

not gone and I do not think that the Russian train officials will dare to send it out with us on the spot all the time, opening the cars ourselves, talking to the prisoners, giving them what help of hope we can, and taking photographs every day. We are doing all this without authority, and in the face of this horror we don't care who cares.

"It is impossible to tell in print the story of the unfortunate women who have been imprisoned here under these awful conditions. They are treated better than the men. You all know why.

"Two more days have now gone by. Since we arrived a cooking car has been put on the train, with a large iron kettle, and yesterday the guards claim to have given the prisoners a little soup. One kettle for thirteen hundred and twenty-five people, and soup passed through a window a foot and a half, by means of an old rusty can! Yesterday one of the women was taken out of one of the cars by a Russian officer. He will return her when the train pulls out.

In this car is also an emaciated creature that was once a man. He was a journalist. His wife is in the same car. She has a very few days to live. When the men stand they fill the entire car. On the two rows of planks built along the sides, the dead and the living sleep as best they may. We were told by the guards this morning at half-past eight that three men had died during the night and the bodies had been removed. As we walked past the train a man hailed us from one of the cars, and the guards were told that there were dead inside. We insisted on the door being opened and this is what we saw:

"Lying right across the threshold was the body of a boy not over eighteen or nineteen years old. No coat, merely a thin shirt, in such tatters that his whole chest and arms were exposed, for trousers a piece of jute bag pinned around him, and no shoes or stockings. What agony that boy must have suffered in the Siberian cold before he died of filth, starvation, and exposure! And yet 'diplomacy' prevents us from taking charge and giving aid. But we are holding the train!

"We climbed into the car and found two other dead lying on the second tier of bunks amongst the living. Nearly every man in that car was sunken-eyed, and half clad. They were racked by terrible coughing. They had the stamp of death on them. If aid does not come quickly they will die. We looked into a few cars only, but at one window we saw a little girl perhaps eleven years old. Her father, she said, had been mobilized into the Red Guard. So now father, mother, and child are on that train and will die there.

"It is the 22nd of November. This morning we got up at seven o'clock and left for the hospital where we had an appointment with Dr. Selesnieff, the military chief. When we arrived we found everything in a terrible condition—more than four hundred patients with only three doctors and three nurses. Two patients had died during the night, and the doctor had discovered nearly all the living to be suffering from diseases of different kinds, including two cases of typhus. We have since learned that a week or so ago two men were put off the train suffering from the same terrible scourge.

"Dr. Selesnieff gave us his official report of the conditions, setting forth, in corroboration of the stories that have been told to me, that during the weeks that the train had been moving to and fro, passengers had died daily from a variety of causes, including typhus, dysentery, influenza, and ordinary starvation.

"The people on the train have remained for weeks without warm food, without boiled water, and many even without bread. According to the testimony of officers in charge of the train, the commandant of the station reports that he had orders to send the train back to the west, but I am sure that among the passengers there are still a number of people so sick and exhausted that further sojourn in these cars will prove fatal."

"We are still holding the train by means of the co-operation of the Czech lieutenant, and in case of need he agrees he will put the engine out of order. Last night the station master showed us telegraphic instructions to the effect that the train positively must pull out at one a. m., but it is still here.

"We are still holding the train and have made arrangements with a Russian bath some three-quarters of a mile from here to wash all the prisoners to-morrow for four hundred and fifty roubles. They will start at six o'clock in the morning and walk to the bath.

"November 22.—It is bitterly cold. There was a heavy snow storm last night.

"The baths are all ready and we are waiting for the first contingent. In the distance, against the snow, we can see a body of men advancing very, very slowly and with great difficulty. Many stumble as they walk and have to be supported by the other prisoners.

"The first sixty have gone in and now there is a fire burning in the yard where the disgusting clothes are burning. Inside, the unfortunates have each been given a piece of soap and are scrubbing themselves while the guards carry out the clothes and put them on the fire. The wagon has arrived with eighty sweaters, four hundred and fifty pairs of socks, and one hundred and twenty pajamas.

"To-morrow when this train pulls out it will have nine hundred

and twenty-five Red Crosses on it but I must still call it the 'train of death.' There is no use disguising the fact that these people are nearly all going to die, for as soon as the train shall have pulled out the old conditions will return and there will be once more the corpses thrown out day by day from each car.

"November 23.—To-day we leave for Vladivostok. We have done all that we could do. We have just learned that there are thirty additional cases of typhus in the hospital and heaven knows how many on the train. We have brought buckets and brooms for the cars, which will help a little.

"Later I came down from Nikolsk in a box-car with three American soldiers. It was bitterly cold. We have no stove, but by alternately crouching together and then at times wrestling and mauling each other around we managed to keep fairly warm. We finally reached Vladivostok at about nine forty-five. I am hoping that I may be allowed to go out in Siberia with Dr. Rosett and hunt for other death trains. We may not have accomplished much, but we at least saved a couple of hundred lives—for a time.

If any doubting readers still hesitate to believe that such atrocities have been committed by the reactionary forces to which the United States government has been lending its aid in Siberia, we refer them to the official organ of the Red Cross, the Red Cross Magazine for April, in which appears the full account from which we have quoted the excerpts printed above. There the whole story is told, with photographs; and yet not the whole story, for it is stated in an editorial note that "propriety has demanded the exclusion of much that is unprintable" in Mr. Bukely's damning record of the facts as sent to Red Cross headquarters.

#### RECOGNITION OR INVASION

From a note of Maxim Litvinoff to President Wilson, December 24, 1918.

The chief aim of the Soviets is to secure for the toiling majority of Russian people economic liberty without which political liberty is of no avail to them. For eight months the Soviets endeavored to realize their aims by peaceful methods without resorting to violence, adhering to the abolition of capital punishment which abolition had been part of their program. It was only when their adversaries, the minority of the Russian people, took to terroristic acts against popular members of the Government and invoked the help of foreign troops, that the laboring masses were driven to acts of exasperation and gave vent to their wrath and bitter feelings against their former oppressors. For Allied invasion of Russian territory not only compelled the Soviets against their own will to militarize the country anew and to divert their energies and resources so necessary to the economic reconstruction of Russia, exhausted by four years of war, to the defence of the country, but also cut off the vital sources of foodstuffs and raw material exposing the population to most terrible privation bordering on starvation.

I wish to emphasize that the so-called red terror, which is grossly exaggerated and misrepresented abroad, was not the cause but the direct outcome and result of allied intervention.

The Russian workers and peasants are determined to defend their dearly won power and liberties against invaders with all the means their vast country puts at their disposal.

I understand that the question of relations with Russia is now engaging the attention of Allied Statesmen. I venture then to submit to you, Mr. President, that there are now only two courses open to them. One is continued open or disguised intervention on the present or on a still larger scale, which means prolongation of war, further embitterment of the Russian masses, intensification of internal strife, unexampled bloodshed and perhaps total extermination of the Russian bourgeoisie by the exasperated masses, final devastation of the country and in case of the interventionists' after a long struggle obtaining their end, a white terror eclipsing the atrocities of the Finnish white guardists, inevitable introduction of military dictatorship and restoration of monarchy, leading to interminable revolutions and upheavals and paralysing the economic development of the country for long decades.

The other alternative, which I trust may commend itself to you, is impartially to weigh and investigate into the one sided accusations against Soviet Russia, to come to an understanding with the Soviet Government, to withdraw the foreign troops from Russian territory and to raise the economic blockade, soothing thereby the excited passions of the masses, to help Russia to regain her own sources of supply and to give her technical advice how to exploit her natural riches in the most effective way for the benefit of all countries badly in need of foodstuffs and raw materials.