or grants by the State, or leases, the heirs of the lessee may succeed to the same, and a more liberal policy is being followed with regard to the disposition of the property of decedents.

As stated, corporations are being formed which hold the title to personal property and the stock is negotiable, and they may sell, transfer, or use it as collateral, substantially as in the United States. A man by will may not dispose of his property beyond the limit of 10,000 rubles (gold), and then only to his wife and children, and in some instances to dependent parents. Irritating and oftentimes insuperable obstacles are interposed by an officious bureaucracy to the control by individuals of their personal property, and complaints occur of the costs and delays and obstacles in effecting the settlement of the estates of decedents and accomplishing a distribution of the same to those entitled by law thereto.

It was evident that more and more the right of private ownership of property is being recognized and the control of such property respected and protected. With the recognition of private ownership of property, progress is inevitable. The initiative of individuals is stimulated, the desire to acquire is developed, and the departure from communism is more rapid. Giolitti, the Italian statesman, remarked that the communists of Russia have "stored their communism in the attic." He refers, of course, to what extreme Marxians contend communism means, not state capitalism.

The courts are resorted to to protect property rights. Actions corresponding to claim and delivery and damages for injuries to and destruction of property are maintained with reasonable assurance that justice will be done in the premises. A statute of limitations bars suits of various kinds, the provisions not being greatly different from the statutes of limitations enacted in other countries.

The three years' statute of limitations has deprived many owners of personal property which was seized by the Government or perhaps by individuals. Accordingly many persons are confirmed in their possession of household effects, books, a great variety of tools and farming utensils, as well as jewelry, pictures, and more or less valuable bric-a-brac, and the plea of the statute is met if the present possessor and claimant may piece together the periods of possession by others, providing the aggregate makes the three years. This effectually prevents recovery by the former owners, because substantially all property involved was seized more than three years ago or has been out of the possession of the owner for three years or more.

PEASANTS AND LAND HOLDINGS.

The condition of the Russian peasant is still pathetic and indeed tragic. His poverty and in many cases his physical

weakness, resulting from a long period of hardships, are obstacles to vigorous and effective toil. The revolution has not wrought the change in his relation to the land that many have thought. The view has been prevalent outside of Russia that prior to the revolution all lands within the Russian State belonged either to the crown or to the State or to a limited number of landowners. Mr. Norman, the British member of Parliament to whom reference has been made, in his book on Russia states that as early as 1892, 50 per cent of the arable lands in European Russia were owned by the peasants, either individually or in community form. Before the war there were millions of acres held by village communities, the title being in the community. In some instances there was tenancy in common, in others a sort of joint tenancy, and in still others the land was regarded as the property of the inhabitants of the village or community and could not be alienated, but title passed to succeeding generations of those who lived in the community.

In 1905 the lands of European Russia were owned and held as follows: Lands belonging to the State, 138,086,168 dessiatines; allotments to peasant communities, 138,767,587 dessiatines; private owners (large landed estates), 101,735,343 dessiatines; Crown and imperial family, 7,843,015 dessiatines; monasteries, 739,777 dessiatines; municipalities and towns, 2,043,570 dessiatines; Kossack troops, 3,459,240 dessiatines; different institutions, 646,885 dessiatines; making a total of 395,192,442 dessiatines. A dessiatine equals 2.67 acres.

Substantially all land within the above category of peasant allotments was inalienable and belonged to the village communities. More than four and one-quarter millions of dessiatines, prior to January 1, 1905, were owned by peasants individually, with the right to sell, mortgage, or make any disposition of the same that the holder of an indefeasible title enjoys. Associations or groups of peasants had purchased prior to January 1, 1905, 7,054,000 dessiatines, and their title to the same was without restriction or limitation. There were also peasant communities who had acquired full title to 3,729,352 dessiatines, which they held in communal private ownership in contradistinction to allotments in communal ownership holdings.

Between the years 1905 and 1915 peasants acquired a fee simple title to 9,851,441 dessiatines of land, substantially all of which was owned by them individually. Of the 138,086,168 dessiatines owned by the State, to which I have referred, 124,000,000 were in the north of European Russia, bordering upon the White Sea and the Arctic Ocean, and to the east of the Volga River. Not more than 5,000,000 dessiatines of this were arable lands.

In 1917 there belonged to the imperial family (Crown domain) only 6,584,928 dessiatines, of which not more than 2,000,000 were arable lands, the remainder being under forests.

Not more than 2,000,000 dessiatines of the land belonging to the churches, ecclesiastical bodies, and monasteries in 1905 were arable. Of the 101,735,343 dessiatines belonging to private owners—landed estates—January, 1905, 27,000,000 were acquired by the peasantry, or the banks and associations controlled by or for the benefit of the peasants prior to January 1, 1916, and on this date 25,000,000 dessiatines were under forests. Not more than twenty to twenty-five million dessiatines of the area of 101,000,000 plus were cultivated by the owners, the remaining arable parts being leased to peasants.

It will thus be seen that the amount of arable land in European Russia available for distribution by the Bolshevik Gov-

ernment to the peasants was not as great as has been supposed. The fact should also be stated that many large landed estates had for many years been mortgaged. Many Russian landowners were profligate and wasted their substance. In 1899 the Agrarian Banks of Russia had advanced more than 1,300,000,000 rubles upon landed estates numbering 89,084, with a total area of over 117,000,000 acres. Most of these estates were lost by their impoverished owners and millions of acres were acquired by peasants and peasant communities. The number of mortgages given by the nobles and landed proprietors constantly increased, so that in 1916 nearly 50,000,000 dessiatines were mortgaged to the banks to cover loans to the owners, amounting to 2,291,000,000 gold rubles. The value of these lands was approximately double the mortgage obligations.

In 1861 there were 54,150,000 peasants; in 1916, 100,000,000. This increase in the population brought the average allotment of land to the peasants from 4.8 dessiatines in 1861 to 2.6 dessiatines per man in 1900.

Land reforms were projected by Stolypin, the great Russian statesman, whose assassination prevented the completion of his plan. It was intended to abolish the communal land ownership and allot the communal lands to individuals, giving each an indefeasible title. The execution of this plan was slow, and in 1916 only two and one-half million peasants who had applied for the fixation of their individual rights to the lands they were cultivating had been allotted their respective parcels of land, the aggregate quantity being approximately 16,000,000 dessiatines. However, many other communities had effected divisions of communal lands aggregating many million dessiatines, and the peasants therein were severally in possession and control of such lands. And early in 1917 four and one-half million peasants had received their allotments in severalty to more than 38,000,000 dessiatines of land.

In 1887 among the rural population the arable lands allotted to them individually, or in communal organizations, the allotments, according to population, were as follows: Forty per cent of the population had allotted and were in possession of 2 to 4 dessiatines per head; 29 per cent, 4 to 6 dessiatines per head; 11 per cent, 6 to 8 dessiatines per head; 5 per cent, 8 to 10 dessiatines per head; 3 per cent, 10 to 15 dessiatines per head; less than 3 per cent, 18 dessiatines per head; 8 per cent, 1 to 25 dessiatines per head; and 1 per cent more than 15 dessiatines per head.

For a number of years before the revolution many of the peasants were demanding more lands. Siberia was an outlet, and the migration from various parts of Russia was annually increasing. The primitive methods employed in agriculture, the lack of necessary farm implements, together with the restricted markets, lack of transportation, and the backward condition of the country, conspired to keep the peasants in a condition of poverty and intellectual torpor.

The lands available for distribution by the Bolshevik Government, even after its confiscatory decrees, did not provide for the peasants the amount which they expected to receive. There were many so-called "rich" peasants, with holdings of from 20 to 50 or 100 dessiatines. The possessory rights now enjoyed by them are no greater than other peasants in the same neighborhood. Considerable dissatisfaction exists among those peasants who prior to the war had bought and paid for their lands, and also among a large number of peasants who occupied communal lands, the title to which was in their community centers or organizations.

Great progress before the war was being made toward peasant private ownership, and community holdings were being divided so that the peasants were becoming individual landowners. This policy encouraged individual effort, developed initiative, and brought about marked progress and improvement among those having such individual ownership. There was developing a sense of personal responsibility, a spirit of pride and independence; improvements became more permanent, better homes were built, and a general strengthening morally, intellectually, and otherwise was evident. The title to all of these lands, by the decree of nationalization, was swept away. Title may not now be obtained by the peasants to any land, not even their own homes. Their tenure is a precarious one, depending, as stated, upon the will of the Government. This fact is an obstacle to lasting and permanent improvements and leaves always in the minds of the peasants the fear that some contingency may arise which may result in an attempted expulsion from the lands which they occupy.

Under the decree of the Government peasants may not occupy land, even though possession may be given them, unless it is cultivated. In some instances it was discovered that this policy of the Government had the opposite psychological effect intended; it did not increase production, and many peasants felt that it was additional evidence of the insecurity of their tenure.

My attention was directed to a few cases that caused considerable criticism of the Government when it had made allotments to individuals of parcels of land which had formerly been owned or occupied by other peasants, communally or individually. The unsettled condition of the country or their service in the army, which when terminated did not promptly restore them to their former homes, led the allotting commissions to treat the land as vacant or abandoned, and it was therefore assigned to others. Perhaps such lands had been in the family for many years; and, as stated, in some instances the land was actually owned by the person who was now deprived of the same.

The quantity of land allotted by the Bolshevik Government to the peasants is surprisingly small. It was rare to find an allotment exceeding 3 to 5 dessiatines, no matter how large the family. In some instances the amount of land assigned was from half a dessiatine to 1 dessiatine per family. Perhaps the average throughout European Russia is between 2 and 3 dessiatines per family. But small though the area is, contact with the peasants showed that in many instances the entire amount was not cultivated.

The condition of the peasants is such that, even if they had the will, it would be almost impossible for them to cultivate more. Reference has been made to their physical exhaustion resulting from the years of undernourishment and hardships. And in addition they have been stripped of substantially all of their farming implements and in many instances are without animals. There are thousands of peasants who are without a single horse or cow, and peasants are regarded with envy who are fortunate enough to have two horses. Nearly all horses are small and not sufficiently strong to draw suitable plows or heavy loads. The poverty of the peasants and the primitive implements which they have result in indifferent cultivation and limited harvests.

Investigations show that in productive parts of Russia the pre-war condition of many peasants was much superior. Many would cultivate 5 dessiatines and collect a harvest of approxi-

mately 285 poods. In the same sections, for 1922 and 1923, the average land farmed was 1.8 dessiatines, with a total yield of 68 poods.

There is but little artificial fertilization of the soil, and the importance of fertilizers of any character has not been sufficiently understood by the peasants. There is no irrigation, and the limited amount of precipitation in many parts of Russia contributes to the uncertainty of the harvests, as well as the small yield so often noted.

There were some complaints because the peasants were deprived of the use of the forests, which for generations had been the source of their fuel supply. A few sections of Russia are supplied with coal for domestic purposes, but the forests have been the principal sources to which the people have resorted for timber for building and farm uses, as well as for fuel. But in very large districts of the agricultural sections of Russia there is but little timber and in extensive areas none is available. All forest lands are controlled by the State, even those which were owned by the peasants prior to Bolshevist nationalization, and from which they obtained their supply of fuel. With the mounting prices of fuel and the falling prices of farm products, the peasants are unable to make needed improvements in their homes and upon their farms or to obtain fuel to meet the rigors of the present winter.

The catastrophic decline in production in all lines of industry and the importance of furnishing credits, or of providing exports to meet imports, have reduced the people of Russia to a most deplorable situation. In the villages and all agricultural sections visited the lack of clothing was specially noticeable. Practically all children were without shoes; many were in rags which did not conceal their nakedness, and few had sufficient clothes to protect their bodies. Peasants often alluded to the approaching winter and to the fact that they were without shoes and clothing for themselves and their families and without means with which to procure them. They viewed the approaching winter with dismay and fear. Many peasants provided a rude covering for their feet out of vegetable or wood fiber woven into a moccasinlike form. The peasants appeared to be industrious, although there was a lack of system, and, with their limited implements, their accomplishments were not great. They possess considerable ingenuity, and with an ax build structures which in America would call for various kinds of machinery.

Men and women work together in the fields and one or both often are seen taking their limited products to the cities. Seldom did I see men working upon the railroad tracks. The work performed by what are known as "section men" in the United States is usually performed by women. They are often seen in the cities and towns working upon streets, repairing buildings, and carrying heavy burdens. In the midst of their sorrows and hardships they seem patient and, indeed, cheerful. They manifest devotion to their children and are faithful to their marital obligations.

In calling attention to the poverty of the peasants, and their lack of clothing, it is not intended to infer that the urban population is much better situated. The fact is that in the cities there is great distress. Hundreds of thousands are denied proper food, and orphan children, undernourished and without protection, are to be seen in large numbers, and lack of food and clothing can be found in all parts and among all classes.

As I have hereinbefore indicated, the present winter, owing to the shortage of fuel, food, and clothing, will bring incredible hardships, intense suffering, and great mortality, not only to millions of peasants but also to great numbers within the cities and towns. Even among the peasants milk and butter are almost unknown, and the food provided consists almost entirely of black bread, sunflower seeds, sunflower oil, and vegetables. There is an entire lack of sanitation in the rural sections, and in most of the cities the sewage system is inadequate or imperfect, or so out of repair as to fail to serve its purpose.

I noted with surprise the lack of sheep, hogs, and chickens, as well as other domestic animals. In some parts of Russia the fields showed intelligent care and the application of more improved methods of tillage, but, generally speaking, the reverse was true, and more of the peasants' homes were cheaply constructed and the surroundings drab and squalid.

The area planted to crops during 1923 did not reach the expectations of the soviet authorities. In 1922, 41,000,000 dessiatines were planted to crops in European Russia; in 1913 the acreage was 79,000,000 dessiatines; in 1920 it was less than 56,000,000 dessiatines; in 1921, 49,000,000 dessiatines. It was stated in Economic Life, one of the leading Bolshevik papers, that the planted area for 1923 was approximately 42,000,000 dessiatines.

Contrary to the general belief, the crop production for 1923 is not as favorable as that of 1922. Russia is exporting some grain, but many facts were brought to my attention which led to the belief that the domestic needs of the people were such as to require the entire crop.

The Commissar of Agriculture stated to members of our party that the 1923 grain exports would be 220,000,000 poods (132,000,000 bushels); but that to export that quantity would be "imprudent," and only the "necessities of the people compelled such action." An interesting statement by the same official was that the Russian peasants received but 50 to 60 per cent of these products, the remainder, either in kind or in proceeds, being absorbed in transportation, taxes, and so forth. Up to October 1 of this year there had been sold of Russian agricultural products, to wit: Rye, wheat, barley, corn, oil cake, and other crops, a total of 19,500,000 poods. Kalinin, President of the Soviet Government, stated to our party that he thought there would be 300,000,000 poods for export. In my opinion, based upon observations and reports of crop conditions, any export of grain from Russia of the 1923 crop will take from the people what is needed for their sustenance and to provide sufficient seed for the coming year.

The Soviet authorities affected to believe that Russia's economic redemption would be speedy as a result of increased agricultural production. What I have stated does not support the optimistic statements so often repeated by Bolsheviks and their friends outside of Russia. The fact is that the peasants are in a most critical condition, and their sufferings for lack of necessities of life are very great.

The Pravda, under date of September 14, 1923, states that cereal production for 1923 will be but 2,153,000 poods—a pood is 36 pounds—a decrease of 90,000,000 poods, or 4 per cent, over the production of 1922. The cereal production between the years of 1910 and 1914 in the same area of Russia was more than 4,000,000,000 poods. In the Economic Life for January 6, 1923, Professor Ognovsky states that the grains and agri-

cultural products from which the greatest exports were derived prior to the war continued to decrease in area.

The area devoted to the production of grains for local consumption has not shown so great a decrease. In 1913 nearly 21,000,000 dessiatines were devoted to the growing of summer wheat, but in 1922 only 5,500,000 dessiatines produced the same crop. In 1913 more than 9,500,000 dessiatines produced barley, while in 1922 less than 3,000,000 dessiatines were devoted to the production of barley.

I discovered that the yield of agricultural crops was less per dessiatine than prior to the war; and there has been an unsatisfactory yield, per dessiatine, during the past few years. In 1922 the average yield of grain per dessiatine was nearly 50 poods; while in 1923 it was estimated at less than 43 poods per dessiatine. The decline in the acreage as well as in yield is largely attributable to the weakened physical condition of the peasants and to their lack of agricultural implements; and as I have indicated, there was in many parts of Russia a feeling of uncertainty among the peasants as to the security of their land titles. Indeed, they know they have no title and many labor under the apprehension that they may be despoiled of their posessory rights. This feeling of insecurity is reflected in diminished production and in a lack of energy, as well as in a disinclination to make permanent improvements upon the land. From all that I could learn in my interviews with representatives of the Government, and from translations of Russian newspapers, such as the Izvesti, The Economic Life, the Pravda, Trud, and others, I feel confident that Russia's agricultural exports for 1923 will be very much less than predicted by the Soviet authorities.

The average annual exportations of cereals alone, between 1909 and 1913, were approximately 800,000,000 poods. In 1922 Russia's exports of the same crops were about 25,000,000 poods. In my opinion the agricultural exports for 1923 will not exceed 100,000,0000 poods, and, as I have indicated, to accomplish this result many of the people of Russia have been and will be deprived of bread. Notwithstanding the limited agricultural production of the Russian peasant, he has been compelled to witness an increasing disparity between the prices received for his products and the manufactured commodities which he has been compelled to purchase.

For instance, as stated by the Economic Life in its issue of February 9, 1923, a yard of calico, prior to the war, was worth 5½ poods of rye flour. In January, 1923, it required 18 pounds to purchase one yard, and when I left Russia in October, the prices of all manufactured articles had advanced to a much higher level, measured by the value of agricultural products. This catastrophic decline in the value of agricultural products, measured by industrial commodities, has a most dispiriting effect upon the peasants and if continued will result in reduced production. The peasants will content themselves with producing only sufficient to satisfy their own needs.

Reference has been made to the helpless condition of many of the peasants because of the calamitous loss in domestic animals. Figures brought to my attention show that in many of the most important agricultural sections of Russia the number of animals found upon the farms in 1923 was less than 20 per cent of the pre-war period.

The soviet officials admitted that the taxes imposed upon the peasants had been excessive, considering their desperate plight. Reference has been made to the multiplicity of taxes imposed

upon them and the growing discontent which had arisen as a result of their collection. To meet this situation for the present year the single rural tax system was devised. Under this system the tax imposed upon the peasants is to be paid in money, except in certain remote districts where it may be paid in grain. In determining the tax to be paid the peasants are divided into nine groups, based upon the number of persons having arable land and the number of animals which they possess. It is stated that the tax will produce 670,000,000 poods, the highest tax for any peasant under this system being 25 poods of grain.

Mr. Popov, member of the Soviet Central Statistic Department, has stated in the Economic Life that "under the applied plan of taxation, and pursuant to the budget for the fiscal year of 1922 and 1923, the peasants will be required to pay more than 400,000,000 gold rubles, and for the following fiscal year this will be increased to 600,000,000 gold rubles. If this be true, then the taxes imposed upon the peasants will be greatly in excess of the levies made upon them before the war."

However, in many of the districts visited peasants stated that the taxes paid by them were less than those collected under the Czar's régime. One need not be surprised at complaints by the peasants of the burdens of taxation when it is recalled that, until recently and since new economic policy has been in force, the Bolshevik Government had no source whatever from which to obtain revenue except from the crops of the stricken and starving peasants.

Prices of all commodities increased materially during the time our party was in Russia. Both the commodity ruble and the Government ruble constantly declined, measured by the gold ruble. Early in August the dollar would purchase 247,000,000 rubles. Prices of many commodities more than doubled in that period. A pair of ordinary shoes in Moscow brought from $15 to $25. Prices in the restaurants and in the few Government hotels were based upon the gold ruble or chervonetz, and the value of all commodities reached such enormous heights that the people were plunged into despair. With the increasing disparity between the selling price of his products and the selling price of all other commodities the peasant's situation becomes intolerable. This will result in serious discontent among the peasants as well as among the people, which will be reflected in sullen hostility toward the Government.

I was unable to discover any feeling favorable to the return of the monarchy. Seldom was any reference made to the fate of the Czar or the whereabouts of any of the royal family. The chapter seemed to be closed.

When asked whether they were satisfied with the Bolshevik Government, many peasants did not reply. Others stated that they did not care what kind of a government prevailed if they could have peace and reasonable prosperity. President Kalinin, in replying to the same question, stated that he would not say that the peasants were "satisfied" with conditions, and he added, nor will they be, because of the very high cost of manufactured articles.

In the Cossack districts there was marked dissatisfaction with the Government. This grew out of the heavy taxes imposed and the limitation in acreage allotted to the peasants. Under the Czar the Cossacks had been favored and were regarded as somewhat of a privileged class. Many of them owned the lands which they farmed, and it was not uncommon for a Cossack to have title to from 8 to 15 dessiatines of land.

Much has been said about the Russian peasant, his melancholy nature, and his fatalistic attitude toward life. There are some who affirm that the peasants are simple-minded and childlike, free from passion or cruelty, easily led, and dominated absolutely by the priests. Others say that they are sullen, rather stupid, but cunning and revengeful, and without capacity for intellectual advancement.

Speaking of the peasants, Mr. Norman, the English writer to whom I have referred, says:

> Their poverty does not prevent them from being happy in their melancholy Slav fashion. They live in dirt and are verminous, yet they luxuriate regally in the village vapor baths. Black rye bread, cabbage, buckwheat, mushrooms, and eggs are the chief items of the mushik's fare. He is a fluent liar, generally from amiable motives. He is religious in every fiber of his being, but his religion is wholly of the letter. He is convinced that the priest has the evil eye. He gets wildly drunk at Easter from joy to think that Christ is risen, and at other times for no reason at all. The soldier, typical of his class, is a great child and is treated as such.

This rather unfriendly view of the peasant fails to credit him with many virtues which he possesses. Some homes which I entered were found scrupulously clean, though the furnishings were simple, and of the most primitive character. In every home visited one or more ikons occupied honored places in the most imposing room.

The Russian peasants are a bundle of paradoxes and incongruities. They are amiable and gentle, and yet many of them are cruel and insensible to pain, either when subjected to it themselves or when they inflict it upon others. Suffering does not affect them as it does some races, nor do cruel punishments by the Government or brutal crimes resulting in death stir them. They regard with a stolidity that is remarkable good fortune or the most awful catastrophes and woes. It is "nitcheva"—"it is nothing," whether it be life or death, sunlight or darkness. They are emotional, and at times deeply moved by stirring appeals or religious exhortation, and yet they are stolid and apparently indifferent to the most violent changes and overwhelming disasters. While most of them are illiterate, they possess great mental strength. The texture of their brain is sound and their capacity for intellectual growth and development is extraordinary. Their children who have enjoyed opportunities for study have readily absorbed knowledge and demonstrated fine moral and mental qualities. They exhibit a childlike disposition, inconsistent in the view of many, with the strong and primitive passions which they often display. To them God is an ever-present Being, whose all-seeing eye they can not hide from. He is a God of power, rather than of mercy—a Being to be propitiated by devotion and sacrifice.

These peasants and their descendants hold the destiny of Russia in their hands, and will determine, if they do not control, the future of the nations of two continents.

While there is a strong national feeling and an ineradicable love of Russia, there is with many of the peasants not that deep-rooted affection for home which might be expected. Doubtless the communal life, the frequent changes in the spot of ground which they till, in part account for this trait. Moreover, the squalid surroundings and the temporary character of so many of their homes conspire to develop a roving or migratory spirit. Conflagrations are frequent in the villages, and it has been stated that more than 75 per cent of the homes of

the peasants are destroyed by fire every seven years. Recurring famines not infrequently produce extensive migratory movements. The few household possessions and farm utensils can quickly be placed upon small vehicles which the peasants own, and within a few hours they start upon long treks without certainty or information as to the road to be traveled or the destination to be reached.

Many caravans of peasants in their battered and rickety wagons were encountered in the extensive travels of our party. Men, women, and children would painfully but patiently and uncomplainingly follow lumbering carts or fragile vehicles drawn by small and undernourished horses or poor and undersized oxen.

SELSKOSOYUS (ALL-RUSSIAN UNION OF AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES) AND CENTROSOYUS (ALL-RUSSIAN CENTRAL UNION OF CONSUMERS)

COOPERATIVE SOCIETIES

Prior to the war the Centrosoyus was a powerful cooperative society, the membership of which was reported to have been between 10,000,000 and 20,000,000 persons. This organization combined hundreds of cooperative societies existing throughout Russia and carried on an extensive business in buying and distributing agricultural products and various commodities. It owned warehouses, large supply stations and depots, grain elevators, stores, and merchandise establishments. It also had banks and credit associations for the financing of its members. Its resources went into the hundreds of millions of rubles, and its annual business constituted a very important part of the entire trade and commerce of Europe. Its contacts with the peasants and the inhabitants of the rural parts of Europe, who constituted an important part of its membership, were exceedingly helpful and educative to the people and enabled them to more readily and at better prices dispose of their products and to obtain, under conditions more favorable than otherwise would be obtained, supplies and commodities which were imperatively needed by them.

The value of this great organization to the economic and social life of Russia can not be overestimated. Unfortunately, when the Bolsheviks came into power, the heavy hand of the Government was laid upon this agency, with all its subsidiary branches and cooperative societies, and they were absorbed into the Bolshevik organization and all assets confiscated. It possessed real estate, banks, credit organizations, with valuable assets, warehouses, transportation facilities and instrumentalities, large and small, mercantile assets; but all were appropriated by the Government.

The association was preserved in form, but it became a part of the Government, and decrees were issued which attempted to bring all the consumers in Russia into membership in the association. Undoubtedly, the Government perceived that this organization was the antithesis of communism, and that to permit it to function and to preserve intact its resources would interfere with the enforcement of communistic policies. Accordingly, the organization was destroyed and its assets dissipated.

Under the more enlightened policy now prevailing, it is perceived that an organization of this character will contribute to the economic regeneration of Russia. Accordingly, it is being revived and is now functioning somewhat along the lines of its former activity, but greatly restricted and still closely watched, and indeed controlled by the Soviet Government. A

member of the Communist Party heads the organization, and its operations are limited so as to not conflict with the monopolies and trusts of the Government. It may engage in foreign trade, but only under license and permission of the foreign trade department of the Soviet Government. It may not export or import without such license, and its transactions relating to foreign trade and commerce, whether initiated or consummated in Russia or in foreign countries, must meet with the approval of the Moscow Government.

The Selskosoyus is another organization which is of growing importance. It was organized in 1918 as a purchasing agency of agricultural cooperatives. It is claimed by some of its representatives that it was the direct successor of the goods section of the Moscow National Bank, which was brought into being in 1912. This cooperative society, and such the Selskosoyus is, contains share capital, consisting of the contributions of member unions, and of the members of special centers of agricultural cooperators. It unites or coordinates societies organized in districts and in gubernias in order to combine the purchasing functions of various agricultural cooperations and associations, and to organize for the sale of agricultural products and procure funds to supply credit to the entire cooperative agricultural system. In its earlier days, it exported agricultural products and imported agricultural implements and other commodities required by the business of Russia. During the war it was practically in suspension.

The Bolshevik Government, in 1920, transferred its moribund form to the agricultural section of the Centrosoyuz, but in 1921, following the promulgation of the new economic policy, the work of regenerating this organization began. In January of this year it had a membership of more than 2,000,000, and combined hundreds of local agricultural cooperative societies. Up to October 1 of this year its foreign trade amounted to 5,800,000 gold rubles, and it is expected that for 1924 its foreign trade will approximate 25,000,000 gold rubles. These cooperative organizations I regard as of great importance in the restoration of Russia; and if they are emancipated from the domination of the Government they will be a potential force for the economic rehabilitation of Russia and for the development of a spirit of freer trade and unrestricted intercourse among the people of Russia and with other nations. There are unmistakable evidences that their vigor and vitality and influence are increasing. They constitute one of the most hopeful signs which I encountered for Russia's expansion and industrial and political freedom.

RELIGIOUS SITUATION AND THE GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH

The religious and church question in Russia is a living and vital one, and no study of Russia is complete without an intensive investigation of the Greek Orthodox Church and its relation, or perhaps it should be said the relation of the Bolshevik Government to it. To understand the Russian people one must know something of the Greek Orthodox Church and its influence upon the history of Russia as well as upon the lives of the Russian people.

Long before the Roman Empire was divided into the East and the West, religious differences arose between members of the Christian Church who lived under the civilization of Greece, and those who looked to Rome for political as well as intellectual and religious guidance. The church at Rome had a legalistic viewpoint and emphasized the question of authority.

The East regarded Christianity as a philosophy to be comprehended. The contemplative and devotional side of religion was emphasized by the East. These differences became so acute and were regarded as so irreconcilable that the church divided into the Roman Catholic Church and the Greek Catholic Church, one with its seat at Rome, the other at Constantinople.

About the year A. D. 868 Christian missionaries, Cyril and Methodius, entered Russia, which at that time was pagan. Later Vladimir struck down the image of the powerful god Peroun at Kiev, and warriors and people went down into the waters of baptism, forsaking idolatry and entering into the Orthodox Church. From Kiev the faith and creed of the church was carried by priests and monks to all parts of Russia, and constituted a gravitational force which drew and held together remote peoples and nationalities and constituted the most potent power in creating and developing a Russian national spirit.

Tartars and Mongols came out of Asia and overwhelmed the Slavs and remained in power for two centuries. Under the Christian banner Russia between the days of Vladimir and the Tartar conquest had made industrial and intellectual progress and had advanced in culture until it was the peer of most countries of Europe. But with Asiatic control Russia was cut off from the west and from the civilizing forces there so rapidly developed and applied. The fiery zeal of the priests and prelates of the church armed the Russian people, who drove out foreign invaders and repelled their succeeding assaults. The priests became pathfinders and pioneers. They penetrated steppes and deserts and forests, founding monasteries and building churches and gathering around them small bands of people, whose numbers continually increased. Thus villages and communities and cities and Provinces were founded. But also there was the religious impulse and the thought that they were one people with a common destiny, bound together by the same spiritual ties and entitled to the same communions.

When enemies were met and battles fought, priests carried the cross and inspired warriors to heroic and valorous deeds. As the power of Russia grew, the influence of the church increased. A patriarch of the church was more powerful than his son, who was a Russian Czar. With the death of Patriarch Adrian, Peter the Great refused the selection of a successor and provided for the administration of the affairs of the church by a council called the Holy Synod. This great ruler sought to curb the power of the church, and required the bishops to recognize the difference between the autocratic power of the Czar and the ecclesiastical authority of the church. The eastern patriarchates finally recognized the governing synod which had been established by Peter the Great. The Ober-prokuror appointed by the Czar in effect became the head of the church. Shielded by the head of the State, he exercised supreme authority in the church. He named the members of the Holy Synod and bishops and other ecclesiasts. So powerful did he become that he often influenced the affairs of state, and constituted a danger to the peace and welfare of the people. Nevertheless, the church, as indicated, had developed a national spirit and had welded the heterogeneous and discordant elements, tribes, and people together, as a result of which the foundations of the State were strengthened.

And the church was an important factor in developing architecture, music, painting, and other progressive and educational forces which slowly but effectively advanced Russian civiliza-

tion. The church established schools in villages, cities, and towns, and maintained theological universities and schools in which Greek, Latin, and Hebrew were taught, as well as law and history and science and all branches of knowledge that were taught in the leading universities of Europe.

Many of the priests going from these universities were men of great learning, but the procedure of the church and its devotion to the creed and liturgy and ceremonials handed down from past centuries arrested their intellectual development and pressed them into an unresponsive existence. The ecclesiasts were scrupulously observant of the forms of the church and attended with meticulous care to the services—beautiful and inspiring as they were—but which changed not with the passing years and centuries.

The intellectual needs of the people were not provided for by the church. It is true the village priests, most of whom were married, entered more or less into the lives of the peasants, but their poverty and their limited education and their narrow outlook upon life inadequately prepared them for social service or educational activity.

The church encouraged the worship of relics, and in many of the churches the remains of eminent saints and pious priests were preserved, and peasants from far and near visited them to pay homage to these unburied figures. It was claimed that deception was practiced and that many of the shrines and caskets alleged to be the receptacles of sacred relics or the bodies of holy men contained nothing but stones or shapes of wood. A caste system grew up in the church which was encouraged by the Czar; and under the direction of the Ober-prokuror, who was the creature of the monarch, the church became a powerful prop of the Czar and a defender of his policies.

However, as stated, many schools were established and conducted by the priests and their services reduced the illiteracy throughout the empire. The State made provision in its annual budget for support of the church. This close union, of necessity, brought the church to the support of the political policies of the Government. Political reforms sought by the people and opposed by the Government likewise met the opposition of the church. The church became, therefore, the defender of repressive and reactionary policies of the Czars, and it was allied to the nationalistic spirit and zealously supported all imperialistic policies of the government.

When the Czar was overthrown the church was bewildered and seemed incapable of adjusting itself to new conditions. The Kerensky government abolished the office of Ober-prokuror but created a "Minister of Confessions," who was to protect the interests of all religious faiths, with no preference to the Orthodox Church. A decree was issued closing all parochial schools and placing all educational institutions under the government. In January, 1918, after the Bolsheviks seized the government, a decree declared the church and State separate and forbade further aid in support of the church. The annual contributions given for support of the church in the latter years of the Czar's reign approximated 100,000,000 rubles. Under the Kerensky reign a General Council of the church was called, the first in 200 years. To this council came bishops and clergy and also laymen, the latter exceeding in number the former.

This conference was what might be called the constituent assembly of the church. It was provided that the supreme power of the church should be vested in a Sobor or General Council, which should meet at fixed intervals and which should be composed of laymen and ecclesiasts of the church.

The patriarchate, which had been abolished, was restored, and the holder of the title of the office was constituted primus inter pares of the church leaders. The patriarch of Moscow was named as the executive head of the church and intrusted with the authority to represent it. Two elective bodies were provided, known as the Holy Synod and the Supreme Church Council, the former consisting of the patriarch and 12 bishops, 6 chosen by the Sobor and 5 others, 1 from each of the 5 districts into which Russia is divided, for the purpose of church government. The synod's work relates rather to the discipline of the church; and the supreme council, consisting of 3 bishops chosen from its members, 5 members of the lower clergy and 6 laymen and a monk elected by the Sobor, controls the business and legal affairs of the church.

At this conference some noblemen and bourgeoise attended, having been selected under the canons of the church. The conference was composed of many able men, who appreciated that reforms must be made in the church, and that it must accommodate itself to new conditions and be flexible enough to meet the political and social revolution which had occurred. A liberal program was projected, but before its execution Kerensky was overthrown and the Bolsheviks came into power.

During the conference the liberal and reactionary tendencies in the church were manifest, but the large number of laymen, together with the enlightened views of a majority of the clergy, resulted in the adoption of a program for the church calculated to affect reforms. There were those who contended for the old administrative and procedural system with the power in the ruling hierarchy. The majority of the conference "demanded greater democracy in the management of the church and an expanding policy which would emphasize the spirit of service as the vital force in the community and social life of the people."

The compromise agreed upon protects the clergy and all legitimate and proper rights, but democratizes the church and places in the hands of laymen the control of the general council—the governing and controlling body of the church. The system of local self-government was provided for each diocese, and these local organizations are likewise democratic in formation, the laymen of the diocese being in the majority.

"An important change was also made in the method of selecting archbishops. There had long been a controversy between the monastics and the married clergy, because the higher members of the clergy were exclusively taken from the monastic branch of the clergy. Under the new rule they may be selected also from the unmarried clergy or laymen. Undoubtedly, the admission to the archbishopical offices of members of the white clergy was an important step in the direction of liberalism in the church."

The manifest purpose of the communists to destroy the church and extirpate religion created a reaction within the church. Many of the communists, heated and made more fanatical by their victory, assailed with great bitterness the church and its leaders, and avowed their purpose to take over the churches and convert them into communist and working men's clubs, into school houses, and, in some instances, into places of amusement. These assaults, together with the atheism of the communists, drew the clergy and the laity together in a defensive attitude.

Undoubtedly, Tichon, the head patriarch of the church, as well as many bishops and priests, believed that Bolshevism was an ephemeral thing and would soon pass away. Some of the priests, when civil war came, took sides with the forces

arrayed against the Bolsheviks. Some of them went with the armies of Kolchak and Denikin and Wrangel, as did large numbers of the Russian people themselves. Thousands of priests were arrested by the Bolsheviks, many were executed, great numbers imprisoned, and very many driven into exile. Some fled from Russia and still remain in foreign lands. There are now in Turkestan, Archangel, and other parts of Russia many priests ordered to these various places by the Bolshevik Government. Some are in prisons, others have some liberty, but are under restraint and forbidden to return to their respective homes. Accurate information as to the number of priests executed was not obtained. Some who were hostile to the communists stated that many thousands were executed. A number of priests, some of whom were in a position to have a fairly accurate knowledge, reported that the number exceeded 3,000. The Soviet Government admits the execution of more than 1,200.

At this point it may not be inappropriate to report that priests of the Roman Catholic Church were also executed, some exiled, and others imprisoned. Archbishop Zepilack, one of the most distinguished Roman Catholic prelates in Russia was arrested, as was also Archbishop Butkiewicz, who was sentenced to death. The sentence was carried into effect. Archbishop Zepilack's sentence was commuted to 10 years' solitary confinement.

The Bolshevik persecutions of the church continued with unabated vigor until at last the peasants became exasperated and assumed an attitude which caused the Bolsheviks to fear a revolt which might topple over their Government. Thereupon a change in policy was adopted. Churches which had been seized were restored and some which had been closed were reopened.

But this situation in the church became more confused, threatening its unity and its strength. In the meantime Tichon had been arrested and this act had been provocative of an outburst of religious fervor in all parts of the land. The reactionary forces within the church clung tenaciously to old formula and seemed unwilling to respond to what obviously the changing conditions demanded for the people's welfare and for their spiritual development.

Many priests and ecclesiastical leaders, having suffered from arrest and fearing further arrests and punishment, dared not, or, at least, did not, take steps to meet the active propaganda of the Bolsheviks against religion and in behalf of atheism. For a period it looked as though the church was paralyzed and could not meet its powerful and vigorous enemy. Many of the priests were dissatisfied with the static and reactionary attitude of the church hierarchy and agitated for reforms in church procedure, if not in doctrine. This liberal movement gained considerable force and added to the confusion in the church and to the perplexity of the people. The antireligious activities of the Bolshevists, together with the poverty of the people, led in a number of places, particularly where the people were workers in factories and large manufacturing plants, to the closing of churches. Many priests, having no means of support, were compelled to seek land in the country from which they might obtain bread for themselves and starving families. There is still great poverty and destitution among the priests.

The Bolshevik Government has forbidden any religious instruction whatever to persons under the age of 18 years, and priests, both of the Roman Catholic Church and of the Greek

Orthodox Church, stated to me that they dared not visit their parishioners, particularly where there were children, for fear that their conversation, no matter how guarded, might be construed as having a religious tinge.

Much has been said, and much might be said, about the great number of churches—perhaps too many for the present needs of the people—their architectural beauty and the richness of their interior decorations, and the fine paintings found therein. Many of the churches, particularly the smaller ones, were erected by individuals. Rich landowners and noblemen would often build churches for their own families or for village communities, and it was stated to me repeatedly that much of the so-called "church treasures" the ikons, the gold and silver vessels and the altars, were the gifts of the people and not the result of appropriations from the Russian treasury.

During the famine, the Communist Government ordered that certain treasures of the church should be delivered over to the Government to be sold to purchase food for the people in the famine-stricken areas. This order was opposed by the church. The value of the ornaments and other church property which the Bolshevik Government ordered seized was greatly exaggerated. Reports were common that priceless jewels and vessels of gold and silver and other personal property were in the church, and that their sale would bring millions of rubles. Information was lacking as to the value of such church property, and also what was actually seized and the value of the same. A number of persons stated that it did not exceed twenty-five millions of dollars; some placed the value as high as two hundred millions; others reported that the property seized was more than that sold, and that no accounting had ever been made by the Bolshevik Government. I was informed that the Roman pontiff advised the Bolshevik authorities that the Roman Catholic Church would promptly pay in gold to the Soviet Government, to be used to purchase food for the Russian people whatever amount a Bolshevist commission should determine was the value of the jewels and other property subject to seizure. No reply was made to this proposition, and the Catholic churches were invaded, the same as the Greek Orthodox churches, and gold and silver vessels and other church property seized.

In some churches, both Roman Catholic, and Greek Orthodox, the priests, and in some instances the people, offered either passive or active resistance to the soldiers and officials who entered the churches to seize and remove the so-called church treasures. In many instances priests were wounded and some were killed, likewise some of the people. Many arrests of priests followed the execution of this confiscatory order.

Tichon the patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church, reported to the Bolshevik Government that the church would surrender the property called for without protest, providing a committee were appointed upon which the church should have representation, to inventory the property taken, determine its value, sell and dispose of the same, and control the distribution of the funds derived therefrom, with a view to securing the best results and obtaining and properly distributing food supplies to the starving people. This proposition was rejected. In many churches, where the clergy belonged to the extreme liberal faction of the church, no trouble occurred in the seizures of church property.

This episode was made the occasion of further attacks upon the church by the ruling power. It was charged that the church was hostile to the Soviet Government and therefore,

counter-revolutionary. Any antirevolutionary movement brings upon the heads of those charged therewith prompt arrest and frequently speedy execution. An expressed disapproval of the government or its laws or policies is regarded as antirevolutionary, and often brings swift punishment upon the offender.

During this period, and following it, many of the communists increased their activities against the church. The young communists and other elements attempted to break up meetings and exerted their efforts to bring religion and the church into contempt. All church property had been confiscated, even the church buildings and cathedrals and the ground upon which they stood.

Taxes were and still are imposed upon the buildings, and vexatious regulations often imposed, calculated to embarrass the priests and to close the churches. With no means whatever of support and no funds with which to repair the churches, many of the priests were found in a most desperate plight and some of the churches were closed. I might add that numerous beautiful and imposing churches will soon, because of deterioration and lack of needed repairs, be unfit for service and unsafe for occupancy.

In the meantime and within the church there were manifestations of revolt against Tichon and the controlling church authorities. Some priests took the position that the revolution must be carried into the church, and that the reforms provided for in the general conference of 1917 were wholly inadequate. Factional strife developed among the clergy. The Bolshevik Government was quick to take advantage of the situation. It encouraged the liberal and radical forces in the church and aided them in securing greater power.

Many priests who were timorous and believed that the Bolshevik Government was supporting the radical movement outwardly gave it support. This movement became more formidable and finally a conference was called for May, 1922. The Bolshevik Government actively supported the project and assisted the liberals and radicals to control the conference. Accordingly many bishops and priests were arrested and imprisoned or exiled to various parts of the country and other persons, in contravention of the canons of the church, placed in their positions. In many cities and villages meetings of the congregations were called to elect delegates to the conference, which the so-called reactionaries in the church opposed, and the calling of which they declared to be illegal. In some instances the people, bewildered and often frightened, assented to the demands of the radical priests, and delegates—including such priests—were chosen to attend the conference. In other instances the opposition was so great that the meetings adjourned without action.

Notwithstanding such course, the radical priests would convene a few of their followers and select delegates, giving credentials, proper in form, to those selected. In some instances representatives of the political department of the Government—and it has many thousands throughout Russia—would intervene in behalf of the movement. The idea was disseminated that the Soviet Government was supporting the new movement and that opposition to it would be regarded as hostility to political authority. Many priests refused to call meetings or to take cognizance of the movement. In some instances meetings would be called, of which a majority of the members of the congregation had no notice, and delegates elected to the conference. The result was that when the con-

ference was opened in Moscow most of those in attendance, both priests and laymen, belonged to the so-called radical or reform wing of the church, or at least represented the revolutionary movement in the church. Some who appeared as bishops had but recently been appointed, their appointment being under the rules and procedure of the church illegal. Some laymen who were delegates to the conference were either communists or in sympathy with the Bolshevik Government. There were many in the conference who were actuated by a sincere desire to effectuate reforms within the church, to detach it in part from the old spirit of formalism and to make it a more active force for righteousness and bring it more in harmony with the social and intellectual needs of the people; and notable prelates were there, some who had journeyed far to aid in what they believed to be a spiritual awakening in the church.

Bishop Blake, from America, addressed the conclave, delivering an impressive message. The conclave proceeded to effect an organization which bears the appellation of "The Living Church." The movement was equivalent to a secession from the Greek Orthodox Church, although, perhaps, some participating in the movement, as well as others who have followed it, regard the new organization as in reality the old church revivified and stripped of some outworn dogmas, church procedural forms, and nonessential features.

The fundamental doctrines of the Greek Orthodox Church—those dealing with the Trinity and the vicarious atonement of Jesus Christ and others—were not renounced or departed from, and, indeed, so far as I was able to discover, the liturgy and church ceremonials and form of worship were adhered to.

The rise of the Living Church following this conclave was greeted with considerable enthusiasm in some parts of Russia. Many priests believed that the Bolshevik Government was supporting the Living Church and hastened to attach themselves to the movement.

Members of our party visited Krasnitczky, the head of the Living Church, soon after their arrival at Moscow. With him was Lvoff, who had been the last Procurator of the church under Kerensky. Krasnitczky declared with great assurance that the Living Church would triumph; that in many of the cities a majority of the priests adhered to it, and that in the villages a large majority of the priests, as well as the peasants, were following the Living Church.

Speaking of Patriarch Tichon, the head of the Orthodox Church—who had but recently been released from prison and was under surveillance and forbidden to depart from Moscow—he said, "Tichon is extinguished." He exhibited an arrogant and rather bombastic attitude, and asserted with evident satisfaction that the Living Church had the moral support of the Bolshevik Government. He exhibited a photograph of himself taken in the uniform of a captain in the red army and seemed proud of the fact that he had served in the army. He announced his belief in communism, and in reply to the question as to whether he supported the program of the Third Internationale and its avowed purpose to destroy capitalistic governments, including the United States, he frankly answered that he did. When asked if the Bolshevik Government was carrying on a propaganda against religion and in behalf of atheism, he replied in the affirmative, and also said that it was teaching atheism and communism in the schools and building up a strong young men's communist party. When asked as to whether the

Living Church was doing anything to neutralize the materialism and atheism being taught, he replied in the negative, stating that it had many problems and had to consolidate its gains before it could engage in that task.

The members of our party visited Patriarch Tichon, the venerable prelate, whose sincerity and devotion to the church none could question. He spoke of the schism in the church but believed that in time, through mutual concessions, a union would be effected. His statements indicated his grief over the religious situation in Russia. He referred to the bewilderment of the people because of the controversies in the church and the activity of the agencies which were trying to destroy the religious faith and bring about the destruction of the church. He referred to the destitute and starving condition of the priests, the fact that some of the churches were being closed for want of support and the poverty of the people, and the general confusion and demoralization which existed in the minds of many regarding moral and spiritual values.

In many parts of Russia inquiries brought the information to the party that some of the priests with their congregations which had a few months before followed the Living Church had returned to what they denominated the "Tichon Church," and the statement of Krasnitczky as to the success of the Living Church movement was not verified. Indeed, the great majority of the priests and the people in the villages still clung to the Orthodox Church and were grieved at the Living Church movement. In the Ukraine, which contains nearly 30,000,000 of people, a majority of the priests adhered to what some called the Independent Orthodox Church. Conference with the Metropolitan of the church and other prelates led to the opinion that only in the matter of local church government was it to be distinguished from the Orthodox Church. Indeed, its creed and liturgy and ritual and symbols are the same. The priests, generally speaking, were superior, intellectually, to those in other parts of Russia. They seemed more alert and mentally active and more alive to the responsibilities of the church as well as the obligations resting upon the clergy.

There were, however, in Ukraine a number of beautiful church edifices which were controlled by followers of the Living Church. In some sections information was obtained that the G. P. U. (that is the representatives of the political department) were submitting inquiries to the priests, asking whether they belonged to the Living Church or whether they were supporting Tichon. It was pitiful to see the distress and bewilderment upon the part of some country priests. They seemed to be sheep without a shepherd. Not infrequently priests would draw aside a member of the party and inquire as to the condition of Tichon and whether he and other prelates were arrested and whether the Living Church was gaining ground. Many of them seemed to be without contacts with archbishops or other prelates. They were left with rumors and fantastic stories about Russia and seemed to have no means of authentic information either as to the condition of the church or what was going on in other parts of Russia or throughout the world.

In various parts of Russia I learned that priests were still being arrested and some banished. In one city a priest was arrested, as it was claimed by his friends, because he had called the Living Church the "Red" Church. Many acts which to persons outside of Russia would seem quite innocent are regarded as counter-revolutionary by the political organization,

which has its spies and agents in every part of Russia; and, accordingly, arrests are often made for alleged counter-revolutionary activities. In Tsaritzen the evidence which I obtained showed that 11 priests had recently been arrested and were in prison, no sufficient explanation being offered for their arrest. Devout members of the Orthodox Church declared that many of these arrests were for the purpose of strengthening the Living Church and disintegrating the Orthodox Church, and that the Living Church was subservient to the wishes of the Bolshevik Government. There is much evidence to support the view that the Bolshevik Government is equally hostile to all forms of religion and would as quickly oppose the Living Church as the Orthodox Church if it regarded it as a continuing and vital force for religious thought and development.

About six weeks after the interview with Krasnitczky, above referred to, he was arrested by the G. P. U. without warning and banished from Moscow. Inquiries failed to elicit the reason for such arrest. But it confirmed the information brought to my attention, that the Government will raise up and then destroy church prelates, whenever by so doing it can effect the unity of the church, or weaken its hold upon the people. Schisms in the church are fomented by the Soviet authorities for the purpose of destroying the faith of the people in the doctrines of the church and in its administrative and priestly bodies. It may be that Krasnitczky after being sufficiently punished by the Government will be reinstated by it.

Efforts were in progress in the latter part of September to compose the differences between the Orthodox Church and the Living Church. I conferred with a representative of Tichon and with some of the highest prelates in the Living Church and learned of the negotiations and the obstacles which were being encountered, some of which it was alleged by the prelates seemed insuperable.

However, the representatives of both factions declared that the church would not disintegrate or be overwhelmed with confusion, that the Russian people were naturally religious and devotional, and that centripetal forces, both in the Government and in the State, were strong. The general view was that a more liberal and progressive spirit would enter into and guide the Orthodox Church and that eventually the two factions would be united upon a platform that would preserve the essentials of the faith of the church and give to it greater vigor and power for righteousness and capacity for real service among the people. Leading prelates of the Orthodox Church confessed that it was not sufficiently responsive to the needs of the people and that it must accommodate itself to the new social and political order. It has been charged that the Greek Orthodox Church is as rigid as her ikons, which do not speak or move; that her dogmas do not change; nor is her form or spirit modified. Whatever view may be taken no one can examine the creed and the work of this great church without being impressed with its devotion and its ideal of holiness. The statement of Mr. Donald A. Lowrie, a brilliant writer, who has in Russia examined with fidelity and seriousness the history and structure of the Orthodox Church, presents a view which to many will prove most illuminating and helpful.

If religion consists wholly of spiritual worship, adherence to belief in ancient customs, reverence for holiness in every age, and a sincere desire to spread the name of Christ, then protestants have nothing to teach Russia. But if it means a growing activity and a service of mankind, a keen appreciation of the needs of modern life, and a desire to

educate its youth to minister unto the future, then protestantism has a message to Russia. In Russia there are Byzantine elements in religion, emphasizing the mystic in the teaching about Christ. This idea should, perhaps, give way to that of joyous activity and the sense of blessedness of Christian service and the reality of the personal comradeship of Christ.

That statement is pregnant with meaning as to some of the aspects of the controversy between the Living and the Orthodox Church.

That the propaganda for atheism is having its effect was conceded by all. The students and the members of the workmen's organizations are the most fruitful fields for materialistic development. Among the peasants but little progress has been made, and in my opinion but little will be made.

Mr. Lowrie reports an incident which occurred in 1919, which reveals the nature and effects of Bolshevik propaganda at that time. In one of the cities the Soviet officials called a meeting to discuss religion, to which the communist leaders and priests were invited. One of the Bolshevik speakers explained—

the Christ myth, attempting to show that the Savior was but a man and had not been resurrected—

And concluded his speech by declaring that—

all superstitions concerning Christ should be put away—

And shouting—

long live the Communist Internationale.

There was liberal applause. A Jewish speaker attacked the stories concerning the birth of Christ, and in conclusion declared "that Mary was but a woman of the streets." There was less applause. A priest then arose, standing silently before the people, and made the sign of the cross. It was Easter week, and the priest pronounced the Easter greeting: "Christ is risen." The multitude swayed toward him by way of reply, and said, "He is risen indeed." The priest repeated, "Christ is risen," and the people again responded, "He is risen indeed." Again the priest repeated "Christ is risen," and with a mighty response the audience replied, "He is risen indeed!" "What more is there to say? Let us to our homes," answered the priest after a moment of silence. Thus ended the meeting.

During the spring and summer of this year Vedensky, one of the brilliant leaders of the Living Church movement, delivered lectures in various parts of Russia. While defending the Living Church and its program, he lifted his voice against atheism and defended the fundamentals of the church. On one occasion, in a debate against two communists, the former defending the existence of God and the latter speakers denying it, the audience gave greater applause to Vedensky than to the communist debaters.

Instances are not uncommon of intellectual men becoming priests with a view of combating the materialism in the land and of aiding in making the teachings of the Christ a living and vital force among the people. A writer who has spent several years in Russia and who has written sympathetically of the Bolshevik uprising stated to me that the activities of communists in behalf of atheism were not as successful as had been expected or desired, and that one communist declared with great bitterness that he despaired of the destruction of the church. This same writer mentioned that a communist woman had stated to him that her daughter, 12 years of age, had rebuked the mother, declaring that she believed in God.

And the same woman stated that among many children receiving communist instructions a religious and devotional spirit is found.

Communists explained that the philosophy of communism was anti-religious and that churches were obstacles to communistic development. They stated that the view of the church concerning marriage and the family and divorce were at variance with communistic philosophy.

In a number of cities churches were seen which had been converted into communists' clubhouses. In the city of Tiflis, a magnificent cathedral was in process of transformation when I visited it.

The beautiful pictures upon the walls and the dome of the church were being covered with whitewash. The altar and icons and the beautiful church banners and symbols had been removed. Busts of Karl Marx and Lenin stood where the altar had rested. Soon this great cathedral would resound with the harangues of young communists and teachers of Marxian philosophy. In Moscow, a beautiful church had been similarly despoiled of its symbols and decorations and altar, and Marx and Lenin received the adulation of the Bolshevik crowds who there assembled, and who paid homage to their busts, which had taken the place of the altar.

The statement often made that very many of the churches have been permanently closed by the Bolshevik régime is not accurate. During the early days of the civil war, doubtless many were closed. Some of the priests who were with the white armies left their churches without ministers, and in many places after the war the poverty of the people caused the closing of churches. That the Bolsheviks would like to close all churches they freely admit. That they would close them if they dared can not be denied. The Russian people at heart are devotional and religious, and the forcible closing of the churches would provoke a revolution which would destroy the Bolshevik power.

There has not been the same effort by communists to spread atheistic teachings among the Mohammedans as among the Christians. Mohammedan mosques have not been closed, and the Moslem religious teachers have not been molested. The lines separating the Mohammedans from the Christians are sharply drawn, and in Provinces such as Kazan, where there are large numbers of Tartars (nearly all of whom are Mohammedans) intermarriages are exceedingly rare, and social intercourse and association is limited.

The minarets glisten in the sunlight side by side with the rich domes of the orthodox churches, and while the mussulman is at prayer under the minarets, devout Christians cross themselves and make obeisance before icons in churches over which golden crosses resplendently shine.

There are 2,000,000 Roman Catholics within Russia, and the greater portion of them are of the Polish race. Inquiries seemed to indicate that the membership was not increasing. There are several hundred thousand members of the Baptist Church and perhaps a million persons who belong to other Protestant denominations. Various other sects which broke off from the Orthodox Church exist, but their adherents are few. A number of representatives of the Y. M. C. A. were actively engaged in religious and charitable work prior to and during a portion of the civil war, but it was claimed by the Bolshevik Government that they sympathized with and were found in the white armies, and all members of the organization were or-

dered to leave Russia. This organization is rendering important aid to young Russian students who are in Germany and Czechoslovakia, and who are without means of support.

A careful review of the situation in Russia convinces me that the antireligious work of the communists and the Bolshevik Government will not be successful in destroying religion or the churches there found. The opposition of the Government to religion will produce there, as it has done in other countries and in other days, a reaction which will develop strong defenders of the faith and of the religious ideals of the people. Large numbers of people have been weaned away from the church; many more will follow them; but Russia will remain a Christian nation, and out of the confusion and the uncertainties of the hour will come a purified faith, and a stronger people, with broader visions and loftier ideals.

The Greek Orthodox Church, while emphasizing the spirit of devotion and holiness, and continuing its appeals to the emotional nature, will take on a spirit of service and of activity, and make remarkable contribution to the social, intellectual, and ethical growth and development of the people.

EDUCATION

Reports from time to time have come from Russia to the effect that successful efforts were being made by the Bolshevik régime to educate the Russian people; and there has been a rather widespread belief that great advancement has been made in education and culture under this régime. Even communists and the admirers and apologists for Bolshevism are compelled to confess that these claims are unfounded. An impartial investigation of educational conditions in Russia will reveal that there were fewer schools and less students attending schools during the last school year than in 1912, 1913, or 1914; but in 1920 there was a considerable increase in the school attendance over pre-war years.

Lunacharsky, the commissioner of education in Russia, in December, 1922, stated that "even to provide schools for 50 per cent of the children, to learn to read and write, would call for the immediate establishment of 20,000 additional institutions." However, the deplorable condition of the schools is not due to a lack of desire upon the part of Lunacharsky or the leading communists of the soviet régime. Lunacharsky is a brilliant man of good impulses and with a sincere desire to ameliorate the condition of the people and to advance the cause of education. He possesses literary talents of a rather high order, but lacks, as is thought by many communists—and that was the opinion I formed—executive and administrative ability.

The educational debacle is the result of Bolshevistic rule and the financial and economic collapse of Russia. With limited production, inconsiderable trade, an exhausted treasury, and dried-up fountains of revenue, it was inevitable that the plans projected for increased educational activity should fail, and indeed, that there should be retrogression instead of advancement.

The national census as of August, 1920, taken under the auspices of the Soviet Government showed 68 per cent of illiteracy throughout all Russia; that is, 680 people out of every 1,000 could neither read nor write. Of the entire able-bodied working population 73 per cent of the males were unable to read or write. Lenin was so impressed with the showing of illiteracy and the failure of the government to improve educational conditions that, in an article published in the Pravda

January 4, 1923, the paper being the official organ of the Russian Communist Party, he refers to the illiteracy and lack of culture and the unfounded claims made by communists. In this article he says:

> While we go about blubbering about "proletarian culture" as compared with the "bourgeois culture," we are being handed a net of matter-of-fact figures which show that even in the matter of bourgeois culture our affairs are extremely bad. It appears, as might well have been expected, that we are still a long way off from universal literacy, and even our progress from the dark old Czarist days—1897—has been very slow. This should serve as an ominous warning addressed to those who have been and are even now soaring in the empyrean clouds of our "proletarian culture." They show just how much more rough and pressing work we have to face in order to reach the mere level of an ordinary civilized country of western Europe.

The writer then declares that but little has been done toward providing in the budget to satisfy, "in the first line, the demands of primary schools." He condemns the inflated personnel in the commissariat of education, and indirectly the bureaucratic inefficiency in other departments.

Lunacharsky submitted a report, as Commissar of public education, to the Tenth Congress of Soviets, which appears in the Izvestia, the organ of the Soviet Government, in its issue of December 26, 1922. This article is a confession that the educational system has suffered a complete collapse. Among other things, the Commissar states in this report:

> As long as the schools are destitute, as long as the schools are hungry, it is idle to speculate as to whether our theoretical attitude toward the schools is correct or not. * * * Thus far there has been a ceaseless struggle for the very existence of our schools.

He refers to the fact that during the revolution the number of schools and the enrolled school children kept growing more rapidly than at any period of Russian history, but that during this period no one considered where the means for their support would be derived from nor how they were to exist; that the chief source of support was the central government budget, and that the government was compelled to this course at a time when "its only revenues were grain levies and paper currency emission." He then refers to the fact that the teachers, as well as the provincial and county departments of education, were expecting that the promises for relief would be fulfilled, while—

> on every side arose lamentations and complaints over the backward condition of our schools.
>
> When we commenced to use the budget system attention was also directed, among other items of our State budget, to that of the people's commissariat of education. It was decided that it should in every possible way be reduced, because, as it then stood, it was beyond the means the State was able to afford. Such a reduction, in the opinion of the Government, was to be effected, not by reducing the extent of public instruction but by transferring the chief burden to the local authorities. All schools, kindergartens, and children's homes were taken off the hands of the central government's financing organs and handed over to the care of the local authorities, together with the teaching personnel, leaving on the hands of the people's commissariat of education about 90,000 teachers, i. e., about 50 per cent of the then already greatly reduced school system. As a temporary measure the people's commissariat of finance contemplated gradually reducing the

appropriation of funds for the local authorities for the needs of schools, kindergartens, and children's homes.

What was the result of this transfer, whose effects became manifest in 1922, leading to what we know as the collapse or crisis of the school system? The result was that the local authorities began to reduce the number of schools and children's homes, in some instances directly prescribing just how much there was to be reduced, and in some cases acquiescing in the flight of the teachers and in having padlocks put on the school gates. Owing to this feverish, panicky reduction, by April, 1922, we had left only 68,000 schools with 5,300,000 pupils. In October of last year (1921) we had but 55,600 schools with 4,750,000 pupils. The decrease in the number of pupils proceeded somewhat more slowly, but on the whole, as you see, the decline in the number of schools as well as pupils has not stopped at these figures but continues at such a rate that, taking into account the variations for different provinces, we may state that the shrinkage amounts to from 40 to 60 per cent, and even higher. As regards the number of schools, we have now reached a level that is even considerably lower than that of 1914. As for the number of pupils, we still seem to stand a little above the level of 1914. Here, then, you have that catastrophic decline that has met with no barrier thus far.

Turning now to the figures of school attendance in relation to the total of the child population of corresponding age, we observe the following situation: While we had in 1920, as already stated here, 75 per cent of all children under 11 years of age at school, there was only 44 per cent there in April, 1922, and this figure has now still further shrunk until it is to-day only a little over 38 per cent. It appears, therefore, that we have fallen very far behind our ideal of assuring to every Russian child a place at school. If we should to-day attempt to bring our school system to such a state as to enable even only one-half of our children to learn reading and writing we would require 75,000 schools with room for 6,000,000 pupils; in other words, we should have to open at once not less than 20,000 new schools.

In speaking of the kindergarten system Lunacharsky states that the situation is—

still worse than the one just depicted. We reckoned the maximum number of children who were at one time actually attending our kindergartens at 207,000. But in April, 1922, there were only 86,000 such children left, and even this figure has since been reduced by more than 50 per cent.

He states that the last congress of the provincial departments resolved to attempt to keep open at least two kindergartens in each Province, and continues:

We thus witness at present the most complete collapse of this whole system.

Speaking of the social training department, which has charge of the children's homes, he states that there are more than 600,000 children in the homes, although—

If we were to assemble all the children who stand in need of a roof over their heads and food to eat there would be a great many more than that. We are, however, unable to maintain even these 600,000 children. The Government has allotted funds for the maintenance of 320,000 children, while the other 280,000 are supposed to be fed from local resources.

He then mentions the complaints because of the inadequate alowances and the extraordinarily high death rate of the children in the homes. He speaks of the "oceans of homeless children" as the reason for the inability of the Government to care for more.

Lunacharsky then turns his attention to the teachers and asks that the Government consider "the martyrdom of our teachers." He declares that he "might for a long time torture the comrades with the staggering facts, which seem more like fiction than reality." He continues:

We have among our teaching personnel horrible cases of destitution, premature death, widespread sickness, suicide, prostitution, and other things. The picture presented by the living conditions of our teachers at the present period is appalling. No one should be surprised that these teachers have been fleeing from us in every possible direction. Nor should one wonder that we have found it impossible to recruit new teaching staffs among elements that would be half way valuable to us.

He refers to the fact that 12 per cent of the minimum subsistence represents the pay of the teachers; that while communal workers receive 55 per cent of the minimum, and woodworkers 81 per cent, postal and telegraph workers receive but 24, and school workers but 12. He refers to the large per cent of appropriation for education in the State budget of 1920, it being 10.4 per cent, but that in 1922 it had fallen to 4.2 per cent, owing to the transfer of schools to local authorities. However, as was stated by Lunacharsky, and as observations and inquiries made by members of the party demonstrate, the local communities in 1921–1923 made but slight contribution to the schools, as a result of which conditions remained substantially as described in the report of the Commissar of Education.

In the report Lunacharsky further states that before the war the expenditure for public education amounted to 238,000,000 gold rubles by the State, and 76,000,000 by local governments, not including the expenditures for private schools. He then adds:

During 1922 the total all-round expenditure for education in Russia amounted to only 36,000,000 gold rubles. This makes it clearly apparent that we have no business talking about the efficiency of our system of school organization, whether the teaching personnel is good or poor—in other words, about anything pertaining to internal organization of our school system—in view of the fact that we receive only one-tenth of the meager allowance which was afforded to it before the war, and remembering that Russia was never very far advanced in the matter of education at that.

It will be perceived that with but $18,000,000 for educational purposes for 1922 for the entire State there must have been retrogression. Many cities of the United States spend a larger sum each year in support of their public schools.

The Commissar, to prevent further decadence of the schools, recommends the legalizing of tuition fees, stating that 31 out of 37 Provinces had already introduced such practice.

Replying to the question as to whether private schools would be permitted, the commissar declared that—

No private school of general education would be admitted by us. All Russian schools must remain in the hands of the State.

It is interesting to note that the Izvestia, under date of July 7, 1922, published an article stating that reports from the Vologda government indicated that—

One hundred and fifty primary schools have been closed because of lack of funds, and that in many schools where formerly there were two or three teachers only one is left.

The article further sets forth that a letter from the superintendent of education in Ialutrovsk County states that—

Since February he has received 23,000,000 rubles—of the money of 1921, which is equivalent to 2 rubles and 30 kopecks of the money of 1923—and on this he has had to support all his teachers, feed all his childrens' homes—

and to further purchase fuel for the school and homes, repair the buildings, and so forth. Speaking of the teachers, it proceeds:

They come with tragic faces, swollen from hunger, with hands trembling and eyes weeping, asking for help, and there is no help. Many have already died of hunger. Some steal, others speculate, and none are fit to teach.

In the issue of August 6, 1922, an article appears in the Izvestia showing the poverty and starvation among the teachers and the closing of the schools. It states that—

For 80 pupils the school had a dozen and a half pencils and not a sheet of paper.

The Pravda, August 10, 1922, states that:

In Voronezh, as everywhere else, there is a financial crisis. It is absolutely impossible to secure money for the needs of all departments of the government. * * * The State department of education is selling what school property it can and is nevertheless billions in debt; communal organizations sell kerosene and buildings. In many departments the employees have quit their work and have busied themselves with field work so as to get something to eat. * * * We seldom get more than 5 per cent of our needs anyway.

In the gubernia of Ivanovo-Vosnesensk, it is stated, in the Pravda, August 13, 1922, that the schools are going through a crisis:

In order to keep up the schools as they are now we need for the use of the personnel one hundred and twenty billions and an equal amount for other expenses monthly, but we have actually received from ten to twenty billions a month. Our educational department owes the teachers 170,000,000,000 rubles.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. EDWARDS in the chair). Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Oklahoma?

Mr. KING. I yield.

Mr. OWEN. I take it from the anxiety expressed by these officials for the advancement of the schools that it must be that there is a lack of revenue to carry them on rather than a lack of desire to educate the people. What is the Senator's view of that?

Mr. KING. Perhaps the Senator was absent from the Chamber when I discussed, as I thought, the point raised by his question. I stated that in my opinion there was a general desire upon the part of the Bolshevik leaders to extend the benefits of education to the people. However, their view of education is somewhat different from that prevailing in the United States. They have challenged the educational system of the past, as they have challenged the economic and political system of the past. They are iconoclasts and extend their activities to the demolition of everything that was or is a part of what is called the bourgeois or capitalistic form of government. They have been eager to reach the plastic minds of the young and to plant therein the communist faith. They have abandoned the

hope of converting the peasants to communism, with its attendant atheism; but they hope through their educational system to destroy the faith of the present and future generations in God and in those principles and policies which have been accepted by civilized and Christian nations. They are giving particular attention to those schools which prepare young men and women for propaganda work in behalf of communism beyond the boundaries of Russia. There are a number of schools which specially prepare young men and women to attack the existing governments and the social order as found throughout the world.

My attention was called this morning to an article appearing in some of the American newspapers written by Mr. Mackenzie, one of the ablest correspondents who has visited Russia. I met him in Russia, and obtained much valuable information from him. May I add that he has written a most admirable book dealing with Russia, and he is now in Russia studying, in a comprehensive way, the problems which Russia presents. His intellectual honesty and his fairness can not be questioned. In his article he refers to the work of these colleges where students are prepared for propaganda activity and refers to the fact that students from Lithuania, Esthonia, and other European countries, and also from various oriental countries, are being instructed in communism and prepared to return to their respective homes there to propagate communism and to cooperate with the Bolshevik régime in Russia in its efforts to establish a world-wide communistic system.

Further replying to the question of the Senator, it should be stated that the revenues of Russia are inadequate for the maintenance of needed schools. Russia was greatly exhausted by reason of the World War as well as the civil war. Bolshevism dried up the fountains of industry and contributed to the poverty and distress of the people. With the nationalization of property and the subjection of the people to a military communistic dictatorship production was impossible and starvation and industrial chaos were inevitable. The Red army, at all hazards, the Bolsheviks contended, must be preserved; and the little that the peasants produced was seized by the Red army to feed the communists and the army of officials, as well as the soldiers of the Red flag. Of course ,under such conditions, no matter how strong the desire for schools and education, progress along educational lines was impossible.

Mr. OWEN. I should like to ask the Senator whether or not under the direction of the state capitalism system, which they seem to be establishing there now, the revenues were substantially increased.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I have canvassed that question somewhat and will allude to it further when I reach another branch of my address. I will add, however, that there has been marked advancement since the new economic policy has been adopted. New sources of revenue are now being developed. There are thousands of private stores and shops being opened, and small industrial enterprises projected, from which some revenue is derived. But there is danger of the Government destroying, by taxation, these private enterprises. In the city of Moscow 5,000 shops were closed within a period of six weeks while I was in Russia, because of the heavy burden of taxation imposed upon them by the Government. Doubtless, some of the shops and stores would have failed in any event for lack of capital and because of the limited purchasing power of the people. I should add, too—and shall discuss that later—

that many of the officials of the Government look with disfavor upon the recrudescence of any form of private capitalism, believing that the State should not only control and operate the "big" industries, as they are called, but all business, unless, perhaps, that related to agriculture.

For a number of years the Bolshevik Government had no revenue, except, as I have stated, that which they took from the starving peasants. They issued unlimited amounts of paper money to meet the operating expenses of the Government. However, there has been such improvement that, for the fiscal year ending in October, 1923, the deficit will not be greater than between 60 per cent and 70 per cent. Of course, such deficit will be met by further emissions of paper money.

Mr. ROBINSON. Sixty or seventy per cent of what?

Mr. KING. Perhaps I did not make myself clear. What I meant to say was that notwithstanding the heavy burdens of taxation—heavy because of the small production and the limited sources from which revenue may be obtained—the Government has been able to collect only between 30 per cent and 40 per cent of its expenditures for the fiscal year ended October 31, 1923; and it will be compelled to issue fiat money to the extent of between 60 per cent and 70 per cent to meet the deficit. I was assured by a number of leading Bolshevik officials that the Government would collect at least 60 per cent or 70 per cent of its expenditures, leaving a deficit of not to exceed 40 per cent; but the information which I have received since my return indicates that the assurances were valueless. Of course, this showing, bad as it is, is noteworthy, because a few years ago the Bolshevik Government met substantially all of its operating expenses by issues of paper money. Lenin stated these issues reached "astronomical figures."

A brief reference to the condition of education prior to the war will afford some little light upon the claim made by many that great advances have been made by the Bolsheviks along the lines of education. In 1904 the number of schools in Russia was 110,231, with a total number of pupils and students of 6,200,172. Of this number, 5,344,747 were in village schools, which numbered 90,942. In 1905 the number of schools had increased more than 1,000 and the number of students more than 200,000. In 1910 the total number of schools was 119,743 and the number of students in attendance was 7,548,192. Of these, 6,159,379 were pupils in village schools and 424,618 were pupils in what are called the middle or graded schools and 235,296 were in technical schools. In addition to these nearly 500,000 students were in private schools and 200,000 were receiving education in other places. In European Russia, without Poland, Finland, or the Caucasus district south of the Caucasus Mountains, there were in 1910, 87,434 schools, with 5,989,686 pupils. A special school census of 1911 showed the number of pupils in village schools to have been 6,180,510 and the number of village schools to have been 100,295. The teachers in these village schools numbered 154,177.

In 1912 the number of public schools in the Russian Empire amounted to 125,723 with an attendance of 8,263,999. Of this number 6,697,385 were pupils of the village schools. In the same year 467,558 students attended the intermediate schools and 251,732 the technical schools. Sixty-eight thousand six hundred and seventy-one students were found in higher schools and 550,000 students in attendance upon private schools. More than 232,000 were receiving education in other departments.

In 1914 the total number of schools in Russia had increased to 135,223, and the number of students in attendance amounted

to 9,053,300. Of this number 7,410,833 were in village schools; 529,552 were in the middle schools; and 599,398 were in attendance upon private schools. In the same year in European Russia, without the Caucasus, Poland, Finland, Siberia, and Middle Asia (Turkestam), the number of public schools was 102,377, with an attendance of 7,224,853; the number of students attending the higher schools was 73,321.

Between 1880 and 1911 the population of Russia doubled and the number of pupils in the public schools quadrupled. Between 1860 and 1905 66,850 schools were established and between 1906 and 1910 24,581. After the constitutional changes which occurred between 1905 and 1908 the educational work was advanced with greater vigor. For the erection of school houses in villages 103,000,000 rubles (gold) were appropriated in 1907 and measures were taken for the introduction of universal education. In most of the Russian local governments, consisting at that time of 441 district zemstvos and 789 municipalities, provisions were made for universal schooling. The data obtained indicate that the number of schools in Russia in 1922 and in 1923 was considerably less than the number in 1920 and also less than the number in the same territory in 1914. For instance, in 1914, within a certain territory, the village or primary schools numbered 66,217, in 1921 64,529, and in 1923 55,000.

In 1921 the number of professional schools, as they were called, amounted to 1,349, and in 1923 to but 810. In the Province of Tula, in 1914, the number of schools was 1,881, and in 1922, 1,685. In the Samara Province, in 1914, the number of schools was 1,951, and in 1922, 1,163. The number of pupils in these schools in 1914 was 165,320, and in the school year 1922–23, 120,288. It should be added that there were no private schools in this last named year.

In the Vologda district the number of schools in 1914 was 1,204; in 1921–22, 1,288; and in 1923, 591. The decrease in school attendance was 37 per cent.

The salaries paid school-teachers throughout Russia (gold) averaged in October, 1922, 5 rubles 71 kopecks monthly, and in December of the same year 5 rubles 39 kopecks. In October of the same year, in 24 gubernias, the salaries were less than 5 rubles, and in 6 Provinces lower than 4 rubles monthly. In Moscow the teachers averaged 7 rubles 7 kopecks; whereas in Petrograd they were paid 4 rubles and 80 kopecks monthly. The acting president of the Harkov University, when I visited that institution, was receiving about 90 rubles per month, and the president a sum slightly in excess of that amount. The professors were receiving approximately 30 rubles per month, and the head of the economic department 42 rubles per month.

Several teachers who were met in rural districts of Russia stated that their compensation the past school year had been 3 rubles per month.

The compensation paid to the professors and teachers in the schools of the Ukraine was somewhat greater than that paid in other parts of Russia, and the fact should be stated that the Ukraine, as an autonomous State, has certain privileges, among them being that the educational system is controlled largely, by the soviet of the Ukraine and the parent Government at Moscow makes no financial contribution to the educational work therein.

In the Province of Tsaritsen Professor Zilensky, who had been head of the educational system there for one year and prior to that had charge of education in Rostov, furnished the party information respecting the schools and the difficulties

and problems which were encountered. He is an active, militant communist and a man of vigor, intellectual force, and honesty. He evinced sincere interest in educational reform and in the moral and material welfare of Russia. Thirty per cent of the limited budget at his disposal came from the central organization at Moscow, and 70 per cent was collected in the Province by the people. Special meetings of the peasants were often held at which they voluntarily taxed themselves in order to maintain schools.

He stated that in the kindergarten children were received up to the age of 8 years, and in the primary and elementary schools up to 13 years, with 18 years as a maximum. In the entire Province 100,000 students attended during the school year 1922–23, although there were more than 200,000 children between the ages of 6 and 18 years. Prior to the war there were 998 schools in the Province. In 1920 the number increased to 1,500. In the last year the number diminished to 853. Seventy per cent of the budget is paid to teachers, of whom there are 2,000 in the Province, the average salary of professors and teachers being approximately 18 rubles per month.

In the Province there are schools attended only by Tartars and in which the Tartar language is taught. There are some German districts, and the German language is taught in the schools there provided, and in some sections, where the Ukrainians predominate, the Ukrainian language is taught in addition to the Russian language.

In the workmen's schools there are 240 students, who entered between the ages of 16 and 17 years. Graduation from these schools permits entrance into the universities or institutes without examination. It was also stated that there are more than 25,000 students in the workmen's schools throughout Russia, the studies there pursued, during the first year, being comparable to those found in the first year of the ordinary high school.

Before the war teachers in the schools, in the colleges, and in the universities were 90 per cent women. Now between 20 and 25 per cent are males. Both male and female teachers receive the same compensation for the same class of work.

In view of what Russia has passed through since 1914, and the hardships to which children have been exposed, it was surprising but gratifying to find the school children and the students in the higher educational institutions in such excellent physical and mental condition. It is true that many of them showed evidences of malnutrition and others that their growth had been materially retarded. But, generally speaking, they were vigorous and alert and among many there was an eagerness to obtain knowledge that was most commendable. In the institutes an astonishingly large number were studying forestry, scientific agriculture, and medicine. Indeed in the medical institutes the professors and facilities were wholly inadequate and many students were being denied admission. Unfortunately the standards for admission have been so lowered that large numbers were admitted who should have been in preparatory or high schools. But, as indicated, the political revolution—it was felt by the Soviet leaders—must be carried into the social organism and the educational system. Accordingly, the hammer of the iconoclasts was used in battering down the fine spirit of culture and scientific investigation and, indeed, scholarship which were the glory and pride of the pre-war Russian universities.

Notwithstanding the enthusiasm exhibited by many students in their educational work, there is yet too much of the effervescence of Bolshevism and an inflated view that the world waits upon Russia, which waits upon the young men and women who are to go out from the institutes to challenge and conquer the world.

There is too much of superficiality and too much of the spirit which is satisfied with a veneering and does not compel deep and searching inquiry for the foundations of truth. And this spirit is encouraged by bigoted and oftentimes ignorant soviet leaders, national and local, who aim to quickly convert all educational institutions into schools for Marxian philosophy and communism. Accordingly, immature and incompetent persons are pushed into professorships and as instructors, and their narrow prejudices and heated enthusiasm, based upon a most shallow foundation, are communicated to the students with whom they come in contact. This is a sinister and, indeed, a menacing force which threatens the development of Russia, and if persisted in must bring her educational system to an ignoble end. Fortunately there are some brave men and fearless souls in Russia who see the perils alluded to, and there are students and young men and women who are and will be endowed with the purpose to brush aside the fallacies and falsehoods and to reach the bedrock upon which alone rest the things that endure.

The point of view of so many of the students is quite comprehensible. In the Czaristic days the doors of the universities seldom opened to the sons of the peasants, the workingmen, or the Jews. Now it is felt that their doors should be closed to those classes of society who formerly monopolized the higher institutions of learning. The political change wrought by the Bolshevik revolution, which has profoundly affected the social system and the educational institutions, it is argued, was a forward movement, and the beneficiaries of the change must preserve the aims of the revolution and the communist principles upon which it was founded; and this spirit, unfortunately, tends to strengthen the class consciousness possessed by many students and to develop an antipathy, indeed a hatred, for the bourgeoise for capitalism, so called, and for all Governments which do not accept Bolshevism.

The Central Government at Moscow keeps its hand upon the educational system, even in so-called autonomous republics, such as the Ukraine, and in most of the universities and institutes the names of the directors, selected by the local soviets or by the local soviets and the faculties and students, and communist leaders in the Province, must be submitted to Moscow. If disapproved, other selections are made by the local organizations, and if these also are disapproved by the Moscow Bolshevik authorities, then the latter name the directors.

It should be said, however, that in some Provinces the local soviets and communist leaders are less liberal and are more fanatical and intolerant than the Moscow leaders, and instances were not infrequently brought to my attention where appeals to the leaders at Moscow from oppressive and cruel edicts of local communists brought prompt relief.

Attention should be directed to the fact that in pre-war times ecclesiastical schools flourished and ecclesiastical universities attained high rank. Because of the eminence of their professors, none of whom were priests or within the circle of the clergy, their scholarship was recognized by all, and many who came from their portals were recognized as men of great learning and ability.

Of the money appropriated for educational purposes by the Soviet Government it was reported by some that at least 30 per cent was used for what is called "political enlightenment and social education," which is the high-sounding and euphemistic name for Bolshevistic teaching.

With increased revenues undoubtedly efforts will be made to increase the number of schools and improve the educational system. There is no lack of desire upon the part of the people of Russia to multiply the number of schools and increase the attendance, and among many of the young there is marked enthusiasm for educational progress. The universities and institutes are crowded to such an extent that many applicants have been denied admission. It has been the aim of the Bolshevik leaders to establish what are called technical schools, where it is claimed the students can specialize. Vocational training is emphasized and the curriculum largely adjusted to meet the new spirit and plan. As is known, Russia before the war had a number of universities which ranked with the highest in the world. Russian scholarship belonged to the first order, and the scientific men of Russia took front rank in the world. In art, in literature, in music, in philosophy, and in the sciences the universities of Russia set a very high standard. Many of the professors in these universities were recognized the world over for their ability and scholarship.

After the revolution, and under the Bolshevik rule, the intellectuals of Russia were among the greatest sufferers. Many were killed, thousands imprisoned, and great numbers driven from Russia. As late as June of last year several hundred of those who are called "intelligentsia," among them being teachers and professors, were requested by the Bolshevik authority to leave Russia.

In the universities some of the old professors are still found, but communists are placed at the heads of the universities and institutes as well as the technical and high schools. At the head of the Ekaterinburg College (or University) is a communist who constituted one of the governing group when the Czar was arrested and killed. At Harkov and at Moscow communists head the universities. At the Saratov University there is more of the university atmosphere and the professors enjoy greater liberty. Nevertheless here, as in the other universities and institutes and technical and higher schools, the communist spirit prevails, and communist students exercise a powerful influence, if they do not control, the workings of these institutions.

The student organizations are controlled by young communists, and they select one or more representatives who participate in the selection of a number of the directors or trustees who govern the university; and they also take part in the meetings of the faculties and enforce the demands of the communist students.

The head of the University of Moscow is a journalist of no great ability or standing. At the meetings of the faculties the communist students largely dictate the policies of the institution. The old professors who are permitted to remain at these meetings are practically ignored, and if they make suggestions not in harmony with the communist program they are often rebuked, and the displeasure of the ruling power may be so great as to result in their being discharged. This situation is intolerable, and its effects are disastrous to the work of the educational institutions.

The professors who remained in Russia during the revolution have passed through a period of martyrdom and they are

now in the utmost poverty, and many are without even the necessities of life. The meager salaries received are inadequate for the support of themselves and families. Many of them receive but nine or ten dollars per month, and the president of the largest university receives the munificent sum of $45 per month.

The professors and teachers are under constant surveillance either by the communist students or by communists in the faculty or by communists in the political branch of the government. It is impossible for them to present in a proper way the subjects which they are teaching. No reference to God or to the moral and spiritual forces of life are permitted. Atheism is a part of communism, and in the teaching of social science and history the mechanistic theory of the universe and of life is emphasized. The university spirit as it existed has been destroyed. The scientific and scholastic achievements of the past and of the present are derided, and the purpose is freely admitted to destroy the old system and find a new one based upon communistic philosophy. The universities have therefore been effectually broken up. Indeed, in some instances they are no longer called universities.

At Harkov the university has been broken into institutes, such as the medical institute, the institute of law, the pedagogical institute, and so forth. These institutes, as indicated, are presided over by communists, most of whom have had no training or education to fit them for these positions. The standards are being lowered not only for admission but for graduation. The announced plan is to simplify education and to bring it within the range and comprehension of the proletariat. But the numbers seeking entrance into the higher institutions are great, and in the various departments and institutes admission to many is denied for lack of accommodations, teachers, and necessary equipment. This results in the exclusion of substantially all of the bourgeois class, of the children of the former nobility, military leaders under the Czar, priests, etc. In some institutions it is provided that 10 per cent of those admitted are required to pay; 60 per cent are free from any payments, and 30 per cent make contribution as determined by the heads of the workers' and peasants' organizations and communists. Most of those who are admitted free are given dormitories or rooms and food and are cared for while attending these educational institutions. This method results in the exclusion of substantially all except the children of workingmen and peasants.

Frequently children of the bourgeoisie associate themselves with the unions and engage in manual labor, and accept membership in the proletarian organizations that are regarded as proper under Bolshevik Government, and in this way a limited number find entrance into the higher institutions. It is not infrequent that students, not of the communist faith, and who come from bourgeois or military or other circles, are denied graduation. Undoubtedly there is discrimination in the schools against the children of the bourgeoisie and of the landed class, and the children of the priests, and those who were in official positions under the rule of the Czar.

In all of the schools atheism and communism are taught, The Bolshevik leaders frankly state that religion is "antisocial and antistate," and that belief in God is ground for expulsion from the Communist Party. In conversation with students attending the high schools and technical institutions, they freely admitted that instructions were given along com-

munistic and atheistic lines. Children of 12 and 13, when interrogated as to the character of the instructions upon these subjects, stated that they were taught that "there was no God and that there was no power above or beneath the earth, that everything was 'nature,' and that religion was superstition."

In the orphans' homes little children received the same instructions. A young lady in charge of one of the orphans' homes which I visited stated that inspectors visited the institutions twice a month and directed that she and the others who were in contact with the children—and the children at this home were between the ages of 6 and 16—should teach communism and atheism. She also stated that a short time before an inspector, in examining the valise of one of the young teachers, discovered a small icon placed therein by her mother. It was confiscated, and the young lady promptly discharged from the home.

In various parts of Russia schools have been established to prepare students for communistic propaganda and activity. In these schools are found students from Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Esthonia, and other countries. The expectation is that, fortified by their training, they will become powerful aids in the conquest of capitalism and the establishment of a world-wide dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Soviet leaders appreciate the importance of technical skill and of experts and specialists in the work of restoring industry and in rehabilitating the economic condition of the State. They aver that they are hampered in their efforts by being compelled to retain, in the various bureaus and governmental departments, tens of thousands of persons who are not communists, and, indeed, are hostile to the communist creed. Accordingly, an energetic campaign is waged to take through the schools, as soon as possible, boys and girls who can fill the places now held by noncommunists in the government service.

Perhaps 2,000,000 Russians were driven from or fled out of Russia under the Bolshevik régime. Some have returned, and still others are returning. Undoubtedly more of the émigrés will seek entrance into Russia as the opportunities for livelihood are increased and greater liberty allowed. Among the exiles were many of the experts and business men and industrial leaders of Russia. Moreover, thousands belonging to these categories were killed in the civil wars which were waged or by Chekas when Bolshevism was militant and more pitilessly cruel than it is at the present time. The situation thus created has left Russia not absolutely destitute, but largely denuded of her educators, technical men, experts, and those competent to carry on the responsibilities of government, and necessary to preserve the industrial and economic life of the State.

The immediate need for help in these various activities of the State in part accounts for the lowering of the standards of education and the emphasis given to vocational and specialization work. It is a pleasure to state that among the children of the workers and peasants there is a genuine enthusiasm for education, and if Russia shall so far revive economically as to be able to maintain schools and higher institutions of learning the stigma of illiteracy will quickly be removed from the Russian people and they will reach standards of educational and intellectual excellence which will entitle them to high praise.

Observations and inquiries in the various schools and institutions of learning furnish evidence that the moral conditions among students have undergone improvement since the early days of Bolshevism. Contrary to the views of Lunachar-

sky and others, the policy was adopted of opening all schools to both sexes. The abnormal conditions following the rise of Bolshevism, the vigorous attacks which were being made upon religion, marriage, and the home, and upon the social order and the ideals of Christian nations, were bound to exercise a demoralizing influence upon the young. There was a general loosening of the bonds of society and a ribald, sneering, and contemptuous attitude toward purity and morality as defined by the church and as understood among Christian people.

The moral standards of the people were loosened, lasciviousness increased, sexual vices assumed alarming proportions, and the young were infected by the destructive influences that attacked every standard that was applied in so-called capitalistic States and in what communists called bourgeois society.

I learned of revolting conditions and wild orgies which followed the accession to power of the Communist Party. But improvement is noted over those disheartening and, indeed, degrading conditions, and the present attitude of the students toward morality and virtue and the decencies and obligations of civilized communities furnished convincing proof of the development among them of higher ethical and moral standards, which are sure to be reflected in the thoughts and lives of this and succeeding generations. My contacts with students and those familiar with their lives lent strong support to the contention of many fine Russian people that the removal of the protections and influences offered by religion had a most disastrous effect upon the morals and lives and ideals of all classes, and in a marked degree among students of a volatile mind and who were reared in a communistic atmosphere.

Where history, politics, and social development are regarded as akin to mathematical problems and mere mechanics, without any psychological or ethical or spiritual standards or values, it is obvious that the plastic minds of the young will be affected. The attempt in the soviet schools to treat living beings merely as matter and to place all teachings upon a procrustean bed of abstract science and mechanical materialism is one of the outstanding features of the Bolshevik system of education. But the buoyant and resilient minds of the young, as investigations show, do not always respond to this predetermined and restricted program, and while many of the students are communists and still others are strongly influenced by their materialistic teachings there are others who have a broader vision and who strike out boldly into those fields where truth and justice and the ideals of the Christian faith are to be found.

THE RED ARMY

The information obtained respecting the military forces of the Bolshevik Government is not wholly satisfying, and is submitted with a feeling that inaccuracies, more or less important, may be found. In my view the military question in Russia is inseparably connected with the aims and purposes of the Communist Party and the Communist International organization. Indeed, a consideration of Russia's problems must take cognizance of the relations existing between the Bolshevik Government, the Communist Party, and the Third Internationale.

If Russia is to pursue a pacific policy, having primarily in view the economic advancement of the State and the welfare of the Russian people, then a different view will be taken of the military question in Russia and what the size and character of the red army will be if the clamors of the communists for a

world proletarian revolution are to be the basis of any judgment reached. Copious references might be made to speeches and articles published by Lenin, Trotski, Zinoviev, Radek, and other leaders of the Communist Party who are also associated with the Third Internationale, in which the position is taken that the communists are to carry their credo into every nation and overthrow all governments, and that to accomplish such end cruel and pitiless war will be necessary.

There has been no withdrawal of these published statements nor of the program for world revolution promulgated by Russian communists.

Some have declared, however, that the revolutionary movement which placed Russia in communist hands has suffered a temporary check which has resulted in a repercussion of capitalism, but that this temporary pause is merely a "breathing spell" during which time the communists will consolidate their gains and be ready to press a violent attack when the opportune moment arrives and push forward world communism and the triumph of the proletarian forces in all lands. Undoubtedly saner and more practical communists have realized the futility of executing at least in this generation the ideals and the earlier plans of the Bolshevik forces of Russia. They have therefore but with reluctance announced that until "class consciousness" develops in other countries the realization of Bolshevik aims for world control can not be attained.

The retreat from the original communist plan was announced by Lenin under the euphemistic title of the "New Economic Policy"; it produced a profound sensation in Russia and controversies in the Communist Party. I met a number of communists who left the party because of Lenin's success in securing adoption of this plan, because they felt that it would weaken the Communist Party and lead to further modifications of the fundamental principles upon which it is founded. There are communists who were practical enough to perceive that departure from the idealogy of communism, and particularly where it was so far-reaching in consequences as was contemplated by the new plan, would inevitably be followed by a movement which would create forces whose demands would further attack the communist faith. They also realize that their predictions of communist revolutions throughout the world, which would require the services of a mighty military force, gathered in part by Bolshevik Russia, have not been fulfilled, and perhaps will not within the near future be realized; it became manifest, therefore, that the maintenance of a large army would be an intolerable burden upon the people and prevent the industrial regeneration of Russia. The saner and more sagacious Bolshevik leaders accordingly planned a reduction of the military forces, and have been successful in reducing the army to approximately 600,000 men. There are, however, those among the communists who oppose these reductions, asserting that capitalistic governments are conspiring to invade Russia and overthrow Soviet authority.

Radek and other communists during the past summer made strong appeals to the Russian people to support the army. When in the southern part of Russia I learned of the peripatetic movements of Radek in many Provinces, where he addressed the local soviet organizations and procured the adoption of resolutions addressed to the red army and indirectly to the Government, which adjured the army to defend the proletariat government and the cause of communism against threatened aggressions of conspiring and intriguing governments.

I was in Moscow upon the occasion of the graduation of approximately 2,000 cadets from military schools. A great demonstration occurred in the Red square at Moscow, where the assembled multitudes were harangued by Kalanin, the President of the Soviet Government, and other Bolshevik leaders. Later a meeting was held in the Grand Opera House at Moscow, and there Radek and other communists addressed the graduates, nearly all of whom are communists, and impressed upon them the necessity of guarding the gains of the revolution and protectnig Russia from the aggressions of capitalistic nations. Fanatical communists still cry for world revolution and demand the maintenance of a mighty military force and the furnishing of financial as well as military aid to revolutionary movements by the communists in various European countries.

However, in an interview with Trotski, and in reply to a question propounded by me as to whether Russia would intervene to aid a communist uprising in Germany, he stated that—

before all, and above all, we desire peace. We shall not dispatch a single Red Army soldier across the boundaries of Soviet Russia unless we are absolutely compelled to do so.

He further stated—

should the German monarchists be victorious, and should they then come to an agreement with the Entente for armed intervention in Russia, then we should certainly fight, and, I hope, victoriously.

He expressed the belief that this would not happen, and added that no internal civil war in Germany would cause Russian intervention. He stated, though, that the Bolsheviks—

did not conceal their sympathies with the German working class, and that if we could assure victory to the German revolution without risking war we should do everything we could.

I asked Tchitcherin whether the Red Army was not being mobilized near the Polish border for the purpose of throwing military forces into Germany to aid German communists in their revolutionary activities. In reply he stated, in substance, that if France should march to Berlin, then Russia would send the Red Army into Germany, though in so doing it might involve a war with Poland. He, as well as other Bolsheviks, referred to what they denominated the Fascisti movement in Italy, Spain, and Bulgaria, and stated that if the Bolshevik Government believed that it was in danger from this movement, or any other external force, Russia would fight to the end.

Undoubtedly the view is entertained by many Bolshevists that the conditions in Germany will soon ripen into a formidable revolutionary movement, producing a crisis so acute and so extensive as to warrant, if not compel, the Bolshevik Government to send military aid to the German communists. This element of the Russian communists are endeavoring to impress the Russian people with the idea that the German situation directly involves the fate of Russia and that the services of the Red Army will soon be required, even beyond the borders of Russia.

The extreme wing of the Bolshevists manifestly are displeased because of the apathy of the working classes in surrounding countries toward what they call the "class struggle" and the revolutionary movement in Russia. A few days before my departure from Moscow a committee of German communists arrived to confer with communist leaders in Moscow with reference to conditions in Germany and the revolution which they

believed soon was to engulf the German Republic. A conference was held at the Kremlin, lasting for a number of days, at which Trotski, as well as other leaders, were present. Trotski had hastened to Moscow, leaving the army maneuvers which were being carried on at a point several hundred miles southwest of Moscow. The German communists at this conference stated that conditions in Germany were ripe for a communist uprising, and they desired to know just what aid might be expected from the Bolshevik Government. These German communists stated that they desired moral aid, financial aid, and military supplies, and at the proper time military support. This committee represented that soviet organizations had secretly been effected in all cities and States of Germany, that the local organizations were properly integrated with higher ones, following the plan of the soviet organization in Russia.

The same committee stated that the political and economic situation in Germany was such as to insure within a short time the success of a communist uprising and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship.

My information indicated that Trotski and others opposed Russian military support if the situation in Germany merely developed a civil war there, but he and other Bolshevik leaders promised all moral support, and (according to some information received) finincial and other aid. The German communists were told to continue their activities, to perfect their organizations, destroy the morale of the German people, disintegrate labor unions and the Socialistic Party, call strikes and demoralize industry, and bring about an utter economic collapse of the German State. They were to sow dissension among the working classes, provoke uprisings, encourage sabotage and the seizure of private property, and undermine the State's authority and the confidence of the people in any "bourgeois" government.

When I reached Berlin, after leaving Russia, I learned from various sources that this program was being carried out. What the final result will be and what the final fate of Germany will be I do not venture to predict. I believe, however, that the immediate future of the Red Army will depend upon the occurences in Germany. If the German Republic shall survive the dangers now threatening it, and peace and prosperity shall come to the German people, then, in my opinion, the wiser and more practical Bolshevik leaders will urge that there be no increase in the military forces of the Soviet Government, and some will urge important reductions because of the lack of revenue and the heavy burden which the military establishment placed upon the people.

Speaking of the strength of the Red Army, Trotski stated to me:

> We have 600,000 soldiers—

And added—

> Taking into account our population, our vast territory, our extensive boundaries, and our alluring mineral resources, it must be recognized that ours is a very modest army. * * * We have already proposed once, and should America express a wish to support us, we are prepared again to propose the reduction of our army to a minimum necessary to insure internal order, provided that our neighbors were ready to make similar reductions.

The information secured regarding the combat strength of the army and its efficiency as a fighting force is not as precise and definite as I should have liked, and, indeed, was, in respect to some features of the army, conflicting.

During the civil war in Russia the Red Army numbered millions, but it was poorly equipped, without discipline, and many of its organizations were scarcely more than mobs. During the contest with Poland the military forces of the Bolshvik Government numbered five and one-half million men, but these forces were poorly trained, inadequately supplied with food and clothing or military supplies. Eyewitnesses of the movements of both the Polish and the Bolshevik armies are quite unanimous in declaring that both armies were undisciplined, wretchedly equipped, and wholly inefficient. In 1921 Miekhonochin declared before the soviet congress that while—

> the Red Army at the time of the Russo-Polish War numbered 5,500,000 bayonets, it was decidedly inferior to European armies and was not an organized combatant force.

He added that—

> at the beginning of the Russo-Polish conflict the Soviet Republic did not have a regular force in the European sense of the word.

The destructive and deadly order known as "No. 1," issued March 14, 1917, under the Kerensky régime, dissolved the great army which the World War had built up. All discipline was destroyed; all insignia of rank and evidence of command were abolished. The communists taught the soldiers to hate their officers and to rebel against military discipline. When the Bolshevik Government perceived that an army was needed attempts were made to effectuate some reforms and to establish some discipline. Officers of the Czar's army were retained but surrounded with such restrictions and subjected to such repressive limitations that their efforts to create an efficient army were almost nullified. Communists without any military knowledge were placed in positions of control in the armies and competent officers subjected to such espionage and frightful terrorism that they were unable to devise or execute suitable plans or adopt reasonable and proper methods for the building up of a combative force.

Undoubtedly considerable improvement has taken place in the administration of the war department, and under the direction of Trotski as Commissar of war the Red Army has become more efficient. The reforms in the army have been the result of bitter controversy, and some communists have opposed the removal of the political agents who accompanied the various army units, practically controlling the activities of the army and reforms which were imperative. At present the number of active officers who were former members of the Czar's army constitute between 5 and 15 per cent of the total number of officers. Many noncommissioned officers, who received their training in the Russian Army during and before the World War, have been commissioned as officers in the Red Army. Frenzied efforts have been made to drill and qualify communists to receive commissions in the army.

It is hoped by the Bolshevik leaders that within a short time substantially all officers of the red army will be communists.

General Broustlof, one of Russia's able military leaders during the World War, is connected with the Red Army, but has no active service. I was advised by one of the leader officers in the army that he was engaged in the rather unimportant work of securing proper mounts for the cavalry. General Smolihoff, a brave and gallant officer under the Czar, had charge of some cavalry maneuvers which members of the party and myself were permitted to witness.

The Bolsheviks have been compelled to greatly modify their earlier views with respect to the discipline of the army and the method of procuring an army. In September, 1922, universal compulsory military service was adopted, and under the present law every male upon reaching the age of 21 years is required to enter the regular army for military service. If assigned to the infantry, the period of service is 18 months; those who enter the cavalry service are required to serve three years, and the artillery and engineer corps service calls for three and one-half years. It is apparent that with Russia's large population, if all males were called into military service when attaining 21 years, the army would greatly exceed 600,000. Several officers explained that some who enter the army serve but a few months and are relieved on various pretexts, and also that many who were subject to service were not actually taken into the army. I understood that they serve as labor units or perform civilian work in connection with the military operations of the Government.

As a result of the lax enforcement of the law and the many exceptions made, the size of the army is less than authorized by law and what, indeed, the law seems to require.

It was difficult to learn just what the present combat strength of the army is. Important reductions have taken place since the Polish campaign. A report published by Trotski with reference to the size of the army in 1922 shows that there were at that time 34 divisions of infantry and 18 divisions of cavalry. There were infantry brigades numbering 20 and 3 cavalry brigades. Theoretically a division numbers 30,000 men, but as a matter of fact the average strength of a division is not in excess of 7,000; the infantry and cavalry brigades vary, the former being probably 3,000 strong and the latter 1,000. It is my opinion from the data available that the combat strength of the red army is less than 400,000. Indeed, a number of persons in Russia who had made some investigation were of the opinion that the combat strength of the entire army did not exceed 250,000. Of course, the field strength would be much in excess of these figures.

In addition to the Red Army there are other forces available for military operations. The members of the Communist Party are well drilled and, as I was informed, were receiving constant training for military service. It is well known that in the various conflicts in which the supremacy of the Bolshevik Government was challenged the communists were important factors in all military activities. There is also a State militia, which is used as a police force and which, as I was advised, has a considerable reserve. The personnel of this organization, as well as the personnel of the political organization known as the G. P. U., are selected from soldiers who have served in the army. I was not able to learn the total number of officers and enlisted men in these organizations, although various figures were suggested by persons who claimed some familiarity with the same, which gave totals of between one and two hundred thousand.

In addition to these various organizations, Trotski is now engaged in carrying out a militia program which calls for the training of all males between the ages of 16 and 18 years. They are subject to military training until they have reached the age of 21 years, the length of service, as I recall, being four months; and all males over 21 years, not presently receiving military training, are to be called for eight months military service, spread over a period of four years, with a maximum of three months in any one year. Under this system, a reserve army is provided consisting of those who have served either in

the army or navy, or have had the training required by law, and members of this reserve army are required to repeat their drill for one month each year. Employers are compelled to pay their employees who are called into this service, during the entire period when the employees are undergoing military drill.

In my interview with Trotski, his attention was called to the reports that the Bolshevik Government was organizing a powerful militia to supplement the Red Army. He admitted that it was planned to create a state militia, but said that "the Red Army would be gradually turned into a militia." Whatever the plan or purpose may be in regard to a reduction in the army, the evidence obtained indicates that the Government is organizing a militia which will number several millions. Nothing was brought to my attention, nor was I able to obtain any evidence, other than the statement of Trotski, tending to show that the size of the army would be reduced or that it would be merged into the militia.

As to the efficiency of the militia organization which is being formed, I venture no opinion. Members of the Military Affairs Committee and those who have knowledge of our National Guard are far more competent than I to judge upon this question.

The statement is often made in America and European countries that German officers were operating munition and other plants in Russia, producing military equipment and supplies. Careful inquiry in all parts of Russia visited failed to support such charges. Various military camps were visited and tens of thousands of soldiers were seen, but not a single German officer was discovered in Russia.

The fact is, that notwithstanding the Treaty of Rapallo, there is no great cordiality between the Soviet and the German Governments. It is my opinion that no German capital is being employed in Russia to build up the Red Army or to provide it with war supplies or military equipment, nor are there any evidences that Germans are engaged in any Russian factories or plants which are producing munitions and war supplies.

The Russian Army is lacking in heavy ordnance, in tanks and transportation facilities, including motor transports, and also in aircraft and munitions and equipment of various kinds. There seemed to be a sufficient supply of small arms and of cavalry equipment.

An intensive compaign had been in progress for weeks before reaching Russia, and it was continued during the entire period that I was in Russia, for funds to purchase and to build additional aircraft. An advertising plan of a most appealing character was carried on in all parts of Russia, and many workmen, merchants, and others complained of the coercive methods employed to obtain contributions to this fund. I was told by a number of persons in a position to know, that large sums had been obtained by subscription and contributions from every part of Russia.

There was no concealment by the Government of its purpose to build up a strong military air force, and announcements were made that a large number of Fokker planes had been purchased and would soon be available. I visited a military aviation field near Moscow, and saw a few German Junkers and one Handley-Page bombing plane. That great attention was being given to military aeronautics was apparent. The Government was also operating an air service from Moscow to Turkestan via Persia, and also between Moscow and Berlin.

There was nothing impressive about the soldiers encountered, but all seemed to be strong and vigorous and material out of which a powerful fighting force could be made. The Bolsheviks have discovered that discipline is necessary to create an army. The demoralization which followed the control of the armies by Kerensky and later by the Bolsheviks was a painful but an impressive lesson to Trotski and to the Soviet Government. Accordingly there was a return to discipline, not, however, of so harsh and stern a character as that which prevailed in the Czar's reign. There is much comradeship between the officers and the privates when off duty, but the officers do not hesitate to assert authority in training the soldiers and in directing military operations.

Teachers are provided in the camps and the soldiers receive instructions from them. In one of the camps visited a number of soldiers were being instructed as to the effects of communism upon the land system. No books were observed, but a number of Bolshevik newspapers and magazines were supplied the soldiers, among them being atheistic publications containing grotesque and sacrilegious cartoons, unspeakably foul and blasphemous. These publications are authorized by the Bolshevik Government and issued from its presses and paid for from its treasury. Political instructors, all of whom are communists, visit the camps and teach communism to the soldiers. It is frankly conceded that the Government desires that its soldiers shall be communists, and that upon their return to their respective homes they shall become active workers for communism among their families and neighbors. The efforts to remove illiteracy among the soldiers have been fairly successful, and many who were unable to read and write when entering the army return to their homes with this impediment removed.

Maneuvers of the Red Army were being conducted in various parts of Russia during the visit of our party, and many trains were employed in conveying troops to and from these maneuvers, which were attended by Trotski and Bujenny and other military leaders.

Wherever our party went soldiers were seen. In cities and towns, and at remote railroad stations, the soldier, with the red star in his cap and the rifle and bayonet in his hands, was to be seen. In the trans-Caucasus district information showed that 40,000 soldiers were maintained. Soldiers from Siberia were met, who stated that many thousands were kept between the Ural Mountains and the Pacific Ocean. An officer from Turkestan, as well as various persons recently there, reported that a considerable military force was maintained in that Russian Province and near the boundary of Afghanistan. In Armenia, in Azerbaijan, and along the western slopes of the Urals forces of the Red Army were found.

At Rostov our party met the famous cavalry leader Bujenny. He is the idol of the Red Army, and has been promoted to second in command. Springing from the soil, the son of a poor peasant, he has risen by courage and military genius to be a commanding figure in Russia, and is entitled to the distinction of being called one of the greatest cavalry leaders of his day.

General Bujenny served in the Russian Army during the World War and has been with the Red Army from the beginning. It would be interesting were the full story of his exploits made available to the public, and it would throw much light upon the fighting qualities and the condition of the Russian Army while it was a factor in the World War, as well as the tragic and sanguinary conflicts in Russia's civil war between

the Reds and the Whites, when fathers were opposed to sons and sons bitterly fought against the forces in which their fathers heroically contended and died. It would reveal the reason why Denikin and Wrangel and Kolchak failed and why the Bolshevik Government, weak and tottering and all but destroyed at times, survived and has grown in strength until at present its authority is not openly challenged. For six hours we listened to his recital of the tragic and awful years, and the scenes he depicted brought vividly before me the heroic characters and the cruel and sanguinary conflicts described in Fire and Sword and other books written by Poland's great novelist Sienkiewicz.

There are a number of soviet military schools, from which are being graduated every year several thousand officers. Substantially all are chosen from the peasant and working classes. They are schooled in communism, but to make it more palatable efforts are made to clothe the creed with a sort of religious mien. Trotski has been adroit enough to appreciate that the negations of communism will not satisfy the Slav temperament, with its emotionalism and its ingrained religious traits, and in articles of remarkable cleverness he has shown how some of the outward forms found in the religious exercises and activities of the people with modifications could be employed to dress communist teachings and cover the associations and intercourse of the people.

Accordingly communism is to be invested with the atmosphere of a religious cult. It is to be regarded as the highest expression of altruism and humanitarianism. It is to be approached with a reverent spirit, with something of the devotion which animates the Russian peasants and orthodox believers when they enter the great cathedrals and listen to the inspiring music and the liturgy and chants, which affect even the most stolid and impenitent.

Thus the young military leaders and soldiers are taught to regard themselves as the guardians of a sacred cause, the triumph of which will bring ineffable happiness to thee people of the world. This course tends to satisfy those who can not forget the icons and the echoes of priestly voices, and the solemn and beautiful ceremonies attendant upon marriage and christening. And so it is to be quite proper to make the entering into a marriage contract and the christening of the child the occasion for a rhapsodical peroration about idealized humanity and a glorification of the spirit and aims of communism which it is alleged will link all nations together in peace and fraternity.

As hereinbefore indicated, the Russian people, whether communists or noncommunists, believe that Russia is destined to be a world power. The thought is expressed by many Russians that controversies with other powers are inevitable, and that Russia's movements in the East will bring her into conflict with Great Britain. The temperament of the Russian lends itself to expansive movements; and peasant as well as student, and writer, and statesman, often dreams of the heavy tread of Russia beyond her present boundaries. Call it nationalism or imperialism, it fits in with the fantasies as well as the creed of the communists that they, through the Third International and other agencies, including military force, are to change the face of the world. These views have to do with the Red Army and Russia's military preparedness.

Trotsky in the interview referred to showed, what I had discovered, that there was no feeling of amity, but rather of bitterness between the Bolshevik Government and Poland. Trotsky stated that: "In the whole history of Soviet Russia's relations

with Poland, Russia had shown a truly 'angelic' patience. From the first, in spite of its agreements, Poland had manifested hostility to Russia, but the latter was too sensible of the fact that war with Poland would signify a general European conflagration which would result in the wiping out from the face of the earth of the remains of European civilization."

April 24, 1924

Mr. KING. Mr. President, several weeks ago I addressed the Senate at length concerning conditions in Russia, and my observation of such conditions when in Russia in August and September, 1923. Before concluding my address, an adjournment was taken. Since then the Senate has been so occupied in the consideration of the revenue bill as well as other important measures, and my work has been so onerous, that I have been unable to complete what I had intended to say upon this matter.

I have been asked by Senators to complete my statement, and numerous letters from various parts of the United States have urged me to finish my speech in order that it might be published in the RECORD. I apologize to the Senate for having consumed so much time and ask the indulgence of Senators while I further direct their attention to various phases of the Russian question which I believe deserve consideration.

I stated when I addressed the Senate on the 22d day of January last that I was prompted to examine somewhat in detail the Russian situation and to present the facts as I understood them, because of the pendency of a resolution in the Senate declaring in favor of the recognition of the Bolshevik Government by the United States and because many persons in public life as well as in various parts of the United States had asked me to present to the Senate my views upon the resolution and the result of my observations during a somewhat extended trip in Russia.

Conditions in Russia have not improved since I addressed the Senate; indeed there has been a recrudescence of radical communism and the forces of progress and reform have been checked in their forward movement. I believe, however, that the reactionary forces have gained a temporary victory only and that the silent and powerful elements for progress will, though slowly and haltingly, resume their forward march. Reforms are not uniform in their developing movements. There are sharp advances and recessive movements. Such is the case in Russia. Undoubtedly the situation is discouraging to the liberal forces in Russia, and it needs stout hearts and more than human faith to meet the apparently insurmountable obstacles which must be overcome before Russia emerges into the light of freedom.

THE JEWISH SITUATION.

The prevailing opinion outside of Russia is that the Bolshevik revolution was the result of Jewish intrigue and activity, and that the Bolshevik leaders from the beginning have been, and still are, almost exclusively Jews. The facts do not support this opinion. It is undoubtedly true that the Jewish race furnished a greater proportion, based upon its numerical strength, than any other race actively participating in the revolution and in the organization of the Bolshevik Government.

The population of the Russian Empire at the time of the revolution was approximately 160,000,000. Of that number about 7,000,000 were Jews, including those found in Russian Poland. The Communist Party, which overthrew the Kerensky government and seized the reins of power, numbered at the time approximately 150,000. No information was available as to the number of Jews in the Bolshevik Party at that time, but it is certain, however, that the Jews constituted an important element in the party.

Reasons were assigned by Russians and Jews, with whom I talked, why so many Jews were found in what were called in the Czar's time revolutionary organizations. It will be remembered that among the so-called revolutionary parties were Nihilists, Anarchists, Social revolutionists, Mensheviks, and Bolsheviks. Both the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks claimed to be the true disciples of Karl Marx. The Bolsheviks represented extreme communism, such as was enforced by them after they gained control of Russia. The Mensheviks sought rather by orderly processes, by education, and by evolution, to bring about modifications and changes in the Russian Government.

The Social Revolutionary Party also demanded reforms and material changes in the structure as well as the administration of the government. Under czaristic régimes the Jews had been greatly persecuted. They were forbidden the right to reside in many parts of Russia. The universities and higher educational institutions were denied to their children and many occupations and business activities were closed against them. Pogroms were instituted by ignorant and fanatical persons, oftentimes connived at and encouraged by officials of local Provinces and of the general government.

Many brilliant men and women of Jewish families, desiring educational advantages, which were denied in Russia, went to Paris and Switzerland and Vienna and to other parts of Europe. There some came into contact with radicals from various countries and imbibed the revolutionary spirit which was developing in Europe. They learned the philosophy of Karl Marx, and believed the structure of society was wrong and that capitalistic governments should be overthrown. Upon returning to Russia they, as well as others who had received some educational advantages in Russia, became members of various revolutionary organizations there found. Their linguistic attainments, their ability to wield facile pens, write political pamphlets, and organize propaganda movements gave them an important standing in such organizations. Some became leaders in these revolutionary parties, and the influence of the Jewish members of the parties was out of proportion to their number. A few came to America, where they led a rather precarious existence.

With the breaking out of the revolution some who were in America found their way into Russia and there joined with Lenin and Trotski and other Bolsheviks in the revolutionary work in which they were engaged.

Trotski, Kameneff, Zinoviev, Radek, and other Jews have exercised, and still exercise, great influence upon the policies and activities of the Soviet Government. But the number of Jews who belong to the Communist Party is not as great as generally believed.

Those familiar with the Russian revolution and conditions since then know that the Communist Party in Russia has controlled the Bolshevik Government and is the force that has to be considered. If the Communist Party was to fall to pieces

the Bolshevik Government, it is believed by many, would be destroyed. It is important, therefore, to know something of the strength of this party. Its membership has fluctuated greatly. From 150,000 at the time of the revolution it increased to more than 600,000. Upon two occasions general "house cleanings" occurred within the party and thousands were expelled. Some left the party because of their disagreement with its policies and others because of their disapproval of the new economic policy forced upon the party by Lenin.

The newspaper Pravda, the official organ of the Communist Party, in one of its recent issues stated that the census taken in 1922 showed there were 410,000 members. Questionnaires addressed to communist organizations in Siberia and the Far East were not at hand when the tables printed in the Pravda were prepared. But it accounted for 375,693 members, giving their nationality. It is stated that there are 100 nationalities represented in the party, Turkestan alone having 57 races; the Ukraine, 54; Georgia, 48; and Azerbaijan, 36; while central Russia is represented by 72 nationalities. The following is the table printed in the Pravda:

Nationality	Total membership	Percentage of total	Number per thousand population
Great Russians (Russians)	270,409	72.00	3.80
Little Russians (Ukranians)	22,078	5.88	.94
White Russians	5,583	1.47	1.67
Latvians (Lets)	9,512	2.53	78.00
Georgians	7,378	1.90	4.52
Jews	19,564	5.20	7.20
Turko-Tartars	6,534	1.72	1.19
Armenians	3,828	1.02	2.91
Poles	5,649	1.50	10.80
Lithuanians	1,472	.39	32.80
Germans	2,217	.59	1.93
Osetins (Northern Caucasus)	1,699	.47	8.00
Kirghiz (Southern Ural Steppes)	4,946	1.32	.89
Uzbeks (Southern Ural Steppes)	2,043	.54	.76
Turkomen	1,000	.27	1.00
Esthonians	1,964	.53	16.30
Mordva (Upper Volga)	1,632	.43	1.47
Chuvash (Upper Volga)	1,054	.28	1.31
Finns	938	.25	7.96
Persians	709	.19	1.42
Hungarians	533	1.14	2.97

The article further states the other races in the table have a total membership ranging from 1 to 400, amongst the races being Mingrel, Adjar, Kabardin, Lezgin, Circasians, and many of the Mongol-Finnish tribes in northern Russia. The high percentage of communists, based upon the population, of some of the nationalities, is accounted for, the Pravda states, because "so many of the communists are refugees in Russia and they are tabulated as against the Latvian or their respective populations within Soviet Russia."

Reference to the table will show that the total membership of Jews in the Communist Party is 19,564. In other words, with a membership of 410,000, nineteen and one-half thousand are Jews.

There is a committee of nine persons, viz: Lenin, Trotski, Rykov, Stalin, Bukharin, Dzerzhinsky, Tomsky, Kamenef, and Zinoviev, who exercise the powers of the Communist Party, and carry out its policies and direct the administration of the Bolshevik Government. Lenin's death created a vacancy

which has been filled, but I do not know who has been added to the committee. Of this number, three, namely, Trotski, Kamenef, and Zinoviev, are Jews. It is therefore entirely correct to say that the Jews do exercise a powerful influence in the Bolshevik Government. Trotski and Kamenef are popular and influential with the communists. It was freely predicted by communists, and noncommunists, that if Lenin were to die, Kamenef or Trotski would be the outstanding figure in the government and in the Communist Party. To many the relationship of these two men is known, Kamenef having married the sister of Trotski.

But the situation of the Russian Jews is not as happy or secure as superficial investigations might indicate. Even among the Bolsheviks there is manifested from time to time an anti-Semitic feeling, and throughout Russia there are growing signs of a recrudescence of the anti-Jewish spirit. Indeed, a number of persons, familiar with conditions in Russia, stated to me that the growing Russian nationalistic spirit was in part due to the predominance of the Jews in the Bolshevik Government and the general antipathy felt toward the members of that race.

The figures above given, with the percentages stated in the table, would indicate a much less number of Jews in Russia than the information imparted to members of our party warranted. Numerous inquiries made in Ukraine brought the information that there were three and one-half million Jews therein, and it was repeatedly stated by residents of Russia that there were between 1,000,000 and 1,500,000 Jews in European and Asiatic Russia, outside of the Ukraine. The best information obtainable was that the Jewish population of Russia, European and Asiatic, was between four and five millions. It will be observed, therefore, that the number of Jewish communists—19,556—influential though many of them are, does not give to the Jews that preeminent and dominating position in the Communist Party and in the Bolshevik Government that is attributed to them by many persons.

The evidence establishes that the Jewish communists are very dogmatic and many of them fanatical and vindictive. They have been among the greatest persecutors of their own race who were not communists. The testimony seemed to be incontestable that it was the Jewish communists of Minsk who enforced the order of confiscation of the beautiful Jewish synagogue and its conversion into a Bolshevik clubhouse; and equally credible evidence established that some of the local communist Jews in the Ukraine were instrumental in procuring the order for the closing of 70 synagogues. However, before the order could be executed appeals to superior Bolshevik authority brought a revocation of the order. And the same Jewish communists in the Ukraine are largely responsible for the persecution of the Zionists and other members of the Jewish race. They were the most zealous in preventing the teaching of the Hebrew language and in the closing of Hebrew schools and the banishment to the icebound coasts of the Arctic Ocean of a large number of God-fearing and high-minded Jews, whose only offense was their belief in the faith of their fathers and their desire to maintain that faith and to expound it in the Hebrew tongue and to keep alive a love for the land which David trod, a land which will ever remain sacred to those who appreciate the contributions that Judaism has made to the civilization and progress of the world.

The Jews of Russia, aside from those who are members of the Communist Party, are not Bolsheviks, nor do they indorse

the materialistic creed or the atheistic teachings of the communists. They are law-abiding citizens, anxious to do their full part in the development of Russia, and to live in peace and accord with all persons. The normal Jew believes in private ownership of property and in a large measure of individual liberty. He likewise wants full opportunity to exercise his religious beliefs and feels that he is entitled to equal protection with all other classes or races.

I had opportunities to visit Jewish homes and meet rabbis and teachers and traders and business men, and many in the humbler walks of life. I attended their religious services and witnessed their devotion to the faith of their fathers. We visited orphan homes, supported by the charitable Jews of America, and saw many of the 70000 Jewish orphans in Russia who are being cared for with contributions from the United States. Hospitals are being maintained and large amounts have been expended by generous Americans in helping Jewish families whose misfortunes have brought them to misery and ruin. Agricultural implements, valued at tens of thousands of dollars, have been shipped to eJwish agriculturalists, and cattle and horses have been purchased to enable them to farm the lands which they occupied, and support their impoverished families. It is a pleasure to pay tribute to the great humanitarian work performed in Russia by the generous and high-minded Americans of the Jewish race.

Theoretically communism ignores races or nationality, but, as indicated, even with communists in Russia, the traditions, as well as the racial prejudices, which have existed for centuries, influence the conduct of Bolsheviks toward the Jews. Undoubtedly leading officials and some sincere and consistent communists struggle against this prejudice, and they have been instrumental in a number of instances in preventing anti-Jewish manifestations which might have culminated in pogroms of more or less severity.

The Jews have suffered greatly under the communist rule. They were largely the traders and middlemen and were also engaged in many large and productive enterprises. The progress in the Ukraine prior to the war and its riches and superior position among the great Provinces of Russia were due in part to enterprising Jewish leaders and to their efforts to develop the resources of the country. They had an important part in establishing the beet sugar industry and were active in industrial enterprises which furnished employment to the people and contributed to the prosperity of the country. The confiscation of all property affected the Jews more, relatively, than it did other classes of the population. This because most of the Jews lived in the cities and towns where all property was swept away by confiscation. Those in the country could obtain some food supplies from the land, except in the days of the famine; but those in the cities were reduced to the greatest extremities, and except in the famine regions their sufferings as well as the mortality among them was greatest.

But the future of the Jews, as stated, is not secure. An eminent Rabbi when asked what the future of the Russian Jews would be replied: "One-third will perish, one-third will be assimilated by the Slavs, and one-third, either driven from Russia, or because of pressure or persecution will migrate to other countries." Already in the Ukraine there are manifestations of hostility to the Jews. In the University of Kiev a number of Jewish professors have been relieved of their positions, so that now but one Jewish professor and a very few assistants are em-

ployed. Applications for positions by highly trained and competent professors of the Jewish race were denied, notwithstanding the paucity of competent teachers in the higher institutions of learning. Fifteen Jews were deported from the Ukraine within 10 days prior to the arrival of the party at Kiev. This was done without trial, the reasons alleged being that they were Zionists.

COURTS

The Bolshevik régime, when it gained power promptly abolished the judicial system existing in Russia. The confiscation of all property in the great social and political upheaval, called, as it was said for a new system. A comparison of the existing judicial code and the methods of judicial procedure, with the revolutionary, chaotic, and bizzarre methods pursued in the earlier days of Bolshevik rule, reveals the progress toward sanity and enlightened policies which have been made. Both criminal and civil codes have been enacted, which, while defective and containing many absurdities, and injustices, nevertheless seem to indicate a general purpose to promote justice. The jury system is abolished and the control of the judges is entirely in the hands of the Soviet authorities. Many of the judges have been named because of their ardent communism and few if any have been appointed because of their knowledge of jurisprudence or their acquaintance with law. The presiding judge in Moscow was a baker and none of the judges, according to the information received, had been lawyers or students of the law. The same was true of the attorneys who represented the State, but now young communist lawyers fill a few of these positions.

Visits to various courts and interviews with prosecuting attorneys satisfied me that, in the main, they were trying to get at the facts and to do justice between litigants, and between individuals and the Government. There seemed to be a growing desire to have the courts conform to the law and to follow uniform procedure. The various statutes and decrees and codes appeared in pamphlet or book form, and the judges showed familiarity with them and the usual interpretation given them. Many of the judges seemed humane and were solicitous that the rights of persons charged with offenses be protected.

The people are showing greater respect for and confidence in the courts, and are more and more resorting to them to settle their property rights and controversies. However, there was a strong feeling that in controversies between communists and noncommunists the former were given the advantage. A number of persons stated to me that they would not yet be willing to avail themselves of the courts, where their adversaries were communists.

Information conveyed was that now, as in the earlier days of the revolution, the judges subscribed to the oath or statement that they would decide according to the "revolutionary or socialistic conscience." Of course, the revolutionary conscience of the judges differs, as the size of the chancellors' foot differs; and the result has been, as Bolsheviks stated, that decisions upon the same facts, in different parts of the country, were wholly different, and thus brought the courts into disrepute. Accordingly, an effort has been made to have the judges become more conversant with the law and to approximate uniformity in their decisions. In other words, the Government is seeking certainty, and the officials are

desirous of bringing greater uniformity and order and justice into judicial proceedings.

Bar associations are being formed, the membership being largely composed of lawyers of the prerevolutionary days. Many young men, some of whom are communists, are becoming members of the bar associations and they and the older lawyers not infrequently appear in the courts representing litigants. However, it was stated by some that the younger lawyers, and particularly those of Bolshevik faith or sympathies, more frequently appear and seemed to have greater influence with the judges than the older lawyers.

Defendants charged with crimes are entitled to counsel, except where the court, upon due consideration, determines that the State shall not be represented, in which event there is no prosecutor and the defendant is without counsel. The theory is that the judge will represent both the State and the defendant. Where the trial does not take the course just suggested, and the defendant desires counsel, the judge communicates with the lawyers' "Collegium," which is the Bar Association, and the president designates some attorney to act. The judge is always an active party in the trial of cases, whether criminal or civil. He may send for books and papers, or witnesses, whenever he thinks additional facts may be obtained.

One palpable defect in the judicial system arises from the fact that the panel of judges changes almost daily. As stated, there are no juries, and the court consists of three judges; the presiding judge is appointed by the Government, and the other two are temporary, serving for a few days only and are selected from lists prepared by the unions and workers' organizations. This list is transmitted to a commission appointed by the soviet authority, and they pick from the list the two temporary judges who usually sit for the day. In one of the courts visited, the temporary judges were both women, appointed from the shops; one of them was suffering from some facial trouble and appeared with her face swathed in bandages. The presiding judge, however, is the real power. He interrogates the witnesses, directs the proceedings, and in most instances shapes the decision. The two temporary judges can overrule him, but in actual practice it is seldom that his views are not accepted by the other judges.

The State is divided into political subdivisions; namely, villages, volusts, which consist of a number of villages, ooiyzds, comprising several volusts, the ooiyzds corresponding to a county in most of the States, and gubernias, composed of a number of ooiyzds.

There are inferior courts provided for the smaller political subdivisions, with limited jurisdiction. Courts of general jurisdiction exist in the gubernias, and appeals are allowed upon questions of law from them to the supreme court of the province. There are also what are called war and transportation collegiums, or courts, which deal with questions of a military nature or growing out of the transportation activities of the Government. In criminal cases, bail may be allowed, but not as a matter of right.

There are many charged with what are called "economical" crimes and the prisons are filled with offenders convicted of economical crimes and counter-revolutionary offenses. Within the first category come many acts and omissions. It is a crime to confer concerning, or to furnish information respecting, property confiscated by the Government. It is also an offense to "mismanage" Government property. As a result, many persons, communists and noncommunists, who are connected with

governmental business activities, are brought before the courts, convicted, and sent to prison or exiled to Archangel or Siberia. Many persons connected with Government enterprises are now greatly concerned for their safety, because substantially all such enterprises have deficits which have to be met by larger emissions of paper rubles or by increased taxation.

It is an "economical" crime to violate a labor or a co-operative bargaining agreement or to employ persons other than those provided by the code. Banditry and corruption in office and counter-revolutionary acts may be punished by death. As stated, a broad meaning is given to the words "counter-revolutionary acts," and many persons are still being arrested and prosecuted under this statute whose conduct under any reasonable interpretation of the statute and under a just and humane system or laws would not warrant their prosecution.

PRISONS

I visited a number of prisons and talked with many of their inmates and examined the rooms and cells in which they were imprisoned. Generally speaking, the prisons were fairly clean and sanitary. The prisoners seemed well nourished and were reasonably content with their surroundings. One of the prisons visited contained several hundred political offenders. It had served the purpose of a military prison under the Czar's régime. Here the rooms were commodious and scrupulously clean. There were a number of priests of the Roman Catholic Church in one of the prisons visited. They were charged with having opposed the seizure of church treasures by the Government. My information was that there had been no physical force interposed by the priests to prevent the Bolshevik officials from removing the seized property from the churches, but many priests of both the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches had been arrested and imprisoned because of their alleged opposition to such seizure.

In a prison in Moscow I visited Archbishop Zepilack, the venerable prelate of the Roman Catholic Church who was serving a sentence of 10 years. From all that I could learn his conviction and sentence were so unjust as to provoke, not only resentment in Russia, but widespread condemnation. His sentence was commuted to 10 years' solitary confinement. Learning that he was confined in one of the famous prisons in Moscow, I sought permission to visit him. My request was granted and he was brought from his prison cell into the office, where prison authorities were present, and I had opportunity to converse with him for a few minutes. He occupied a small cell which lacked conveniences found in modern prisons. He was cheerful, but his appearance indicated impaired health and heavy drains upon his vitality. I learned that negotiations were being conducted between Soviet authorities and the Polish Government, and another important organization which I felt sure would culminate in the release of Archbishop Zepilack within a short period. We were advised a few days ago by European dispatches that the venerable prelate had been escorted to the western borders of Russia and hastily, indeed, brutally put across the line into Poland. The accounts stated that he was in a most pitiable condition, showing serious effects from his long confinement. He was without suitable clothing or means for the continuation of his journey.

In some of the prisons many of the inmates were engaged in various kinds of employment. Some were engaged in metal shops, others in the manufacture of paper boxes and a variety

of commodities. Generally speaking, the authorities in charge of prisons seemed to be humane and interested in the welfare of the prisoners.

Political prisoners were found in a number of the places visited. Some were charged with being anarchists and others as counter-revolutionists. A comparatively large number were held for trial or had been convicted of graft, bribery, and corruption in office and many of larceny.

I can not speak with any definiteness as to the condition of prisons other than those visited. The information which I obtained was uncertain and in some respects conflicting. I was unable, though I made inquiries of the Bolshevik leaders, to learn the number of persons imprisoned, those held by the Cheka, and the number who had been exiled. I did learn, however, that there were many prisons; that many thousands of persons had been exiled to Siberia and to cold and inhospitable regions in northern Russia. The number of political prisoners undoubtedly is less than during the period between 1918 and 1922. However, a large number are being held by the various political organizations, and thousands have been sent to Turkestan, Siberia, and to prison camps and stations along the White Sea and to points contiguous to the Arctic Ocean.

I talked to a number of persons whose friends and relatives were in prison or had been sent to penal colonies in Turkestan, Siberia, and to prison camps within the frozen regions of northern Russia. I also met persons, both in Russia and in Germany, who had been imprisoned by the Bolshevik Government or whose relatives and friends had been or still were in prisons or in the camps provided for exiles. Substantially all stated that in the earlier days of the Bolshevik régime conditions in the prisons were horrible; that they were overcrowded; that all classes were thrown together in dark, filthy, and insanitary places, where they were subjected to brutal and cruel treatment, to indignities and hardships, including starvation, which resulted in appalling mortality. My information was that conditions had considerably improved and that there was more humanity shown to prisoners now than formerly.

FOREIGN-RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS AND HEALTH CONDITION

For several years, and particularly during the famine period of 1921 and 1922, various relief organizations were actively engaged in distributing food, clothing, and medicines among the Russian people. The Bolshevik Government received these organizations with considerable reluctance, and at first sought to hamper them in their mission of mercy and salvation; but the fine work which was done and the scrupulous avoidance by all representatives and workers of political discussions, and a complete abstention from participation in the Government, local or general, soon affected a change in the attitude of the Government toward the relief work. However, in some Provinces, local Bolsheviks placed obstacles in the path of the relief workers and greatly hampered their efforts. There were instances in which Bolshevik officials diverted the medical and other supplies to the army and into channels for which it was not designed. But, generally speaking, it should be said that the Bolshevik Government cooperated with these organizations in their humanitarian work. The testimony was universal, as it was brought to my attention that the lives of millions were saved by this timely intervention. When it is known that the destitution was so great and the agonies and sufferings so frightful that thousands became insane and

parents devoured their own children, and entire communities existed upon roots and the barks of trees, and that these conditions were found in a territory perhaps larger in area than the entire United States east of the Mississippi River, some slight idea can be obtained of the tragic and awful situation. Entire villages were swept away and hundreds of thousands of people fled, seeking escape from death. Steppes and plains were dotted with the fleeing forms of old and young, thousands of whom fell and died by the wayside.

Many who fled survived but did not return; others wandered, and still wander, in the various parts of Russia, homeless and dazed from the horrors and experiences through which they passed. Members of our party met large numbers of those who had fled from the Volga district into Siberia and other parts of Russia returning to the districts from which they had gone. The boats upon which some of our party traveled down the Volga River were crowded with peasants, many of whom were returning from Siberia; others from different parts of Russia seeking the villages from which they had fled. Their condition was pitiable in the extreme. They were without sufficient food and few had clothing to protect them. Upon reaching the villages where they had formerly resided they would find, in many instances, that all lands had been distributed and that no provision had been made for them. This would necessitate their departure to some other section where lands were still available.

Thousands of children during the famine period were sent by the Government into various parts of Russia where it was hoped they would be saved. Still others found their way into Czecho Slovakia and other near-by countries. We met hundreds of these children, many looking well nourished, who were returning from the places to which they were sent. They were being taken by the Government to their homes, where it was thought that if relatives were not discovered other peasants might be found to undertake their care. I learned that some villages from which children had been sent were entirely destroyed, the population having, in part, perished, the balance having sought homes elsewhere.

The reports received in America during the famine period were not exaggerated. Millions died from disease and starvation, and hundreds of thousands of orphan children now fill homes maintained by the Government or lead fugitive and vagrant lives in the cities, towns, and villages. Many, however, are receiving care at the hands of charitable persons whose resources are so slender as to make their own existence precarious. The sufferings through which many of the children passed have left tragic impress upon their frail bodies. Many are stunted and thousands show unmistakable evidences of long periods of undernourishment. Many are tubercular and a large number are suffering from malarial fever, as well as other ailments.

I was unable to obtain accurate figures showing the number of orphans and homeless children or the number of orphans' homes and the number of inmates. The figures submitted to me show considerable variance. Statements from two persons who had traveled extensively throughout Russia in relief and charitable work were also divergent. One stated that there were over 1,000,000 children in orphans' homes and institutions and 3,000,000 orphans and destitute children outside of the homes, most of whom were suffering from malnutrition and were without clothes for the approaching winter. It was his opinion that large numbers would die because of

exposure, undernourishment, and diseases which would flow therefrom. The other person gave it as his opinion that there were more than 2,000,000 orphans in Russia, and that there were hundreds of thousands who were lacking food and clothing. The Government is endeavoring to cope with the orphan and destitute-children problem. Hundreds of children's homes have been established, but the number is wholly inadequate to care for the orphans and the thousands who are waifs upon the streets or who can not be provided for because of the impoverished condition of their parents. Many of the homes are insanitary, wretchedly equipped, and afford insufficient food and inadequate warmth and clothing for the inmates. Distressing poverty exists in cities, towns, and villages, and the present winter will bring to millions of Russian people intense suffering, sickness, and disease, and to hundreds of thousands premature death.

Through these organizations many hospitals were partially equipped and medical supplies furnished. The medical fraternity of Russia cordially cooperated with these organizations and their physical wants were in part supplied, thus enabling them to get sufficient strength to effectively aid in meeting the frightful conditions existing.

To Petrograd alone 25 carloads of medical supplies were sent, and from there distributed within the city and over a very large area of northern and northeastern Russia. Within that extensive district 20 per cent of the people during 1921 and 1922 suffered from typhus, and the victims of tuberculosis reached unprecedented heights. Inquiries brought information that throughout Russia there has been an increase over pre-war conditions in the number suffering from tuberculosis, syphilis, and other diseases, and that at present an epidemic of malaria prevails in all parts of the country. There is great need for public health physicians as well as regulations, and as indicated the hospital facilities are wholly inadequate for the needs of the people. I visited a number of hospitals and found but few that could be regarded as satisfactory. Most of them lacked supplies, equipment, nurses, and an adequate medical staff. Some were unclean, insanitary, and lacking in nearly everything which hospitals should have. There is great need of physicians and surgeons in all parts of Russia. Most of the people are ignorant of the ordinary laws of sanitation and health. Fortunately, the medical schools are crowded, many of the students being inspired with a sincere desire to equip themselves for service among their suffering countrymen.

In the United States there is one physician to every 800 of the population. In Russia there is but one physician for every 6,000 population. Inquiry revealed that in most rural districts there are no physicians, and the health regulations, if any exist, are archaic and not enforced. It should be remembered, however, that not only in the World War but in the civil wars of Russia thousands of physicians perished, and the mortality in the ranks of medical men has been very great since the end of these internal conflicts. Physicians were classed as bourgeoisie, and their sufferings for lack of food, clothing, and shelter brought thousands to premature death.

This dark page of death is a tribute to the fidelity to duty and the devotion to the ideals of their profession. Undernourished, starving, and dying, the Russian physicians went among the suffering people of Russia, serving and saving, counting naught of themselves. Lack of sanitation and health regulations and the indifference of the people to the rules of health, indiscrimi-

nate association of those afflicted with contagious and other diseases with all classes in the various communities, hunger and exposure, all of these and other conditions laid heavy toll upon the Russian people and aided in bringing about widespread troubles, economic and otherwise, from which Russia has suffered and is still suffering.

Typhoid, typhus, cholera, and other diseases added to the woes of an afflicted people. Hospital facilities were wholly inadequate and medicine and hospital supplies were practically nonexistent. Accurate information was not obtainable as to the amount expended by American and other foreign relief associations in Russia. Figures were stated giving a total of between $50,000,000 and $100,000,000. Those who contributed will have the satisfaction of knowing that their contributions saved the lives of millions and gave succor and sustenance to millions more. The work of the American relief expedition and the Jewish relief committee and the Friends organization were very effective. I do not mean to imply, however, that other organizations were not equally as effective or their work less valuable.

The Bolshevik Government, in dealing with health problems, is confronted with similar difficulties met in other governmental activities. It lacks competent men and is overwhelmed with an ignorant bureaucracy. Lack of revenue also is an obstacle to the carrying out of desired reforms, but progress is being made, and the health of the people is improving, and sanitary and hygienic measures are being gradually but slowly put into operation.

LABOR

Information obtained regarding labor was not as complete as desired, and the facts stated may be too isolated to warrant broad generalizations as to the labor conditions in Russia. First, as herein indicated, perhaps 85 per cent of the population belong to the peasant class, and they have no connection with labor unions or labor organizations. Before the war employees in factories, manufacturing plants, mines, and mills were organized into affiliated unions. They had gained many reforms and were rational and temperate in their demands. Within the unions were found many able men, students of political and social science, who participated in some of the liberal movements directed against the evils in the czaristic government and to accomplish needed reforms in the administration of the government, as well as its fundamental and substantive law. Some were communists and a considerable number were connected with the Menshevik and Social Revolutionary Parties, but the overwhelming majority were not connected with political parties or the political struggles that were being waged.

Some of the workmen in the factories, particularly in Petrograd and Moscow, gave their support to the Bolshevik revolution. Lenin has stated that without the workers, referring to members of the union, the revolution would have failed. But after the Bolshevik Government obtained power it attempted to, and quite effectually did, destroy the unions. The members of the unions, as well as the people generally, were subjected to a despotic military control, and both men and women, communists and noncommunists, indeed, all the population between certain ages, were made subject to the orders of the government. The communist formula adopted made all persons the

children of the State, every movement of their lives being directed by the government. No wages were to be paid, no compensation was to be allowed, all were workers in and for the State, which owned all property, controlled and directed all industries, and subjected the people to a species of servitude. The condition of the workers during this period of military communism was wretched and debasing in the extreme.

One of the signs of progress in Russia is the improved situation of the workers in the factories and mills and plants. Association with many workmen and visits to numerous plants, mills, and mines afforded satisfactory evidence that, though wages paid are exceedingly low, the workmen are enjoying privileges denied to many Russian citizens, and are able to obtain more of the necessities of life than the great majority of the inhabitants of Russia are able to procure.

Labor unions now exist, although their power is restricted by the Government, and their freedom greatly curtailed. There are 22 branches of industry that are organized, and these are combined into a federal union, of which Tomsky is the head. He is one of the ablest and most powerful of the communists. Indeed, he has become so powerful that he is one of the committee of nine which controls the communists, and, therefore, the Bolshevik Government and Communist Party. There are 967 important, or key, leaders in these 22 unions, more than two-thirds of whom are actually members of the Communist Party, and many of the others are either communists or are supporting the Soviet Government. A majority of the members of the unions are not members of the Communist Party, nor are they communists, but they give but little attention to political questions, waiting for changes and improvements and greater freedom. Their sufferings under Bolshevism have been so severe that their initiative and will have been almost destroyed.

When asked how a very small minority of communists in the unions could control such great organizations, Tomsky replied: "That is what we fought for." He is one of the militant Bolsheviks and supported Lenin and the Bolshevik leaders in their revolutionary contest. He further added that the noncommunists had no policy, whereas the communists had a definite one, which called for united action and produced solidarity among its members. He further stated that the noncommunists knew that the government was in the hands of communists and that the communist workers could obtain greater favors and privileges from the Bolshevik Government than members of the union could who were not communists. He added a further striking reason, the evidence of which was everywhere found:

> The communists are more energetic and aggressive; they have objectives to be reached and a precise policy to carry out.

Tomsky stated that while the communist leaders of the unions did not discriminate against noncommunists, they did carry on a most aggressive and active campaign in behalf of communism to win the laboring men to a belief in the communist faith and to support the Bolshevik régime. In various places visited the accuracy of this statement was established. Communists in charge of plants and works and who were officers of the unions were exceedingly active in spreading communism and popularizing it among the members. Club houses were provided in many places for the workmen, and they were usually in charge of communists who were energetic in providing communistic literature and propaganda for the members.

Tomsky also stated that, though nonunion men might be employed, the activities of the organizations would speedily take them into the unions; the advantages and benefits given to union employees, such as lower rents, better living quarters, reduced theater charges, sick benefits, compensation for injuries, and so forth, being strong inducements for them to become connected with such organizations.

The 22 federations representing various industries and workers have a representative of their respective organization in each locality where workers of the particular group are found. The central council of labor unions unites the various intermediary and local organizations, all of which are directly under the orders of the central organization, of which Tomsky is president. However, where the industries are few and scattered over a large extent of territory regional organizations are effected which unite the various Provinces, and these latter organizations are connected with the Moscow central organization. The orders of the central organization are obligatory upon all local, provincial, and regional ones. Conventions are held to which representatives from the provincial and regional organizations are sent. An all-Russian council of labor unions is elected by the convention, and consists of 89 members; a presidium, or executive committee, consisting of 13 members, is elected by this council, and it possesses all the powers of the general council when the latter is not in session.

From 15 to 20 per cent of the membership of the congress of soviets, which theoretically is the supreme body of the union of soviet Republics, are named by the council of labor unions or its presidium. Moreover, many of the labor union organizations elect members directly to the Soviet Congress. In that manner the labor organizations have a large representation in the congress of soviets, thus increasing the importance of the unions in the Government, and three of their members are members of the central (soviet) executive committee in which full authority is vested between the meetings of the soviet congress. No labor union, in effect, can be organized except as a branch of the organization headed by Tomsky.

Regarding strikes, Tomsky stated the Government has power to suppress them. It is claimed by soviet leaders that while purely economic strikes are not interfered with, the Government will exert its power where the strikes are political in character or where they vitally affect the Government politically or economically. In view of the control by the Government of all industries and of the economic forces of the State, it is manifest that the workers are subject to coercion and to control by the soviet authorities even though military force is required. But there is compulsory arbitration in Government activities. Strikers have been arrested and there have been political arrests of members of the union. Disputes are usually settled through the instrumentality of conflict boards composed of workmen and "managing men." If they fail, the matter may be brought to the head of the labor union and its organizations. At the present time, for the purpose of fixing wages, employees in the various plants are divided into categories, there being as many as 15 to 20 categories in some factories where the products are varied.

These categories are determined by the various local administrations and in the various lines of work, the character of the work and the qualifications of the employees determining the categories within which they are placed.

With respect to the Government trusts—and these trusts control the heavy industries—representatives of the local unions

meet with the head of the labor union at Moscow, and such person or persons as may be designated by the trust, and the categories are then determined, and, a minimum wage for unskilled labor having been fixed, automatically all labor above falls into the determined categories. Payments to employees are based upon the commodity ruble, the value of which depends upon the prices of various commodities in different parts of Russia.

A minimum wage is fixed by the Government for the entire State, and a maximum wage is fixed for Government employees, the purpose being to restrain officials from paying exorbitant wages to technicians and experts. Where it is important that the services of experts be obtained and they can not be obtained within the maximum price established by the Government, application may be made to the Commissar of Labor for special permission to increase the compensation. Under this system more than 4,500 experts and highly trained technical men are receiving wages in excess of the maximum.

The labor laws have frequently been revised, and of the more than 800 labor decree statutes relating to labor 40 only remain, and they are being modified. Article 171 of the labor code provides for compulsory arbitration, and agencies for settling controversies, among them being a board of inquiry, a quasi arbitration court, and an arbitration board, are among the means provided for settling disputes. Where national interests are involved the Council of Labor and Defense can enforce compulsory arbitration, also in case of a strike where it spreads or may involve a number of cities.

Labor exchanges are provided to which persons seeking employment may go. Private employers must register all employees with the labor bureaus. A private employer must apply to the labor bureau for all ordinary and unskilled workers. To transgress this provision is a crime. Exceptions may be made if employees are required to occupy a relation of trust and confidence to their employers or where technical or professional knowledge is required, but even then the bureau must be notified by the employer of his action. The law prescribes six hours per day for mental workers and eight hours for those engaged in manual labor.

The methods heretofore employed to provide insurance against disease, sickness, accident, and death have been so imperfect and inadequate as to have utterly failed to meet the promises made or the obligations contracted for. Statements were made to me that no compensation had been received by many injured employees or by some widows and minor children where husbands and fathers had been killed or died from natural causes and while working for Government concerns.

The Commissar of Labor stated that his department had recently taken over the labor insurance department, which he admitted had failed to function. He contended that the service had improved so far as injured workmen were concerned, but that it was very unsatisfactory in extending relief in all other cases. The German system of categories which is applied to employees to determine the rate of compensation for the different grades of injuries has been rather closely followed.

The members of the union contribute to the International Labor Union, the headquarters of which are in Moscow. With this organization are the syndicalists of Spain and France and the I. W. W.'s of America, as well as various organizations in other countries which believe in what is known as the "class struggle" or "class movement." Tomsky stated that while

this organization was not a branch of the Third Internationale its objectives were substantially those of the Communist Party.

With reference to the American Federation of Labor, Mr. Tomsky, as well as other Bolshevik leaders, condemned it, and a number of them denounced Mr. Gompers and his attitude toward the Bolshevik Government.

INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS AND WAGES

It is somewhat difficult to determine the wages received by employees. They fluctuate and vary in different parts of Russia. The railroad employees receive on an average approximately from 25 to 28 per cent of pre-war wages. When it is remembered that prices of all commodities, except grain and a few agricultural products, are several hundred per cent above pre-war levels, it is apparent that the wages of this class of employees would scarcely reach 10 per cent of those paid in 1913. An average of the earnings of labor in all industries in my opinion would not exceed 12 rubles (gold) per month. (See Economic Life, September, 1923, and Commerce Reports (United States) December 30, 1923.) The situation does not portend any advance in wages. There were evidences at the time I left Russia of increased unemployment in many of the industries. In Petrograd, more than a hundred thousand persons were out of employment. A number of plants had been closed and orders had been received from the Moscow authorities to close others. The local soviet leaders remonstrated, fearing that the closing of further plants would precipitate trouble among employees, which might result in strikes and violent outbreaks against Bolshevik rule. In most industries the Government has been compelled to concentrate its activities upon a greatly reduced number of factories, plants, and so forth. Accordingly many were being placed in "stand-by" condition, and renewed efforts were being made to increase the production of the few which it was determined to operate.

Notwithstanding the low wage paid, the Government is unable to operate its plants and factories, except at great loss. The Government, hoping to increase efficiency and production in industries controlled and operated by it, has brought about large consolidations. Various industries have been grouped into trusts and combines. Where a number of enterprises of the same character are united and brought under one management, they are spoken of as a "trust," but a "combine" embraces numerous plants and enterprises, either in allied or interdependent lines of production. The "trusts" and "combinations" are further consolidated into "syndicates." The Government is also trying an experiment of dividing Russia into what it calls "economic units." The industries in eastern Russia and western Siberia were united into an economic group, though in so doing new arrangements were necessary and provinces, which in the past had but little industrial or business relations with others, were thus brought together into one economic unit. This provides dislocations in business and destroys channels of trade which, for years, and indeed for centuries, have been followed.

Some Bolshevik leaders stated that these economic units might be the basis of political subdivisions which would result in breaking into fragments the gubernias and causing a redistribution with reference to the lines delimited by the economical units. Such an arrangement is a most dangerous

one and may retard industrial development. If carried out politically, it would change political boundaries, destroy the unity and solidarity of states and provinces and render the people more amenable to despotic rule.

The number of trusts reported by the Bolshevik Government in the spring of 1922 was 458. There were 28 combines and a number of syndicates. My information was that many of the plants embraced within these trusts and combines were not now in operation.

In many places I was told by employees in government enterprises that their wages had not been paid, small as they were, for periods varying from 30 days to three or four months. The number of employees in the government-operated industries has greatly decreased.

In October, 1922, there were employed in the various manufacturing and mining enterprises, including small private shops and home labor, nearly 1,200,000 workers. Of this number 138,000 were engaged in the oil fields and in the coal mines. In the various trusts and combines 800,000 were employed. In the various metallurgical and chemical works not embraced within trusts and combines but operated by the government 92,000 were employed. Local soviets employed 54,000 men in nationalized plants. A number of small concerns were leased and the aggregate number employed in all was 65,000. In 1917 there were more than three and one-quarter million employed in these industries. In 1921 the number had shrunk to approximately 2,000,000, and the number employed at the present time is less than the figures which I have given for October, 1922. Because of the small production, the enormous losses resulting from governmental operations, together with the closing down of many plants, thousands of employees have been discharged. It must be said, however, that the soviet authorities are endeavoring to make the industries self-supporting, and they are therefore introducing economies and cutting down expenses. The policy of issuing paper rubles to meet deficits resulting from governmental operation of industries it is now perceived can not much longer be continued.

However, as I have stated, under the present political and economic system there is but slight hope for improvement. Only by modifying the present economic policies can Russia be relieved from the evils from which she is suffering. If freedom were given to the people, and if sane and rational industrial policies were adopted, including an abandonment of the foreign-trade monopoly by the Government, and private ownership and operation of industries were permitted, Russia's progress would be assured. Bureaucracy which exists has a deadly and paralyzing effect not only upon the Government but upon industry.

Trotski and other communists have perceived that important reforms must be immediately introduced into the Government and into the organizations which control the nationalized industries. I heard of bitter contests being waged among the communists over the waste, extravagance, inefficiency, and corruption in the various branches of the Government as well as in the administration of the industries of the country. Some progress has been made in affecting reforms, and if the views of more liberal communists prevail further advancement will be made.

Referring again to wages paid in Russia, the Bolshevik Newspaper, Trude, in its issue No. 80, published in April, 1922, refers to the decrease from month to month of wages and of the purchasing power of the ruble. It states that the

actual monthly earnings of employees during the quarter from January to March, inclusive, 1922, were as follows: January, 6.15; February, 5.05; March, 3.25. Wages continued to fall and have reached a level so low at the present time as to make it impossible for the employees in the Government industries to obtain the necessities of life. In the same article the paper states that at that time the wages paid were about 15 per cent of the pre-war rate.

The same soviet paper, the Trude, in an article published by Mr. L. Ginsberg, presents an index of prices and wages in Russia from November, 1921, to May, 1922. Assuming a price index and a wage index of 100 in November, 1921, in May, 1922, the price index had reached 5,000 and the wage index but 1,520. Since that time the disparity between the price and wage indexes has increased.

It is recognized that the economic regeneration of the country depends upon the increase of production. But this organ declares that the latter is impossible as long as the rate of wages moves downward.

Many of the various schemes devised to increase production have been most fantastic, ignoring natural laws and normal conditions of the human element as applied to the conditions of life. There has been some improvement in production since the adoption of piecework. In many of the places visited I learned that from 40 to 60 per cent of the employees were engaged in piecework. Numerous employees with whom I spoke approved of this plan. Undoubtedly it had materially increased the output of the plants and had met with universal approval among the employees, including those who were not engaged in piecework.

In the early days of the Bolshevik régime every form of the so-called capitalistic system was abolished. With the confiscations of banks and all forms of property and the nationalization of all industries, the people became wards of the Government. Wages were abolished; rank and position ignored; fitness and capacity for service disregarded; and ignorant, incompetent, and often cruel and brutish persons were invested with power and the people were driven like dumb cattle. In this situation conditions could not have been other than frightful and unbearable. Millions died from want and exposure, and the number of bourgeoise and intellectuals who perished will never be known. The efforts to compel production were unavailing.

From this inferno, as I have stated, Russia is emerging. Individuals are not yet permitted to order their lives or to determine their course, but the right of contract in a limited way is being recognized, and men and women are timidly and apprehensively asking to be heard in the matter of fixing their compensation. But the Government controlling the industries is supreme. It owns all raw materials, controls and operates the factories and plants and industries aside from agriculture, and the people therefore must submit to its decrees. Because of the inefficiency of the Government the cost of production is enormous. With the increase in wages the costs of production are augmented, and with the high level of commodity prices which has been reached the purchasing power of the ruble is reduced to the vanishing point. Labor, therefore, is the victim of communist policies. Not only the capitalist, who has been deprived of his property, but also the workingman, who has been despoiled of his liberty, suffers under Bolshevik rule.

A table submitted to me by the Soviet officials in the Ural district reveals the catastrophic decline in production under the Bolshevik Government. In 1913 the production of ores in the

district amounted to 110,000,000 poods; for the year ending September 1, 1923, the production was but 14,500,000 poods; the production of copper for 1913 was 41,000,000 poods, as against 4,000,000 for 1923; the production of coal was 655,000,000 poods for 1913; and 71,000,000 poods for the year ending September 1, 1923. Senators are familiar with the fact that the Ural Mountains are renowned for their platinum deposits. The demand for platinum has been great during and since the war, and the prices paid to secure it have been much above the pre-war level. The Bolshevik Government seized these mines, including the machinery, and had a free hand in the production of platinum. The output in 1913 was 329 poods, but for the fiscal year 1923 only 24 poods; the salt production for the year 1913 was 21,500,000 poods, but 16,000,000 only in 1923; the production of cast-iron for 1913 was 56,000,000 poods, and for the fiscal year 1922–23 but 8,000,000 poods; the yield of iron (Martin) was 49,000,000 poods for 1913; and 11,500,000 for 1922–23; there were produced 14,000,000 poods of sheet-iron in 1913; and 3,000,000 only in 1923; 22,000,000 poods of tool iron were produced in 1913, and but 5,000,000 in 1922–23; the production of red copper for 1913 was 1,000,000 poods, but in 1922–23 only 120,000 poods.

Substantially the same disparity exists in the production of paper and all chemical and wood products. Throughout Russia I observed hundreds of plants and factories which had been closed; many were in ruins, and some which I visited were in a dilapidated and run-down condition. A report submitted by the Soviet Government shows that from January to July, inclusive, 1923, from 10 per cent to nearly 19 per cent of all expenditures made by the Government were devoted to meeting deficits arising from the operation of industrial and manufacturing plants and the Government's agricultural activities. It is worthy of note that the Government has undertaken to operate a number of large estates which were confiscated. It selected the richest and the best. Communists insisted that the Government could and should conduct agricultural operations upon a large scale, and that with its control of labor and the railroads, as well as all forms of property, and with the great demand for agricultural products throughout Europe profits would result. But the experience of the Government in its agricultural activities has been disappointing and losses have resulted which have been met by increased taxation and the emission of paper rubles. I heard many complaints from peasants that those employed upon the so-called government farms enjoyed many advantages over the rest of the people; that their wages were higher and the preferences and favors granted placed them in a preferred position. The criticism was heard that these employees were indolent and inefficient, notwithstanding the superior advantages which they enjoyed. I should add, however, that the Government has sought to introduce improved methods of agriculture at these various estates, and has also made efforts to improve the various breeds of domestic animals required by the people. But the same paralysis and inefficiency which exhibits itself in other industries controlled by the Government neutralizes the good intentions of the Government and bring to naught their schemes and plans. The same report to which I have referred reveals that the expenses for the national defense for the same period consumed approximately 14¼ per cent of the national outlay; 21 per cent to 31.8 per cent of the national expenditures were required to meet administrative expenses; education and all cultural and social

activities received from 3.4 per cent to 5.9 per cent of all national expenditures.

These deficits, of course, call for additional issues of paper rubles, and these emissions are immediately reflected in higher prices for industrial commodities. As I have heretofore stated, the deficit for the fiscal year ending in 1923 will be between 60 per cent and 70 per cent of the entire national outlay. When I entered Russia it required 240,000,000 rubles to purchase one dollar. So rapid was the decline in the ruble that, in the last days of September and before my departure from Russia, a dollar would produce approximately 800,000,000 rubles, and since then, as I am advised, the decline of the ruble has been rapid.

The budget prepared for the fiscal year 1922–23 called for an expenditure of 1,418,816,517 rubles (gold), and it was estimated that the income for the same fiscal year would be 1,056,000,000 (gold) rubles. There were allocated to education 48,000,000 rubles; health, 15,000,000 rubles; finance, 130,000,000 rubles; transport, 46,500,000 rubles; posts and telegraphs, 30,000,000 rubles; war, 21,000,000 rubles; loans and subsidies to industry, 94,000,000 rubles; agriculture, 58,000,000 rubles; and to local political subdivisions, 63,000,000 rubles. The budget provided that 26,500,000 rubles were to be devoted to financing the State banks, and 74,000,000 rubles to the purchase of food supplies.

Authentic information which I have received since leaving Russia proves that the expenditures are much greater and that the subsidies paid to the enterprises and industries operated by the Government were much larger than anticipated or for which provisions had been made. The Soviet authorities, perceiving the disastrous effects to industry and to economic restoration, resulting from these enormous deficits met by paper emissions, have imposed additional taxes upon the people. I have referred to those laid upon the peasants and have also alluded to the very heavy burdens in the shape of licenses and taxes imposed upon all forms of private enterprise. The individual engaging in any form of trade or commerce has been encountered at every turn by the voracious demands of the Government. I talked with many persons coming within the categories referred to, and they were loud in their complaints against what they regarded as the unjust exactions of the Government.

Authentic reports which have come from Russia during the past few months show that the Government is still pursuing this disastrous policy toward those who are seeking to engage in private enterprise. Moreover, recent reports indicate that the wing of the party opposed to private ownership of property in any form is exercising greater power than it did during 1922 and 1923. If unchecked, it will destroy these new business enterprises and set back the hand upon the dial of progress.

Senators have noticed that many thousands have been arrested since Lenin's death and since Dzerzhinsky has been placed as the supreme head of the economic council. Dzerzhinsky, as the Senators will recall, is the head of the Cheka. He is the embodiment of cruelty and oppression. Human life is unimportant, and he would snuff out the lives of thousands as quickly as he would extinguish a candle if he regarded their destruction as of advantage to communism. Thousands of small traders and business men have been arrested during the past few months and exiled to Arctic regions and Siberian prisons. Their fate is a most unhappy one, and the hardships to which they will be subjected will undermine the health of

most and close the eyes in death of many before the expiration of their prison terms.

I have referred to the diminishing production in all branches of industry. In this connection I invite the attention of Senators to an article appearing in the Izvestia, No. 255, under date of November 7, 1923, which confirms the views which I have expressed and the data which I obtained in Russia. It will be remembered that this is a Bolshevik organ, and would present the facts in as favorable a light as possible to the Soviet régime. The article states that the coal production in poods for 1913 amounted to 1,738,000, and in 1922–23—that means for the fiscal year ending October 1, 1923—it was 648,995 poods. The production of petroleum was but 55 per cent of the 1913 yield. The production of pig iron in 1913 amounted to nearly 257,000,000 poods, and in 1922–23 to 18,360,000, or 7.1 per cent. The production of open-hearth steel ingots in 1913 was 259,268,000 poods as against 36,000,000 poods for the fiscal year 1922–23. The production in rolled-steel products for the year 1913 amounted to 214,220,000 poods as against 27,681,000 poods for 1922–23.

In 1913, 16,000,000 poods of cotton yarn were manufactured, and in 1922–23 but 4,355,000 poods. The production of woolen yarn in 1913 amounted to 2,400,000 poods, and in 1922–23 to but 874,000 poods. The showing in linen-yarn production is much better, there being 2,093,000 poods in 1913 and 1,755,000 poods in 1922–23. In the basic chemicals there were produced in 1913 more than twenty-seven and one-half million poods, as against 12,448,000 in 1922–23.

In the mining industry, nonprecious metals, 638,400,000 poods were produced in 1913, and only 29,280,000, or 4.6 per cent, in 1922–23. The production of gold was but 9.2 per cent in 1922–23 of the production in 1913; and the platinum production was but 19.3 per cent in 1922–23 as against the production in 1913. The production in the glass industry for the year 1913 was 11,200,000 poods, as against 3,767,000 poods in 1922–23. In the tanning industry, given in terms of large hides or pieces, the production was 16,500,000 in 1913, as against 5,376,000 in 1922–23.

Russia produced in 1912 nearly 55,000,000 pairs of boots and shoes, and only 3,102,000 pairs in 1922–23. The paper industry had shrunk to approximately 40 per cent in 1922–23 of the pre-war production, and the production of sugar had been reduced from 82,000,000 poods in 1913 to 18,000,000 poods in 1922–23. Substantially the same decline is shown in all other lines of production. Notwithstanding the great forests to be found in Russia, the timber output under Bolshevik régime has been almost negligible. There were large supplies of timber in various forms which had been produced prior to and during the war. These were seized by the Bolshevik Government, and the unimportant timber exports from Russia since the Bolsheviks came into power have come from the confiscated pre-war supplies.

Undoubtedly, in some industries controlled by the State there has been an increase in production since 1920–21, and with the efforts to secure experts (some of whom were former managers of industries) and scientific aid, improvement will be shown both in quantity and also in cost of production.

There are now more than 4,500 experts and technical men who are not communists employed by the Government, and they are receiving more than the maximum compensation provided by law. It was deemed imperative by the Bolsheviks that the services of these men be obtained. The statement will bear repetition that the Bolshevik officials realize that a continuation

of the economic situation which has prevailed in Russia under their régime will mean an uprising which will destroy their power. There are fanatical Bolsheviks who are unwilling to make any concession and have resented the reforms granted. There are others who believe that neither Russia nor the world is yet ready for communism, and they are satisfied to intrench themselves in the government within the citadels of State capitalism. There are still others who are disillusioned and are willing for other reforms to be made, believing that only by the adoption of still more liberal policies can the Government stand and Russia be rehabilitated.

The railroad system of Russia, the greater portion of which was owned and operated by the Government before the war, and which for a number of years prior thereto returned profits to the Government, has called for large subsidies from the public treasury. As a result of the World War and the civil war the railroad system was demoralized. Tracks were destroyed and most of the engines and cars were unfit for service. The tracks have been rebuilt or greatly improved, most of the engines and cars have been repaired, and the transportation system is now in a far better condition than at any time since the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia. However, engines and cars are still idle, thousands being unused; but it is because there is no freight to be shipped. Some statistics exhibited to me show less than 30 per cent of freight hauled, measured by pre-war shipments.

Russia before the war possessed thousands of boats which were used in conveying enormous tonnage throughout the empire. The Volga River was a mighty waterway upon whose broad bosom millions of tons of freight were carried annually. Other rivers, not only in European Russia but in Siberia, carried numerous flotilla of barges and boats which were important to commerce and to the development of Russia. A visit to these waterways reveals the paucity of water traffic. Hundreds of magnificent boats are stranded and rotting and decaying at wharves and upon shoals and sand bars. But improvement was noted even in this important branch of national life, and with an increase in production the water transportation facilities of Russia will become correspondingly important.

Notwithstanding this gloomy picture, it must be said that there is improvement in the various branches of industry; and if the Bolshevik Government will permit the return of the former owners and managers and will place in their hands or under their direction the industries which played so important a part in the life of Russia before the war and which were contributing so much to her material prosperity, then a new era will dawn in Russia. The progress of Russia in industrial lines for a number of years preceding the war was most remarkable. Her textile mills were among the best in the world. Her development of the sugar industry had reached a high degree of perfection, and her oil output placed Russia near the head in the list of the oil-producing countries of the world. With her enormous resources Russia, under liberal government, will increase in influence and power in the world.

CONCESSIONS

For a number of years, both in Europe and the United States, frequent reports have been published that the Bolshevik régime was granting concessions to foreigners for the exploitation of Russian industries and resources; and a number of individuals, among them a Mr. Vanderlip, have claimed that they had valu-

able contracts to mine ores, develop oil fields, exploit timberlands, and to engage in various other activities.

The facts are that but few concessions have been granted, and most of them are unimportant. The Bolshevik leaders, after the New Economic Policy was promulgated, announced that the Government was willing to grant concessions, providing that those seeking the same had adequate financial ability and would accept the terms prescribed. It was made clear, however, that persons of limited means were not wanted, nor would concessions be granted to develop or exploit small enterprises. It soon became apparent that the soviet authorities expected concessionaires to aid the Bolshevik Government in securing loans and obtaining material advantages in the matter of foreign trade.

A number of individuals visited Russia and attempted to negotiate for various concessions. Some were mere adventurers without financial backing, who hoped to obtain valuable concessions which they expected to dispose of at great profit outside of Russia. Others in good faith endeavored to obtain concessions for the development of some of Russia's industries and, of course, to secure profit to themselves and associates.

Krassin, one of the ablest Bolshevik leaders, and who for years has been head of the foreign trade section of the Government, stated to me that while few concessions had been granted, in his opinion more would be granted. He and other soviet leaders declared to me upon numerous occasions that the Soviet Government needed capital for the development of Russia's resources and the restoration of her industries. But the point was emphasized that such capital was preferred in the form of loans rather than through concessions.

While in Russia I made inquiry of the soviet leaders in every Province visited, and also conferred with many persons in a position to know the facts, for the purpose of ascertaining whether concessions had been granted or foreign capital was being invested in Russia. The soviet leaders furnished me a list of concessions which they claimed had been granted. It refuted the published statements referred to and showed that the number of concessions was insignificant and the privileges or rights granted unimportant. But two concessions had been granted relating to oil fields. The Barnsdale Co., controlled by Harry F. Sinclair, had entered into a contract calling for the drilling of a number of wells in the famous Baku oil district and the repairing of a number of wells which were now unproductive because of injuries to the casings during the war or for the lack of care during and since that period, as a result of which water had filled them. I visited these oil fields, in which thousands of wells had been drilled and which had yielded hundreds of millions of barrels of oil. Most of them were unproductive, and the hand of decay and desolation rested upon what had once been a source of great wealth to the State and to the owners of the oil fields.

However, several hundred wells were producing, and the soviet authorities were painfully and unskillfully attempting to drive other wells and repair the waste and ruin which existed.

Oil experts whom I met stated that the Baku oil fields were perhaps the richest in the world and would yield billions of barrels more. I might add in passing that the figures furnished me in Baku showed that, though these wells, when in the hands of private owners, yielded enormous profits, they were now being operated at a loss, notwithstanding the great demand for oil and the high prices charged by the soviet authorities to

the various industries owned and controlled by the state to which it disposed of the same.

My information was that the contract held by the Barnesdale Co. would prove highly profitable to it. Its terms, so far as I could learn, called for the payment in gold by the Soviet Government of varying amounts for the wells sunk by the company and also a percentage of the oil produced, which, I was told by several persons, amounted to 20 per cent of the yield. One of Mr. Sinclair's companies also has a concession to exploit the island of Sakhalin. I did not learn what the terms of this concession were.

A German company had obtained a contract for the mining of manganese ore near the Black Sea. I was informed by persons who were familiar with the contract that the concession was not profitable, owing to the unfair and rigid construction placed by the Soviet Government upon the contract and the nagging and exasperating provisions and irregular, improper, and unjust exactions demanded.

The Krupp Co., a German corporation, obtained a concession to develop a tract of approximately 1,000,000 acres of land in the southern part of Russia and to place German colonists upon the same.

A concession had been obtained by the Allied American Corporation to operate an asbestos property near Ekaterinburg in the Ural Mountains, and a few permits were given by the Government to Russians and foreigners to work upon a small scale some of the mineral regions in Siberia. The soviet leaders having charge of the mineral resources of the Ural Mountains stated to me that no concessions would be granted to exploit any of the mineral wealth of that section, that at one time contracts for such purpose would have been made, but that now the Government was determined to develop the mineral resources of the Ural Mountains without foreign capital. So far as I could learn, there were no grants or concessions relating to oil or mineral lands other than those to which I have just referred.

The timber resources of Russia are important, but concessions to exploit these lands are not numerous, perhaps not more than five or six having been granted; and, aside from two or three, they are not of importance. A concession was obtained by a German company while I was in Russia, but the terms imposed were regarded by various foreigners with whom I spoke (and who were familiar with the section) as being so onerous as to be oppressive and to render the concession of but little, if any, value. The concession related to a tract of land some distance from Petrograd and required the expenditure of several millions of dollars in the construction of a railroad to connect the property with one of the important lines of transportation.

A number of foreigners were in Russia during the two months that I spent there, investigating conditions with a view to obtaining concessions or negotiating contracts for foreign trade. Several of them informed me that the economic and political conditions were so unfavorable and the terms required so harsh and restrictive that they were unwilling to attempt to do business with the Soviet Government or the Russian people. Several of them stated that the terms offered by the soviet authorities contained so many exceptions and conditions that no one could afford the hazards and risks which they involved. Moreover, they said the requirements regarding labor and taxes and supervision, and the insecurity of the capital invested,

were such as to prohibit accepting the same. Obstacles were interposed to buying the necessary equipment, machinery, and so forth, in the United States, and the uncertainty of delivery and the bureaucratic control which made progress and efficiency in any undertaking impossible all constituted insuperable obstacles in their minds to entering into any contractual relations with the Government. There was also a feeling of insecurity and the fear that if investments were made or concessions obtained, which upon being developed proved valuable, the Soviet Government would find some pretext to deprive the concessionaries of their property and rights under the contract.

As stated, some who were seeking contracts, were dissatisfied with labor conditions and the power exercised by the Communist leaders over employees and the labor organizations. Still others feared that the central government, and the local soviets would devise such oppressive taxation schemes, tariffs, licenses, and import and export regulations, as to prohibit successful operations. My attention was called to the difficulty in obtaining permission to import into Russia supplies and machinery required in the execution of a number of contracts which had been entered into with the soviet authorities.

The evils of the powerful and oppressive bureaucracy were pointed out to me, and were apparent, and they were regarded as almost insuperable obstacles to the doing of any important business with the Bolshevik Government. One person whom I met stated that the taxes and the governmental exactions, and the requirements of the labor organizations, including insurance, amounted to 37 per cent of the entire expenditures which he was called upon to make, including overhead and wages. However, I believe that favorable concessions may be obtained by corporations or persons of great wealth, if the soviet authorities can perceive benefits to the Bolshevik Government. Senators may have seen the reports that the recognition accorded a few days ago to the Soviet Government, by the Italian Government involved concessions to Italy to exploit certain coal fields in southern Russia.

In my opinion, however, the Bolshevik leaders are not to be criticized; indeed, I think they have acted wisely in granting so few concessions. I believe that the resources of Russia should be held for the Russian people, and I have not favored nor do I now favor the efforts by foreign capitalists to exploit Russia or to drive sharp bargains which would deprive the Russian people of the inheritance which is theirs. Undoubtedly the expenditure of large sums of foreign capital in Russia, would more quickly develop her resources; but they will be developed in due season, and a wise national policy calls for a comprehensive and rational conservation policy. Russia should conserve her national resources to meet the needs of future generations.

PUBLIC ORDER AND MORALS

As herein indicated, the data obtained established that, following the accession to power of the Bolsheviks, there was a loosening of all moral ties and a general breakdown in the social organism. Crimes of all kinds increased, home ties were destroyed, and immorality became widespread.

The revolution, it was understood, was an assault, not only upon the political but upon the social structure; and all the things which the bourgeoisie and the capitalistic nations had regarded as important, if not vital, in the social and economic life of the people were treated as hateful excrescences, to be excised and destroyed. The new-found freedom could only be

enjoyed by repudiating former conditions. Accordingly the church and its influences were denounced, parental authority was assailed, home and family ties were regarded as manifestations of bourgeois sentimentality and religious superstition; marriage was no longer regarded as a sacrament and a lasting and sacred obligation. Excesses were committed and violations of the proprieties and decencies of an enlightened social order grew to serious proportions. Everything was in a condition of flux. There were millions of soldiers, some demobilized, many fleeing, and hundreds of thousands roaming through the country. Criminals, neurotics, persons of limited moral perception, fanatics who believed that the acknowledgment of any form of moral restraint was heresy to communism, all of these jangling and discordant forces mingled together, producing confusion which drowned for the moment the true voice of Russia and bound with heavy chains the fine soul of the Russian people.

But these frightful days are passing, and the voice of sanity and reason is beginning to be heard above the cries and tumults of the discordant and destructive forces. The Russian people are moving slowly but surely in the direction of normal conditions of life. Progress is slow, but each advance gathers strength to make further gains. Not only the peasants but an overwhelming majority of the people still regard marriage as a sacrament, and in the churches and cathedrals it is solemnly performed by priests and prelates in their priestly robes. The number of divorces, which was shockingly large for a number of years, has diminished, and the importance of preserving the home and strengthening family ties is apparent even among some Bolshevists.

Notwithstanding the ease with which divorces are obtained, the number, as stated, is decreasing, and a sentiment is developing among all classes unfavorable to the lax system which prevails. Marriage is performed by merely registering before an unimportant official. The following day or at any time thereafter the married parties may be divorced by registering in the same informal way before the same official or one of similar authority. But there are multiplying evidences that where either of the spouses objects the divorce courts are less willing to sever the matrimonial bonds, particularly where there were minor children and their interests would be affected thereby. And a number of decisions were brought to my attention where the offending husband was compelled to pay monthly sums, commensurate with his earnings, for the support of minor children.

Marriages between communists and noncommunists are infrequent, and a communist may not marry in the church or have any religious ceremony performed.

Where love triumphs over devotion to communism the penalty is expulsion of the offending communist from the party, and there are instances where communists have married Christian women who refused to renounce their devotion to the church. But the reverse is true, and the claim is made by communists that there are marriages where the noncommunist spouse accepted the faith of the communist spouse. But the instincts and traditions and the spiritual and moral precepts which have guided nations and peoples can not be blotted out, and the tides of life are stronger than the dikes erected by communists upon the sands of Marxian philosophy. And communist homes are not immune from love and affection; family ties there bind members together with strong and powerful bonds; and human nature there asserts itself, and the husband and father seeks

to protect wife and children and to provide for their present and future wants. This means the acquisition of property, including home, with all that is implied and found in that sacred word, and creates the desire for the establishment of a system of government which will afford security in the possession and use of the same.

To illustrate that theoretical and doctrinaire communism is one thing, but when applied it is something different, numerous instances were brought to my attention showing constant departures from the ideals of communism. Within the interior of Russia were found a group of several score of communists who had left Russia prior to the revolution and taken up their residence in the United States. Two or three years ago, in order to enjoy the benefits of communism, which they said were denied them in the United States, they returned to Russia with considerable property and with unbounded enthusiasm for the Bolshevik Government. Most of them were unmarried and they lived for some time in communal form. This condition grew intolerable, and many of them obtained separate quarters. Most of them married Russian girls who wanted homes and proper provisions made for their support.

In conversation with a number of these disillusioned communists they evinced great interest in the United States and showed no hostility to its laws and institutions. They said that communism did not work out in the practical affairs of life as they had expected; that they were still communists theoretically, but that the world was not yet ready for communism and under existing conditions its doctrines were inapplicable.

Speaking generally, there is public order and a general observance of the laws and regulations promulgated by the Bolshevik Government. One may travel by night or day in most parts of Russia without fear of molestation. In some sections, however, particularly where it is mountainous and difficult of access, marauding bands take refuge, from which they make incursions into the surrounding territory and commit larcenies and acts of pillage, and not infrequently murder. But the Russian people are naturally law-abiding and submit to injustices at the hands of those in authority, even when resistance would find justification. The Bolshevik Government, with its cheka and militia and military forces, exercises the utmost vigilance in suppressing disorders and in preventing violations of law. With its espionage system and its thousands of secret agents, who penetrate every part of the land, the Bolshevik leaders are able to afford protection to the people against the ordinary transgressions and offenses common to most countries. However, homicides frequently occur, and the punishment is so inadequate that many with whom I conferred in Russia declared that crimes of this nature were increasing. A number of judges and Bolshevik officials told me that the maximum penalty for willful and deliberate murder was eight years in prison. Communists seem to regard human life as unimportant, but robbery frequently brings the death penalty, and any act or omission construed to be inimical to the Bolshevik Government subjects the offender to capital punishment. Infanticide is common and is not regarded as an offense. Nor is abortion regarded as a crime. Indeed, I was informed by the Bolshevik officials that in certain hospitals abortions could be procured without charge and without the names of the parties concerned becoming known. I was also told that certain physicians and surgeons were authorized to engage in this practice. Later I visited a number of hospitals and made inquiries of those in

charge, and they confirmed the information which I had received. I was also shown the law which legalized abortions. Adultery and sexual vices do not come under the ban of the law.

Larceny and embezzlement are common. It should be said, however, that the manner in which the people have been robbed and exploited by the Government, followed by hardships, privations, and starvation, would naturally result in a general disregard of the proprietary interests of the individual in any form of property. Most of the thefts, however, are such as would be classed in our country as petty larceny. In every part of Russia I learned of embezzlements by employees of the Government. This offense was common in stores, industrial plants, transportation systems, and in governmental enterprises generally.

In a number of prisons which I visited I discovered that a large proportion of those incarcerated had been convicted of embezzlement or theft of Government property. I also found that many of the inmates of the prisons had been convicted of bribery and various forms of corruption in office. Leading Bolshevik officials admitted that one of the most difficult problems they had to meet was that arising from graft, corruption, and bribery upon the part of officials and employees of the Government. The Government was acting vigorously in its efforts to eradicate these evils, and almost daily I heard of arrests and convictions of employees of the Government for crimes of the character which I have just described. Many officials of the Bolshevik Government whom I met impressed me as being men of honesty and probity. They were greatly disturbed over the thefts and violations of law upon the part of Government employees, and were most sincere in their efforts to give to the people efficient and honest administration.

Russia has her liquor problem, though it is not so serious as it is in the United States. The Government seeks to control the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages. The alcoholic content is limited and the quantity manufactured under the auspices of the Government is much less than might be expected.

Indeed, I was surprised to find many districts in which no liquors of any kind were manufactured or sold. This statement should be qualified, however. Some persons in violation of the law have their home-brew or illicitly produce their vodka. In most of the cities and towns wines and beer were easily obtained. In Moscow and other large cities there were numerous shops where various kinds of liquor were sold. I learned that there were frequent prosecutions for the illicit manufacture of vodka and other forms of intoxicating beverages. However, it gives me pleasure to say that I found the Russian people, generally speaking, temperate and free from the vice of drunkenness. When we recall the excessive use of vodka and other forms of intoxicating liquor prior to the World War, the condition in Russia to-day furnishes convincing proof that the cause of temperance has made remarkable advancement. Undoubtedly the poverty of the people has been a contributing cause to the temperance movement, which has been recognized by the people as a proper and permanent reform.

The Bolshevik Government promotes lotteries and obtains considerable revenue from this immoral practice.

At one of the first railroad stations entered, after crossing the Russian border, I observed flaming posters which our interpreters stated told of the large prize which had been won

by a woman in the recent lottery drawing conducted by the Government; and I observed in every part of Russia visited advertisements calling attention to various lottery schemes which were being conducted by the Government.

Gambling houses were also licensed by the Government, and in a number of cities I visited licensed gambling halls and found them crowded with men and women, old and young, who were feverishly awaiting an opportunity to take part in the various games of chance and gambling devices. In Moscow, the building in which gambling was conducted was commodious and had rather rich appointments. It was within an inclosure which contained amusement halls and theaters, where vaudeville, theatrical, and musical performances were being held. Thousands of persons were within the inclosure, and many of them, as stated, visited the building where the games of chance were being conducted.

May I add parenthetically that, among the vast throng, numbering perhaps ten or fifteen thousand, I did not observe an intoxicated person, nor was there the slightest evidence of disorder or improper conduct; and may I further add that I visited many large cities and towns and mingled with large groups of people in the parks and theaters and places of amusement and recreation, and do not recall having seen an intoxicated person or any offensive or reprehensible act.

I visited the slums and most insanitary and undesirable parts of a number of the cities, and met and talked with beggars and outcasts, and what might be called the lowest types of people. They were all orderly and meeting the conditions surrounding them with patience and more or less stoicism.

BANKS AND BANKING

Prior to the war the banking facilities of Russia substantially met the needs of the people. Numerous banks existed throughout the Empire, and they were conducted in harmony with well-recognized and sound banking methods. When the Bolsheviks obtained control of the Government, they took possession of all banks and confiscated their assets. It was stated that they were "absorbed into the People's Bank." The facts were that the Bolshevik Government seized all the assets and converted them to its own use. Many foreigners had deposits in Russian banks, which were confiscated, as were the deposits of the Russians.

Senators will recall that the communist leaders declared that banks were odious features of the capitalistic system, and so the whole banking system was destroyed and decrees issued forbidding the use of money. The gold reserves held by the Czar's Government, when it was overthrown, amounted to more than six hundred millions of dollars. There were in the Treasury, also, large gold deposits by Rumania. The Bolshevik Government seized these gold reserves and deposits, and so far as I could ascertain used them for various purposes. I was unable to learn the value of the gold now held by the Government, although the weight of the evidence indicated that the residue of this enormous deposit amounts to but a few millions of dollars. It has been used for various purposes, and much of it has been dissipated in propaganda and in various schemes and activities of the Bolshevik Government.

Its efforts to abolish the use of money met with humiliating defeat. The large paper emissions, amounting to quadrillions of rubles, brought the Soviet Government to the brink of the abyss, into which it would have plunged except for the prompt

retreat ordered by Lenin. The Bolshevik leaders discovered in 1921–22 that a "bankless" condition could no longer continue. The Government continued to issue its paper rubles, but some of its wiser leaders and fiscal experts determined that a banking system must be established which would furnish credits and aid in reviving trade and industry. Accordingly the Russian State Bank was organized. Theoretically it is not connected with the Government and is declared to be "an independent juridical unit, with its own property quite apart from the property of the Republic."

I visited and conferred with a number of its directors. Those whom I met expressed sound and sane views and announced a policy which, if adhered to, will materially contribute to the industrial rehabilitation of Russia. The Russian Government thus far has not interfered with the policy of the bank nor attempted to place the reserves of the bank behind the paper rubles emitted by the Government to meet its continuing deficits. As I have stated, the present Bolshevik leaders appreciate that Russia's progress depends upon balancing its budget. The poverty of the people and the inept and unsound and uneconomical policies, if continued, will prevent the consummation of this plan. If the Bolshevik Government lays its hands upon the Russian State Bank and appropriates the reserves there provided, then destruction will overtake the bank and the little credit which Russia is now obtaining and employing to advantage in foreign trade will be lost.

In the vaults of the State Bank, which I visited, I saw large quantities of gold and silver bullion and American gold notes and English pound notes of the value of several million dollars. The original capital of the bank was 2,000,000 rubles gold. It is now fixed at 5,000,000 chervonetz. The chervonetz was an old Russian coin, the equivalent of 10 gold rubles. The bank has coined gold chervonetsi, and I found them in circulation in various parts of Russia. The bank also issues bank-note currency, the value of the unit being equal to about $5.14. Under the law and the regulations governing the bank its currency must be protected by a reserve equal to the entire currency outstanding. Of this reserve, 50 per cent must be gold or foreign currency recognized as sound and stable, such as the American dollar or the English pound. The notes of the bank are legal tender for payments due the State in gold and private persons. I discovered that they were in great demand throughout Russia and were regarded by all classes as being stable and of the value which they were supposed to represent.

The introduction of this new and stable currency had a most salutary effect upon the industrial and business life of Russia. It affords a certain and definite medium of exchange and a basis for business transactions which permits transactions relating to the future to be entered into without the anxiety and misgivings, not to say terror, which accompany business dealings where a violently fluctuating currency is involved.

When I visited the bank in August, the president stated that the note-issuing department of the bank showed outstanding chervontsi amounting to 10,761,145. The gold and foreign currency back of this issue aggregated 5,313,302 chervontsi. I was shown bills of exchange and other assets which, it was stated, fully protected the outstanding note issue. This bank has correspondents in most European countries and has three

representatives in New York. It has a large number of branch banks throughout Russia. I was pleased to learn that the Russian people were beginning to have confidence in banks, and I was told by officers of several banks which I visited that checking accounts were being opened and deposits being made by an increasing number of individuals. When it is recalled that the Soviet Government destroyed all banks and interdicted the use of money, and that this situation existed up to two years ago, it is quite apparent that progress is being made, and a most remarkable change in the views and psychology of the people has occurred.

One of the banks which I visited in Moscow occupies a magnificent building and employs a large number of people. A portion of the capital was furnished by the Soviet Government and a considerable part by residents of Sweden and citizens of Russia. I visited this bank three or four times, and upon each occasion it was thronged with people, some of whom were making deposits, others obtaining money, and some buying bills of exchange. The bank was doing a profitable banking business. The officials with whom I conversed were sanguine of its success and optimistic as to the future of Russia. In Harkov and Tiflis and other cities which I visited I found banking institutions which were meeting with a reasonable degree of success. However, I found opposition upon the part of radical communists, who regarded the return of banks to Russia as a repercussion of capitalism which would impede the firm establishment of a communistic system.

SHALL THE UNITED STATES RECOGNIZE THE BOLSHEVIK GOVERNMENT OR ENTER INTO TRADE RELATIONS WITH IT

Prior to the World War Russia constituted a part of the great family of nations and was recognized by all powers. This position was not changed by the war, except that the central empires severed diplomatic relations with the Russian Government. The Bolshevik Government signalized its accession to power by immediately abrogating all treaties between Russia and other nations. Its position was one of nonintercourse with other States, and it signified its purpose to have no diplomatic or friendly relations with any powers. It announced that the "class struggle" which was to destroy all governments had begun and would be pursued relentlessly until a proletarian dictatorship ruled the world.

The relations between the United States and the Russian Government were always cordial, and between the peoples of the two countries strong ties of friendship had existed. Upon the overthrow of the Czaristic régime the Government of the United States signified its deep interest in the new Republic which was formed and gave convincing proof of its desire to aid the Russian people in establishing a free and independent Republic.

Even after the Kerensky régime was overthrown by the Bolsheviks, President Wilson sought contacts with them and, for the American people, declared their unfailing friendship for the people of Russia; but the Bolshevik leaders, in harmony with their world-wide revolutionary plan, repulsed these advances and gave evidence of their malignant hatred of this Republic, as well as all nations which came within the classification of capitalistic nations. The attitude of the Bolshevik Government was a challenge to every nation and to the industrial and economic system prevailing throughout the world. The Bolshevik leaders immediately deprived the

American ambassador, as well as all consular and diplomatic representatives of this Government who were in Russia, of the privileges which custom and treaties had provided for officials of that character, among them being the right to send cables and to communicate with their Government; and finally their menacing attitude compelled these officials to withdraw from Russia. The attitude of the Bolshevists toward the diplomatic representatives of other nations who were accredited to the Russian Government was similar, and substantially all of them were forced to leave Russian soil.

Undoubtedly representatives of the United States Government, as well as others, would have remained in Russia had it not been for the abrogation of all treaties and the treatment accorded them by the Bolshevik Government.

Following the revolution in Mexico and the severing of diplomatic relations between the United States and Mexico during the interregnum, and until relations were established, each of the governments maintained unofficial representatives in the other's territory.

But, regardless of the past, the question now is, "Shall the Government of the United States accord to the Soviet Government de facto or de jure recognition, or recognition which may be regarded as qualified or sub modo, or shall there be some informal trade convention which may bring the peoples of the two countries into closer relations and facilitate trade and commerce between them?" Undoubtedly there is a wide difference of opinion in the United States as to what course should be pursued, and even in Russia the views of the people are not entirely harmonious. The view is entertained by many citizens of the United States that no dealings of any kind should be had with the Bolshevik Government; that its attitude toward this Nation as well as others has undergone but little if any change; that it is not worthy of being admitted into association with civilized nations. Still others believe there should be full or qualified recognition, and many think the time has come for a trade agreement with the Soviet Government. The view favorable to a trade agreement is in part founded upon the belief that it will not only be helpful to the Russian people but that it will be beneficial to the United States. First, it is important to know that the Government of the United States has interposed no obstacles whatever to trade and commercial dealings between the American and the Russian people. The Soviet Government, or the people of Russia, may buy and sell in the United States as freely as in any other country. American citizens may, so far as this Government is concerned, trade with the Soviet Government or with the Russian people as freely as with any government or its people. The fact is that whatever impediments exist to the utmost freedom of trade and commerce between the two countries and their inhabitants are found in the position taken by the Soviet Government and the laws and regulations promulgated by it.

Under the Bolshevik policy, the State maintains a monopoly of all foreign trade, and it has repeatedly declared that it would continue this monopoly; while it has modified its position with respect to internal trade, the position of its leaders is that it will never surrender its monopoly of foreign trade or the ownership and control of the "heavy industries." A foreign trade department has been created, headed by Krassin as Commissar, through which foreign trade is conducted and under which the monopoly is maintained. It has representatives in various countries, and until recently there were no exports or

imports except by this State monopolistic organization. It exported whatever products and commodities left Russia and disposed of the same in other countries; and whatever imports found their way into Russia were under its control. This was true even with those countries with which the Bolshevik Government had full diplomatic relations. Recently a few companies have been formed, which are under the control of the Bolshevik Government, which are engaged in a limited way in foreign trade.

Americans who have visited Russia for the purpose of buying Russian products for export or for the purpose of selling American products to the Russian people could deal only with the foreign trade department of the Government. They were compelled to procure licenses, both to export and to import, and to submit to the heavy exactions imposed by the Government. Peasants or the owners of furs or other commodities may not export the same except through the Government or such organizations as have recently been effected and which, as stated, are controlled by the foreign trade department. The soviet authorities submitted to me a list of joint-stock companies which are authorized to engage in foreign trade. The list shows that there are 15 amalgamated joint-stock companies containing foreign capital, 1 containing Government and Russian private capital, and 6 joint-stock companies including State capital. In addition there are 3 foreign companies which have been granted certain concessionary rights to engage in foreign trade.

With respect to the 15 joint-stock companies, it is stated that the capital consists of 48,500,000 rubles (gold), of which the Soviet Government has subscribed 3,725,000 rubles (gold) and £367,105 sterling and $42,665. Foreigners have subscribed $92,665, £365,150, and 3,850,000 rubles (gold); and Russian citizens have subscribed 375,000 rubles (gold).

The capital stock in each is divided equally between the Government and the shareholders, the former owning 50 per cent, but paying only 25 to 35 per cent of the capital; in other words, the individual shareholders are required to pay substantially 75 per cent of the capital stock and to deliver to the Government 50 per cent, although it subscribes and pays for but 25 per cent. The directors or managers of the corporations are equally divided between the Government and the stockholders, but the president is appointed by the Government. The foreign stockholders and the shareholders who are Russian citizens are required to furnish credits both to the company and to the State.

Imports must not exceed the exports, except that some important reason may justify an exception, and the aim must be to export raw materials and semimanufactured products only. The general regulations also provide that the imports shall not compete with Russian industry and that both export and import operations must be carried on under the control of the foreign trade department and its representatives abroad.

If the net profits do not exceed 40 per cent, they are divided equally between the Government and the private stockholders. If in excess of 40 per cent, the Government receives a greater share.

The three companies having special concessions to engage in foreign trade are: Amalgamated Joint Stock Co., known as D. W. A. Britopol, whose entire trade must not exceed 15,000,000 rubles (gold) annually; the Southeastern European Co. of Berlin, whose entire trade must not exceed 2,400,000 rubles (gold) annually; and the Allied American Corporation, whose limit is fixed at 4,800,000 rubles (gold) per year. Each of these

companies guarantees the Government 17 to 25 per cent of the actual invoiced costs of all commodities exported and imported, and 10 per cent of the net profits must first be deducted and paid to the Government. The remaining profits are divided equally between the Government and the company, with a further increase to the Government where the profits exceed 40 per cent of the capital invested by the Government. The Government has one or more representatives on the boards of these companies.

The Government, as stated, has six export organizations through which most of the foreign trade is conducted. Some of these organizations have representatives in the United States and through them the Bolshevik Government buys and sells. The two large cooperative organizations, known as the Selskosoyus and the Centrosoyus, which have been referred to and which are also subject to the control of the Government, are permitted to engage in foreign trade, and these organizations now have representatives in America, whose contracts and dealings must be approved by the representatives of the Soviet Government.

Many foreigners and some Americans have visited Russia during the past year hoping to buy for export and to sell in Russia foreign products. Most of them have departed without results. While the needs of the Russian people are great and they would be glad to buy commodities to the extent of hundreds of millions of rubles, their impoverished condition prevents them from so doing. So little has been produced in Russia which can be exported that the foreign trade for an indefinite period will be inconsiderable, even though all restrictions by the Russian Government were removed. Neither trade agreements nor the establishment of diplomatic relations will create trade where the basis of trade does not exist.

Secretary Hughes quite accurately describes the situation when he says that Russia is an "economic vacuum."

Some of Russia's neighbors are anxious for trade with her, but the latter's exhausted condition, and her lack of production, are obstacles to the realization of these desires. When Russia so far recovers as to produce for export, she will have foreign trade, with or without recognition of the Bolshevik Government. Recognition and trade agreements are not indispensable to active business dealings between the peoples of different countries. There was a large volume of trade between the United States and Mexico during the past few years, even when there was no recognition by the United States of the Obregón government.

When I addressed the Senate upon the Russian question on the 22d of January last, the following countries had formal diplomatic relations, based upon peace treaties with the Soviet Government: Esthonia, Finland, Germany, Latvia, Lithuania, Mongolia, Poland, Persia, Turkey, and Afghanistan. Trade agreements had been entered between the Soviet Government and Austria, Czecho Slovakia, Denmark, Great Britain, Italy, and Norway; and without any formal agreement, there had been an exchange of trade relations between Russia and China and Sweden. Within the past few weeks the Labor Government of Great Britain has recognized the Soviet régime, and representatives of the two governments are now meeting for the purpose of drafting a treaty. We are informed by the press that difficulties are being encountered, and notes of pessimism emanate from the conference, indicating that the negotiators are experiencing difficulty in agreeing upon suitable terms.

Mussolini has recently recognized the Bolshevik Government, and representatives of the two governments will soon meet to draft a treaty. When in Russia, I was advised by some Bolshevist leaders that a treaty with Italy would probably soon be negotiated, that Italy was exceedingly anxious to obtain coal and iron and other raw materials of which Russia has an abundance. Mussolini has exhibited great zeal in pushing forward plans for the industrial and economic rehabilitation of Italy. It will be recalled, however, that for several years Italy has shown great antipathy toward the Bolshevik régime; and the Soviet leaders, by their emissaries and propaganda, sought to disrupt the economic and industrial life of Italy and to set up a Communist Government.

Undoubtedly the intrigues of the communists were largely responsible for the industrial unrest existing in Italy following the war and for the strength of the Facisti movement which placed Mussolini at the head of the Italian Government.

The Senator from Idaho [Mr. BORAH] in his address supporting his resolution for de jure recognition of the Bolshevik Government stated that no complaints had been made by the governments which had recognized the Soviet régime of misconduct or violation of conventions or treaties by the Bolshevik Government. I respectfully submit that the Senator is mistaken. Hundreds of complaints have been made by the governments which have recognized Russia, as well as by those who have trade agreements with the Soviet régime. These complaints grow out of alleged violations of agreements and conventions and treaties entered into with the Soviet Government. I learned from indisputable sources that the foreign office of the soviet régime has literally been flooded with protests and complaints upon the part of those nations which have de facto or de jure relations with Russia. There has been extensive correspondence between the soviet foreign office and the Governments of Finland, Latvia, Esthonia, Lithuania, Poland, Germany, and Great Britain, in which the Soviet Government was charged with deliberate violations of agreements and treaties and solemn promises. I talked with various persons connected with some of these governments which have made protests and complaints and learned from them, as well as from other sources, of the numerous charges of misconduct made against the Soviet Government. Trotski told me of the controversies between his government and Poland, and I learned in Moscow of the protests made by Great Britain because of the violations by the Soviet Government of obligations entered into between the two governments.

Senators will recall that several years ago Germany was compelled to protest against the propaganda carried on by the Bolsheviks within German territory and ordered a Russian communist who held a position with the Soviet Government from the country.

The British made a trade agreement with Russia under date of March 16, 1921. On September 7, 1921, Lord Curzon, His Majesty's secretary of state for foreign affairs, addressed a note to the Soviet Government protesting against the activities of the Third International in India, in violation of the agreement to desist from propaganda in the British Empire. On March 29, 1923, Mr. MacNiel, British undersecretary of state for foreign affairs, addressed the House of Commons respecting soviet violation of the trade agreement, and his remarks will be found in the record of the House of Commons for this date. The British Foreign Office has issued two white papers

containing correspondence with the Soviet Government respecting violations of the trade agreement on the part of the soviets.

In May, 1923, the Government of Turkey closed two soviet consulates in that country and deported a number of soviet agents, including consuls and the secretary of the embassy, on account of carrying on communist propaganda in Turkey, contrary to the existing agreement with the Soviet Government.

In August, 1922, the Government of Latvia protested to the Soviet Government against newspapers and organizations in Russia which were carrying on propaganda for the overthrow of the Latvian Government, contrary to the terms of the treaty with Soviet Russia.

In May, 1922, the Government of Esthonia carried out a sentence of execution against an Esthonian citizen named Kingsett, who had been convicted of murder under Esthonian law. Kingsett was a communist and had been harbored by the soviet legation. He was not a Russian. After the execution Zinoviev made a memorial address in Moscow eulogizing Kingsett, and as a further insult to Esthonia the Soviet Government named a town on the Esthonian border after the convicted murderer. The Izvestia of May 17, 1922, threatened Esthonia on account of the execution of Kingsett. Esthonia has also made protests to the Soviet Government against organizations maintained in Russia which carry on propaganda for the overthrow of the Esthonian Government in violation of the existing agreement.

On August 25, 1921, the Government of Finland protested to the Soviet Government against the nonperformance as well as the violation of the treaty existing between the two Governments.

The treaty of Riga, of March 18, 1921, which settled the peace between Poland and the Soviet Government, among its stipulations required the soviets to return to Poland archives and other property carried away from that country, including 221 locomotives and the machinery of 100 factories. In August, 1922, the Government of Poland protested against the further noncompliance upon the part of the Soviet Government of article 11 of the treaty and made 163 specific demands for performance, of which only 34 have been satisfied.

In September, 1922, the police of Berlin confiscated two stores of arms which had been supplied German communists through the agency of the military attaché to the soviet legation at Berlin. Reference is made to this episode in the German newspaper Vorwartz and a description of the magazine of arms secured at the Russian Embassy is given. When I was in Germany in October I heard from authoritative sources concerning this matter and also of other controversies between Germany and Russia caused by the misconduct of the latter.

In February, 1923, the Government of Czecho-Slovakia expelled the soviet representatives in that country because of the interference with internal affairs of Czecho-Slovakia and because they were carrying on a propaganda in violation of the existing agreement of the Soviet Government.

Although neither Sweden nor Switzerland has recognized the Soviet Government, both have been compelled to expel from their borders soviet representatives because of their breaches of international law and their efforts to spread sedition and bring about industrial collapse.

Senators will recall the investigation of Martens conducted by the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Senate. This man

claimed to be a representative of the Soviet Government, and it was shown that he was engaged in extensive communistic propaganda in the United States and secretly promoted strikes and sought to interfere with the industrial activities of our country. When it was apparent that he was to be deported he hastily departed from the United States.

These matters are referred to because of the claim made by the Senator from Idaho and because they are related, perhaps somewhat remotely, to the question now being considered.

The Soviet Government is a de facto entity, exercising governmental rights. Its authority is not openly challenged throughout Russia's vast territory, although its rule is a despotic one, exercised by a few individuals possessing dictatorial and autocratic power. It does not rest upon the expressed will of the people. The great mass of the people are indifferent to the form of government under which they live; their sufferings have been so great that they are more interested in peace and in satisfying their material wants.

Notwithstanding its many elements of weakness, the outward appearances are that the Bolshevik Government will control Russia for an indefinite period. Its tenure of life, however, will depend upon concessions which it will make to the rising spirit of democracy and to the intellectual and liberal forces which inevitably will develop. Cruel despotisms may exist for a time, even in this enlightened age, but the forces of progress and freedom will ultimately sweep them away, whether the despotism be called a dictatorship of the proletariat or a monarchy claiming divine right to rule.

The Government of the United States early in its history adopted a policy at variance with the then-accepted one in dealing with new states and governments, particularly when these states and governments were the product of revolution. The gulf between a de facto government and a de jure government was great. Legitimacy was the important consideration, and the idea of legitimacy was usually associated with that of dynastic interests and the perpetuation of monarchial governments. Under the leadership of Jefferson the United States was more concerned in the question as to whether a government seeking recognition was one in fact rather than in the principle of legitimacy, as it might be involved in the application of the de jure principle. He stated that it accords with our principle to acknowledge any government to be rightful which is formed by the will of the nation substantially declared. His view was that the essential of the de facto theory of recognition is that the new government will carry out all the international obligations of the state and conform to the principles of international law. Of course a state may be independent and may have capacity to discharge international obligations without its being recognized, but the United States from the beginning has been guided by the policy of recognizing governments, whether monarchical or republican, which the people within the state have acknowledged.

Our Government has usually refrained from assuming to decide in favor of the sovereign de jure and against the sovereign de facto, and has generally proceeded upon the theory that the sovereign de facto was the sovereign de jure. However, Seward stated the policy of the United States to have been settled upon the principle that revolutions in republican states ought not to be accepted until the people have adopted them by organic law with the solemnities which would seem sufficient to guarantee their stability and permanency.

It is obvious that the people of Russia have not adopted with due solemnity, or at all, the communist creed or the Bolshevik Government, but if recognition were to depend upon the adoption of an organic law for the government of the people, upon full consideration and approval by a majority of them, then the theory upon which recognition has often been accorded by the United States would be modified.

We may not refuse to recognize the Soviet Government solely because of the communistic creed which the dictators of Russia profess, nor because the State controls all foreign trade and owns, operates, and controls the important industries of the State. We may believe that such policies are unwise and disastrous and that its political methods are oppressive, and our Government has the right to withhold recognition if it deems it expedient. There may or may not be recognition where there is a government, though it is not a good government. Independence does not necessarily mean good government or tranquillity. But even under the liberal policy of recognition announced by Jefferson and followed by this Republic, it does not mean that every government which may have won its way to power shall be recognized.

There are principles of international law which may be invoked to determine whether a State is entitled to recognition. Grotius has demonstrated that there is a law of nations as there is municipal law. International law is merely that body of customary and conventional rules which are considered legally binding by civilized nations in their intercourse with each other.

Many writers contend that these rules and usages have legal obligations as well as being morally binding; that they may be enforced in the forum of conscience as well as by some external force. It is obvious that civilized nations must have rules and usages to govern their relations, and because of the increasing activities of nations and their important and vital associations there must be treaties for the protection of their common interests and for the promotion of the general welfare of the people. These mutual interests of nations have developed a system of international law which unites the separate civilized States of the world into an "invisible unity." All States, including Russia, are entitled to be admitted into the family of nations if they possess the attributes and qualities of a civilized State and if they will consent to be bound in their international conduct and relations by the rules of civilized States. They must be competent to discharge their international obligations. They must be so attached to the principles of honor and national integrity and morality as to respect the obligations of international law and of treaties, and they must with fidelity perform such obligations.

Our Government, as well as other civilized States, has the right to determine whether they regard the Soviet Government as qualified for admission into the family of nations. Does it fulfill its international obligations? Does it agree to be bound in its relations with other nations by the principles of international law which are recognized by civilized States? The fact that the Bolshevik Government has not been recognized by most civilized States indicates that they have felt that there were some conditions which operated as a bar to such admission. Russia, however, is changing, and if the Bolshevik Government signifies its willingness to meet all international obligations and to conform her conduct in dealing with nations to the usages that prevail among civilized states, and furnishes

evidence of her bona fides, then it is entitled to be fairly treated and its application for such admission should be acted upon without prejudice and in all candor.

But there may be a conditional recognition, or such informal relations between Russia and various States as do not amount even to a de facto recognition.

The treaty of Berlin of 1878 accorded recognition to Bulgaria as an autonomous principality, with the restriction, however, that there should be a Christian Government and a national militia; and Serbia and Rumania by the same treaty were recognized conditionally that there should be complete religious toleration within each of said countries, and further that Rumania should restore certain territory to Russia. In the recent treaty between the allied nations and a number of the new states of Europe, important limitations and restrictions were imposed upon the new states, and they were required to guarantee religious liberty as well as protection of minorities in their rights to enjoy certain educational advantages, and other privileges. And where restrictions have been imposed, preliminary to recognition, nonobservance of the conditions will justify refusal to grant recognition.

It has been claimed that the trade agreement of 1921 between the British Government and the Soviet Government was tantamount to a de facto recognition of the latter. It is true that the British court, King's Bench Division, decided that Russia had been recognized as a de facto government, but the decision rests upon a statement by the British Government that the Soviet Government had been recognized as the de facto government of Russia. In this trade agreement provisions are found calculated to facilitate trade and freedom of communication between officials and agents of the respective governments. A reciprocal provision is found by which all claims of either government or its nationals against the other in respect of treaty or obligations incurred by former governments shall be equitably dealt with in a general peace treaty, which the agreement indicates will later be entered into. A British trade mission is now in Russia attempting to increase the trade between the two countries. Great Britain has been deeply disappointed because of the small amount of trade which has been developed, and the view is entertained by some Britishers that but slight benefits have been derived from the trade agreement.

There is a misapprehension in the United States as to the extent of trade, which, under any circumstances, will be developed between the United States and Russia. In 1913 Russia's entire foreign trade was but 2,910,000,000 gold rubles, her exports being 1,521,400,000 gold rubles and her imports 1,038,600,000 gold rubles. Of these amounts German exports to Russia in 1913 amounted to 453,600,000 gold rubles, whereas her imports from Russia aggregated 652,200,000 gold rubles. Great Britain's entire trade with Russia for the same year totaled 440,000,000 gold rubles.

The entire trade of the United States with Russia for the same year was but 92,000,000 gold rubles, or approximately $41,000,000. There is no reason to suppose that a relatively greater proportion of Russia's trade will be with the United States in the future than in the pre-war days, although it is obvious that if large credits are extended by American business men to Russia the exports from the United States would temporarily at least increase. The tariff duties imposed by Russia, even if there were no governmental foreign-trade monopoly, would be an almost insuperable obstacle to any considerable volume

of American exports to Russia. The policy of the Soviet Government is to develop Russian industries. That policy calls for extremely high tariff duties, and these are supplemented by trade regulations which are almost prohibitive of importation into Russia, of commodities which are imperatively needed by the people. The Soviet Government has placed embargoes upon various articles, including automobiles, and efforts are being made by Bolshevik leaders to exclude imports of commodities which Russia is able to manufacture or produce. It is perceived by the soviet leaders that, with the large agricultural population of Russia, there must be developed a home market for agricultural products; while the foreign market is important, it is realized in Russia that agricultural products will increase in volume in European and South American nations, as well as in the United States.

In 1913 the foodstuffs and livestock exported from Russia amounted to nearly nine-fifteenths of her entire exports. Without domestic markets for her farm products, agriculture will languish and the peasantry continue in a condition of economic slavery. Accordingly, the policy of the Bolshevik Government is being directed toward reviving the manufacturing industries of Russia, in order that there may be a wider market for her domestic agricultural products, and at the same time barriers are being raised against the importation of commodities which Russia can produce, or if she can not now produce them, against all that are not imperatively needed for the rehabilitation of the economic life of the country.

If Russia can obtain credits abroad, and if her industries shall revive and her agricultural production is increased and markets obtained for the surplus which would result, then Russia will become an exporting nation, and considerable trade may be developed with the United States. But Russia's present fiscal condition and the propinquity of Germany, Czechoslovakia, and other manufacturing States give them an advantage over the United States in the matter of Russian trade; moreover, with their cheaper labor, America will have difficulty in competing with those countries which lie at the door of Russia and who before the war had an extensive commerce with the Russian people.

The information was frequently imparted by soviet leaders that many commodities, among them hardware of all kinds, were not desired in Russia, nor does the Bolshevik Government favor the importation of most farm implements. The United States, however, does manufacture certain articles in such mass quantities as to enable them to sell cheaper than European countries. Moreover, Russian citizens, particularly peasants, recognize the superiority of various American manufactured articles, and they would welcome conditions which would permit their shipment to Russia.

Throughout Russia there is a desire for closer relations with the United States. The people are grateful for the relief extended, not only by our Government and the American people but by European and other nations during the famine period. Most of the people have a childlike belief that the United States, like some fairy godmother, can lift them out of their distress and put them upon the path of safety and happiness. The peasants lacking clothing, particularly shoes and cotton goods, and also agricultural implements, believe that their wants can be supplied by the United States, and this increases their desire for such relations and conditions as will enable them to satisfy their needs. They do not quite comprehend why American manufacturers do not ship more products, nor just

what causes operate to prevent freer trade between the two countries. Some Bolsheviks, whose hostility to the United States is not concealed, desire trade relations or recognition, because they think it will enable Russia and her industries to obtain loans and credit in the United States, and will likewise increase Russia's export trade with the United States. There are some communists in Russia who endeavor to create the impression unfavorable to the United States, that it is hostile to the Russian people and is averse to closer trade or other relations. Interviews with hundreds of the "intelligentsia," who were bitter toward the Bolshevik Government and its leaders, revealed that there was a general desire upon their part, either for absolute or qualified recognition or for a trade agreement similar to the one between Russia and Great Britain. Their view and the view of a majority of all classes of non-communists is that Russia must work out her salvation slowly, and that her progress toward liberty and industrial development, of necessity, will be slow and painful; that the reforms, which were slowly being evolved, are the result of pressure from the people, and that still greater concessions will be made in the direction of liberty and progress by the Soviet Government. Their view is that the closer the contact between Russia and other nations, particularly the United States, the greater and surer will be the progress toward normal conditions and a tolerable condition of life in Russia.

My attention was directed to the great benefits that had resulted to Russia from the relief expeditions, whose personnel had come into contact with millions of the Russian people. These associations, as well as those which follow from the visits of foreigners, dispel prejudices, strengthen the morale of the people, expand their vision, afford opportunity to contrast the Bolshevik régime with other Governments and the citizens of other countries, and increase the desire of the Russian people for greater liberty and for freedom of speech and of the press.

It was repeatedly stated to me that if an agreement for trade relations were entered into between the United States and the Soviet Government many more Americans and foreigners would visit Russia and that their presence would constitute a protection to the Russian people against Bolshevism oppression, and act as a liberalizing force throughout the land. Everywhere the cry was for more light from the outside and more opportunities for the people of the world to visit Russia. The peasant, as well as the bourgoise, and the intellectuals, appreciate that Russia's destiny is in the hands of the Russian people, and that with moral support and the sympathy of civilized nations, as well as aid and benefits derived from trade and commerce, they will be armed with such moral strength as to push forward toward the summit, which will mark the political, industrial, and moral emancipation of the people of Russia.

There were some who believed that any recognition of the Bolshevik régime would be imprudent and unwise; that it would increase their prestige and their arrogance to such a degree that a reaction would set in toward the "left" and a strong retrogressive movement would be inaugurated. The argument for trade relations was made by others, who conceded that it would temporarily increase the prestige of the Bolsheviks, but this would soon be neutralized, because the people would perceive that trade relations did not constitute recognition, which implied some distrust of the Bolshevik Govern-

ment and a probationary period during which its conduct would be the subject of international examination.

It was also argued by some that trade relations, or even a conditional recognition which imposed certain conditions precedent to be complied with by the Soviet Government, would have a most salutory effect upon the Government and its officials, and strengthen those who sought in good faith to have the Soviet Government comply with its contracts and observe its international obligations. The contention was further made by non-Bolshevik Russians that recognition or close association with the United States would be regarded by the Russian people as a protection against any possible foe, and that in turn would compel a material reduction in the military forces of Russia. Still others argued that Bolsheviks had sought a rapprochement with the East. Contact with American and with European nations would dilute such desire—and this they regarded as important for the peace of the world.

The material argument was emphasized both by Bolsheviks and others. Intimate relations, they said, with the United States would mean increased trade, which would be of advantage to America. It was urged, moreover, that if the United States at this time should meet the advances of the Soviet Government in a friendly way it would be more inclined to conform to American ideals and place greater reliance upon America to aid in the rehabilitation of Russia. These and other reasons were urged for trade relations with or some form of recognition by the United States.

Kalinin, President of the Soviet Republic, stated that if recognition meant that they were to be taxed too heavily: "It is better to wait, for Russia will grow stronger." "The Government would gain very little, as it sells what it can and buys what it must have in its own primitive way." "But recognition would hasten foreign capital into Russia, and industrialization of the country would be quicker, and from this point of view the Government would gain."

But some communists of Russia have no illusions. The sane and practical leaders comprehend that they can not indefinitely hold the Russian people in political and economic servitude; that important changes in the direction of liberty must be made or their power will be destroyed; and the people, who seek liberty, realize that they must press forward, gaining slowly the difficult heights which lie before them. But they shrink from the horrors of civil war and from the consequences of any revolutionary movement, and hence will advance slowly with halting and stumbling steps.

The various reasons above stated may be regarded by some as so chimerical as to be unworthy of consideration by the United States. Doubtless there are many who feel that no sufficient reasons can be urged to justify the United States in changing its present policy toward Russia. Undoubtedly the question is not withdrawn from the realm of legitimate debate and honest controversy, and the opponents of recognition or any convention with the Bolshevik Government find strength in the fact that the Bolshevik Government confiscated the property of American citizens of the value (estimated) of more than $460,000,000. Moreover, in the spring of 1923, when the Japanese troops departed from eastern Siberia, the Bolsheviks seized and appropriated the property of American citizens of the value of approximately $75,000,000. In addition the Soviet Government has stated that it does not acknowledge the validity of the claim of the United States Government against Russia for loans made and for sale of

surplus war materials which, together with the interest, amounted on November 15 of last year to approximately $232,000,000. Of course, these acts of the Bolshevik Government can not be condoned and must be taken into consideration if any negotiations looking to a trade agreement between that Government and the United States are entered upon. The attitude of the Bolshevik Government toward nations with which it has diplomatic relations or trade relations has not been satisfactory upon the whole to such nations, and, as indicated, the Bolshevik Government has failed to conform to those principles of honor and probity which should exist among nations. Moreover, it is charged that the soviet authorities have violated agreements and have shown a disregard for solemn obligations which have been entered into by their Government.

I have been asked by a number of Senators what was the value of foreign investments seized and confiscated by the soviet authorities. I am unable to submit any precise or accurate information upon this matter. I made many inquiries of Bolshevik officials as well as others outside of the Communist Party who were residing in Russia and in Germany in order to learn the extent and value of foreign holdings seized by the soviet leaders. Some placed the value as low as two and one-half billions of dollars, while others placed the maximum at fifteen billions.

An American who had large investments in Russia before the war, and who had spent several years in Russia and was familiar with foreign investments, stated that the amount of money actually invested would perhaps be less than $5,000,000,000, but that the holdings had increased in value, and investments had brought accretions to the capital, so that, at the time of the seizure, the foreign holdings were worth at least $10,000,000,000. He called attention to the oil fields which had been developed in part by foreign capital and to their enormous value.

There were also large foreign investments in the mining and metallurgical industries, in urban real estate, in the textile and chemical industries, as well as in railroads and other transportation facilities. The French, perhaps, had larger investments than any other country. British investments were large, and the Germans, for several years preceding the war, were making considerable investments.

The Bolshevik Government has repudiated all obligations incurred by the Kerensky or Czaristic Governments. Some Bolshevik leaders stated to me that if they recognized the claims or foreign governments or the nationals of other governments for property confiscated by the soviet régime, Russian citizens would insist that they be compensated for the losses which they had sustained.

While insisting that no compensation would be made to foreign governments or their nationals, I was told by some of the saner and more liberal communistic leaders that the matter had not been concluded and that the Bolshevik Government would consent to discuss the claims of the United States and other countries as well as their nationals growing out of the expropriation by the Soviet Government of investments and property in Russia. I might add that Tchitcherin and several other leaders called my attention to the proposition submitted by Russia at the Genoa conference for a settlement of the claims of foreign governments against Russia and Russia's claims against such creditor nations. It will be remembered that the plan submitted by Tchitcherin was

wholly unacceptable to the nations participating in the conference, and in my opinion it will never be accepted by our Government. The claims of Russia against the United States and other governments grow out of the alleged invasion of Russian territory by the allied and associated powers during and immediately following the World War and after the Soviet régime had been established.

It is my opinion, however, that the Bolshevik Government realizes the importance, indeed the necessity, of coming to a satisfactory understanding with the foreign creditors of Russia, and will be willing to make some composition of the claims against her. The more liberal Soviet leaders appreciate that, so long as the stain of repudiation rests upon Russia and she is truthfully charged with dishonoring her obligations, her opportunities for obtaining credit will be restricted and her industrial development will be retarded. There are "isolationists" in Russia as there are selfish and provincial persons in this country. The sound thinkers in Russia perceive that she must be brought into contact, industrially and economically, with other nations and that trade and commerce must be fostered.

This view is being strengthened and will, more and more, dominate Russia's domestic and foreign policies. Trade breaks down artificial and intellectual barriers, removes racial antipathies, and promotes a more catholic and desirable international spirit. The intolerance and fanaticism of Bolshevism will not only suffer from intellectual erosion but will be undermined by international trade contacts, and by the removal of the dams which held back the streams that carry not only material things but the intangible and impalpable forces which so powerfully advance civilization throughout the world.

Mr. President, notwithstanding the dark record of the Bolshevik Government, its craftiness and its sinister international activities and its imperialistic ambitions, I will support a policy which contemplates a trade agreement between the United States and Russia. However, there must be stipulations and provisions which will fully protect our Government and its nationals. I am influenced in this position largely because of the condition of the intellectuals in Russia as well as the peasants and because they feel that closer relations with the United States will strengthen them in the efforts being made to free Russia from the curse of Bolshevik rule and to establish a freer and better system of government under which liberty and justice may be enjoyed by all.

But there must be assurances given before any agreement shall be entered into, that all just and valid claims of American citizens shall be met and that the amount due the Government of the United States shall be paid. There must also be stipulations, similar to those found in the British trade agreement, that will protect the United States against hostile propaganda within its borders by the Bolshevik Government and its agents and representatives, including the Third Internationale. The Bolshevik Government must likewise agree that in its relations and dealings with the United States and its nationals it will observe the principles of international law as recognized by the civilized States of the world.

If the soviet régime shall indicate its desire to enter into a trade convention with the United States, with the guaranties and stipulations above indicated, then it is my opinion that arrangements should be made for representatives of the two Governments to meet and prepare a suitable trade agreement.

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