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The Economic Policy of the Soviet Government

THE economic policy of the Soviet Government was established in the midst of incessant fighting, when the entire country was a vast military camp, and the problems of the war were paramount. To put this policy into practice demanded an intense application of forces to overcome internal as well as external resistance. The carrying out of this policy was hindered as much by the attacks of the counter-revolutionists as by the open and secret sabotage of the superior technical personnel; inertia and prejudice were the enemies to be fought in a difficult struggle.

The Soviet organs which direct the economic life are based upon trade union organizations. From top to bottom the system of direction is constructed upon this basis.

At the head of the entire administration is the Supreme Council of National Economy; in the provinces the local Councils of National Economy.

All the activities of the Supreme Council of National Economy are supervised by a Bureau composed of eleven persons. Corresponding to the various branches of industry: metallurgical, chemical, textile, electro-technical, etc., the Supreme Council of National Economy is divided into fifty sections of production, at the head of which are the Committees, each composed of from three to seven persons.

The appointment of the president of the Supreme Council of National Economy, and that of his substitute, are ratified by the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets of all Russia; that of the members of the Bureau by the Council of People's Commissaries. But the candidatures are usually submitted before ratification to the general Council of Russian labor unions.

All the sectional committees of the Supreme

Council of National Economy are approved by the Bureau, but never until after a preliminary understanding with the corresponding syndicate. The workers as well as the specialists (engineers, technicians), have members in all the committees and in the Bureau.

The local Councils of National Economy are the executive organs of the Supreme Council of National Economy, and are organized on the same basis as the latter, though being more restricted.

The management of the factories and administration for the various state enterprises and trusts is composed in each case of from five to seven members (workers and specialists), but they are sanctioned by the corresponding section of the Supreme Council of National Economy or of the local Council of National Economy only after a preliminary understanding with the corresponding syndicate.

A great number of specialists are on the Committees and in the management of factories: as many as sixty per cent are specialists and forty per cent are workers.

Thus the Soviet power replaced the system of capitalist direction by the Soviet system, which planted deep roots in the farthest corners of our economic life. Despite the difficult external and internal conditions this system is accomplishing its task perfectly.

To sum up these two years of struggle, the means of production passed almost entirely from the hands of the capitalists and proprietors into those of society personified in the Soviet organs.

Nationalization of the factories, shops, mines, etc., was brought about first in the principal branches of industry and in the most important enterprises.

information has often been circulated in Western Europe with regard to this nationalization which, it was said, followed no fixed plan. This is a falsehood without foundation.

Nationalization, especially beginning with the second half of the year 1918, was brought about in accordance with a fixed plan embracing the industrial branches and enterprises most important and indispensable for the organization of the national economy.

As to the "small trades" and the cooperatives, not only were they not nationalized, but they were protected by special decrees and dispositions.

The following tables gives an idea of the proportionate figures for nationalization in the course of the last two years:

Nationalization During the Years 1918-1919.

1. Enterprises 4,000
2. Merchant marine construction 16,000
3. Private property 60,000,000 hectares
4. All the banks of all cities.

These figures are a little short in the case of the enterprises, 4,000 enterprises are under the Supreme Council of National Economy, but in the provinces many nationalized enterprises, being under the direction of local organs, do not figure in the statistics drawn up by the central organs.

It may be said with certainty that ninety per cent of industry is nationalized.

The Soviet power inherited from Capitalism enterprises isolated and deprived of connecting bonds.

Its task, as indicated above, was to construct an organization of national economy based upon socialist principles.

It was indispensable that there be organized and created in the domain of industry and that of rural economy associations of isolated enterprises, that they be provided with fuel and basic materials, and their financial system constructed upon new principles.

In resume of all the innovations introduced in the domain of national economy in the course of these two years (1918-1919) we have the following table:

There were organized:

I. In Industry.

1. State trusts 90
2. Factory administrations 4,000
3. State systems for the provision of wood, flax, wool, hemp, etc.

II. In Rural Economy.

1. Soviet exploitations 2,399
2. Rural communes and associations 5,961

In this manner industry and rural economy during these two years were not only placed under the direction of the organs of the proletarian dictatorship, but also reorganized internally with reference to production. A concentration of production was brought about. Trusts like that of the electro-technical industry, uniting without exception all the enterprises which fought one another in pitiless rivalry before the October Revolu-

tion, or like the State trust for machine construction, comprising sixteen of the most important enterprises, represent a result unprecedented in the economic world.

The situation is similar in the nationalized enterprises of the textile industry, to the number of more than 500, divided into forty different associations each embracing several enterprises and all directed by a "principal management."

From the point of view of finance, provisions, registration, the reception of products, etc., the organization of industry in state trusts was of enormous advantage. The regulation of accounts between the nationalized enterprises and their associations takes place only in the books and without the payment of cash.

Owing to this system the distribution of fuel and basic materials becomes more equal and rational. If one considers the extremely difficult situation in which Soviet Russia was placed, during these last two years, in the matter of fuel, having at her disposal only ten per cent of indispensable coal and only ninety-three million poods of naphtha in lieu of the 400 millions necessary each year, one can see that only the centralization of distribution and a certain economy have aided us to evade a terrible fuel crisis. As for the distribution of raw materials, that was organized in a satisfactory manner.

In the sphere of rural economy the organization of Soviet exploitations directed by Soviet organs made it possible not only to protect agriculture, the great land properties, but also permitted the industrial proletariat to take part for the first time in agricultural labor, and created also for the first time solid ties between industry and agricultural exploitation, between the city and the country.

At present nearly three million hectares are already in the hands of Soviet exploitations and agricultural communes.

Returning to the economic situation and the results of the economic activities, we should indicate first that this situation, as a result of our activity, depended upon changes brought about by the civil war.

The Don Basin, the Urals, the Caucasus, the principal sources of fuel and raw material—of coal, naphtha, iron, cast-iron, steel—passed from hand to hand. For a certain length of time they fell again to the Soviet power, but new assaults by the White Guards deprived us of them, ruining organized production and taking from us accumulated reserves.

As a result the center of Soviet Russia became our principal base.

The loss of the Don Basin meant for us the loss of eighty per cent of all our coal; the occupation of Baku by the English deprived us of naphtha; the occupation of the South and the Urals—of metals.

It is easy thus to realize clearly the difficult conditions under which our economic life developed.

But in addition to territorial conditions, our economic situation was influenced by the fact that

we had again to mobilize our industry and employ it for the needs of war.

Such are the conditions under which our economic activity was developed and our progress brought to realization.

The following figures characterize the principal branches of our economic activity where it was pursued without interruption during these two years:

ment working in the industries of Soviet Russia. (The figures are incomplete.) In certain branches of industry (in the mines of the region of Moscow, in the electro-technical industry) all the enterprises are operating without exception; in others,—in the textile industry for example—almost fifty per cent of the enterprises are at a standstill, but it is impossible to name a single branch of industry which has ceased completely. The facts

PREPARATION OF FUEL AND RAW MATERIAL

(Quantity in Poods)

Products	1918	1919
A. Fuel		
1. Coal (regions of Moscow and Borovichi).....	almost 30 million	almost 30 million
2. Wood (in stock and reserve).....	4 mill. cu. sazshins	5 mill. cu. sazshins
3. Peat	58 million	60 million
4. Naphtha	93 million	Baku occupied by English
B. Raw Material (in the stores of the S. C. of N. E.)		
1. Flax	5½ million
2. Cotton	2,784 thousand	6½ million (with Turkestan reserves)
3. Wools	2 million
4. Hemp	2 million
5. Hides	5,461,000 pieces	2,365,800 pieces (for six months)
6. Metals (reserves).....	30 million	40 million

The above figures are only for fuel and raw material accumulated and utilized by the Supreme Council of National Economy.

We can see that the situation has become worse in the matter of fuel because of the loss of the naphtha. In 1918 we could transport the naphtha from Baku, but in 1919 we did not receive any at all.

Owing to this circumstance we were obliged to use wood fuel for the railroads and other enterprises, and this was the cause of the famine in fuel for dwellings. Before the war no more wood was prepared than now: from four to five million cubic sazshins, but then there was coal, and naphtha which served industry, and the wood was used principally to heat dwellings; now wood is the principal fuel. As regards peat, the situation has improved, and in 1919 it was prepared in greater quantities (1918—fifty-eight million poods; in 1919—sixty million poods). The preparation of raw material for our textile industry was sufficient, and the industry is fully provided for. Flax and furs have accumulated in such great quantities that it would be easy to export them abroad.

With regard to metals the situation has become difficult, we have utilized our old reserves all this time. With the retaking of the Urals and the defeat of Kolchak, the situation has improved and we are receiving metals from the Urals.

In short, the system of provisioning under Soviet rule functions perfectly and is solidly constructed.

The latest statistics indicate that more than a million workers (excluding those employed on railroads, commerce, etc.), are at the present mo-

do not show it. In short, the total number of salaried workers (workers and employees) reaches the minimum number of three million men. In certain spheres progress even may be claimed. During these two years our economic organs undertook the organization of fifteen important enterprises several of which are already completed and operating. At Podolsk (province of Moscow) a great factory for the repair of locomotives has been constructed and is already operating; as is a cartridge factory at Simbirsk. Two great electrical stations, one at Kachira, the other in the marsh of Chatour, are being completed. The construction of a factory of agricultural machinery and implements has commenced at Saratov.

But the most important enterprise is the exploitation of schist deposits in the provinces of Samara and Kazan, an enterprise begun in 1919. Several mines are already being exploited.

Let us cite here the figures relative to the principal branches of industry serving military as well as civil needs.

Production and Reserves in 1919

Fabrics

Average monthly production—14 million arzhins
Reserves—nearly a milliard arzhins.

Sugar

Production during the campaign 1918-1919:
In Soviet Russia—4 million poods.
In Soviet Ukraine—10 million poods.

Matches

Production in 1918—1,032,023 boxes.
During six months in 1919—412,805,000 boxes.

Soap

Monthly production—20 to 25 thousand poods.

Salt

More than 10 million poods have been extracted.

These products are distributed in accordance with a definite plan. First the Red Army is provided, then the workers, and finally the rest of the population.

Let us consider now the question of food.

During these two years the most difficult problem was that of food. The regions most rich in wheat, such as the territory of the Don, South Russia, the territories beyond the Volga, and Siberia, were either in the hands of the enemy or were passing from hand to hand.

When, after the October Revolution, we took over the power there were almost no reserves of bread. The harvest of 1918 had a yield above the average (in twenty-five provinces of Soviet Russia it reached 1,235 million poods). The system of rationing which was organized about this time could store 106 million poods. This permitted us

in the second half of 1918 and in 1919 to improve the bread ration for the population compared to the first half of 1918. The harvest of 1919 was also above the average, and besides, the whole region beyond the Volga and a part of Siberia passed into our hands. This year we hope the grain reserves will surpass those of last year. Difficulties are encountered principally in transportation for the war. But thanks to the consolidation of the distributing system an improvement may be expected, not very great it is true, but an improvement nevertheless.

We have cited figures relating only to the principal branches of industry, taking for a basis the average monthly production. We have described only the general economic situation in Soviet Russia, and we have summarized the results of our activity in the economic sphere during the last two years. But it is needless to say that we could not here include all that has been accomplished by the working masses in the titanic creative work of the new life which is in the making under our eyes.

Non-Party Conferences

By A. MYASNIKOV

NON-PARTY CONFERENCES or conferences of the wide laboring masses have become a common practice in Russia for the last year. Experience has shown that these conferences are of great importance in the political education of the great masses of workers, peasants, and Red Army men.

A country like Russia where, after the October Revolution, the rank and file of the proletariat and the great masses of the peasantry awoke and became a great factor in political life, their political education and their participation in the construction of a new Soviet life became a question of the first importance. The Communist Party in Moscow has decided for the first time to carry on its activity in labor circles through the so-called non-party conferences.

Either the authoritative and experienced groups of Communists or the local Soviet calls a conference under the control and leadership of the party Committee, usually by electing one delegate for every ten or twenty men as representatives for the various factories, or villages of Red Army detachments. The agenda includes all those topics of the day which interest the workers, peasants, and the Red Army soldiers. Such topics are often the state of siege of any particular town or territory, the food crisis, the struggle against the transport disorganization, and so on. The preliminary work for the election, as well as the election itself, takes place under conditions of the greatest activity of our party comrades who explain to the masses the aim and the significance of the conference. They purpose to choose as delegates such men as are able

later on to relate to their constituents in an intelligible manner all that took place at the conference. At the pre-election meetings it is generally pointed out that the aim of the conference is to obtain the sympathy and the support of all the workers in favor of the Soviet Government, to explain and to discuss all the new undertakings and measures, all the victories and errors of the Soviet Government.

Generally the conferences actually succeed in attaining this end; the multifarious mass listens eagerly to reports in connection with military questions, social maintenance, or the economic situation of the country. They become interested, they criticize, they approve or dispute, they raise hundreds and hundreds of questions which are instantly answered. The delegates come to the conference with prejudice and lack of confidence but, after becoming acquainted with the Soviet policy and participating in the discussion of concrete measures, they gradually acquire a political education. After one, two, or three sittings of the conference the majority of the delegates, and often even an entire conference, are completely drawn into the Soviet policy, into its life and work and general plans. The delegates become firmly conscious that the Soviet Government is really a government of workers, and that only by way of collaboration with it can the so-called non-party sections strengthen the government as well as the ranks of the fighting proletariat.

These conferences also prove that the so-called non-party sections are in reality communistic and that it is not possible to separate the working

class from Communism. Thus the non-party conferences, these organizations of sections which are little concerned with politics as a whole, become a mighty weapon for the development of Soviet construction. No better party and political work can be created. It enthuses and electrifies the non-party sections and rapidly and easily draws them into the Communist Party. Very often many delegates, both at and during the conference, join the party.

With the return of conference delegates things become very lively in the barracks and army detachments. Heated disputes, explanations, and discussions ensue, and in the end a unanimous approval of the policy of our party is reached; this is the general upshot of those great conferences, at which hundreds, and, very often, thousands of delegates are present. Cases were not rare where the number of participants reached three and a half to four thousand delegates. Most prominent workers in the Soviet Government, commissars and heads of departments, speak at the conferences. In Moscow Comrade Lenin is often a welcome speaker on international and home policy.

The non-party conferences, have become usual, —they have become part of our ordinary life; following the example of Moscow the provinces now hold such conferences; thence the movement spreads to the towns, and from the towns to the villages. There is hardly a spot left in Soviet Russia where these conferences fail to educate the masses, and in their name to support the Soviet Government and to approve its measures and policy. These workers' and peasants' and Red Army soldiers' conferences have become quite a common occurrence.

Here are a few figures of the Moscow conferences as striking instances. Recently, prior to the

elections for the Moscow Soviet, a number of mass conferences took place in every district of the city. Within a fortnight seventeen conferences took place in Moscow having a total number of 15,600 delegates and representing approximately 280,000 workers and Red Army soldiers; out of this number 200,000 workers took part in the elections. On an average the Communist delegates at these conferences composed no more than one-fifth, the rest being either non-party men or sympathizers with Communism. It is the intention of the Russian Communist Party not to elect communists for the non-party conferences, but to elect non-party men, yet the masses most often elect Communists, who form a firm and healthy nucleus at these conferences. It is characteristic that among the 15,600 delegates, there was, as an exception to the rule, an insignificant number of Mensheviks, namely three, two Anarchists, and five Socialist-Revolutionaries, and members of other groups and parties.

All this mass has clearly shown that it is in favor of the Communist Party and that, in Moscow Soviet elections, it has carried with it the entire garrison and proletariat of Moscow towards the victory of the Communists. At the present time the elections are over. The result is as follows: Out of 1,461 deputies, 1,281 were Communists and sympathizers with Communism, 128 non-party, and fifty-two of various parties. This result is to a great extent, to be attributed to the non-party conferences.

We are therefore justified in stating that non-party conferences are the best means of introducing the idea of Communism in the masses, and they are, at the same time, a correct indicator of the temper of the masses at every particular period. Presumably this experience will in due time be taken into account by the Western proletariat.

Cultural Work in the Ranks of the Red Army

THE Red Army is victorious on all fronts. At the same time the Soviet Government has also gained victories in the ranks of its own army, victories which are of great significance in the cause of Socialism—victories over illiteracy, prejudice, and ignorance of the peasant Red Army soldiers.

The tremendous successes of cultural work in the whole country and especially in the ranks of the Red Army are so conspicuous that on many occasions they were the subject of the Kolchak and Denikin newspapers which commented with envy and impotent rage on these successes, setting them up as an example for their own unpretentious "propagandists" and "agitators." The comments of the White Guards on these successes are franker still in unofficial documents. As an instance, we quote the following report of August, 1919, of the Chief of the Scouting Division of

the Headquarters of Kolchak's Third Army—Colonel Shokov.

Agitation and propaganda in Soviet Russia is brilliantly organized. Propaganda classes have been established in every government town, which have already turned out a number of trained agitators. The ideas of Bolshevism are disseminated in simple, comprehensible, and convincing language and forms. The whole country is literally flooded with appeals, placards, newspapers, and colored pictures.

At the front the Bolsheviks have made propaganda a weapon as mighty as artillery, aviation, and tanks.

The report of the Literary Publication Department of the Political Administration of the Revolutionary War Council of the Republic for the period of June 1 to November 1 gives a clear idea

of the extent of cultural work performed in the Red Army.

The following were issued during the five months:

"The Red Soldiers" magazine (No. 3-9), 1,004,000 copies; the magazine "Svetoch," for White soldiers, 40,000 copies; 241,000 pamphlets. The following leaflets were published: for the Red Army, 1,810,000 copies; for the Whites, 1,075,000 copies; 1,130,584 colored pictures; 45,000 graphic tables.

By the 1st of December 487,000 pamphlets were issued; 1,000,000 leaflets; 500,000 copies of the "Red Soldiers"; 600,000 open letters; 628,000 placards and colored pictures, and 92,000 graphic tables.

The whole of this tremendous work was carried out solely by the Central Political Administration. A perfect conception of the colossal cultural work, organized for the Red Army, will be formed if we carry in mind the fact that the political departments of all fronts as well as the Red Army Divisions publish a great amount of printed matter.

The whole of this agitational and cultural literature is written in the most popular style, comprehensible to the intelligence of the meanest peasants of the most remote corner of illimitable Russia. The gist of all the placards, pictures, and cartoons is easily grasped even by such of the peasants who have never had occasion to turn the pages of an illustrated magazine.

The distribution of literature is not the only form of cultural activity among the Red Army soldiers. Another form of this activity is expressed in the organization of schools, libraries, clubs, and theatres. In this direction the results achieved were also quite brilliant. By the 1st of November 3,800 schools had been established for the Red Army soldiers; there are 2,392 circulating libraries and 1,315 clubs. There is a theatre with almost every club. There are fifty-two Red Army soldiers' theatres in Moscow alone.

The Red Army soldiers attend their schools eagerly. In the Yaroslavl garrison attendance rose to 90-95 per cent of the illiterate. At times special measures are taken towards the instruction of the illiterate. Thus, for instance, at Kazan, all the illiterate of the Artillery Depot are exempted from all service for three weeks on the condition that they attend school every day.

The following is a description of the successful development of the Red Army theatre. The Cultural Department of the Red Army at Samara has at its disposal two troupes of professional actors. In the garrison hospitals, Red Army clubs, and town theatres, the following performances were given to the Red Army soldiers: In August 24 plays, 14 concerts, and 29 cinematograph shows; in September, five performances, 41 concerts, and 40 cinematograph shows; in October, 8 plays, 54 concerts, and 60 cinematograph shows. All performances are free to the soldiers. The following are the figures of attendance: In August, 79,240 Red Army soldiers attended; in September, 76,860; in

October, 76,860. The total number of spectators amounted to 291,920 soldiers. During this period besides the professional troops 35 dramatic Red Army circles were established and worked in the army; by November 1, the number of plays and concerts given by these amounted to 235.

The amateur Red Army dramatic circles very often put on the stage plays which were written by Red Army soldiers themselves. These plays are not pretentious, they cannot be said to be striking for their aesthetic qualities; their great advantage lies however in the fact that dealing as they do with vital questions and realistic problems of the day they find a ready appeal in the hearts of the workers and peasants, whom circumstances have temporarily turned into soldiers.

Cultural work is as equally intense in the rear as it is at the front. It is understood that the conditions at the front create a great number of obstacles in the normal development of this kind of activity. Where, however, the communist circles are at their height, this work with the assistance of the Red Army soldiers who are eagerly striving towards knowledge, is often successful. As an example we may give the activity of the clubs at the front. At a certain club organized in one brigade, within three weeks were given four plays, a review, and three cinematograph performances; a lecture was read by the lecturer of the political Army Department on the *Origin of Man*; the lecture was illustrated by slides and proved of the greatest interest to the soldier-audience. There is a library and reading room at the club, a small string orchestra, courses for the illiterate daily filled with soldiers, who—to repeat the expression of a Red Army soldier-correspondent—seek to obtain at their temple of art not only mental rest but also knowledge.

Thus we see that in its cultural activity in the ranks of the Red Army the Soviet Government strives to satisfy the spiritual demands of the Red Army soldiers. The task of the revolutionary-socialist education does not consist in raising the spirit of the Red Army when faced by the enemy; it is much broader than that. Compelled by unfortunate circumstances to take the peasant from his plough and the workman from his bench, the Soviet Government strives, at the same time, to utilize the period of the soldiers' service in the interest of his spiritual development, and to make him a worthy citizen of the Socialist State. With the return from the front to his remote village the Red Army soldier will not only take a vital and intelligent interest in his surroundings and in political events, but will, in his turn, become the bearer of socialist education and enlightenment to the dark masses of peasantry who as yet have failed to shake off the traces of an age-old slavery.

Col. B. Roustam Bek's article on Turkey will appear in next week's issue of SOVIET RUSSIA.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

A Year of War

[In beginning a new volume of SOVIET RUSSIA, instead of our usual Military Review we are presenting an official account of the military situation during the year 1919, taken from "Izvestia," Petrograd, January 2, 1920.]

THIS last year was a year of intense struggle on the revolutionary front, but it seemed at times that the final victory of the Soviet Government was becoming uncertain.

In the beginning we had only two theatres of war, one in the north and the other in the east.

Nevertheless the danger to be faced seemed to be great. The eastern front had cut off Siberia and Turkestan, had moved to the Volga and the Kama and its tributaries, and in places was already on the hither side of those two rivers. Although the pressure from the north was not very great, nevertheless it was dangerous, and threatened to allow the two groups of the enemy to unite and form a single front from the Murmansk road and Archangel to Orenburg and the Caspian Sea.

This uneasiness was all the more logical because at that time intervention was being considered, and our military apparatus was only in the period of formation and did not provide us with a sufficient guarantee of safety.

The eastern front had formed the year before last. Its kernel consisted of Czecho-Slovak regiments inspired by the White Guards and supported by foreign embassies in their fight on the Russia of the workman and peasant. Around this kernel there gathered other inimical elements composed of ex-officers, ex-junkers, land-holding bourgeoisie and local cossacks. And although the numerical strength of the White army was not large, still that army was successful in the beginning, because it was faced by poorly organized Red Guards. It held the line of the Ural mountains with the Yekaterinburg mining district as the center. Its south wing entrenched itself rather strongly in the district of Orenburg, and the center was placed on the lines of the rivers Belaya and Ufa, and threatened the city of Ufa. Here the enemy fortified himself rather well, and began to gather new strength.

Meanwhile the northern front, formed in the same year by the expeditionary forces of the Allies in Archangel who were later joined by other White Guard elements, gradually grew in width, crossing the Murmansk road not far from the lake of Onega, and moved its left wing to the river Pechora and its left tributary, Izhma. The chief pressure of the enemy was directed along the river Northern Dvina, its tributary Vaga, and the Archangel railroad. At first he planned to pierce our position in the district of Vologda or Kotlas, and tried to establish tactical connections with the army of Admiral Kolchak in the vicinity of Perm.

But tremendous distances between places and impossible roads, together with the defense put up by the Red Army did not allow the operation to develop. It died out naturally, one might say, be-

cause of the expenditure of muscular energy on the part of the enemy.

From that time on, the great northern theatre of war lost its primary strategic importance. It still retained the serious role of a sector of the flank, both during the general attack of the Siberian armies and during the attacks of the Finns on Petrograd, when the latter were joined by the enemy at the beginning of last year and occupied the inter-lake district to the west of Lake Onega, between Onega and the Olonets range.

Spreading out along the western ranges of the Urals, the reorganized army of Admiral Kolchak directed the efforts of its right wing and its center to a movement in the direction of the northern part of the River Kama, and the district of Ufa. Here there were many hard fights of an indecisive character on the roads near Perm and Osa, near Kungur and Krasnoufimsk, near Birsk, near Ufa, and at last near Sterlitamak. The first few months of 1919 were passed in such encounters which were more or less occasioned by chance, and took place especially in the mountainous district of Yekaterinburg.

The conditions of struggle in the Yekaterinburg sector are in reality unfavorable to the development of attacking measures on any large scale. The vicinity is a row of more or less wide valleys rimmed with mountains. At the foot of the latter there are railroads which radiate from Yekaterinburg, and other means of communication. There are also factories and settlements. In other words there is a series of defilations with ready made points of defense. Besides the railroad lines, as has been said before, meet in Yekaterinburg, a fact that gave the staff of the enemy a great advantage in the matter of attack, notwithstanding that at the beginning of the year he was numerically weaker than we were.

All this allowed the enemy command with its Ural section to hold our armies back until it had finished the formation of new armies in its rear.

At the beginning of April the Eastern front suddenly came to life. Formidable masses of troops were advanced to the front, and the enemy seemed to have made clear his intentions of advancing on the whole line of operations towards Perm and the Volga along the Volga-Bugulminsk and the Samara-Zlatoust roads. His left wing began to press energetically between Sterlitamak and Orenburg in order to reach the Samara-Orenburg and the Saratov-Ural lines.

Ufa was soon taken. Then came the turn of Perm, and then, after unsuccessful battles near the Osa and Kungur we evacuated the entire basin of the river Kama as far as Yelabuga, and also the river Belaya and Ufa.

Soon it became evident that the center of the enemy attack was west of Ufa, along two lines leading to the Volga near Simbirsk and Samara. At the same time both wings of the White army continued the pressure on our troops near Vyatka and also to the north-west of the Orenburg-Ural line. Here and there they advanced comparatively far. On the north they were west of Glazov, and their southern wing captured the cities of Buzuluk, Uralsk, Nikolsk, and Yershov, and threatened Samara and Saratov. But Orenburg did not surrender, remaining like a red island in a raging white sea. Later this was of great importance in the development of our counter-attack.

The situation was becoming dangerous. Not only because the enemy, after occupying Bugulma, Buguruslan and Buzuluk, was but 100 miles from the Volga and its bridges. This had happened many times before. But more because of the impetus of his movement and the seeming preparations of the White forces to attack in other theatres of war. It became clear that the armies of Kolchak were only a chain ring in the plan of a concentrated general attack from all directions on Soviet Russia on the part of the enemy.

In fact, after the German evacuation of the occupied provinces of what was once the Russia of the Czar and parts of Ukraine, revolutionary struggle began everywhere. In Ukraine the Reds were quickly victorious. But the hetman's army was not destroyed. Its kernel and most of all its officers went to Kuban and the southern part of the Army of the Don, and with the energetic co-operation of the Entente served as the nucleus for the quick formation of a strong southern army under the command of General Denikin. At the same time, General Yudenich was able to create a strong army corps on the border of the government of Pskov. In doing so, he took advantage of similar conditions in Esthonia, Finland, and Latvia. It became known that Polish and Lithuanian attacks were in preparation. The position taken by the border countries showed that they were only waiting for a favorable moment to attack.

In a word one could see the separate rings of the White chain that was supposed to cut off Soviet Russia from Siberia, Turkestan, the Caucasus, the southern provinces, the north, and the Baltic Sea; to deny it bread, fuel and raw material, and to continue it within the frontiers of the time of Czar Ivan III.

Two circumstances spoiled the success of this plan. In the first place the various groups of the enemy did not co-ordinate their operations from a strategical point of view. The result achieved was not one of complete constriction as the enemy desired, but a succession of independent, although powerful blows. And what is still more important, the Red Army seemed to be reborn in the moment of the greatest danger, reborn from the very top to the very bottom. The ghost of defeat brought the army and the people closer together, and the army, like the ancient Antaeus, drew new strength by touching the earth. Past defeats were useful.

The muddy water caused by them had left the army only its healthy elements. There was a filtration of the command and the commissary; the ammunition supply, food, and clothes came more regularly, and what is most important, one general plan of action became for the first time visible in the command.

Taking advantage of the fact that the attack of Denikin was stopped for a while, and that on all other fronts, except in the north where an attempt had been made to reach Kotlas by way of the Dvina, everything was quiet, our command directed the full force of its blows at the enemy in the east.

Its plans was to push back the forces of General Dietrichs on the Ufa sector, and at the same time to sever his communications with Yekaterinburg, by pressure towards Sarapul and Krasnoufimsk. Then, if the operation was successful, the plan was to pass on and strategically surround both groups.

As far as the left wing of the White army is concerned it was first planned to restrict our operations to a frontal attack, so as to surround the White army on the Ural-Orenburg line.

The enemy had by this time spread considerably, centering his reserves partly behind his right wing and partly behind his center. The point of attack towards Krasnoufimsk was rather sparsely defended, and the attack was successful.

Without giving time to the enemy to regroup his forces, the Red column began to move forward towards the line of Yekaterinburg-Cheliabinsk, threatening the communications of both armies of the enemy, which were especially open to attack in the central sector. The enemy began to retreat, but could not succeed in doing so in an orderly manner, or by occupying one position of prepared defense after another, for the northern and central groups of the Red Army, seeing the moral and physical exhaustion of the enemy and the failure of his plan of attack caused by our victory at Krasnoufimsk, developed the maximum amount of energy in their attack. The quickly defeated White vanguard flowed swiftly backward, leaving the main forces open to attack. In turn they also, not being able to withstand our pressure, began to retreat slowly, trying to hold us back in a series of rearguard encounters mostly in the northern sector, where the development of the Krasnoufimsk wedge had put the enemy army in as bad a position as in the center.

Soon Ufa and Perm were recaptured, and then Yekaterinburg and Cheliabinsk.

With the capture of Ufa our command began to take strong measures against the southeast sector. Even before that we had attacked along both railroads towards Orenburg and Uralsk. Now a third group was moved from Sterlitamak and Verkhne-Uralsk in the north towards Orenburg and Orsk. This finished the matter. The end was hastened by a victory of the Turkestan Red Army which had defeated a White column defending the railroad from Orenburg to Tashkent.

The road to Turkestan and cotton was now open.

Only a small part of the local White Guards occupied the Trans-Caspian railroad, closing the way to Krasnovodsk. They are being cleaned out at present.

Meanwhile the operations of Denikin's army had become more and more real in their form. His central group seemed to be moving into the Don coal mine district, trying to cut off the Red troops near the sea of Azov by a left flank movement. At the same time they began to press strongly in the Don sector along the Kharkov-Balashov line with the clear purpose of attacking the Soviet armies on the southwest near Kamishin and Tsaritsin.

The plan of the enemy was to clear the central part of the Volga of Red troops, to take possession of it, and to enter into close communication with the Ural White army which still managed to hold its positions, resisting all our attacks. Having captured Kamishin and Tsaritsin the White Guards were not able to help the Ural army, which had already been forced by us to retreat, leaving Uralsk to us, and which had been defeated at Erikov by our left wing and was holding a line north of Alexandrov-Gai near Novo-Uzensk.

The successful manoeuver of the volunteer left wing column of our army saved the situation, leaving our command free of the worry of having to do with a united South Ural front, and with the possible loss of Saratov.

Just when the movements of Denikin's armies began to take form, and the armies of Admiral Kolchak had reached the zenith of their successes, that is, at the end of April and the beginning of May, the new attack of the enemy began to show on the northwest front, aimed at Petrograd.

Having decided to capture the capital, Yudenich took measures to weaken the unity of our position in the west and southwest of the city. With this goal in view the Finnish White guard group in the Murmansk sector began to press energetically along the eastern shore of Lake Ladoga in the direction of the northern branch of the railroad, thinking of capturing it at Zvanka, and then to move along the Nikolayevsk road, helping therewith the armies of Kolchak, especially his right wing. But after it had captured the Lodeynoye Field, it was stopped and forced to retreat.

The attempt of the White command to act in unity had failed.

Nevertheless, this attack which began with a strong blow at Yamburg, continued to develop favorably to the enemy. For many reasons which were given at that time in all newspapers, the Red columns were speedily retreating, especially north of the Baltic road. Soon the vanguard of the enemy was only thirty miles from the capital. The fortress of Krasnaya Gorka, captured by the counter-revolutionists was a great menace both to Kronstadt and the fleet. But it was this very fact that showed what little forces the White Guards had when they attempted their adventure. They did not possess the few necessary battalions to hold

Krasnaya Gorka, and the fortress was recaptured by us after a heavy artillery attack by our fleet, through the brave attack of a comparatively small number of sailors.

This success seemed to be the signal for an entire change in military affairs. The enemy began to retreat quickly before our blows. He managed to remain a short time at Yamburg, but was quickly driven from there, and later from Pskov, and had to satisfy himself with holding Narva and Gdov, wedging outwards a little between them towards the southeast and Luga.

Both sides held their positions for four months or until the new attack of General Rodziakno on Petrograd in the beginning of October.

Meanwhile conditions on the southern front were becoming more and more serious. Even at the end of May the strength and resources of Denikin were very apparent. It became self-evident that he would not stop with the capture of the Don Region, the Don coal mines, and the southern sea provinces, but that he would begin a general attack on the north, the northeast and the northwest, where Kharkov, Poltava, Voronezh, Yekaterinoslav and Kiev would serve him as stopping places.

Tired with its fighting of many months' duration and suffering besides from local partizanship, the Red Army began to retreat. The Kharkov sector gradually became open, especially in one place where the White army succeeded in driving a wedge into our positions a little outside the city. The further development of the White attack in this direction led them through Chuguev to Volochansk, and finally forced us to evacuate Kharkov. Soon after the enemy occupied Kursk, Yekaterinoslav, and a little later, Poltava, which was surrounded from the north in the neighborhood of Lebedin.

Having captured the central section of the Kiev-Voronezh railroad, and developing the success of the Poltava-Lebedin group, the command of the enemy decided to attack both Voronezh and Kiev.

The struggle for these cities, especially for Voronezh, was already of a more difficult nature, but the proportionate strength of the sides was such that we were forced to evacuate both cities.

The central White army continued its movement north on a wide front in the general direction of Bryansk, Orel, and Yelatz, that is, in the direction of the important railroad centers in central Russia.

Its advance was greatly helped by the continual cavalry raids of General Mamontov, who had broken our lines near Novokhopersk and Borisoglebsk, and who had attacked Tambov and Kozlov, and later moved north on Skopin, destroying railroads, and bringing disorganization into the work of our transport in the rear.

Notwithstanding this, the movement of the White Guard in the direction of Briansk-Orel-Yelatz was of an altogether different character from its advance on Kursk. It was at once noticeable that our enemy was growing weaker and more tired, and our military strength was increasing.

And although Orel fell finally, it was clear that this was due to the law of inertia, and a sort of unfitness on the part of our command in the matter of counter-attack. A change was imminent.

Orel, exactly like Voronezh, served as a dam that held back the White current. For a little while longer the enemy showed activity, trying to take Yeletz so as to attack the Red Army in the rear from Tambov and Penza, and to unite with the Voronezh column, which was attacking us in the direction of Kozlov, but these were merely last and unsuccessful efforts.

The Red Army had managed to fill its ranks with replacements, and having been regrouped, had passed from the defense to the attack on the wide front between Orel and Yeletz. At the same time the Soviet cavalry was sent to attack the enemy's cavalry vanguard near Voronezh.

The fact that we had torn the initiative from the hands of the enemy and that we were numerically superior, broke like lightning on the tired foe. Orel and Voronezh were taken by us in almost one day (October 20), and this moment saw a complete change in the nature of our operations.

Even the inspired attack of Rodzianko on Petrograd did not help Denikin. The capital lived through two or three weeks of danger, but the population was quiet and worked hard in putting the city into a state of defense, even fortifying the outlying suburbs, and then the enemy rolled back, even more swiftly than in May, before the blows of the garrison and of the replacements sent from the center. The reserves of our southern armies were untouched and continued to pursue their work.

After the capture of Orel and Voronezh, the Red Army began to move on Kursk from two sides—on the north, from the surrounding railroads, and on the east from Voronezh.

The enemy defended himself vigorously in all encounters, often passing into short energetic counter-attacks. But little by little, before our steady attacks, his forces were disorganized into separate groups and columns, and the fighting developed into a series of encounters between small detachments. Most of these encounters ended favorably to us. They allowed us to keep the advantage of the initiative and make use of manoeuvres on the field of battle.

The fall of Kursk, and then of Kharkov and Poltava, and our latest successes are the results of the numerous little victories of our independent columns, which are at once used to advantage by our command.

When the center of the enemy first trembled and then began to retreat, it dragged with it both wings, that of the Dnieper and that of the Don.

In both places the defensive strength of the enemy is broken. He is forced to evacuate a tremendous stretch of country, on one side covering the right frontier of Ukraine, and on the other the southern part of the Don region and the roads to Rostov and Tsaritsin, which are important to him strategically, for they guard the way to the

Caucasus. In the center the enemy is striving to defend the region of the Donetz and Yekaterinoslav, but without any success. Yekaterinoslav was taken by us on the last day of last year.

While the southern Red Army was living through a crisis, Soviet troops also had a hard time in the east, where they had passed Kurgan and Yalutorovsk.

Covering up with his rearguard, General Dietrichs collected new forces and moved them against our outspread and somewhat tired columns. The manoeuvre was successful. We were forced to retreat, but very little in all, a matter of sixty miles at the most. During this time, the Red Army, having succeeded in moving up its reserves, passed into a general attack on the whole front. It quickly defeated the columns of the enemy, and then captured Tobolsk, Ishim, and Petropavlovsk, and without giving the enemy any rest attacked in the direction of Omsk, which it took at the beginning of November.

This moment marks the beginning of a general pursuit of the enemy, who retreated eastward. We are pressing him continuously, taking a tremendous number of prisoners, cannon, machine guns, and an amount of war material and food that beggars all description.

In Nikolayevsk the downfall of the enemy was especially shown in high relief, when seventy separate detachments, and their senior staffs, refused the order to evacuate the city and surrendered to us.

At present in Siberia we are faced only by the pitiful remnants of the White armies, which are trying to organize the defense of Krasnoyarsk. The regions of Akmolinsk, Semipalatinsk and a part of the region of Semirechensk are already clean of White Guards.

In the great struggle that marked the last year, the Polish-Lithuanian front deserves a special place. Because of its central position between the armies of Yudenich and Denikin it could have played a great part, binding them into one complete unit; or it could at least have attempted to unite with one of them, for instance the southern army, in this way taking advantage of the moment when the latter was occupying Chernigov. But the Polish command did not try hard to unite with either of the White Guard leaders, being satisfied with operations on a small, provisional scale. Satisfied with its first successes, which enabled it to take the government of Minsk, and part of Vitebsk and Polotsk, the Polish-Lithuanian army remained in one place, allowing us to better conditions in case of having to conduct a general defense. This is the cause of the effort to take Dvinsk and move toward Polotsk, Vitebsk, and Mohilev.

During the past year, the Red Army lived through a great life. It may be said that during these twelve months it has been entirely reborn, having become, from the viewpoint of military organization, completely modernized, completely European, and even successful in developing new men for higher service.

England's Russian Policy

By KARL RADEK

[The following is a portion of an article appearing in "Pravda" (Moscow) on April 17, 1920. The first part, which is not printed here, deals with the internal alignment within the English social system, and is therefore not suitable for insertion in these columns. The portion here given is the main body and conclusion of the article.]

The interesting question now is that of the significance of the recent alteration in the English policy toward Soviet Russia. How shall we explain that just at the moment when the English bourgeoisie is preparing for the decisive struggle against the working class of England, it should make an effort to secure an understanding with Soviet Russia, the home of the revolution? Do not these facts involve a contradiction indicative of a lack of candor in the English hymns of peace? May we consider this to be a typical case of English cunning? If we may speak of a desire on the part of the English Government to conclude peace with us, there is no doubt that we must consider this desire as a mere manoeuvre; and that the English Government does not intend to secure a permanent peaceful relation with Soviet Russia. But if we do not consider the ultimate plans of the English Government, but merely put the question as to whether England intends in the most immediate future to follow a policy of peace with us, we may answer this question affirmatively. There is no doubt that the English Government is attempting to arrive at an understanding with Soviet Russia and to pave the way for peaceful relations with Soviet Russia. This policy in no way contradicts the internal policy of England, which is directed against the working-class of that country, but is closely related with that policy.

In England's struggle against Soviet Russia, in the period extending from the November revolution to the collapse of German imperialism, the dominant factors were not social in their nature. The object of England's struggle was to throttle the power in which England's imperialism beheld an alleged ally of German imperialism. Stupid as this assumption must seem, there is no doubt that the English Government seriously feared a conquest of Russia by German capital, with the tacit or open consent of the Soviet Government. For the English bourgeois, as we know, do not believe in the possibility of a permanent workers' and peasants' government in Russia. When English imperialism was freed from these fears by the collapse of German imperialism; when the conclusion of the war and the demobilization of the armies put social questions into the foreground; when the revolutionary ferment among the workers showed the English Government that even victorious nations are not immune from the danger of social upheavals;—at this moment the struggle against the Soviet power began to assume a character that was entirely social. The capitalist class of England decided to throttle Soviet Russia, the home of the world revolution. Lloyd George had already then doubted the possibility of an armed

victory over Soviet Russia, but the majority of the English bourgeoisie, blinded by hate and uncertainty, assumed the standpoint which was expressed by the former first Councillor of the English Embassy at Petrograd, Mr. Linley, in his letter to Lord Curzon, in the following words: "They must be treated as hangmen."

The crushing of Kolchak, Yudenich, and Denikin by the Red Army has proved to English capital that Lloyd George was entirely right when he opposed the adventure of armed intervention. The English bourgeoisie recognized that it would not succeed in suppressing the revolutionary center in the East. It therefore determined to utilize its powers to beat down the revolutionary forces that were gathering in its own house. If it is successful in this latter task, the time will not fail to arrive when relations with Soviet Russia may be subject to revision. From this standpoint the turn in the English foreign policy toward Soviet Russia may be militarily expressed as follows: Since the offensive against Soviet Russia may be said to have failed, to a certain extent, because of the fact that the English workers, the Allies of Soviet Russia, were active in the rear of English imperialism, English imperialism therefore wisely determined to create a powerful rear by means of a victory over the English working class, and to attain this victory—we are here dealing with an excellent example of the adaptability of England—English imperialism intends to utilize precisely its peaceful relations with Soviet Russia. The inauguration of peaceful relations is not only to quiet the English workers, who have united under the slogan "Hands off Soviet Russia!"; but must also become the means for the permanent pacification of the English proletariat. The chief cause of the peaceful character of the English workers' movement for the last decades was the low prices of the means of subsistence. In the few years preceding the war the increase in the cost of these materials also stimulated ferment among the English workers. The chief cause of the present revolutionary troubles in England is the rise in the cost of living since the conclusion of peace. One of the causes for this increased cost appears to be the American monopoly of grain and raw materials. Should English imperialism succeed in reorganizing the Russian transportation system, in obtaining in exchange for its industrial protection cheap grain from Russia, it thus hopes to overcome the revolutionary crisis at home. Now, it is possible that the leaders of English imperialism are asking whether this understanding will not strengthen revolutionary Russia. This question, which has been put to Lloyd George by a portion

of the bourgeois press, is answered by him in terms about corresponding to the following: "No permanent system can be built on a Communist foundation. It is only on the basis of private property and private initiative that society can endure. The danger of the Communist opposition does not therefore lie in the fact that Communism may replace capitalist society for ever. The danger lies in the devastations of the revolutionary period. But after this period of devastation, every country will return to capitalism. Russia also will come back to capitalism, and its return will be all the faster if it speedily enters into commercial relations with the capitalist world. In the concentrated factories the capitalists of foreign countries will prove to the Russian workers that capitalism is better than Communism. When the blockade is removed, trade will be carried on not only with the Government of Soviet Russia; secret traders will create a secret system of trade with foreign capital, and this will destroy the whole economic policy of the Soviet power. And if the Soviet power, not defeated by force of arms, should

not succumb in the peaceful economic struggle, it will nevertheless have to transform itself entirely and become a power that unites the interests of the capitalist farmer with those of the worker on the basis of a commodity economy. In this way we may enter into a peace with Soviet Russia with hopes for victory not only over the English revolution, but also over the Russian revolution."

Such are the thoughts of the leaders of English imperialism when they enter into relations with us. As it is not our task to educate England's ministers, we may relinquish the pleasure of criticizing their views, which we have merely cited in order to reveal to our readers the causes of the English peace policy toward Russia.

The English peace is the continuation of the English war against Soviet Russia, by the use of economic means. The possibility of a victory or of a defeat of this English policy depends upon the rapidity with which capitalist economy disintegrates in England, and on the rate of the organization with which Communist economy in Russia is accomplished.

Art and the Bolsheviks

(From "*La Vie Ouvriere*"—June 4)

WE ARE quite familiar with the policy of the capitalist press in its attempt to deceive the people by repeating that the Bolsheviks are barbarians and a menace to civilization, and by spreading stories of the destruction of works of art, museums, etc. Whenever there is danger that a ray of truth will shine through, all conceivable means are used to repress it. Therefore, we need not be surprised at the refusal of the Institute to enter in its report the communication of Victor Henry, which gives a very truthful account of the progress of education in Russia under the Bolsheviks.

But in spite of everything, the despised truth was brought to light. In the May 15 issue of the *Art Life Bulletin*, a paper which can hardly be accused of any subversive tendencies, Felix Fenelon describes a conversation which he had with M. Ivan Morozov, a wealthy cotton spinner, who before the war, had gathered a world famous collection of modern pictures. About a year ago he left Russia, where he had been staying for five and a half years. He describes in these words the fate of his collection:

"It is intact. Not one of the 430 Russian paintings or the 240 French paintings has been harmed. The collection has never been removed from the palace where I kept it. But it has been nationalized, like my factories, and it is the 'Second Museum of Western Art.'

"The first is made up of a number of French paintings, collected by our mutual friend Sergius Shchukin, and his daughter, Mme. Yekaterina Keller, is in charge of it.

"The government placed Boris Ternovetz, the noted sculptor, in charge of my collection, and

appointed me associate director, turning three rooms over to me, and opening up the rest of the building to the public. It was, as a matter of fact, an extension of my own system: in the days of the Czar, I had opened the doors to the public every Sunday morning, and on all other days except Monday artists and critics were admitted under very slight restrictions. As associate director, I had to make out an explanatory catalogue, and give some lectures to the visitors. Yekaterina Sergeevna did the same thing in her father's museum. It was a pleasure to us to praise the work of your country. The pictures were there, in illustration of our talks, and our audience did not lack appreciation.

"Even at this stage of the dictatorship of the proletariat, artists are considered by the government as workers occupied in useful occupations. This of course enables them to make great headway. In Moscow, during the winter of 1918-1919, which was the last that I passed at the capital, an art committee of the extreme left organized no less than ten expositions, illustrating various tendencies in art.

"Trotsky's wife is in charge of a committee, the work of which will be better understood by an illustration. In more than one part of the Republic there was danger that the pictures, statues, and other objects of historical and aesthetic value might suffer injury through popular riots or in the general confusion caused by the movement of troops. At the request of the owners, or by government authority, in cases where the owners were negligent or had moved out, Madame Trotsky's committee, with the aid of competent commissions,

took them to Moscow. There, a systematic inventory was taken of them, and they were placed on exhibition. In this way, many great works hitherto unknown were brought to light.

"This activity may be said to be the result of individual initiative, but it was often started, and always aided by Lunacharsky and his associates. This work was included in his services as People's Commissar of Public Education and Fine Arts.

"It has been claimed that the Petrograd muzhiks made great rents in the Rembrandt pictures at 'The Hermitage.' The muzhiks are not so stupid. I know of no case, in Petrograd or elsewhere, in which any museum has been harmed. The principle works of the 'Hermitage' were taken to Moscow some time ago, when the fall of Petrograd was predicted. They are now at the Kremlin, waiting to be carried back. The Louvre took such precautions in 1914 and 1918.

"As for the Tretyakov Museum, it is in good condition.* The form and subject matter have received most careful attention, and the signatures are stereotyped . . .

"Couldn't some Bolsheviki be brought to the Louvre, where so many catalogues date back half a century or more, and where there is nothing to guide and inform the public in the midst of that great accumulation of works of art?"

Felix Fenelon ends this interview, which contains many other interesting details, by saying that he did not ask Mr. Morozov's opinion on the political situation of his country. And he adds, with that tone of sarcasm so characteristic of him: "Sufficient light is thrown on this subject by the western press, which is always so well informed."

THE MUSEUM OF THE REVOLUTION

[The following article is taken from "Pravda," Petrograd, January 13, 1920.]

THE opening of the Museum of the Revolution took place on the 11th of January at the Palace of Art.

The vast hall of the Palace was crowded with people. The hall was beautifully decorated and adorned with portraits of the "Decembrists" and a few of the other more important leaders and active participants of the Russian movement.

The solemn session was opened with the speech of Comrade Zinoviev, who outlined before the assembly the aim and the problems of this museum.

Comrade Zinoviev touched in his speech upon the last smashing victories of our Red Army and pointed out that the opening of the Museum of the Revolution coincided with the fall of the last citadel of the counter-revolution, Rostov-on-Don.

It did not happen by accident. Therein lay a deep symbol predicting the early end of the bloody war; this will enable the Soviet Government to take up peaceful reconstruction work and new

* Its former catalogue was brief and inexact. The new director, Igor Grabar, has made one which is more complete.

cultural pursuits. Then the speaker characterized the first workers of the Russian revolutionary movement, beginning with the "Decembrists" and ending with the last victims of the counter-revolutionary terror, Comrades Volodarsky and Uritsky; he suggested honoring their memory.

In the conclusion Comrade Zinoviev spoke about the Museum of Revolution established in Paris, in memory of the Revolution of 1789; he made it clear that our museum will justify its own existence only if it will meet the support and cooperation of society as a whole and of the working masses in particular.

Then V. V. Vodovosov had the floor; he gave a brief review of the movement of "Decembrists" and pointed out the significance of this movement on the future development of Russian social and political life.

P. E. Shchegolev also talked about the movement of the "Decemberists." This speaker emphasized one detail of that movement, i. e., the revolt of the Chernigov division, which took place on January 3, 1826, and the part the soldiers took in this revolt.

M. V. Novorussky, who spoke later, pointed out the problems involved in establishing the museum and asked that every possible assistance be given it.

Comrade Lunacharsky devoted his report to the characteristics of the leaders and workers of the "Decembrist" movement.

Comrade Zinoviev made the final speech; he announced among other things that the next session of the museum would take place on January 21 and would be dedicated to the memory of Herzen.

Comrade Zinoviev also advised that the question of erecting a monument at the Senatsky square in memory of the "Decembrists" was under consideration and that until this monument was erected a corresponding poster would be placed on that square.

V. D. VILENSKY

An Envoy of Soviet Russia for Peace-Negotiations With America.

Russian newspapers state that V. D. Vilensky, who is now in Vladivostok, is authorized by the Soviet Government to carry on peace negotiations with the United States Government.

In the year 1918 Vilensky, who was then a Social-Democrat-Internationalist, became a member of the Siberian Central Committee (Centersibir).

In Irkutsk Vilensky was a member of the Supply Commissariat of the Centersibir. In the summer of 1918, after the evacuation of the Centersibir to Verkhne-Udinsk, Vilensky was despatched to Blagoveschensk for the establishment of a single united monetary system for Siberia and the Far East.

With the fall of Soviet power in Siberia and the Far East, Vilensky succeeded in breaking through to the West and reaching Soviet Russia, as representative of which he now appears.

Organization of Labor in Soviet Russia

I.

ORGANIZATION OF WORKING CONDITIONS

The principal committee of general obligatory work on the 26th of February addressed the following appeal to all workers, laborers and honest citizens:

Comrades and Citizens! The Soviet Republic, having repulsed by armed force the attack of the generals, the barons, the princes, the proprietors, the foreign and Russian capitalists, must without a minute's loss take to the regeneration of its national economy. Stubborn, heroic and energetic labor is the chief task of the present moment. The workers in the cities and some in the country are perishing of famine. The railroads are scarcely operating. The houses are destroyed, the cities filled with dirt, epidemics are everywhere abroad, death reaps right and left, industry is annihilated. The war, the blockade, the assaults of the world counter-revolution, and the uninterrupted internal plots of the rich have accomplished their designs. There is no escape in free speculation. That is an issue for isolated speculators and for the destroyers of the people. It is an issue for the rich and a knot for the poor. There is no escape in the utilization of old reserves, they are exhausted, lacking, there are no more.

The only issue now consists in labor.

To aid industry to recover and to revive those who are dying of cold, to prevent the entire destruction of our buildings, we must find and gather fuel.

Each repaired locomotive represents a hundred infants saved from starvation. Every ton of dirt removed prevents the death of several citizens from contagious diseases. Every kilometer of cleared railroad means bread for the hungry. A great problem is before the working republic: to recover from misery, from filth and disease, attain the heights, and create with its own hands living conditions worthy of humanity.

The working people will accomplish it.

Compulsory labor—that is the word for us. Our aim is the creation of an army of several million workers, a creative army which by dint of stubborn labor will cause to arise out of chaos and ruin a magnificent future. The czars, oppressors of the people, constructed pyramids, dug canals, drained the marshes by means of the efforts of millions of slaves. Is it possible that the working class will not perform miracles for themselves, in their own interest, and to save themselves from destruction? They will do it! They have defeated their adversaries decorated with decorations and ribbons, they will not fall before cold and misery. They will stretch their muscles. They will communicate to the others their desire for work, they will set an example, they will drag along with them by force all who will oppose them.

It does not matter what the duty of each citizen is, for all who desert their work despoil the children, increase famine and kill the citizens.

For this reason the most important organizations of the Soviet State created the Principal Committee of Compulsory Labor, which was given the task of organizing general obligatory work, directing all forces for the construction of a new future, leading all the other people in the war against popular calamities. The Principal Committee will be in a position to accomplish this task provided that it is supported by the large masses. It is the business of all honest citizens, for all are interested in destroying typhus. Citizens capable of working ought all to be registered, enrolled, and distributed in accordance with their professions, just as for a war against the enemy. All the forces must be enrolled in order to be utilized effectively. For the war against misery and death all forces must be arranged and inventoried in order to create grand, strong, heroic armies which, with banners unfurled, will attack ruin, typhus, cold, the disorganization of the means of transport, and famine.

A genuine rising in force of the entire people must be organized. Even invalids must do their part in the work of general salvage. As soon as a dangerous situation is discovered reserve forces must be thrown in. We shall conquer ruin, we shall reach the end of our misfortunes on the entire front. Comrades and citizens! Let there be no Soviet institution without a committee of compulsory labor. An organization of compulsory labor should be found in every factory, in every shop, in every office, in every inhabited house, in all the factory and shop committees, and in the house committees. Come to the aid of the district, city, and provincial committees. Through the medium of these committees supervise the putting into practice of compulsory labor.

The duty and honor of each one consists in being at his post. We must have no deserters from work. All the parasites who at the moment of danger prefer to abandon their work and speculate upon the sufferings of the hungry will be collared by the proletariat and assigned to the most difficult labor. If we have a proletarian discipline of iron, we shall transform, repair, adjust, heal, and construct all that is necessary. Every committee must in its place put this discipline into practice, it must see to it that each does his duty by working, and that each applies his work in a manner conforming to the end in view.

II.

THE NEW LABOR ARMY

The Council of Workers' and Peasants Defence on the 11th of February adopted the following resolution:

For the purpose of improving the transport in the system of railroads of the Southwest, the Council of Workers' and Peasants' Defense has resolved

to utilize all the forces and means of the Second Army of the Republic for the improvement of the transport in the railway system of the Southwest, as well as for increased production in the work of repairing locomotives and railway trains.

In all questions of a purely military character the Revolutionary Council of the army reserves all its rights and the old order of subordination.

The Revolutionary Council of the Second Army must take all necessary measures so that the military units in the rear of the army and all workers laboring in the sphere of activity of the Second Army may be provisioned on the same basis as the soldiers of the Red Army forming part of the units in the rear of the army.

To this end the provisioning system of the Second Army must be utilized whenever there is need for it.

III.

INAUGURATION OF THE BRIDGE OVER THE KAMA RIVER

As a result of the activities of the reserve army, transformed into a revolutionary labor army, the bridge over the Kama river, destroyed by the White Guard, was reconstructed two months before the date fixed for its completion. On February 17 the opening of the Kama bridge was solemnly inaugurated in the presence of workers' regiments, the Fourth Construction Brigade, the delegate of the provincial Soviet assembly, and a great public gathering. A train bearing the persons taking part in the inauguration crossed the bridge acclaimed by a great hurrah from the assistants and saluted by the band playing the Internationale.

The People's Commissary of Ways of Communication, Comrade Krassin, expressed his gratitude in the name of Soviet Russia to all who had participated in the work of reconstructing the demolished bridge.

IV.

THE LABOR BULLETIN

The General Staffs of the revolutionary laboring armies publish daily labor bulletins giving figures relating to the work of the armies performed in the preceding twenty-four hours.

The journal entitled *News of the Russian Central Executive Committee* expresses itself in the following manner with regard to the importance of these bulletins:

"Consider the labor bulletins. Did ever anything of the kind exist? History has known immense armies, armed from head to foot. It has known slave troops working till exhausted under the whips of their executioner masters, troops which built the pyramids of the pharaohs. But history has never known labor armies working with internal discipline, reliability, and punctuality; armies having at their head the best, the most devoted representatives of the working class.

"Every army has destroyed the economy of the

country directly or indirectly. Even the Red proletarian and workers' army cost the Russian people dearly. One cannot dispense with it. Without it all is lost. But nevertheless it has produced nothing. The labor army does produce. A bulletin of the military armies speaks of the capture of cities and villages, the number of the enemy killed, the number of cannon taken. The bulletin of the labor armies speaks of the quantity of wood cut or loaded, the number of versts of railroad cleared; it communicates the amount of coal, slate, or peat extracted, and the amount of wheat accumulated.

"The military problems of the armies of war stated that it was necessary to occupy such or such a village, city, mountain, or valley. The 'orders of the day' for the military armies give similar commands.

"The problems and orders of the laboring armies are: 'cleave,' 'carry,' 'load,' 'repair,' 'clear away.'

"The means of battle for a military army are: cannon, rifle, machine-gun, powder and dynamite. The means for a laboring army are: the hammer, shovel, saw, axe, machine."

V.

THE POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE OF THE LABOR ARMY

The transformation of the military armies into a labor army solves the question of the organization of a polytechnic institute for the Red soldiers, similar to the institute for the workers. The military technical courses which prepare technical workers for the labor armies now constitute this institute for the Red Army.

These courses are separated into the following specialties: the section of automobiles and railroads, mechanical and ways of communication section, the telegraphic and telephonic section, and the section of sanitary construction.

VI.

CURTAILMENT OF STUDIES FOR ENGINEERING STUDENTS

In view of the transformation of the Red Army into a labor army, and the necessity of having included in the latter engineers with a fundamental knowledge of their profession, the Polytechnic Institute of Petrograd decided to accelerate the studies for turning out engineers in accordance with an abridged program with the elimination of several subjects for the students able to complete their studies not later than the 19th of May, 1920.

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SOVIET RUSSIA

Official Organ of the
RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT BUREAU
110 West 40th Street New York, N. Y.

This weekly will carry articles by members of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau as well as by friends and supporters of Soviet Russia. Full responsibility is assumed by the Bureau only for unsigned articles.

A GENTLEMAN described by the New York *Times* as "an architect and former President of the American-Scandinavian Society," and more recently United States Commissioner to the Baltic Provinces, returns to America to find "an appalling indifference on the part of the people of this country toward the danger that threatens them from Soviet Russia." The exact nature of that danger is not quite clear from the subsequent remarks of the former Commissioner. He is positive that the Communist Government, failing to establish trade relations with the outside world, will fall within three months. (We ask our readers to mark the date on their calendars.) Transportation, he reports, is in utter collapse; industry and agriculture are paralyzed. The army deserts "in droves," and the rumor that General Brussilov is field commander is "Soviet propaganda." Under these conditions, we fail to understand why anyone should be "appalled" at the prevailing indifference towards the danger from Soviet Russia. The danger does not seem very formidable—not to America, at any rate. We can understand that the Polish Government, perhaps, might still have some cause for alarm, in spite of this reassuring picture of a demoralized Red Army. The explanation that Russia is "using Brussilov as a figure-head, while the real leader is Trotsky," will scarcely revive the flagging zeal of the Polish army, the less since Trotsky, himself, is described in the same report as "one of the world's greatest administrators." But the position of Poland, for a moment, is peculiar. Other peoples appear to share the indifference of Americans towards the dangers threatening from Soviet Russia. Even in the Baltic Provinces, where the Commissioner learned all about Russia, there is no great alarm. Esthonia has concluded a treaty with the Soviet Government, and Latvia and Lithuania, he reports, are preparing to do the same. In Esthonia it is possible to keep in "close touch" with Russia and to know the truth about the collapse of transportation and industry, because "for several months there has been direct rail communication between Esthonia, and Petrograd and Moscow." The Bolsheviki are a strange lot! With industry and transportation in collapse, with nothing whatsoever to export, they whimsically insist upon main-

taining direct train service between Moscow and Reval. The ex-Commissioner offers no explanation for this odd caprice.

It is a bewildering report. We fear it will leave the readers of the *Times* somewhat confused, and perhaps still indifferent to the dangers threatening from Russia.

WITH loud denials of any intention of "recognizing" the wicked Bolsheviki, the allied premiers at Boulogne told Lloyd George to run back to London and continue his discussions with Krassin. M. Millerand returned to the Chamber of Deputies to undertake a task described by the correspondents as "defining the French Government's position with regard to Soviet Russia." France, said the Premier, would never, never recognize the Soviet Government—or at least certainly not until it promised to pay the Czar's debts. M. Millerand, we are told, spoke "as forcibly as on previous occasions." But to the correspondents, lingering in the corridors of the Chamber it was whispered that "a new promise to pay the Russian debt to France will go far toward smoothing the way for the opening of negotiations." On the same day Premier Giolitti received an ovation in the Italian Chamber when he announced the intention of the Italian Government to resume relations with Russia without delay. Meanwhile, the negotiations between Litvinov and Danish officials have resulted in the organization of an international clearing house in Copenhagen for the establishment of commerce with Russia. No one need imagine that the Danish Government took this step without the specific approval of the greater powers.

It is not surprising that Chicherin's recent report upon the policy of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs received the unanimous approval of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. In spite of the hostility and treachery of the capitalist powers, reported Chicherin, the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs had never ceased striving to prevent the further shedding of blood of Russian peasants and workers. Events will soon demonstrate that the confidence expressed by the Central Executive Committee in this policy was not misplaced. The Red Army has convinced the European powers of the futility of war against Soviet Russia. The European rulers are preparing to accept the only alternative.

THE following notice appeared in a prominent place on the first page of the *Krasnoye Znamya* (The Red Flag) of Vladivostok, in its issue of May 12:

The crew of the ice-cutter *Baikal* announce to relatives and friends that a requiem mass will be celebrated at the Intercession Cemetery at 3 P. M., on May 15, this being the 40th day since the death of the third mate, Anatoly Andreyevich Turumin.

The *Krasnoye Znamya* is the official organ of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Vladivostok; Notwithstanding the oppression of the Orthodox Greek Catholic Church by the unspeakable Bol-

shhevik, whereof we have read so much, the official organ of their party somehow has no objection to announcing in its columns the service of a requiem mass at the Cemetery of the Intercession of the Holy Virgin. And the mates of the deceased sailor apparently considered the Communist organ a good medium for apprising his relatives and friends of the church services which were to be held for the peace of his soul on the fortieth day after his demise.

* * *

THE MONTHLY LABOR REVIEW issued by the United States Department of Labor (Bureau of Labor Statistics, Royal Meeker, Commissioner), publishes in its April, 1920, issue a good summary of the Labor Laws of Soviet Russia, as originally printed in SOVIET RUSSIA for February 21, 1920, and since issued by us in pamphlet form. The summary, which will be found on pp. 210-214 of the issue mentioned, concludes with the words:

"The absolutely dominating nature of these regulations is shown by the following preliminary article:

"IV. All labor agreements previously entered into, as well as all those which will be entered into in the future, in so far as they contradict the regulations of this code, shall not be considered valid or obligatory, either for the employes or for the employers."

This is the only article of the laws that is quoted in the summary given in the *Labor Review*, and it is one whose importance should not be underrated. It indicates, as the *Review* does not fail to point out, that the Labor Laws are intended to have absolute validity all over Russia, and to supersede all previous and merely local arrangements. The Labor Laws may be considered as a broadly and profoundly national document, replacing and dominating all other similar documents in Russia, in about the same way as the Constitution of the United States supersedes and takes precedence of local and State measures.

* * *

ENCYCLOPEDIAS are great slowly-moving engines of learning. They admit to their columns information that has already had time to season, and, let us hope, be freed from its chaff. It is therefore perhaps well that the encyclopedias have not yet given much space to Russian subjects—as far as events after the revolution of November, 1917, are concerned. *Nelson's Loose Leaf Encyclopedia* had an interesting article on "Bolshevism," by Professor Nicholas Hourwich, in a recent edition, but has unfortunately substituted for it a rather poor "study" on the same subject, written, in the current number of newspaper misrepresentation by a person very much less fully informed. One encyclopedic work, however, the *Encyclopedia Americana*, seems to be ready to include truthful articles on Soviet Russia, and, in the volumes that have thus far appeared (1-27) has at least three articles that are of interest to the student of revolutionary Russia; they are on Lenin, Trotsky, and Plekhanov. All three should have been longer and more complete, but they are

truthful and unprejudiced, and that is saying a good deal in these days when much that is Russian is misrepresented. Unfortunately, counter-revolutionary spellings are sometimes retained: thus, Lenin appeared under his strange French pseudonym of "Lenine." We note that the agitational organs of posthumously recognized Czarist ambassadors still make use of the spelling "Lenine," and therefore feel justified in calling it counter-revolutionary.

STATEMENT OF THE BUREAU

New York, June 18, 1920.

L. C. MARTENS, Representative of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, yesterday filed with the Department of Labor in Washington a sworn statement giving his reasons for having declined to answer the long list of questions put to him in the course of the hearings in the deportation proceedings conducted by an Inspector of Immigration.

Recalling that he had been under constant investigation during the past twelve months by various local and Federal officials and committees, Mr. Martens said: "Upon the completion of the investigation by the Senate Committee I concluded that no further benefit could be derived, either for my Government or for the Government and people of the United States, from endless repetition of the interrogation to which I have submitted during the past year.

"Common sense and the privileges adhering to my official status both dictated that I should stand upon the comprehensive statements which I have already made under oath, covering every pertinent phase of my official mission and my personal activities. The official record of my testimony before the Senate Committee, together with various documents attached thereto, are in evidence in this inquiry now being conducted by the Department of Labor. No essential facts could be added thereto by any further testimony of mine. By standing on this record, I have withheld no important information, but have expedited these proceedings by avoiding unnecessary repetitions of testimony and fruitless excursions into matters of a purely speculative and argumentative nature. My declination to answer questions put to me during the course of the hearing conducted by an Inspector of Immigration was further impelled by the fact, of which I was advised by counsel, that these hearings were irregular, inasmuch as I was not afforded an opportunity, previous to the hearings, to examine the evidence upon which the warrant for my arrest was obtained, as is provided by the rule of the Department covering these cases."

The statement filed by Mr. Martens then reviewed his testimony given before the subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in which his Russian citizenship and his official status as the accredited Representative of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic were established and have never been disputed.

Referring to his attendance at several public meetings in New York City, a matter which has been the subject of special attention in the course of these investigations, Mr. Martens reviewed the circumstances surrounding those meetings, which had been arranged upon various occasions for the

purpose of extending greetings and sympathy to Mr. Martens and his Government.

It was a natural circumstance, said Mr. Martens, that most of these meetings were held under Socialist auspices. "I represent a Socialist Government. It is natural that Socialists in America should be particularly interested in my mission, and that they should have been the first to extend sympathetic greetings of encouragement to me."

"In this respect," Mr. Martens pointed out, "the meetings arranged to greet me as the representative of the Government of revolutionary Russia did not differ from the public reception tendered to my predecessor, Mr. Boris Bakhmetiev, when he visited New York for the first time as the representative of the former Provisional Government of Russia. The *New York Call*, a Socialist newspaper, in its issue of July 8, 1917, describing the reception tendered to Mr. Bakhmetiev at a mass meeting at Madison Square Garden, July 7, 1917, said: 'Twenty thousand American Socialists and radicals . . . welcomed the Ambassador of Free Russia.' The Chairman of that meeting, Rutenberg, was a veteran of the Russian Social Revolutionary Party, who had stated in the public press of Russia that he had organized the conspiracy for the assassination of priest Gapon, who had betrayed the revolutionary party to the Czar's Government. The principal speaker at that meeting was Abraham Cahan, the editor of a prominent Socialist paper in New York, and addresses were made by various representatives of the Russian revolutionary parties."

"Describing the meeting attended by Mr. Bakhmetiev at Madison Square Garden on July 7, 1918, the *New York Call* said: 'Many banners with inscriptions were hung in the hall. Some of them were carried by delegations. Practically all of them were in Russian script. One in English read: "We demand the release of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman." Another read: "We demand the release of political prisoners in America." Still another called for the release of Louis Kramer and Morris Becker, convicted recently of anti-draft activities. Some of the banners in Russian read "Friends of American Freedom"; "The Earth for the People"; "In the Battle You'll Get Your Rights" (the slogan of revolutionary Russia for half a century); "Greetings to the International." The Socialist banners reading, "Workers of the World Unite," were scattered in profusion through the hall."

"It must be borne in mind," said Mr. Martens, "that Mr. Bakhmetiev was then the recognized representative of the Provisional Government of Russia and is still certified by the State Department to be the recognized representative of the Russian Republic. His attendance at a public meeting of American Socialists and 'Radicals', presided over and addressed by Russian revolutionists, is apparently not considered objectionable by the State Department of the United States."

Regarding his own political opinions, Mr. Martens stated: "I have been frank and explicit. I have testified that I believe in the basic principles of the Communist Party of Russia and of the Third Internationale. I am the Representative of a Nation of which the majority is the Communist Party.

"I am not a member of any political organization anywhere in the world. I am not now, and never have been, a member of the Russian Socialist Federation, nor of the Communist Party of America, nor of the Communist Labor Party of

America, nor of any other political organization in America. I am not even a member of the Communist Party of Russia, to the principles of which I subscribe, because this party was organized after I had left Russia and it has been impossible for me to apply for and receive membership therein."

RUSSIA'S PEACE PROPOSAL TO FINLAND

According to Petrograd papers the radio in which Chicherin on May 11 proposed peace negotiations to the Government of Finland is in the following terms:

The negotiations begun between Russia and Finland at Systerbeck, which were intended to result in an armistice between the two states, encountered serious difficulty. A closer examination of this difficulty has shown that it lay in the very nature of the negotiations to lead to such a result. As an armistice is not a definite peace, Finland laid claim to measures of military security which the other party to the negotiations was not to approve. On the other hand, the conclusion of a definitive peace would result in the elimination of all such demands dictated by the accidental military considerations.

On the other hand, it was impossible to draw a sharp distinction between the views which were of military nature and those that were of political nature; and such questions would be numerous in definitive peace negotiations. The conditions treated in negotiations at Systerbeck, for an armistice, could not be viewed from the standpoint of a definitive peace, to which an armistice should only have been a preliminary step. These conditions made the sharp difference of opinion on military matters even more complicated. In addition, it was not possible at the negotiations, which only aimed at an armistice, to make mutual concessions to such an extent as would be possible in negotiations for definitive peace. The experience gained in the negotiations at Systerbeck therefore shows that the difference of opinion between Russia and Finland might easily be overcome by the conclusion of peace which would bring about the existence of an understanding between the two states. In consideration of these experiences the Russian Government is of the opinion that the time has come to proceed together with the people of Finland to negotiations of peace, and formally admonishes the government of Finland to begin negotiations with Russia concerning the conclusion of a treaty of peace between the two countries.

THE FIRST OF MAY IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Moscow, May 4.—The greater part of the population of Russia took part in the celebration of May Day. The people in many important industries worked throughout the day; for example, in Saratov, out of a total of 80,000 workmen, 70,000 remained at work.

Station of the Moscow-Briansk Railway at Moscow from which the troops were dispatched to the front.

Reserve troops of the Red Army leaving for the front.

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Those Whom the Blockade Tried to Starve

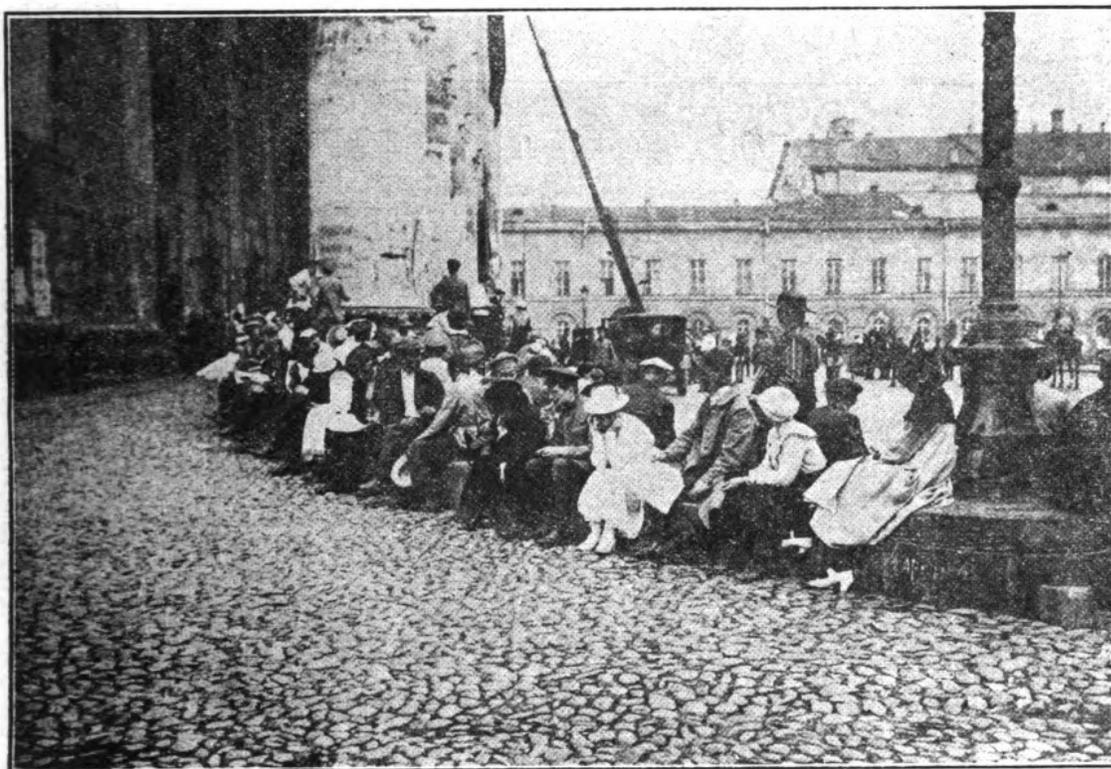
Children's holiday in a village of Pirogov County, near Moscow. Due to the blockade, the children in Soviet Russia have to do without toys, using their caps. The teacher is watching their game.

The Soviet Government pays particular attention to the children. The best food is kept for the coming generation of Russia. The children in this picture look clean, well fed, and show good manners.

Patriarch Tikhon, the present head of the Russian Church, who recently issued a pastoral letter to the clergy in favor of the Soviet Government. The Patriarch is wearing a golden crown ornate with precious stones. The picture was taken at the Nikolsk Gates, in the Moscow Kremlin.

The unearthing of the relics of St. Tikhon from the Don. The picture shows a human skull amidst the vestments of the saint. The abuses of some unscrupulous clergymen who were exploiting the religious sentiments of the masses for their own ends, led to the unearthing of a number of relics.

When Petlura with his bands appeared in Ukraine thousands of Ukrainians looked for refuge in Soviet Russia. Since the occupation of Ukraine by the Soviet Army, the refugees have gradually been returning to their native land. Here a group of Ukrainians are awaiting their permits to leave Soviet Russia for Soviet Ukraine, in front of the Ukrainian Immigration Office in Moscow.



The Fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets in Moscow. Members of the Congress resting outside the building during an intermission.



The Fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets in Moscow. The people are eager to get the news of the day's proceedings.



The Military Section on Printed Propaganda of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee is here shown busy supplying the army with literature. Many special cars are used for this purpose. On the car shown above is written: "All for the Workers. All for those who work." "The Communist Party of the Bolsheviks is at the head of the Revolutionary Proletariat; The Red Army is its armed hand, let them be forever a common body. The Red soldier knows only the truth of what is happening in Russia and in spite of bad or good news he is conscientiously doing his duty."



A train with literature for the men at the front. The car bears the inscription: "Military Literature from the Publishing Department of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee."



The berry markets in the street of Moscow. Russia is very rich in all kinds of berries, and even the blockade did not prevent them from growing. The merchants speculators look contented in spite of Soviet rule.



Public Dining Room No. 1 of the "Committee of Public Food Distribution" in Moscow, where food is being rationed because of the blockade.



All the Russian theatres are under the control of the Soviet Government which supervises performances and maintains order. Here is Comrade Strinsak, the commandant of the "Great Theatre" of Moscow.



On the "Square of Revolution" meetings are often held. The picture shows a soldier orator speaking to a crowd from the top of an armored car. The people listen to his appeal, keeping good order—a strange sight in old Russia.

Press Cuttings

GERMAN AUSTRIA AND RUSSIA

Very soon there will hardly be any court left in Europe which will not have been visited by our Chancellor of State, Renner, who bears the Papal blessings. Whenever the need arises for assuring some capitalist robber-clique of the friendship of the Austrian Republic, the government of Vienna immediately present itself for duty. Representatives of the trusts, of the Pope, bankers, whether from Italy, Jugo-Slavia, Czecho-Slovakia, let them all come to us, say the wise men of the Vienna government. The Social-Democratic heroes of the Coalition have an unshakable faith in world Capitalism. But they will not bear any mention of Soviet Russia, they will not hear of resuming trade relations with her. Our glorious halting republic is the only country in Europe which has no trade relations with Russia. The Social-Democrats have invented the most stupid tales to prevent the working classes from sending representatives to Russia. They declare that the way to Moscow is too long, and that Russia cannot produce anything. As a matter of fact, we know that Spain is much farther away from Russia than Austria, but nevertheless, the Havas Official Telegraph Agency reports the following news from Madrid: "There is a Commission leaving for Russia, composed of representatives of the government, the employing classes, and the working classes, respectively. The object of sending this Commission, is to study the social, political, and economic conditions of Soviet Russia. Fernandez Rios is participating in this Commission, as a representative of the working classes." England, France, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Germany, and Italy already have official relations with Moscow. The statement that Russia has no goods to export is baseless and false. Already the first shipment of Russian goods has been delivered in Italy. There is a regular trade going on between Italy and Russia. We are on the best of terms with Horthy, supply him with ammunitions to his heart's content and we have stretched out the hand of friendship to the White Guards of Poland; but no notice is taken of the existence of Soviet Russia; the Austrian Social-Democrats have a marvelously worthless and beggarly foreign policy—the foreign policy of the Coalition.—From a recent number of *Die Rote Fahne*.

SOVIET RUSSIA AND CHINA

The representatives of Soviet Russia and China have entered into an agreement on the exchange of goods. Freedom of transportation is guaranteed. The Chinese supply Russia with leather, clothing, sewing thread, and tea in exchange for articles of prime necessity.—*Krasnoye Znamya*, Vladivostok, May 14, 1920.

INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT OF POLAND

By HENRY BERNARD.

Poland is bankrupt and no longer capable of producing her own food. She is forced to acquire food-stuffs from other countries, and, since she is bankrupt, she can only get them on credit or trust. No country would think of supplying another country with goods on credit, unless there existed a good guarantee that within a stipulated time payment would be made in cash or its equivalent. The latter may take the form of goods for *services rendered*. Poland's position is such that she will be unable for a very long time to come to meet her bills either in cash or in kind. Consequently, she has agreed to discharge her liabilities, at least in part, by *rendering services* to her creditors. She has agreed to work off her debt: to become a menial to the great powers who now are literally her bread-masters. She is rendering this service by launching an attack on Soviet Russia. There exists no other explanation of her much boomed "Big Offensive." In the first place, let us consider if Poland is actually bankrupt and poverty-stricken.

Poland is primarily an agricultural country. Prior to the war those territories which now compose the "independent" States of Poland yielded average production of six to six and a half millions tons per year, two millions tons of which she exported. Today Poland cannot export two million tons per year: She cannot even produce the pre-war four to four and a half million tons for home consumption.

I will prove the statement by submitting the testimony of the greatest authority in the matter, namely, no less a personage than the Polish Food Minister. In an official statement he announced that, if *all existing stores of grain were commandeered by the Ministry of Food, Poland's requirements could be securely met up to April 1, 1920*. In order to meet requirements after the then existing supplies ran out, the Minister was compelled to turn to the U. S. A. with a request of 400,000 tons of grain, and found that country was willing to supply *on credit*. Furthermore, Great Britain showed herself ready to undertake the transport of the grain *also on credit*, estimating the monthly transport costs at 700,000,000 Polish marks (£933,333 1s. 4d.).

America is charging Poland:

Per ton of Grain: 20,000 Marks—£26 13 4

Britain is charging Poland:

Transport per ton: 10,000 Marks—£13 6 8

£40 0 0

This then is the position: in order that Poland might have bread to eat after April 1, 1920, she was compelled to make herself indebted to Britain and U. S. A. to the extent of £16,600,000.

The Polish Food Minister further states that Poland's requirements in meats amount to 373,000 tons. If slaughtering is carried on judiciously only 149,000 tons (representing the natural increase from breeding) will be at her disposal. If Poland is forced to cover her requirements from her own present available cattle the supply she will have consumed her entire stock within the short space of four years.

I have before me a mass of figures, but I think the foregoing should suffice.

It is a significant fact that very shortly after April 1, 1920, *When Poland must have commenced living on the grain for which she owes Britain and U. S. A.* £16,000,000, she launches a heavy offensive against Russia. What does it mean?

Poland was in a state of agricultural and industrial chaos. Factories, and thousands of workers were idle for want of raw materials, etc. Thousands of small farmers were idle for want of money wherewith to buy

seed and implements. Thousands of acres of soil were uncultivated and went to ruin because their bourgeois-artistic owners were too much engrossed in gambling on the bourse. Profiteering was raging unchecked. Such power did the profiteers possess, that the Food Minister was compelled after a while to relinquish the meat control, and thus allow meat to be sold indiscriminately and at back breaking prices. According to the reports of the American Red Cross, two millions have died of starvation and epidemic since the beginning of the war. In the winter of 1919 no less than 270,000 cases of typhus were reported in *one month!*

Some of the more sane amongst the ruling class were compelled by the absolute extremity of the situation, to introduce agricultural and other reform bills in the Sejm (Parliament). Those that were passed were later on amended and re-amended by the more myopic and profitomaniac section of the bourgeoisie, until they were amended out of existence. The Sejm accomplished nothing. Exploitation had run amuck.

The mad bourgeoisie was riding its steed to death. No section of the masses was harder hit than the small farmers. When, as a harbinger of the coming crash, the General Strike occurred in October last year, 8,000 farmers were sent to prison. It is the agricultural workers and small farmers that represent the revolutionary section of the masses. They readily turn to Communism as a deliverer, and the government strengthens their faith in it, by instituting punitive expeditions, tortures, and wholesale imprisonments.

Can one wonder what made Marian Seyda give utterance last year to the warning that "Peace with Bolshevik Russia means Poland's sure death?"

Is Poland attacking Russia at the command of Allied Capitalism?

Let us seek from Poland herself an answer to the question. With reference to army estimates, recently under discussion in the Sejm, the Polish dailies raised a howl of objection: They argued that *it is the duty of the Allied powers to feed, equip, and support the Polish Army in view of the fact that it is fighting in the interests of the Allies!* Thus the Polish press literally kicks the cat out of the bag.

Meanwhile the Polish Army is marching into Russia, "conquering town after town." But the thing has only just commenced. Napoleon I. also marched into Russia, "conquering town after town"—we know the rest! But Russia retaliates, and her army will march into the midst of a people that will greet it with acclamation.

This people will be the Polish workers and peasants.—*The Spur, London, June, 1920.*

CHICHERIN'S INTERVIEW WITH A JAPANESE CORRESPONDENT

Fusse's cablegram from Moscow is published in *Osaka Mainichi*, Japan, April 18. Fusse relates his interview with Chicherin:

To a question as to the policy of the Soviet Government in the Far East, Chicherin replied: "Our numerous offers of peace were interpreted by foreign governments as an admission of our weakness. But it is an entirely incorrect opinion. Our peace proposals are made for no other reason than that the Russian people have no territorial aims. The Russian people like peace. We have no desire to disturb the peace of the Far East. You have as proof of this our decision to organize a buffer region between the Baikal and the Pacific Ocean, which region will include the Russian Sakhalin. It is understood, of course, that the majority of the population of this new State tends to lean towards Russia, and Russia will therefore extend her influence over it in the future, just as she is doing at present. However, we are prepared to recognize the autonomy of this state. It is understood that the international forms which the relations between this new state and Russia will assume will depend solely upon the relations between Russia and Japan. Therefore, it is necessary

for Japan to enter into a lasting agreement with Russia and with the above buffer state. If, owing to the great area of the new buffer state, Russia and Japan will thus be separated from each other, we would invite Japanese technical men and Japanese capital for the purpose of rehabilitating all branches of Russian industry, and would simultaneously reestablish exchange of goods. We believe that this would be of great advantage to Russia and Japan. It is understood that our general conditions pertaining to foreign trade will be defined in a treaty, which will be signed between ourselves, and the British, French and Scandinavian delegates. Therefore, the Russo-Japanese treaty would have to be drawn up in accordance with the above-mentioned treaty."—*Krasnoye Znamya, Vladivostok, April 28, 1920.*

THE PRODUCTION OF AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY

[The following article is taken from "Izvestia," Petrograd, December 23, 1919.]

THE agricultural economy suffered greatly during the war from the loss of animate and inanimate stock. Supplying agricultural machinery is one of the principle problems of the Soviet Government, but the war imposed by the Allies is hampering the production of the needed implements.

The production of agricultural machinery for the last two years is given in the following tables:

	1919	1918
Straw-cutters	3,200	3,800
Thrashing-machines ...	1,246	6,500
Winnowing-machines ..	3,710	21,000
Harvesting machinery..	11,980	33,380
Harrows	11,450	45,000
Scythes	98,000	160,000
Sickles	684,400	1,700,000
Plows	147,450	361,000

With the exception of straw-cutters, the output of machines in 1919 decreased in general from 3-5 times in comparison with the output of 1918. The principle reason for this was the lack of fuel, raw material, and work-hands.

The supply of metal in 1919 (up to the first of October), for the use of agricultural production, is estimated as follows (in thousand poods):

	Assigned	Delivered	Per Cent Delivered
Cast iron	394.5	58.9	14.9
Iron	662.7	369.5	55.7
Sheet iron	361.6	68.1	18.8
Roof iron	14.5	2.3	15.8
Steel for scythes....	20
Nails	15.7	1.8	11.5
Colored metals....	3.9	1.5	38.5
Bolts and screws..	35.0	10.0	14.9
Wire	54.2	8.1	14.9
	1,562.1	520.2	33.3

The above table shows that there was assigned for distribution 1,562.1 thousand poods, but only 33.3 per cent, or one-third was delivered. 2,155 thousand poods were required, in comparison with which the assigned amount (1,562.1) was only 72.4 per cent.

The only way out of this critical situation is to be found in victory and peace, at which time Soviet Russia will be able to direct all her energy to the reestablishment of industry and agriculture.

Book Review

"BARBAROUS SOVIET RUSSIA," by Isaac McBride, Thomas Seltzer, New York, 1920. Price \$2.50.

ONE is inclined to sympathize with the Red soldier whose duty it was to conduct Isaac McBride on his journey to Moscow. McBride asked a great many questions and wanted to see a great many things. When he saw soldiers marching through the streets, McBride had to follow them to the station and watch them entrain for the front. When a body of prisoners were brought off a train just in from the front, nothing would do for McBride but to follow them out to the prison barracks and watch them being fed with bread and propaganda. If he saw children run out to play at recess, he followed them back into their school room. If a man ran down the street, McBride ran after, and when the man was arrested, McBride followed captive and captors to see what it was all about. His Red soldier guard and guide followed patiently after, interpreting and answering questions. We venture to say that one Red soldier knows more about Soviet Russia today than he did when he first met McBride.

The result of all this running about and asking questions, is embodied in a volume of sketches and impressions entitled "Barbarous Soviet Russia," published by Thomas Seltzer, New York. The title is bait for the unwary. McBride found no barbarity in Soviet Russia, he did not even find the nationalization of women which was so confidently promised him by a young gentleman in the Foreign Information Bureau of the Lettish Government. Indeed, this account of "Barbarous Soviet Russia" will be disappointing to many gentlemen in many foreign information bureaus. It does not confirm their information.

McBride walked into Soviet Russia with a white handkerchief tied to the end of an umbrella and a knowledge of Marx. The second item of his equipment was the more essential. It prepared him for the sight—so surprising to more naive observers—of Bolsheviks without beards or bombs. He was able to observe the Soviet state and subsequently to report upon his observation, with comprehension and sympathy. The book covers a wide variety of subjects that came within his eager vision and insatiable curiosity. He writes much about the Red Army, its discipline, and spirit, the relations between officers and soldiers; much, also, about the care and education of children in Soviet

Russia—"the strategical reserves of the communist state." There is an interview with Lenin, another with Gorky, and talks with many Soviet officials.

A valuable appendix contains the Code of Labor Laws of Soviet Russia and many important and hitherto inaccessible documents and articles from official publications, relating to labor, finance, industry, and agriculture.

"Barbarous Soviet Russia" is an entertaining account of an adventurous journey and a competent report upon conditions within the workers' republic.

NORTH RUSSIA READY TO TRADE

The following two telegrams were recently received by the Norwegian newspaper "Social-Demokraten" from its correspondent at Vardoe, who had just returned from North Russia:

I.

Your correspondent, who has just landed from North Russia, is able to report that everything is ready on the Russian side to open commercial relations with Norway and the rest of the world.

All steam and sailing ships available for the purpose were taken during the month of May from various points in northern Russia to the White Sea in order to be loaded there with wood for foreign countries.

II.

Your correspondent has had a conversation with the Norwegian Consul Finstad at Murmansk. The latter states that no previous government in northern Russia had treated him as well as the present government. All the reports in Norwegian papers as to the Consul's arrest and as to the confiscation of goods are pure fabrications. On the whole, Finstad seems unable to find words of praise strong enough to apply to the leaders of the Bolsheviks.

With regard to Norwegian speculators and their goods which had been confiscated in northern Russia the Consul reports: Long ago, as early as 1918, Finstad warned the Norwegian merchants operating in northern Russia against sending goods to Russia without first having received an advance as a guarantee of good faith, and without first assuring themselves that the rest would be paid when the goods arrived in Russia. He had called the attention of Norwegians to the class struggle that was in progress in Russia, and had clearly explained to all that if they undertook to gamble with what they had, they must run the risk of losing something.

BOUND VOLUMES FOR 1920

At the end of June, 1920, which marks the close of our second volume (January to June), we shall bind two hundred full sets of SOVIET RUSSIA for this period (26 issues—half a year), and deliver them to persons who have placed their orders in advance. The price for such a volume, bound uniformly with the first volume, is five dollars. The volumes will be delivered promptly in July.

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We need, in order to be able to bind so many sets of SOVIET RUSSIA, a few more copies of Vol. II, No. 6 (February 7, 1920), which we are willing to pay for at the rate of ten cents per copy.

Radios

A GREAT RUSSIAN ACTOR DIES

BERLIN, May 29.—The Russian periodical *Golos Rossyi*, appearing at Berlin, reports that one of the greatest Russian actors, V. N. Davidov, has died at Archangel. He had been imprisoned during the "White" rule at Archangel, but intended after the victory of the Soviet Government to return to the Alexandrovsky Theatre at Petrograd as one of whose foremost actors he had worked for many years. In order to provide Davidov with an opportunity to appear before the end of the season, it had been decided to delay the close of the theatrical season.

SOVIET GOVERNMENT NOW REPRESENTS ALL RUSSIA

Steklov writing in *Izvestia* says:

"The bourgeois governments of Latvia and Finland have recently altered their attitude toward Soviet Russia and are now putting forth unreasonable demands. It is certain that this sudden outbreak of Latvian and Finnish defiance may be explained only by the pressure exerted by the Entente on Latvia and Finland. The manifest threat from all sides against the existence of Soviet Russia must finally produce a consolidation of all Russian parties, regardless of their political convictions, around the Soviet Government, which is at present not only a Government of Russian workers and peasants, but represents all of Russia and is defending its independence and honor."

LATVIA AND RUSSIA

RIGA, May 27.—The Leta (Lettish Telegraph Bureau) reports: The chairman of the Lettish Peace Delegation, Seeberg, has returned to Riga from Moscow. He declares that the boundary question is settled. All that remains is the determination of a number of technical matters concerning the district of Drissa, where a plebiscite is to be held. Soviet Russia has recognized Latvia's independence. The economic provisions are not yet determined. A number of Lettish fugitives and hostages have returned from Moscow.

The above news item makes it probable that the signing of a treaty of peace between Soviet Russia and Latvia will soon be announced.

With this accomplished we trust we may be able to provide the readers of *SOVIET RUSSIA* with a translation of a full text of a Latvian-Soviet Russian treaty, as we have already provided them with a translation of the Esthonian-Soviet Russian treaty.

ENGLISH BOMBARD A RUSSIAN CITY

(Private Telegram to *Avanti*.)

VIENNA, May 5 (Brante).—Moscow communicates that English naval forces in the Sea of Azov have bombarded the city of Mariupol. The Soviet army has occupied the city of Shemakha in the sector of Baku.

SECOND ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATED AT MOSCOW

Moscow, May 23.—Today there was celebrated here the second anniversary of the introduction of universal military instruction. This institution is of a provisional nature and makes it possible for the Soviet power to organize a proletarian army of defence without having to mobilize the workers in the industrial enterprises. It is simultaneously a school which trains hundreds of thousands of soldiers for Soviet Russia.

On this anniversary day, reviews of troops were held, in which detachments of the Red Army marched by in the presence of the English Workers Delegation. There also were held today athletic meets, theatrical and moving picture performances, as well as open air concerts.

SOVIET RUSSIA TO THE ALLIES

Moscow, May 22.—The People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of Soviet Russia, Chicherin, and the People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, Rakovsky, prepared a note addressed to the governments of France, Great Britain, Italy, and the United States, in which they declare that neither of the two republics has any intention of invading any country in order to gain more territory. They have almost succeeded in ridding themselves of the enemies within, who, aided by the Entente, have threatened the very existence of the republics; they have dedicated all their resources to the stupendous task of rebuilding their countries. The governments of both republics have used every means in their power, to bring about peace negotiations with the Polish Government, but, despite that, the Polish army began to invade the territory of Ukraine, which is allied to Soviet Russia. Simultaneously with this move, the Polish Government recognized the counter-revolutionists with Petlura at their head, the Petlura who had so often been repudiated, and made an agreement with him, whereby Ukraine was to be virtually a vassal of victorious Poland.

The governments of the two Soviet republics find it necessary to call the attention of the Entente governments to these events the responsibility for which rests at their doors. They passionately protest against this new bloodshed, and against the aid which the Entente is giving the Polish Government. They are summoning all the nations of the Entente to witness this new attack against the liberty of Soviet Russia. Russia and Ukraine will fight until they are victorious against these new invaders, to whose greed they are the victims and who are threatening their inalienable right of self-determination. The governments of the two Soviet Republics are prepared to set all subsequent developments to the influence that the Entente is wielding over Polish actions.

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN RUSSIA AND ENGLAND

Moscow, April 20.—The People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, sent a note to the British Foreign Minister, Lord Curzon, setting forth the following:

Soviet Russia has remarked with satisfaction England's move to investigate certain vital questions, which, once out of the way, would pave the way to future friendly intercourse between the two nations.

The Russian Government has no intention, at the present time, of making an inquiry as to whether the assistance rendered by Great Britain to the foes of Soviet Russia (and that avowedly so) was actually necessary and justifiable, in order to crush Germany. Russia is all the more ready to let this matter pass, since she has the assurance of the British Government, that from the moment when peace is concluded between the two governments, and all danger of retaliation by the Russians is removed, England will feel herself free from her obligations to these people whom she aided. But in the event that Great Britain should declare that all these questions will have a great bearing on the whole of the peace proceedings, Russia will not set these matters aside, and will have them brought up along with the mass of others.

Russia realizes the justice of Britain's assertion that the rehabilitation of Russia is to the interest of the rest of the world, and that the continuation of the present state of hostilities hinders that purpose. Poland is far more active in continuing these hostilities than the remnant of Denikin's army. Therefore the war with Poland must be ended if Russia is not to be hindered in her work of reconstruction.

Moreover, the Soviet Government requests that the British Government use its influence to make possible the peaceful departure for Soviet Russia of the Hungarian People's Commissars at present in Austria,—for they were allied with that government.

To conclude, the Soviet Government is of the opinion that the settlement of the above-mentioned questions, as well as all others, can best be accomplished through personal negotiations between Litvinov and the London Government. It is confident that the results will be favorable, and to the mutual advantage of both countries.

PEASANTS AND WORKERS IN RUSSIA

Moscow.—*Izvestia* publishes an article by Steklov in which he says, among other things:

The peasants have lately begun to sell large quantities of potatoes, grains, meats, and several other products, with payment in paper money only. When it is realized that nothing whatsoever can be obtained for paper rubles it follows that the peasants are delivering their products on credit. The workers again tighten their belts and continue with the greatest zeal their efforts to reconstruct the Soviet state.

Through a proclamation of the All-Russian Defense Council, the peasants of the governments of Tver, Smolensk, Riazan, and Moscow have been ordered to give to the Moscow Commune all draft animals, wagons, and forage. This requisition is intended to create a means of transporting food into Moscow.

PROTEST TO BULGARIA

In a note recently forwarded to the Bulgarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, writes as follows:

Already during the first half of the past year Bulgaria has become a base for the operations of White troops in the Ukraine and Russia. In accordance with the instructions of French imperialists, Bulgaria in every way supported the Russian generals in their battle against the working masses of Russia; thus, among other things, on August 9, 1919, Bulgaria sent to the Russian White Guards 25,000 rifles, 12,000,000 cartridges, and a number of projectiles for cannon; on November 22, 1919, about 3,500,000 cartridges were sent, and 12,000 more rifles on December 4, 1919. The Bulgarian government opened a bureau for recruiting Russian volunteers at Varna. Bulgarian authorities purchased and delivered to the White Guards in Odessa all kinds of material and fuel. Bulgaria was the support to Denikin's rear. This procedure of the Bulgarians constitutes a brutal violation of neutrality and a warning to the Russian and Ukrainian workers and peasants.

The Soviet Government protests against this and expresses the hope that at a moment when the question of the recognition of the Soviet power is becoming a burning question all over western Europe the Bulgarian people may not continue to permit their government to involve them in new conflicts.

RUSSIA UNITED AGAINST POLAND

Moscow, May 25.—The provisional Soviet at Nizhni-Novgorod has received a number of voluntary offers from factory committees and peasant organizations to give aid and support in the war against the external enemy. Not only Communists, but all the workers and peasant organizations, whose numbers constitute great masses of the population, are offering their aid, and affording manifestations of their zeal and their firm confidence in the Soviet Government's defence of Russian soil. At Smolensk an All-Russian popular meeting was held which shows how all nationalists within the Russian Soviet territory are united in joining in the battles against the new invaders. Voluntary organizations of troops have placed themselves at the disposal of the army command. From Poland reports are received of insurrections among the population. In several places insurgent divisions consisting of rebels and deserters have taken possession of the forests. These detachments attack Polish Government troops and destroy railroads and bridges. The Polish Government is having the schools transformed into barracks and prisons.

ESPERANTO USED ON RAILROADS

[The following appeal to the railroad workers is printed in the "Herald of Ways of Communication," published in Moscow by the People's Commissariat of Ways of Communication.]

COMRADES, RAILROAD WORKERS! The great watch-word of democracy—the brotherhood of nations—which is in the order of the day of the Russian Revolution, calls for a rapid diffusion of an international language.

The absence of an international language hinders the inter-relations of peoples; hampers the diffusion of arts and sciences; serves as a cause for national and international controversies; interferes in the exchange of thought and the products of labor, etc., etc.

We, the railwaymen, being directly connected with one of the greatest arteries in the intercourse of nations, feel to a greater extent the need for a universal language for all peoples. We do not have to go to other lands to convince ourselves of this fact,—every day we can observe on trains, as well as on railroad stations, the helplessness of foreigners who do not know our language.

Such a situation is also awaiting us abroad.

We cannot possibly know all languages, not even the most important. The isolated mode of living that our ancestors led created too many of them. Neither can we accept as international any of the existing languages, as this would bring about cultural (which would be followed by economic, and

perhaps by political) supremacy of that nation, whose language would be recognized as international. But we have no means, nor moral right to impose our language upon other peoples. Therefore the only language acceptable for this purpose would be a neutral international language. Esperanto is such a neutral language, and has for a long time been used in various branches of international life. Esperanto excels all existing languages in being easy to learn; its melodiousness, elasticity, and beauty have been recognized by authorities. More than a million people of various nationalities and races already speak this language. Many books, and periodicals are published abroad in Esperanto. There are Esperanto periodicals pertaining to railroads. All large and even small centers have Esperanto societies and groups, which aid foreign tourists and persons who study Esperanto.

Comrades, Railroadmen! Do not stand aside from this great task! Learn Esperanto! This will give you an opportunity to correspond, on questions which interest you, with your fellow-creatures in all parts of the world; it will help you in traveling through Russia and abroad; it will facilitate your official and personal relations with foreigners who travel on the railroads; and will enable you to participate in international railroad conventions, to which you will have to go, as the railroad branch of transportation is of an international character.

Organize railway Esperanto groups, learn and spread the language of Esperanto!

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