

Saturday, August 14, 1920.

Nos. 1-2

BULLETIN

of the

Russian Information Bureau in the U. S.

 NO LONGER THE PROPERTY
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SEMINARY, N. Y.
NEW YORK

Our First Issue

This first issue of our Bulletin contains facts and documents on the Russian-Polish relations at the present moment, and on the anti-Bolshevist movement in Southern Russia, led by General Peter Wrangel.

The material on the Polish-Russian relations, printed below, shows clearly that the anti-Bolshevist forces of Russia stand ready to co-operate with Poland in her struggle against Bolshevism as soon as Poland repudiates her former demands for Russian territory and proclaims unequivocally that while struggling against Bolshevism she does not struggle against Russia, and while defending Poland as an independent State, the Poles agree that its borders be established along the ethnographical lines, in accordance with the decision of the Peace Conference.

This Bulletin was already prepared when the declaration of the State Department on the Polish-Russian relations was issued. This noble declaration of the United States Government will be greeted gratefully by all Russian patriots and democrats. By inviting the Allied governments to proclaim solemnly that they guarantee the unity and integrity of Russia within her former borders, with the exception of Poland and Finland, the declaration tends to deprive the Bolsheviks of the pose of defenders of Russia's national interests and dignity and will undoubtedly produce a deep impression within Russia giving encouragement to the great masses of the Russian people and the best elements of the Russian intelligentsia who were, are, and still remain, opposed to the bloody tyranny of Bolshevism.

The unequivocal declaration that the United States Government would under no circumstances recognize the so-called Bolshevik government that came into power through the dispersal of the Constituent Assembly and is ruling, as far as it rules, without any popular consent, will produce further impression encouraging the anti-Bolshevist forces in Russia, on the one hand, and on the other, correcting the unfortunate inclination on the part of some of the Allied statesmen who during the last months were engaged in parleys with the Bolshevik usurpers. The declaration of

the State Department is a document of great political importance, a new demonstration of the United States' friendship for the Russian people and an expression of sympathy with their aspirations for freedom. The Russian people will gratefully remember this wise and noble act.

The announcement that the French government decided to recognize the Government of General Wrangel as the *de facto* Government of Southern Russia, lends special interest to the facts and documents relating to the anti-Bolshevist movement in Southern Russia, printed below. With the proper help and encouragement on the part of the Allied Governments and nations, the anti-Bolshevist movement in Southern Russia can be made the basis for an all-Russian movement against the Bolshevik tyranny, and under the new international circumstances this movement may succeed where the previous anti-Bolshevist movements have failed.

The statement by Prof. Peter Struve, the Minister of Foreign Affairs in General Wrangel's Government, printed in this issue, touches upon all the important moments in the anti-Bolshevist movement in Southern Russia at the present moment. The statement by V. A. Kharlamov, the prominent Cossack leader, describes the co-operation established by Gen. Wrangel with the Cossacks of Southern Russia, in the common struggle against Bolshevism. Finally, on the last page of the Bulletin, the readers will find several original documents relating to the anti-Bolshevist movement in Southern Russia which, combined with the statements of the anti-Bolshevist leaders, give further description of the movement led by Gen. Wrangel.

Among these documents of special interest is Gen. Wrangel's decree on the land question and the text of an official Bolshevik appeal, published on July 10, 1920, in which the Bolsheviks acknowledge that "Wrangel's offensive has already caused the Soviet Republic great difficulties. . . . The Communist party should understand that the liquidation of Gen. Wrangel's undertaking is an absolute necessity for Soviet Russia."

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BULLETIN

of the

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WOOLWORTH BUILDING

NEW YORK CITY

The Situation in the Crimea

In the "Obscheye Dielo" (The Common Cause), the Russian weekly published at Paris by Vladimir L. Burtzev, in the issue of the 31st of July, we find the following special correspondence from the Crimea:

"As regards military matters the situation is as follows: The army can hardly be recognized! Numerically it is not large, but its quality is such as to make it absolutely fit to fight the Bolsheviki at the rate of one to fifty. The difference between General Wrangel's army and the former Volunteer Army lies in the fact that the latter was almost exclusively an officers' army, while Gen. Wrangel's is a regular, normal army, with normal proportions of officers and men.

Sebastopol and Yalta are unlike Yekaterinodar, Rostov and Novorossisk. Here there are no idle officers to be seen. At the front this army is fighting and conquering, while in the rear it is hard at work. The work in the rear serves as a preparation to victories at the front. Here, in the rear, new units are being formed and drilled from morning till night. All live in the barracks. No talk about the eight-hour workday here! This work of the officers in the rear is hard, arduous and splendidly productive. If I do not believe in miracles I ought to believe in them after seeing what Wrangel has made out of those Rostov and Novorossisk bands within a short period of two months. The foreign military representatives here

claim that Wrangel's army consists of the finest regular troops they have ever seen. Not a trace of looting or marauding has been left in this army. Here is a little scene.

A cavalry unit approaches a certain village after a battle and sets up a bivouac at a distance of one verst. The peasants are at a loss to explain this: why don't the troops enter the village? The day passes. All night long the villagers are expecting in fear and trembling the arrival of the guests. But nobody comes. In the morning the peasants go out of their own accord to invite the soldiers to the village. But no, that is against orders. Well, in that case nothing can be done. The womenfolk begin to carry to the camp bread, milk, eggs, bacon. A regular market has been started. And here the peasants have a new surprise and hardly believe their eyes: for the soldiers are paying for everything, taking away nothing! At this, the peasants begin to carry out to the soldiers all sorts of livestock, almost forcing the soldiers to accept the presents. As a result, there are established such relations with the troops as is needless to describe: you can picture them to yourself.

I was here while General Wrangel's latest offensive started and ended. The object of it was to capture three fertile counties of the Tauride province in the North. The objective has been reached, and the operation finished. The occupied territory is being forti-

fied, put in shape, and engineering works are started as well as new troop formations begun. Again the army is brought into shape, organized, increased and drilled.

This offensive has been very interesting. It was preceded by some action on the part of those good friends—the Allies. The British demanded that we do not take any offensive, while the French, on the contrary, wanted us to advance as soon and as vigorously as possible. Wrangel, however, replied to one as well as the other that he would either advance or not, as the situation will dictate it, and only when he will find it necessary. The offensive was carried out by three columns. The largest of these was that commanded by Gen. Slastshev. It was embarked on transport ships at Feodosia, crossed the gulf during the night and landed in the rear of the Bolsheviki near the city of Genitshesk. Talk about this expedition had been rife for quite some time, the Bolsheviki had been preparing to meet it, and, of course, overslept it. . . . The passage of the fleet of 36 vessels across the gulf was accomplished without a single shot being fired from the Red batteries which could have sunk the whole fleet, and the landing was made at a place nobody could have expected it. And at this time a storm was raging at sea. Still, only two men were reported lost in this operation.

The story told about the almost total absence of any Bolshevik

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BULLETIN

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NEW YORK CITY

A Declaration by the South Russian Government

In reply to the note of the French Government extending recognition to the Government of General Wrangel, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the South Russian Government has presented to the French Government the following declaration:

"The Government of South Russia, lawfully endowed with supreme authority, regarding itself as the representative of the Russian national idea, faithful to the alliances and agreements concluded by Russia, and declaring its absolute solidarity with the Russian democratic and patriotic movement, recognizes, in accordance with its previous declarations, the following principles as the basis of its policy:

1. With regard to the future construction of the Russian State it is the chief aim of the South

Russian Government to grant to the nationalities of Russia the opportunity to determine the form of government by a free expression of their will;

2. Civic and political equality, and also personal inviolability of all Russian citizens, without distinction of descent and faith;

3. The transfer of the land as their absolute private property to those who are actually cultivating it, and the legalization of the actual transfer of the land into the hands of the peasants which took place during the Revolution. This reform is already being actually carried out to its full extent;

4. The defense of the interests of the working class and its trade organizations;

5. As regards the state formations which have appeared upon

the territory of Russia, the South Russian Government, assuming a basis of mutual confidence and cooperation, desires a union of the various parts of Russia in a broad Federation founded upon free agreement and community of interests, preeminently economic;

6. In the economic field it is the aim of the Government to re-establish the productive forces of Russia on a basis common to all contemporaneous democracies, with the principle of private initiative as its cornerstone;

7. Recognition of international obligations assumed by preceeding Russian Governments towards foreign powers;

8. Payment of Russia's debts, the guaranty of such payment being the realization of the programme of economic regeneration."

The Results of Gen. Wrangel's Policy in the Crimea

V. L. Bourtzev's paper, "Obscheye Dielo", in the issue of the 6th of August, just received here, publishes the following special correspondence from South Russia:

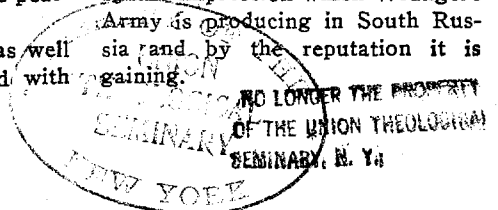
"Red Army officers captured during the recent fighting in South Russia claim that General Wrangel's Army is victorious not only because of its military strength, but also by its slogans which are already beginning to have their effects upon the minds of the peas-

antry. It must be admitted that it is the first attempt which is now being made in this direction in South Russia; for the first time in the course of two years of struggle, the anti-Bolshevist forces are now beginning to use besides machine guns and cannon also a sound political weapon calculated to attract the broad masses of the peasantry.

These Red Army officers as well as other persons acquainted with

conditions in the Crimea ascribe to General Wrangel's land legislation a paramount and extraordinary influence. This radical reform which is already being inaugurated on the territory of the Tauride province is making itself felt far beyond the borders of the Crimea. This is largely to be accounted for by the impression which Wrangel's Army is producing in South Russia and by the reputation it is gaining.

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BULLETIN

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WOOLWORTH BUILDING

NEW YORK CITY

Anti-Bolshevist Russia Greet President Wilson

At the time this is written, the Russian-Polish question seems to be near its solution. The defeat experienced by the Poles in their advance into Russia and the Ukraine showed clearly, on the one hand, that the Polish people were not much inclined to support any military movement beyond the ethnographic border of Poland, and on the other, that the Russian people are able to defend the territorial integrity of Russia even under the present conditions of disorganization in the country, brought about by the Bolshevist regime.

At the same time, the defeat of the Bolshevist forces in their movement towards Warsaw showed that the Russian people also do not feel inclined to support imperialism,—in this case, Red imperialism,—and that, on the other hand, as soon as the integrity of the Polish territory was threatened, the Polish people found in themselves enough patriotism and strength to repel the invaders. The solution of the Russian-Polish problem will have to be based upon these two facts, and there is reason to believe that the world will finally see the establishment of the borders of Poland along ethnographical lines, in accordance with the decision of the Peace Conference, with those economic and strategic modifications that can be easily established upon mutual consent.

But, the solution of the Russian-Polish problem is not yet the solution of the Russian problem. Bolshevism remains in Russia, and the Russian people will probably face another cruel winter under the impossible conditions of the Bolshevist regime. As long as Bolshevism remains in Russia, the danger that it will spread all over the world is not removed, and sooner or later the democratic world will have to face this danger.

The recent note of the United States Government bearing upon the Russian-Polish relations and upon the Russian problem will occupy a predominant place among the diplomatic acts that will appear in the inevitable conflict between the world's democracy and Bolshevist tyranny. The note has already produced a deep impression among the

Russian democratic anti-Bolshevist elements, as shown in the text of the telegram sent to President Wilson on August 13th by the veteran leader of the Russian democracy and former President of the Archangel Government, Nicholas V. Tchaikovsky; the representative of the Don, Terek and Astrakhan Cossacks, and President of the Don Cossack Krug (Parliament), V. Kharlamoff, and President of the Ukrainian National Committee in Paris, S. K. Marcatun. The telegram, printed below, says in part, "The action of the President of the United States in Russia's hour of trial will remain sacred in the memory of the entire Russian nation as a worthy expression of the sincere friendship towards Russia on the part of the American people. We, on our part, declare to you, Mr. President, that neither the Russian people, nor the Ukrainians, nor the Cossacks shall lay down their arms as long as the Bolshevist tyranny will not be abolished throughout the whole territory of Russia, which is to be re-established on new federative principles that will secure her power, peace and social justice to her citizens, and freedom to the territories and nationalities within her borders."

Another telegram, also printed in this Bulletin, sent to President Wilson by the well known veteran of the Russian revolutionary movement, Vladimir Bourtzev; the Cossack leader, V. Kharlamov, and the prominent leader of the Russian Jewry, Dr. D. Pasmannik, justly emphasizes that "Victory over the Soviet power can be achieved only by the Russian national forces, with the material and moral and technical aid of all civilized nations. The great mass of the Russian people will never rest satisfied with the dictatorship of Lenine. The South Russian Army, commanded by General Wrangel, going hand in hand with the democratic Cossack population of South Russia, which never recognized and never will recognize the Soviet power, carries on a heroic struggle against these Bolshevist oppressors."

Finally, the reader will find in this issue of our Bulletin a recent statement made by General

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WOOLWORTH BUILDING

NEW YORK CITY

Conditions in Bolshevik Russia

The "Volia," a daily paper published at Vladivostok, in its issue of the 30th of July, No. 84, publishes the following communication from the All-Siberian Regional Committee of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists describing the present conditions in Soviet Russia:

"Dear Comrades:—We should have liked to furnish you with comprehensive news concerning the condition of our party and of Soviet Russia generally. That, however, would involve the writing of a huge report, and that is at present impossible. Let us tell you of all we know as concisely as possible.

Generally speaking, it may be assumed beforehand that you have not yet freed yourself from the illusions about the change of front supposed to have been made by the Bolsheviks, and this, according to comrades who are arriving here, causes you to lean very strongly towards peace with the Bolsheviks. But if it were only possible for you to see the real conditions of life in Soviet Russia, peace with the Bolsheviks would by no means seem so desirable to you. We regret to have no opportunity of sending you the printed publications of the Communists and the various Soviet institutions themselves. For the present there is but a very limited quantity of such publications to be had in Irkutsk, but all the information which we are here communicating to you has been gathered exclusively from official Bolshevik sources.

The Food Problem

The food problem is one of the most desperate ones. It takes away more time and causes more worries than any other problem to the citizens of Soviet Russia and to all its organizations. A great deal of time and attention is being devoted to it by the trade unions and other workingmen's organizations, and at times it overshadows all other questions. At present they are allowing in Moscow a ration of $\frac{3}{4}$ pounds (one Russian pound equals about $\frac{9}{10}$ of a pound avoirdupois) of bread for two days. Our acquaintances can hardly be recognized; they have aged and grown emaciated. Last winter was a terrible one. If someone had told us two years ago that a human being could live without perishing under conditions such as we have lived, nobody would have believed it possible. We had almost no cooked food, but lived almost exclusively by raw food alone. We slept the whole winter in our fur coats, without ever undressing. Many wooden houses in Moscow have been burned as fuel, so that there are spots in parts of the town where only the chimneys have been left standing, as if after a great fire! Such are conditions in Moscow. But in the provincial towns, where still greater arbitrariness is flourishing, it is still worse.

The whole business of feeding the people rests exclusively in the hands of the Soviet authorities. Their organization has been able

to gather during the whole of 1919 only about 100 million poods (one pood equals about 36 pounds avdp.) of grain. If it was nevertheless possible to find bread it is due to the sack-peddlers. According to Lenine's statement, the consuming localities received through the official Soviet organization about 20 million poods of grain, while the sack-peddlers furnished them with an equal amount. And this notwithstanding the total prohibition of private trading!

It goes without saying that the problem of supplying the peasants with all the necessities has assumed primary importance. But this also remains only a dream, since there is no cloth nor metal, (so, for instance, in 1918 only 4 million poods, instead of the regular 80 million, were manufactured) and for this reason all hope for trade has been abandoned as an idle dream. It is also natural that the increased demands which are made upon the peasantry, punitive expeditions, foraging detachments, and the great shortage of seeds, have resulted in a shrinkage of the cultivated area. So, for instance, $\frac{1}{6}$ part of all the land in the Samara province will remain uncultivated this year for lack of seeds. Still less is it to be wondered at that the peasants are turning over without a murmur the former landlords' estates to the Soviet Farming Department. The reason for this is plain: the peasantry does not look for any increase in acreage, since they have no cattle nor implements left

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Bolshevist Work In China

The three years of the existence of Bolshevism in Russia made clear its domestic and foreign policy. The destructive work of Bolshevism, in the sphere of its domestic policy, is emphasized by the fact that the three years of the Bolshevist domination brought Russia to the verge of political, economic and cultural ruin. As to the Bolshevist foreign policy, its destructive results are emphasized both by the still continued unrest and warfare in Europe, and by the new significant processes created by Bolshevist agitation in the East.

It was the Bolshevist purpose from the very start not only to introduce, through a regime of dictatorship and terror, communism in Russia, but also to establish the communist regime throughout Europe, by arousing the European masses to Bolshevist revolts. As soon as the Bolsheviki were able to find out that the Western democracies are not inclined to accept the principles and the practice of Bolshevism, a change took place in the Bolshevist policy towards the West. Disappointed in the possibility of organizing an immediate Bolshevist revolt throughout Europe, the Bolsheviki began to talk "peace" with the European governments, having in mind to gain a "breathing space" during which they would be able, through carefully organized and energetically conducted propaganda, to infect the European masses with the principles of the Bolshevist doctrine.

In order to make the European statesmen inclined to peace, the Bolsheviki started an energetic campaign in the East. It was the movement of the Red Army in Persia and towards India, combined with the intensive Bolshevist agitation among the masses of India, that made Mr. Lloyd George polite and quite responsive to the overtures of Krassin. The Bolshevist delegation, headed by Krassin and Kameneff, were received in London, and there was a moment when it seemed probable that the Government of Great Britain, terrorized by the Bolshevist threats and activities in Persia and India, would become the champion for peace and cooperation with the Bolsheviki and would bring its

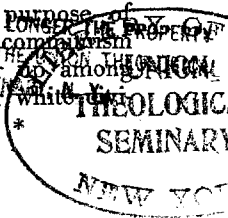
influence, in that respect, upon the other great Powers.

Fortunately, the collapse of the Bolshevist offensive against Poland, combined with the straightforward declaration of the United States Government that no compromises between democracy and Bolshevism is possible, and with the French uncompromising attitude in that respect, brought to naught the tendency for compromise and cooperation with Bolshevism towards which the Government of Great Britain was inclined. This, in turn, brought in a new element into the Bolshevist foreign policy, or rather a new emphasis into the Bolshevist policy in the East. Bound by the parleys with Mr. Lloyd George who insisted upon the cessation of Bolshevist propaganda in India as preliminary to these parleys, the Bolsheviki turned their attention to the Far East, to China, the approach to which was made possible for them by the collapse of the anti-Bolshevist movement in Siberia led by Admiral Kolchak.

Thus, not long ago, M. Janson, a Bolshevist Commissary of Foreign Affairs in the Far East, addressed a note to the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Peking, to the Chinese people and to the Governors of East and West China, informing them of the approach of the Red Army and calling upon the Chinese people to join hands with the Bolshevist forces to throw off the "hated yoke" which foreign capital and "imperialistic governments" had "imposed upon the Chinese people in order to exploit them." The Bolsheviki, on their side, proposed to pay for the affiliation of the Chinese the price of repudiation of all the treaties concluded between Russia and China, and of all the privileges to which Russia is entitled under these treaties.

It is significant that the Bolshevist appeal to the Chinese people did not include any element of purely Bolshevist propaganda. The purpose of this appeal was not to perpetuate communism among the Chinese masses, but to stir up among them the old hatred for foreigners, for white men.

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BULLETIN

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WOOLWORTH BUILDING

NEW YORK CITY

The Russian Situation of Today

Four factors enter into the present Russian situation, and every one of them must be carefully analyzed in order to understand the Russian events and their significance for the entire human civilization of today.

These factors are: the third anniversary of the Bolshevik rule in Russia, an unexpected anniversary,—nobody could believe that the Bolshevik regime would last so long; the defeat of the Southern anti-Bolshevik Army, led by Gen. Wrangel; the renewal of a militant spirit among the Bolsheviks, as the result of Gen. Wrangel's defeat, and the new movement of the Red Army, released from the anti-Bolshevik front, towards the East; and finally, the repeated decision of all the Russian progressive factions to continue their struggle against Bolshevism, under the new conditions, until the Bolshevik regime is overthrown and a representative, democratic government is established, chosen and recognized by all the classes of Russia's population.

"On the 7th of November, 1917, the Bolsheviks overthrew the Provisional Government," says an editorial in the issue of November 7, 1920, of the "Volia Rossii" (The Will of Russia), a daily published in Prague by a group of leaders of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists, under the editorialship of V. M. Zenzinov, V. I. Lebedev and O. S. Minor. "The Bolsheviks promised at that time, bread, peace and socialism. What have they given? *Hunger, war and tyranny.*"

When an ordinary paper points out to the fact that, in spite of all their promises, the Bolsheviks have given Russia, during the three years of their rule, but hunger, war and tyranny, this assertion although supported by indisputable evidence, is usually met by the Bolsheviks and their sympathizers with the well-known objection against the "propaganda of the capitalist press." "Volia Rossii" is not a "capitalist" paper. It is a paper, published by the leaders of the most influential Russian Socialist party, the party that had a majority in the All-Russian Constituent Assembly.

Therefore, the conclusions of this publication as to the results of the three years of Bolshevik rule in Russia are of great interest and importance. They are as follows:

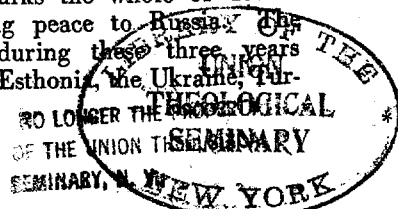
"Russia is Dying Out.—In 1911 the mortality rate per 1000 was 21, but in 1919—75. The birth rate has dropped from 20 per 1000, to 13. 5000 children are dying in Moscow every month for lack of food. The enfeebled population becomes the prey of disease and epidemics. Within two months of 1919,—242,115 persons were stricken with typhoid fever in Petrograd alone.

"Russia is Starving.—In the cities the population is getting $\frac{1}{4}$ pound of bread mixed with straw per day. In the country, out of fear for Bolshevik requisitions, they are curtailing cultivation and concealing the grain. Hunger not only does not cease, but increases each day. A new terrible winter threatens town and country.

"The Soviet power intended to store in European Russia in 1920,—224 million poods of grain, but succeeded in storing only 6 million. It intended to store 117 million poods of potatoes, but stored only 4 million.

"A Reign of Cold and Destitution.—To hunger there is added cold. There is no fuel. In the cities they are burning furniture, fences and wooden houses. There is 12 times less fuel stored than is necessary. The people are freezing. There are no articles of food, nor clothing, nor textiles. There is no footwear nor other apparel. A suit of clothes in Russia costs 25,000 rubles. One pair of boots is furnished to one out of five persons in a year in the cities. In the country this is not to be had.

"War Without End.—Warfare does not cease. The Brest-Litovsk treaty, giving to the Germans Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, White Russia, the Ukraine, and to the Turks the whole of Trans-Caucasia, did not bring peace to Russia. The Soviet power fought during these three years against Finland, Latvia, Esthonia, the Ukraine, Tur-



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BULLETIN

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A. J. SACK, Director

Woolworth Building, New York City

A New Impetus in the Bolshevik Propaganda

Those who have observed closely the Bolshevik propaganda in this country and throughout the world, during the last three years, could not have failed to notice that this propaganda has passed through several stages.

The first stage opened immediately after the Bolshevik, through the overthrow of the Provisional Government and the dispersal of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly, became the rulers of Russia. At that time the Bolsheviks and their agents insisted upon the recognition of the Soviets, emphasizing that the Soviets are organs representing the laboring masses of Russia and that they should not be identified with the Bolshevik Party, which is but one of the parties represented in the Soviets. At the same time, the Bolshevik agents were energetic in denying that the first months of the Bolshevik rule in Russia had already resulted in disintegration of Russia's industries and transportation, in starvation and epidemics. They asserted that the news of the pitiful conditions in Russia was invented by the "capitalist" press and that there was more order and happiness in Russia under the Bolshevik rule, than there had ever been before.

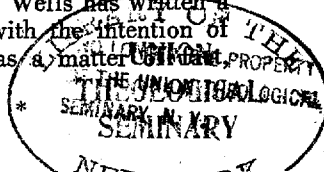
Very soon, however, it became well known that the Bolsheviks had suppressed the entire Russian press, not only the liberal but the Socialist as well, and had declared "enemies of the people" and "traitors to the proletariat" all those Russian political parties, including the Socialists, which had declared themselves against the ideology and practice of Bolshevism. Under the system of the Red Terror, thousands of political opponents of Bolshevism were mercilessly shot, and tens of thousands were thrown into prison. Thus had the Bolsheviks secured overwhelming majorities in all the Soviets. In many cases they did not even hesitate to send troops and to disperse by armed force those provincial Soviets in which the majority, in spite of all the precautions taken, belonged to the Socialists-Revolutionists or the Social-Democrats-Mensheviks, opposed to Bolshevism. At the same

time, it was also established that Russia was starving; that her industries and transportation were destroyed, and epidemics were raging everywhere. Since it was already impossible to deny all these facts by declaring them an invention on the part of the "capitalists" press, the Bolshevik propaganda assumed a new form.

The Bolshevik agents ceased denying that the Bolshevik rule is a rule by a small minority, and declared it to be a "dictatorship of the proletariat," in a country where not more than 3% of the population belong to the proletariat. Furthermore, they ceased to deny that Russia is starving and disintegrating under their rule, but, in order to whitewash themselves, put forward the "blockade" as the real cause of Russia's sufferings. Their sympathizers and supporters raised the cry against the "inhuman blockade," and their propaganda carried far, since the people not only in this country, but even in the European countries much closer to Russia, were quite ignorant of the fact that the so-called blockade of Russia began not at the end of 1917, after the Bolsheviks came into power, but in August, 1914, immediately after the beginning of the Great War. Due to the War, Russia's Baltic Sea and Black Sea ports were closed, and the only remaining ports of Archangel, Murmansk and Vladivostok were used for importing war materials. Nevertheless, since there was order at that time in Russia, and the railroads and industries were working, Russia was able to live without her usual foreign trade. As a matter of fact, Russia had never imported foodstuffs in any considerable quantity, but had exported them before the War to the amount of half a billion dollars a year. Under normal conditions Russia was feeding Europe. Therefore, she was able to feed herself even under war conditions, in spite of the fact that 19 million of her youth had been mobilized for war.

We are witnessing at present a new stage of the Bolshevik propaganda. H. G. Wells has written a series of articles, seemingly with the intention of helping the Bolsheviks, but, as a matter of fact, as

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A. J. SACK, Director

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The Russian Peasantry Under the Bolshevik Rule

The condition of the Russian peasantry under the Bolshevik rule and consequently the attitude of the peasantry towards Bolshevism is a most important factor in the Russian situation. The peasantry constitutes 85% of Russia's entire population.

Until lately the world knew little of the life of the Russian peasantry under the Bolshevik rule. It was known that following Lenine's "Rob the robbers!" the peasants had seized the land of the former landowners, and the Bolshevik sympathizers did not hesitate to declare this kind of "solution" of the complicated Russian land problem an ideal solution, much preferable to the solution of the problem in an orderly, legitimate way, through an All-Russian Constituent Assembly. They emphasized in every way possible that the Bolsheviks had given the land to the peasants, ignoring the fact that there was another and a better way for the peasants to get the land; that the first All-Russian Constituent Assembly, dispersed by the Bolshevik bayonets for its opposition to the Bolshevik ideology and practice, had declared itself unanimously, during the one day of its existence, for transferring the land to those who toil on it.

The fundamental task of the Russian Revolution was not only to declare the principle of turning over the land to the peasants, but also to arrange for the realization of this principle in a just and peaceful way. Only the All-Russian Constituent Assembly, in cooperation with the democratic organs of rural self-government—the Zemstvos, could accomplish this task. But, both the Constituent Assembly and the organs of local self-government were destroyed by the Bolsheviks, and the distribution of land among the peasants under the Bolshevik rule took the form of a "largely uncontrolled elementary process"—to use the words of M. Sereda, the Bolshevik Commissary for Agriculture. Until lately, the results of this process, the effects of the Bolsheviks motto "Rob the Robbers!" in the Russian villages were little known, although even the Bolshevik sympathizers and pro-Bolshevik writers could not conceal the fact that

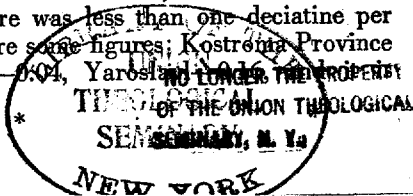
the Bolshevik land reform has not produced positive results and that the Russian peasantry is hostile to the Bolshevik rule.

We present in this issue of our Bulletin an article on "Bolshevism in the Russian Villages" by Victor M. Chernov, the leader of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists, former Minister of Agriculture in the Russian Provisional Government and Chairman of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly. V. M. Chernov's article throws great light on the condition of the Russian peasantry under the Bolshevik rule. The article is of special interest in that it is built entirely upon data taken from an official Bolshevik document, a stenographic report of the "First All-Russian Conference on Party Work in the Villages," published by the Russian Communist Party.

At this Bolshevik Conference Lenine seemingly spoke for the outside world, making use of the well-known Bolshevik phraseology and "diplomacy," while the other participants at the Conference, many of them high in the Bolshevik councils, were quite frank and reported the situation as it really is. According to Lenine, "since the conquest of governmental power by the workers has enabled the peasants to wipe out at once the power of the landlords, abolishing private property, the peasantry, in dividing the land, established a maximum of equality and increased thereby considerably the utilization of the land, bringing it up above the average." The Bolshevik Commissary for Agriculture, M. Sereda, however, presents the situation in an altogether different light. Says M. Sereda:

"The dissipation of the land reserve could not fail to have a lessening effect on the productive forces. The peasantry has gained practically nothing from this dissipation. The absolute size of the distributed land reserve, 23 million deciatines (1 deciatine equals 2.7 acres), is very large; but if we observe how it was divided, we obtain astonishing figures; there was less than one deciatine per capita! Here are some figures; Kostroma Province —0.13, Viatka—0.04, Yaroslavl—0.04, and so on. THE PROPERTY OF THE UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, N. Y.

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BULLETIN

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A. J. SACK, Director

Woolworth Building, New York City

An American Business Man on the Situation in Russia

To the *New York World* justly belongs the credit for giving the American people the best description of the present situation in Russia that has ever appeared in the American press. Beginning with Sunday, January 9th, and ending on Friday, January 14th, the *New York World* has published daily articles by Hector Boon, who has just returned from Soviet Russia, which he entered on April 6th and left on October 12th, 1920, after spending more than half a year in Lenine's kingdom.

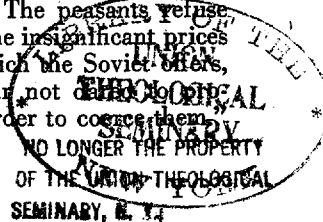
Altogether Mr. Boon spent ten months in Russia, of which four months were spent in the so-called "buffer State," the Far Eastern Republic, which extends from Verkhne-Udinsk to Vladivostok, and more than six months—in Soviet Russia proper, mostly in Moscow. The editor of the *New York World* presents Mr. Boon as a "thorough New Yorker—a keen, wide-awake, practical man of affairs, whose business as a financial expert and trading expert, particularly for fur importers, has taken him to many parts of the world." Mr. Boon, according to the editor of the *New York World*, is "not an author, not an artist, not a propagandist, not a sympathizer, not an enemy, not a Socialist, not a reformer, not a reactionary, but a hard-headed, clear-seeing, unimaginative, fair-minded, give-the-other-fellow-a-chance kind of American business man." To this is added that Mr. Boon was in Russia in 1917, before the Bolsheviks came into power, and thus he was able during his last visit to compare the conditions in Bolshevik Russia with the situation in Russia during the first months after the March Revolution.

Mr. Boon's observations may be divided in two parts: general observations on the workings of the Bolshevik rule and its results, and a special investigation with regard to the possibility of establishing trade relations with Russia under the Bolshevik rule. Mr. Boon says that he "was predisposed in favor of opening up trade relations with the Soviet power, feeling that this would do much toward solving the Russian problem." With this purpose in view, he went to Verkhne-Udinsk and then to Irkutsk, proposing to the government of

the buffer State, the Far Eastern Republic, "to supply the Irkutsk district with goods forwarded via Mongolia and the Yakutsk district, in the fur-bearing region northeast of Irkutsk, via Olan, a port on the Pacific, provided the Soviet power agreed to return to us the furs they had seized in Eastern Siberia, payment for the goods to be supplied by us to be made in furs." "After two months' negotiations," continues Mr. Boon, "it was found impossible to arrive at any definite arrangement in respect to trading, and I received a telegraphic invitation from the Siberian Revolutionary Committee to go to Omsk and discuss the matter with them, which I accepted." After spending ten days in Omsk, Mr. Boon "found it impossible to do anything there for the simple reason that no one in Omsk had any authority to enter into trading agreements, and when Smirnoff (President of the Siberian Committee) invited me to go to Moscow, I accepted."

During his stay in Verkhne-Udinsk, Irkutsk and Omsk, Mr. Boon discovered that "the buffer State exists only in name. It is part of Soviet Russia, administered by Moscow on the Communist system. The population is embittered, being half starved. All industry has died and so have men and women at the hands of firing squads, because they unwisely expressed their disapproval of commissar rule." Observing the workings of the Bolshevik system in Siberia, Mr. Boon says: "I had visited Irkutsk several times during the Kolchak regime when it was a thriving, trading center. . . . Orders from Moscow reduced that once prosperous and well-fed town to penury and semi-starvation within a few months."

Of Omsk Mr. Boon says: "We found the town a replica of Irkutsk. The lack of food in Omsk, which is the centre of a great agricultural and dairy farming district, is due solely to the Communist system. The problem of transportation does not even enter into the question. The peasants refuse to hand over their produce at the insignificant prices in worthless paper roubles which the Soviet offers, and the Bolsheviks have so far not dared to proceed to extreme measures in order to coerce them."



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Russia Speaks Again!

The Conference of the members of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly, now in session in Paris, is an event of international importance. The significance of this Conference lies in the fact that for the first time since the Bolsheviks came into power in November, 1917, all the democratic forces of Russia have united on one platform, which is the defense of popular rule and civil liberties, gained through the March Revolution of 1917, against the red counter-revolution of Bolshevism which has destroyed all liberty in Russia and substituted a new red autocracy in place of the former Tzar's autocracy.

The All-Russian Constituent Assembly was elected on the basis of universal suffrage at the end of 1917, and convened on January 18, 1918. The life of the Assembly was short. The first Russian democratic Parliament proved so overwhelmingly anti-Bolshevist, in spite of the fact that the elections to the Constituent Assembly took place after the Bolshevik revolt of November, 1917, with the Bolsheviks exerting all the pressure possible during the elections, that the Bolsheviks dispersed it with bayonets after a one day's session. During its short life, the Constituent Assembly succeeded in passing two laws: one—declaring Russia a federated democratic Republic, and another—transferring the land to the peasants, to those who till it.

The Conference of the members of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly in Paris is attended both by the liberal and the revolutionary leaders of Russia. The Conference is being presided over by N. D. Avksentiev, one of the leaders of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists, former Minister of the Interior in the Russian Provisional Government and the head of the Directorate of Five, chosen in Ufa in the fall of 1918. Among the prominent leaders of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists there are present at the Conference A. F. Kerensky, former Prime Minister of Russia; Catherine Breshkovsky, the "Grandmother of the Russian Revolution"; Victor M. Chernov, former Minister of Agriculture in the Russian Provisional Government and President of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly, and V. M. Zenzinov, former member of the Directorate of Five and one of the editors of the "Volia

Rossii." Among the leaders of the Constitutional-Democratic Party attending the Conference are Paul N. Miliukov, former Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Russian Provisional Government; A. I. Konovalov, former Minister of Trade and Industry in the Provisional Government, and M. M. Vinaver, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Constitutional-Democratic Party. Nicholas V. Tchaikovsky, the veteran leader of the Party of People's Socialists and former head of the Archangel Government, is also attending the Conference.

The Russian diplomatic representatives abroad are cooperating with the Conference. The Russian Ambassador in Paris, Mr. Basil Maklakov, has participated in the work of the Conference from its very start; Mr. Boris A. Bakhmeteff, the Russian Ambassador in Washington, has just arrived in Paris to join the Conference. All the leaders gathered at the Paris Conference recognize, to use Paul N. Miliukov's expression, that "the bridges to the old order are burned forever. New Russia can be built only upon principles of absolute popular sovereignty, the transfer of the land to the peasants as their property, and the reconstruction of Russia on a federative basis, with the absolute guaranty of the right to cultural and national self-determination for the peoples inhabiting Russia." The purpose of the Conference is "to devise ways and means for the defense of the honor, the self-respect and patrimony of Russia before the peoples of the entire world until such time when the people of Russia, by their own action and free will, will restore a legally constituted Russian Government."

The readers will find below sufficient material describing this significant gathering. Especially important is the Declaration unanimously adopted by the Conference of the members of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly, in which they state that "Russia can never recognize any despotism as a legal authority, particularly the Bolshevik tyranny, which repudiates the most elementary principles of popular rule and civil liberties, and leans only upon the brute force of bayonets and ruthless terror, destroying systematically the economic structure of the country and

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A. J. SACK, Director

Woolworth Building, New York City

Bolshevist Press on Conditions in Russia

Bolshevist papers just received in New York are full of material describing the pitiful condition of Russia's transport, industries and agriculture under the Bolshevik rule. Following is the indictment of the Bolshevik regime, a striking and unimpeachable indictment, since it comes direct from the Bolshevik mouths.

The official Bolshevik "Izvestia" of December 28, 1920, contains the text of Trotsky's speech before the Eighth Congress of Soviets, in which he pointed out that at present "about 54,000 versts (1 verst equals 0.66 mile) of Russian railroads are destroyed, so that only the central part, about 15,000 versts, remains intact. 3,000 bridges and 16,000 telephones and telegraphs have also been destroyed, and we have about 61% of sick locomotives."

Speaking on the same subject, the recently appointed Commissary of Means of Communication, Yemshanov, said that "out of a total of 38,000 telephones along the railroad lines of Russia 32,500 require major repairs. Out of 10,000 telegraphs 8,000 are in need of major repairs. The electric signal apparatus must be completely overhauled. The upper part of the roadbeds is in catastrophic condition. The repair shops are mostly in ruins and their machinery has been denuded of important parts."

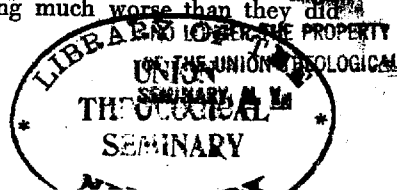
The representative of the Supreme Council of National Economy, A. Lomov, writes in the official Bolshevik "Pravda" No. 4:

"The last news from the Ukraine shows that the fuel situation is in a catastrophic state. On the majority of Ukrainian railroads the locomotives stand without fires. Hundreds of cars loaded with food and provisions for Central Russia have been left standing on the way, the junctions are clogged and the roads are requisitioning all the coal they find in cars, no matter to whom it may belong."

The catastrophic condition of the transportation system increases the tortures of famine through which Central Russia is passing at present as the result of Bolshevik anarchy combined with an unprecedented crop failure. Not less than 20,000,000 peasants are starving this winter in the Volga region and in other provinces of Central Russia, and the Bolshevik press describes the beginning of a "wholesale extermination of cattle for lack of fodder." "Economic Life" (Economic Life) says that "news is already beginning to reach us from the Central provinces about famine having set in among the people and about wholesale extermination of cattle for lack of fodder. According to a report from the Provinces of Kaluga, Tula and Riazan, 'The peasants are taking their horses to the Soviet agricultural stations, because of the fodder shortage, to board them there. But as they get no help there, they abandon the horses to their fate. At the local markets horses are sold for 5000—10,000 rubles per head, instead of the 100,000—150,000 rubles they fetched in September. Wholesale destruction of cattle, especially calves, is in progress.'" The paper concludes by saying that "the foundation of our agriculture, its very thews and sinews, is perishing. Labor power, manure, milk for the sustenance of the children of our peasantry, everything is perishing. This is only the beginning of winter, but every succeeding month conditions will grow worse and worse."

The conditions of the workingmen under the Bolshevik dictatorship and the system of militarization of labor are not better than those of the peasants. A Bolshevik Commissary, Boguslavsky, writing in the official Bolshevik "Pravda" No. 6, says that "the workingmen are without footwear, rubbers, and even without as much as a needle. Truly, they are living much worse than they did."

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A. J. SACK, Director

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The Revolt Against Bolshevism

Once more the Bolshevik tyrants have succeeded in drowning in blood the revolt of the Russian people against them. At the time this is written, Kronstadt is taken by the Red troops, and "order" is reestablished in Petrograd and Moscow. But the revolution against the Bolshevik power is not confined to Kronstadt, Petrograd and Moscow alone. It is spread all over Russia. What we witness today is only a temporary victory of Bolshevism in the center of Russia. As the result, the Bolshevik regime may last a few months longer, but its end is well at hand.

At the base of this revolt against the Bolshevik tyranny lies the disintegration of the Russian industries, transport and agriculture, the state of starvation and epidemics brought about everywhere in Russia by the "communist" experiments. In his address before the Eighth Congress of Soviets, Trotsky himself acknowledged that at present "about 54,000 versts (1 verst equals 0.66 mile) of Russian railroads are destroyed, so that only the central part, about 15,000 versts, remains intact. 3,000 bridges and 16,000 telephones and telegraphs have also been destroyed, and we have about 61% of sick locomotives." ("Izvestia" of December 28, 1920.) In connection with this breakdown and as a result of the general Bolshevik experiments, Russian industries are at a standstill. According to a report published in the official Bolshevik "Pravda" of November 14, 1920, the industrial output in Russia for the first half of 1920 was from 15 to 20 per cent. of the output of the corresponding half-year of 1914.

Russia's agriculture is also in a deplorable state. As the result of a crop failure, no less than 20,000,000 peasants are starving this winter in the Volga region and other central provinces. They could get help under an orderly government, but under the conditions of Bolshevik anarchy they are slowly starving to death. There is a condition close to starvation even in those rural districts where the crops were normal, the peasants suffering from Bolshevik confiscations and requisitions.

The breakdown of transportation and industries and the state of starvation in the villages as well

as the cities has rendered the population desperate. It attacks the Bolshevik regime understanding there is no salvation for Russia unless the Bolshevik tyranny is overthrown and an orderly, democratic government is established, a government able to restore normal political and economic conditions.

Not only the fact of the uprising, but the very nature of this movement against the Bolsheviks is of great importance. It is a real movement of the Russian people, mostly of workingmen in Petrograd and Moscow, and of peasants in Southern Russia, along the Volga and in Siberia. It is most significant that the workingmen of Petrograd and Moscow were joined, here and there, by forces of the Red Army. The workingmen and soldiers were the only two groups upon which the Bolshevik power rested. They were placed in a privileged position; they were fed and clad while the rest of the population starved and froze. Now even the workingmen and soldiers of the Red Army have thrown themselves into open revolt against Bolshevism. This shows the end of Bolshevik rule is near.

"Obscheye Dielo" (The Common Cause), a daily published in Paris, thus describes, in its issue of March 4, 1921, the first days of the revolt against the Bolsheviks in Petrograd:

"On the morning of February 21 a strike was started unexpectedly at the Cartridge Works in Petrograd. A fight started between the workingmen and the Bolsheviks, in the course of which several members of the Communist nucleus at the factory were killed. On February 23 the strike spread to the Baltic Works. The Commissary Yevdokimov who had come to calm the workers was severely beaten by them.

"On February 24 the Laferme cigarette factory on Vassilievsky Ostrov (Island) went on strike. The strikers were joined by the workers of the other factories. The island was taken by their combined forces and an attack by the Red soldiers was beaten off. The Red cadets ordered to suppress the revolt began a regular siege of the island.

"On the morning of February 25 it became known

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A. J. SACK, Director

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The Voice of the Russian People

The Kronstadt revolution; the British-Bolshevist agreement; the Polish-Bolshevist agreement, and the dignified answer of the United States Government to the Bolshevik overtures—these are the four main factors in the Russian internal and international situation during the last weeks.

The position of the Russian people in all these events stands out clearly. The readers will find below documents describing in detail the Kronstadt revolt, and they will see that the Kronstadt movement was a real popular movement, a movement of the Russian people against the Bolshevik tyranny. As the "Volia Rossii" (The Will of Russia), a daily published in Prague by a group of leaders of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists, justly says in its issue of March 19, 1921, "Kronstadt has struck a mortal blow at Bolshevism. It has laid bare before the whole world the terrible gulf that separates the masses from the Bolsheviks, it has enlisted universal sympathy for rising Russia, it has given a tremendous impetus to the whole country and it has set free the energy of the people." The same paper thus describes the fall of Kronstadt:

"Kronstadt has fallen! After a siege lasting eighteen days, this heroic city has fallen under the assaults of Communists, Chinese and Bashkir troops. Rising in revolt amidst the ice of the Gulf of Finland, blockaded against all of Russia and the entire world, Kronstadt was taken, not by the Red Army, not by Russian men mobilized by the Soviet power, but by the military cadets and Communist Myrmidons, by Chinese mercenaries and other hireling troops alien to Russia. This is the victory of the mercenary Asiatic Third International, its last, fatal Pyrrhic victory!"

The Russian press abroad, both liberal and socialist, agree that the Bolshevik victory over Kronstadt is a "Pyrrhic victory." "Posledniya Novosti" (The Latest News), a daily published in Paris under the editorship of Prof. Paul N. Miliukov, says in its issue of March 20, 1921, that "The Bolsheviks have merely obtained a respite, and a very

brief one at that." "Volia Rossii," in its issue of March 19, 1921, says that "There is no joy for the victors in this victory. In the battles of Kronstadt, by treachery and betrayal, the Bolshevik power has defeated the buttresses of its own strength. The Red sailors of Red Kronstadt, driven from their fortress by Chinamen—that is a victory which it is not easy to bear! We did not shut our eyes to the possibility of the fall of the heroic fortress. The sad message of its fall is read by us with unspeakable anguish in our hearts. But, then, Kronstadt was merely the most symbolic centre of the movement that has set in all over Russia."

At the very moment when all Russia is in revolt against the Bolshevik oppressors, the Governments of Great Britain and of Poland found it possible to enter into agreements with the Bolsheviks. Both the British-Bolshevist trade agreement and the Polish-Bolshevist peace treaty are repudiated with bitterness by the liberal and the socialist leaders of Russia, by those elements who represent the Russian people struggling now against the Red tyranny with the same determination which they have displayed in their recent struggle against the Tzar's tyranny.

"Volia Rossii," in its issue of March 19, 1921, commenting upon the British-Bolshevist trade agreement says: "We consider it to be our duty to warn the Western governments against all attempts to take advantage of the yielding attitude of the Bolsheviks to the detriment of Russia's interests. The Russian Democracy will never be bound by any agreement of that kind."

"Rul" (The Rudder), a daily published in Berlin, representing the right wing of the Constitutional-Democratic Party, says in its issue of March 18, 1921, that the British-Bolshevist agreement "cannot be viewed as anything but open defiance to all anti-Bolshevist Russia, or, in other words, to the whole Russian nation."

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The Peasants' Movement in Russia

Addressing the Tenth Congress of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party recently, Lenine said, according to the official Bolshevik "Pravda," of March 10, 1921:

"The relations between us and the peasantry are not what we had believed them to be. These relations represent a peril many times greater than all the perils threatened by the Denikine, Kolchak and Yudenitch campaigns put together. . . . The peasants are not satisfied. They do not care for the economic forms we have offered them. We must not conceal anything, but admit that a form of relationships which the peasantry does not care for will never exist. The peasantry has become far more middle-class than before. The village has been leveled down. The middle-class peasant now predominates. We must, therefore, see what this peasant wants. He demands: 1. A certain freedom in his economic turn-over. 2. Opportunity to market his products in exchange for goods. We must, therefore, allow freedom in local trade for small farmers. The peasants demand freedom of turn-over, but this will remain on paper only if there will be nothing to turn over. Freedom of turn-over is freedom of commerce, and freedom of commerce means a return to capitalism. How can the Communist Party recognize freedom of commerce? To this we must answer: the problem is exceedingly hard to solve in a practical way. But it must be done. And the peasantry must be informed as soon as possible, as seed-time is right ahead of us."

In conclusion, Lenine recommended concessions amounting to granting to the peasant the right to dispose freely of that surplus of his products which will be left him after giving to the Bolshevik government what will be levied on him as taxation in kind. Besides "freedom in local trade for small farmers," nothing is mentioned in Lenine's speech about any other concessions or changes in the fundamentals of the existing Bolshevik economic policy.

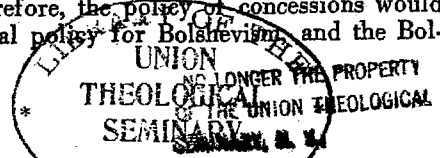
As we have shown in the preceding issue of our Bulletin, Lenine's address at the Tenth Congress was

significant because of his admissions, but negligible as far as practical results are concerned. By allowing "free trade," Lenine only acknowledged a situation which has been in existence since the Bolsheviks came into power, and against which they have proved powerless. The peasants have been selling their farm products in the cities all the time, in spite of the Communist laws, and were it not for that, the population of the cities would have died of starvation long ago. But, the amount of bread brought into the cities was and remains insufficient, and many have perished and are perishing of starvation, because the peasants refuse to take valueless paper money which, as Lenine himself acknowledges, is the only thing the cities are able to offer them at present, since the industries are at a standstill.

Thus, the key to Russia's economic recuperation lies in the re-establishment of her industries, thoroughly destroyed by the Bolshevik experiments. Did Lenine make any concessions in that respect? No. It is clear that, in spite of the much heralded "concessions," the main Russian industries and Russia's transport continue to operate upon communistic principles. That means that disintegration of Russia's industries and transport continues. It is clear, further, that Russia remains under the dictatorship of the Communist Party, which, according even to the Bolshevik statistics, is composed only of 600,000 members, less than one-half of 1% of Russia's population. Bolshevism is not prepared to make real concessions to common sense and to the principle of democracy.

As a matter of fact, Bolshevism is unable to make real concessions. Absolute monarchy through concessions becomes a constitutional monarchy. Such an evolution is possible. As to Bolshevism, no one can imagine any form of limited Bolshevism. The very essence of Bolshevism is its uncompromising attitude towards the present democratic culture, which it tends to destroy. As soon as Bolshevism makes real concessions, it ceases to exist. Therefore, the policy of concessions would be a suicidal policy for Bolshevism, and the Bol-

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A. J. SACK, Director

Woolworth Building, New York City

The Problem of Russia's Economic Regeneration

We print below resolutions adopted at the first Congress of the representatives of Russian industry, trade and finance, which took place in Paris from May 17-24, 1921, and also the concluding part of the recently published official British "Report (political and economic) of the Committee to Collect Information on Russia." The Committee was appointed on May 17, 1920, under the chairmanship of the Rt. Hon. Lord Emmott.

The data of this official British report, and the conclusions reached by the Committee, do not seem to be well in accord with the present British policy towards Russia. The report vindicates fully the wisdom and the far-sightedness of the American policy in the problem of trading with Russia under the Bolshevik rule. While the Government of Great Britain concluded the trade agreement with the Bolsheviks upon the condition that the so-called Bolshevik government should abandon its propaganda for a world revolution, the official British report points out justly that the Bolshevik government, the Russian Communist Party and the Third International are one and the same, and that, therefore, the renunciation of revolutionary propaganda should come from all these bodies. Says the report:

"The destruction of capitalism by force, not only in Russia, but in other countries, is the deliberate aim and purpose of the Russian Communist Party which forms the Government of Soviet Russia at the present time. . . . To this end, the Third or Communist International has been established in Moscow, and we believe this has been done under the auspices of the Soviet Government, and with its financial and material support. . . . The Russian Communist Party and the Third International are actively endeavoring to compass the destruction by violence of capitalism in countries to which the Soviet Government has addressed overtures for trade. Hence the conclusions:

"The complete renunciation by the Soviet Government, by the Russian Communist Party and by

the Third or Communist International of propaganda directed towards the destruction of the political and economic order existing in other countries is the fundamental premise, without the acceptance of which there can be no question of capitalist aid in the economic reconstruction of Russia. . . . It is inconceivable that the credit and capital required in Russia should be provided by foreign capitalists as long as the destruction of capitalism and the violent overthrow of so-called bourgeois Governments remains the main object of the Russian Government, or of the political forces by which it is controlled."

The Committee remarks further that "the cooperation of the peasantry is indispensable to the economic reconstruction of Russia," points to the Extraordinary Commissions which "continue to exercise their present irresponsible powers" and finally says:

"It would appear, therefore, that the Soviet Government must decide whether they are going to maintain a policy of political repression at home and aggressive Bolshevik propaganda abroad, which will inevitably, whatever international treaties they may make, lead in practice to a continuance of their present economic isolation, or whether they will accept and honestly carry out the fundamental condition which can alone obtain for them the outside aid they so urgently need."

While we fully agree with the conclusions of the British report, we cannot refrain from saying that Secretary Hughes in his well-known note came nearer to the fundamental issue in the problem when he said that "it is manifest to this (United States) Government that in existing circumstances there is no assurance for the development of trade, as the supplies which Russia might now be able to obtain would be wholly inadequate to meet her needs, and no lasting good can result so long as the present causes of progressive impoverishment continue to operate. It is only in the productivity of Russia that there is any hope for the Russian people, and it is idle to expect resumption of trade until the



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Famine in Russia

The present famine comes as the culmination of four years of civil war, of privations, and even of slow starvation, throughout the entire territory of Russia. At the same time, this is already the second year of crop failure in Central Russia. According to the official Bolshevik "Pravda" of June 26, 1921, "as a result of the drought and the crop failure, famine is raging now among a population numbering about 25,000,000." According to this paper, the famine territory embraces the Provinces of Ufa, Tzaritzin, Saratov, Samara, Simbirsk, Viatka, Perm, Kazan and the Northern Caucasus, from which the population is fleeing in terror.

The situation is made more catastrophical by the fact that, due to the destruction of transport and the shrinkage in area under agricultural cultivation, the other regions of Russia are unable to help those affected by the famine. In his address before the Eighth Congress of Soviets, Trotzky himself acknowledged that "about 54,000 versts (1 verst equals 0.66 mile) of Russian railroads are destroyed, so that only the central part, about 15,000 versts, remains intact. 3,000 bridges and 16,000 telephones and telegraphs have also been destroyed, and we have about 61 per cent. of sick locomotives." ("Izvestia" of December 28, 1920.) Speaking at the recent Moscow Conference of the Communist Party, Kameneff, the President of the Moscow Soviet and the Chairman of the All-Russian Commission for Combatting Famine said, according to the official Bolshevik "Pravda" of June 30th, 1921, that "As a result of our food levies, there is a terrible shrinkage of the area under agricultural cultivation, the decrease amounting to nearly 25,000,000 dessiatines (about 67,500,000 acres). We have reached the stage where the incentive for developing their farms has almost disappeared among the peasants." The Bolshevik policy, said Kameneff, has resulted in "agriculture having decreased to half of its former extent, while the industries, even according to an optimistic estimate, produce only one-seventh of what was produced before."

Thus Kameneff, a Bolshevik leader himself, fixes upon the Bolshevik regime the responsibility for the catastrophe in Russia. The drought is only one

cause of this catastrophe. Were there an efficient government in Russia; were there surpluses in other regions of Russia; were the means of transportation in running order; were Russia not isolated from the entire civilized world by the tyrannic Bolshevik regime which declared itself in permanent war against democratic civilization, Russia would be able to help herself in combatting the results of the drought, and the other nations would be in a better position to help her. Now, when the economic catastrophe comes as the logical result of the Bolshevik experiments, criminally performed upon the unwilling body of Russia, the Bolsheviks themselves are becoming more and more frank in their admissions and confessions. Official Bolshevik statements acknowledge what Secretary Hoover admirably expressed in his communication to the former President Ador of Switzerland, saying that "the causes of the famine are such that they will be recurrent every year until there is much further change in the economic system of Russia." In the Moscow "Pravda" of July 16, 1921, we find an editorial in which an admission is made that "the condition of all branches of the national economy of Russia must be characterized as being near a catastrophe," and that "this is not a mere phrase, but a bitter reality." The paper condemns the Bolshevik economic policy, telling that "as soon as we would succeed in speeding up one part of our economic fabric, another part would at once sink down, inevitably dragging the former with it." Describing the present condition of the basic industries in Russia, the Bolshevik publication says:

"The Donetz Basin, the main source of our coal supply, is painfully tottering to its fall, sapping at its very roots the work that had already commenced to improve. After passing in December, 1920, the 30 million pood mark (1 pood—about 37 lbs.; the average monthly output in 1917 amounted to 126 million poods), the output of the Donetz Basin grew to 33.3 million poods in March, and sank to 30.2 million poods in April, 1921. In May, however, production took a sharp tumble, being 24.8 million poods of coal, instead of the expected 32 million. In June, the output was only 18 million poods.