

TELLS HOW ALLIES FAILED IN RUSSIA

Col. Robins Says Boastful American Propaganda Led Russian Army to Quit.

ROOT MISSION KNIFED HERE

Newspaper's Editorials and Cartoons Against Its Leader Used by German Agents.

BOLSHEVISM DIRE MENACE

But It Would Have Been to Powers' Advantage to Co-operate Economically with Reds.

Special to The New York Times.
WASHINGTON, March 6. — Colonel Raymond Robins, who was head of the American Red Cross Mission that was sent to Russia immediately following the overthrow of the Czar, and who remained in Russia in that capacity until last June, appeared today before the Senate committee investigating Bolshevism.

Every pro-Bolshevist witness who has appeared before the committee asked that Colonel Robins be called to tell the truth, as they said, about conditions in Russia under Trotsky and Lenin. These witnesses had pictured Colonel Robins as a defender of the Bolsheviks and as the one man in all America who was absolutely trusted by Lenin and the other leaders of the Soviet Government.

Colonel Robins did say some kind words for the Bolsheviks, but he denounced the movement as a menace to the whole world, and said that any man who agitated for the overthrow of the Government of the United States should be arrested, tried, and jailed. Lenin, himself, told him, Colonel Robins said, that one of the ambitions of the Bolsheviks was the overthrow of the American form of government and the substitution for it of the rule of the proletariat along lines such as prevail in Russia.

Colonel Robins's Story.
The committee room was packed to the doors when Colonel Robins took the stand at 10:30 o'clock this morning. His friend, Senator Hiram Johnson of California, sat, by courtesy, with the committee.

"I arrived in Russia," said Colonel Robins, "after the March (1917) revolution as a member of the American Red Cross Mission. I was assigned to take charge of the food supply question and the problem of caring for the refugees. The problem developed into one of assembling and distribution, and from the first the situation was complicated as a result of the failure of the revolutionary government to function. Kerensky had kept in power many of the old bureaucrats, and these men were against the revolution and did not over-exert themselves in the effort to solve the problems facing the Government.

"The revolution at that time had not reached down to the roots of the trouble. At that time I did not know what a Soviet was. I was in Moscow, and in an effort to get something done was referred to the Soviet, and then for the first time I received some assistance, and the result was that I was educated into a consciousness of the Soviet by actual delivery in contradiction to the failure of the central government to deliver.

"Returning to Petrograd after a tour of a large part of Russia, we had a conference with Kerensky, Korniloff and other leaders of the Government, and it was agreed that Kerensky should appoint a food commissioner and a most capable man. A banker and ship owner, who had been a peasant, was selected for the position. His name was Battalion, a patriot, who was ready to serve his country. It was further agreed that an American should be made assistant food commissioner, and that a working agreement would be immediately entered into with Mr. Hoover in the United States.

"These arrangements, as we thought, concluded, it was agreed to issue a manifesto to the Russian people, in which they would be assured of the guarantee of America and the Allies to see to it that they got food, and that every possible assistance would be rendered them in the fight against Germany on the Eastern front. But from day to day Kerensky delayed the appointment of Battalion, and finally he said that he would make the appointment following an all-Russian conference that was to be held in Moscow. We now began to see the coming storm."

The Killing of Korniloff.
The witness described the proceedings of the abortive conference which ended in General Korniloff being won over by the reactionary elements. He told the story of Korniloff's failure to capture Petrograd and his subsequent execution by his own Cossacks, fully half of whom Colonel Robins said deserted him. Kerensky, added Colonel Robins, had no

more to do with the Korniloff adventure than a "little child." The orders that frustrated Korniloff were issued, not from Kerensky's headquarters in the Winter Palace, but the Soviet headquarters in the Smolny Institute.

"The Korniloff proposition," Colonel Robins continued, "was all right from the standpoint of the indoor mind. It was the foolish effort of the upper 7 per cent. to oppose the lower 93 per cent. of the population. The 93 per cent. had kicked the other 7 per cent. down stairs and they had 12,000,000 rifles. So Korniloff surrendered and not a man was killed or a single shot fired. He had had the sympathy of the Allied representatives—honest and patriotic men—but these representatives were not on speaking terms with the 93 per cent.

At this time, Colonel Robins said, two groups were busy disorganizing what was left of the Russian armies. One group was of German origin and was under German direction, the Germans before the war having been all-powerful in Russia by reason of their control of the country's industries. The other was the Bolsheviks, who agitated that the real war was not a war to save democracy, but a war to perpetuate the rule of the upper classes.

When he went to Russia, the witness said, his commanding officer was Colonel William B. Thompson of New York. "Colonel Thompson," he continued, "had but one desire and that was to serve the national interests of his country. His was altogether the best mind in the American Mission. He had a perfect nose, like a pointer dog for a scent and I can state that he pointed the trail and never made a false move during all the time he was in Russia.

Allied Propaganda All Wrong.

"He realized early that the allied propaganda being carried on in Russia was all wrong. It was a propaganda directed at the Russian Armies, and the Russian soldiers were told that America was sending 4,000,000 men to France and that 20,000 airplanes were going from the United States to help the Allies in the west. They told the Russians that with America in the war the Allies would 'win in a walk' and when they heard all this good news the Russian soldier shook his head and said, 'well, if they are going to win in a walk, it's no use for us to keep on fighting, so we will just go on home,' and that is exactly what they did.

Colonel Thompson argued that if we stopped this policy of boast and brag and painted the picture in its true colors there was still a chance to rebuild a morale in the Russian force and that the situation might, after all, be saved for the Allies. In the Russian mind the Allies were sharers in what they called the common cause of Czarism. It was a time for education and Colonel Thompson favored the creation of an educational mission headed by patriots like Breshkovskaya. We were to buy up some newspapers and we were to send literature in the peasant villages proving the peril Russia faced from Germany and drilling home the truth of America's friendship for the people in their hour of need. It was a new gospel to fight the Germans and its gist was that it was to save Russia and not the Allies.

"But all this cost money. There was no money for the purpose in the embassy or in the mission, and so it was that Colonel William B. Thompson, splendid patriot that he is, dug down into his pocket and from his own private fortune donated 2,000,000 rubles to carry the plan into effect. Colonel Thompson never spent a single dollar to help the Bolsheviks. Every cent he spent was to combat Bolshevism.

"With the money given by Colonel Thompson—it amounted to about \$1,000,000 in American money—we at once went to work. We had 800 propagandists, all Russians of tried standing and all vouched for by Breshkovskaya and other great leaders of revolutionary Russia. But more money was needed, and we cabled to America and placed our position before the Government. But they did not respond promptly and in the manner needed. Instead, they turned the matter over to the Committee on Public Information, and that committee sent a man (Mr. Sisson) to Russia to investigate what we were doing to stabilize Kerensky and save Russia from Bolshevism. When this man arrived the Bolsheviks had been in control two weeks.

"To revert for a moment to the last days of Kerensky and our efforts to stabilize his Government. In Petrograd at that time there was one military unit that was absolutely essential to the continuance of his power. That was the Motor Tank Corps. The way it went the power went. One of our agents in the corps reported to us one day that the corps was about 50 per cent. for Provisional Government and about 50 per cent. for the Bolsheviks, but, he added, 'it is 100 per cent. for the Soviet.'

Heated Conference of Allies.

"So in this effort to save the Provisional Government a conference of the Allies was called. The purpose of the conference was to find some way to bridge over the differences that separated Kerensky's Government and the Soviets. General Knox, an able, patriotic British General, represented Great Britain; General Nivelle, the French Military Attaché, represented France, and General William V. Judson the United States. There were also present several Russian officers, Colonel Thompson, myself, and several others representing the allied nations.

"Colonel Thompson explained the situation. General Knox characterized Kerensky as weak and uncertain, and said that the situation was being lost as a result of the failure to shoot Lenin and Trotsky. After General Knox sat down General Nivelle took the floor and said everything that General Knox had left unsaid, and ended by calling the Russian officers cowardly and yellow dogs, whereupon the Russians present left the conference. We were together two and one-half hours, and, of course, accomplished nothing."

When the Bolsheviks had gained control, Colonel Robins said, it was decided to see what could still be done to aid the Allies and protect supplies in hand, so he called on Trotsky. The witness went on:

"When I entered Trotsky's office there was a Captain beside his desk, who had heard me make a speech to the soldiers, and in which speech I had de-

nounced Bolshevism. He became greatly excited and began to wave his arms and tell what I had said. I stopped him and told him I would admit everything he said, but that 'I know a corpse when I see one.' I told Trotsky that so far as I knew his program, I was against it, and that I called on him simply because he was in power. If the Czar had been in power I would have tried to see him, I added. What I wanted done was done and our supplies went through on a special train to destination without the loss of a single tin or a single pound.

Lenine's Ambitions in America.

"I saw Lenin several times during this period. Trotsky and Lenin both admitted that their program was worldwide and that some day they expected to gain control of America. However, Russia was in a bad way for economic leadership and they were willing to let up help. They told me if the United States would send these economic experts to help out that we, the United States, would get ahead of Germany and in the meantime, they added, 'We will be able to feed Russia.' Bread was the only thing they feared. There was Germany with economic mind, there was Mirbach head of their economic machine, and the United States was the only nation then in a position to frustrate the German plans. Trotsky said to me:

"You are interested in Russia not shipping raw materials into Germany."

"Yes," I replied, "you can use your allied office to enforce the embargo which is still in effect against Germany."

"I told him I did not understand him. I was suspicious. He replied that Russia needed manufactured materials and we alone could supply them. It was purely a selfish proposition on his part and to get what he needed he was willing to concede control of the embargo."

"Germany," Trotsky continued, "is going to have a conference with us at Brest-Litovsk. We shall prolong that conference and use the time to stir up trouble in Germany and thereby force a peace of no indemnities and no annexations. And after we finish with Germany we will stir up England and France and then America, and compel them, too, to come into the conference and talk peace with us. I shall never sign anything but a democratic peace," Trotsky added.

"And, as a matter of fact, Trotsky never did sign the Brest-Litovsk treaty. At that time I thought I understood this extraordinary young Jew, 33 years old, highly educated, and the greatest stump speaker in all Russia. But he has the weakness of the prima donna. In hours of success he is elated and defiant and in hours of defeat depressed and moody. "I have never seen such extreme ego and arrogance as is the case with Trotsky. I knew that he would prolong that conference as long as he possibly could because it afforded the greatest opportunity his ego had ever known. He knew that so long as it lasted he would be the centre of the world's attention. Trotsky said to me that he knew that Germany could never make a democratic peace, for such a peace, he said, could mean but one thing, and that was the end of the militarist class.

"When next I saw Trotsky he asked me if there was not an American railroad mission somewhere in the East. I told him there was one in Nagasaki.

"Tell the commission to come on into Russia," he said, "and we will give it control of the Trans-Siberian. We need the transportation and will let you use 50 per cent. of the railway capacity to take the guns from the front and keep the Germans from getting them if you will fix the roads up and let us use the other 50 per cent. to get food to the people."

"These were Trotsky's words. Like the other, it was a purely selfish proposition. I took the proposition to Ambassador Francis. He approved it. Trotsky further agreed to let us take the guns on the East front anywhere we wished to take them. They were new field pieces of twelve miles range and among the most powerful on the Eastern front. They had been built in England and there was a large supply of ammunition on hand, also made in England, for them. Well, this proposition fell through, too, and sure enough the Germans did get those guns and they were transported to the Western front and they were fired with British ammunition against our own and our Allies' boys.

"After the gun incident there came a time when it was believed that any association with the Bolsheviks was wrong and an order came from the Government telling me to cease dealing with them. I showed the order to Ambassador Francis and he disapproved it and told me to continue, and I did, and until I left Russia I was the unofficial medium through whom Mr. Francis had his communications with the Soviet Government. On one occasion I may state that Ambassador Francis instructed me to inform the Bolsheviks what measures he would recommend in the event of hostilities."

Envoy Sent by Lloyd George.

Colonel Robins also told of the mission to Russia of R. H. Bruce-Lockhart, the personal representative of Premier Lloyd George. Mr. Bruce-Lockhart, he explained, was sent to Russia as the result of a two-hour conference that Lloyd George had with Colonel Thompson, while the latter was on his way to this country from Russia. Lloyd George instructed Mr. Bruce-Lockhart to go to Russia with an open mind and to see and confer with Colonel Robins.

"When Bruce-Lockhart arrived," said Colonel Thompson, "he showed me his credentials from Lloyd George, and I went with him to the Smolny Institute. Afterward I showed him all my papers and explained the situation in detail to him. I then told him I wanted him to go and talk with the other 7 per cent. and that if he did so they would tell a very different story. I said they would tell him that Colonel Thompson had been in Russia trying to get control

of the copper for a Wall Street crowd, that I was after 500,000 acres of choice land, and so on. He went to see them and they told him all that and much more. But he saw the matter as I did and until the day I left the British High Commission, Mr. Bruce-Lockhart and I were in agreement in every move that we made.

"In a report to Lloyd George the High Commissioner said he agreed with me entirely, and later Dr. Harold Williams, a conservative newspaper correspondent and a trusted friend of the British Foreign Office, admitted, after opposing the position that we had taken, that we were right and that he had guessed wrong. Mr. Stephens, head of the National City Bank branch in Petrograd, also came to see the situation as we did and cabled the fact to Mr. Vanderlip in New York."

Colonel Robins told of a proposition that he and Bruce-Lockhart had submitted to Lenin to get Russia back into the war.

"This was in March last, before the ratification of the Brest-Litovsk treaty," said Colonel Robins, "when I told Lenin that the Allies might consider aiding the Soviet in return for a repudiation of the treaty and for active cooperation in a military way against Germany. I asked him to postpone the meeting of all-Russian Soviet until the Ambassadors of the Allies could communicate the proposition to their Governments, and, as a matter of fact, the meeting was postponed for two days. Lenin came to Moscow and informed me that the Allies had refused to sanction the proposition.

"With the ratification of the treaty my relationship with the Soviet changed. I realized then that we could not recognize them even as a de facto Government. But we continued to do what we could to save the situation even at that late day. I worked constantly under the direction of Mr. Francis, and finally I was asked to transmit a request through Mr. Francis asking permission for a Russian economic mission to visit the United States. So far as I know the request transmitted by the Ambassador was not even answered."

Colonel Robins said that when the Bolsheviks issued the decree repudiating the Russian national debt he went to Trotsky and denounced the act, which was directed not so much against the United States and Great Britain as against France. Lenin said it was issued because of the refusal of the Allies to co-operate with the Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks would probably have been willing to make an arrangement for settling with England and America, but were bitter against France, arguing that "French loans had for forty years kept Russian autocracy in power."

High Praise for Elihu Root.

Near the close of the afternoon session Colonel Robins made his reference to the mission that was headed by Elihu Root.

"A word," he said, "about the Root Mission that was sent to Russia by President Wilson. I regard Mr. Root as the ablest international lawyer in America, a splendid man of splendid vision. But he was a victim of propaganda. Editorials written in this country, written by a man perhaps the most gifted in his particular line of editorials in the world, were translated into Russian by German agents. These editorials pictured Mr. Root as 'the Jackal of Wall Street' as the tool of interests and as thoroughly against the people in every way. Cartoons conveying the same impression were printed and they, too, were circulated. These things impressed the poor Russian and he formed his conclusion accordingly. The result is evident."

Colonel Robins also told of the return to Russia of a great many agitators from this country, some of them Gentiles and some of them Jews. These men, he said, had seen the United States in its worst spots, and those spots were the background of the pictures they drew of life in America.

That neither Lenin nor Trotsky was ever a conscious German agent is the opinion of Colonel Robins. He said that an Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs named Zolkan had been pro-German and anti-American, and that as a result of his activities against this country he had been dismissed from office and exiled by Lenin. He also said that the Bolsheviks, when it was thought the Germans would capture Petrograd, had sent about \$180,000,000 in gold and specie to Southern Russia for safe keeping.

"I understood," said Colonel Robins, "that the Czechoslovaks got that money and that they have it yet."

"In Russia," added Colonel Robins, "Bolshevism is a fundamental menace. I believe that we should take high ground and try and understand the thing we are dealing with. I regard the Soviet program as economically impossible and morally wrong. Lenin has told me that the program will probably fail, but he added that the agitation would continue. He told me that after Russia would come Bulgaria and then Germany. Lenin said in one of his last talks with me, 'Remember, when the day comes that there is a Soviet in Berlin that the little man in the Kremlin told you that on that day would be born the proletarian revolution.' He said that we in America think we are safe, but he added, 'You are not immune.'

"I believe in political democracy and I believe in Christianity, and gentlemen, I want to say to you that I believe those things are challenged today as never before in history. There has been some confusion in England, there is unrest in

France, and Italy is atop a volcano. I am convinced there is strength enough in America to meet and conquer the situation."

"If force is used in an effort to resist the authority of the Government of the United States, do you think it should be met with force?" asked Senator Sterling.

"Certainly."

"Would you like to see the Russian land system adopted in this country?"

"Under no circumstances."

"Have you ever preached in favor of Bolshevism?"

"Never one word have I said in its favor. Not in a single instance. I am sure if Bolshevism is ever put before our people that it will be emphatically rejected. Yes, there is a kinship between the I. W. W. and Bolshevism."

"Do you think men who agitate for the overthrow of this Government should be punished?"

"They should be arrested, tried, convicted, and jailed."

Colonel Robins will continue his narrative tomorrow morning.