

# SOVIET RUSSIA

Official Organ of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau

Ten Cents

Saturday, July 17, 1920

Vol. III, No. 3

Issued Weekly at 110 W. 40th Street, New York, N. Y. Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, Publisher. Jacob Wittmer Hartmann, Editor.  
Subscription Rate, \$5.00 per annum. Application for entry as second class matter pending.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS:

	PAGE		PAGE
PROHIBITION IN SOVIET RUSSIA.....	57	ECONOMIC POLICY IN THE FAR EAST.....	72
MILITARY REVIEW, by Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek	59	A COMMUNIST MANIFESTO FROM POLAND.....	73
THE PROVISIONING OF PETROGRAD.....	62	AN APPEAL TO THE LABOR ARMY OF PETROGRAD	74
UKRAINE, by Hannes Sköld.....	65	RADIOS .....	75
EDITORIALS .....	68	PRESS CUTTINGS .....	76
TERROR IN NORTH RUSSIA.....	71	STATEMENT BY L. C. A. K. MARTENS.....	80

## Prohibition in Soviet Russia

[The Swedish prohibition newspaper "Templaren" (so-called because it is the organ of the Independent Order of Good Templars, a powerful European prohibition movement), in a recent number prints a remarkably interesting and detailed interview on the prohibition situation in Red Russia, with the Swedish author, Ture Nerman, a Left Wing Socialist, who has recently returned to Sweden from Soviet Russia. Mr. Nerman's view that prohibition in Russia is permanent must not be taken as final, however, since at least one prominent Soviet leader has expressed a conviction that prohibition in Russia may not be final. See remarks of N. Bukharin, as quoted by Arvid Hansen, in SOVIET RUSSIA for September 13, 1919.]

**I**N SPITE of serious attempts, said Mr. Nerman, he was unable to get hold of any prominent prohibition leader in the course of his journey. The reason for this was that there is practically no separate prohibition movement in that country now, in the sense in which we apply the word in Sweden.

The prohibition question in Russia, says Mr. Nerman, is already disposed of and solved in an entirely different manner, and more fundamentally and effectively, than it ever could be solved in capitalistic countries, where a sort of so-called prohibition has been introduced. On the one hand, it must be admitted that the Bolsheviki have had an easier time in introducing and maintaining prohibition, in view of the fact that in Russia, because of the low supply of grain, caused chiefly by the lack of railway material, there often has been nothing to distill. But, on the other hand, the consumption of alcoholic liquors has never in any country been as great as it once was in Russia. And consequently, the desire for alcoholic liquor must, among great sections of the population, particularly among the peasantry, have been especially developed in Russia.

Vodka was a fundamental factor in the Russia of the Czars, and has now, almost at a single blow, been absolutely eliminated.

The sale of spirits is met with very rarely and is punished—those guilty rarely escape—with unusual severity. The case is quite different from that of Sweden, where the authorities almost always close their eyes to the traffic and appear even to be half in league with the spirit dealers.

### How the Russian Prohibition Was Carried Out

The Bolshevik Party, said Mr. Nerman, to be sure never had any attitude toward prohibition on its party program, but when the revolution came, the leading personalities, wise statesmen as they are, immediately recognized that the victorious putting through and solidifying of the revolution, were unthinkable without an immediate carrying out of a severe and absolute prohibition.

Certain vicious elements desire to make use of the revolution only as a means of satisfying their own lusts, among which none the least was their strong desire for alcohol. The only possibility of preventing these dangerous elements from ruining the revolution and hindering its development into an orderly social system, was to deal harshly with them.

Particularly at the outset, it was necessary to proceed with unusual severity with regard to these elements. In the first stage of the revolution, they were simply shot down. It was considered that individuals who in such a serious situation were so

little conscious of their dignity as men as to drink away their reason in alcohol, which they succeeded in stealing from the saloons, would never be of any use for the future, but would rather constitute a permanent danger to the workers' revolution.

For a long time the opponents of the revolution tried with the aid of alcohol to ruin and undermine the morale of the best Bolshevik troops. And precisely this explains to a certain extent the severity with which prohibition was carried out.

#### *The Leading Bolsheviks Were Not Teetotalers*

Mr. Nerman points out that Lenin, for example, was not a teetotaler, while, on the other hand, he always had led a life that was exemplary and Spartan, both with regard to spirits as well as in general. Otherwise it is certain that his brain could not at the present moment be the clear statesman-like organ which it is.

The same is the case with most of the Bolshevik leaders in Russia. But when they became active revolutionists, as Mr. Nerman points out, they had to be actual enforcers of prohibition, while in Sweden, the grandiloquent leaders of prohibition, such as Arthur Engberg, etc., as soon as their party assumed political power, betrayed their former position, resigned from the prohibition organizations and are now agitating in the Riksdag and in the government for a renewed liberation of the flow of spirits over the whole country!

"I spoke," continued Mr. Nerman, "with a number of the most important revolutionary leaders on the question of prohibition, and all considered it as self-evident that in a revolution one of the most indispensable conditions is the enforcement of an effective and absolute prohibition of alcohol, in order to prevent and obviate the demoralization of the masses. As a matter of fact, the better moral tone among workers and peasants in Russia has its explanation, in addition to the freer air introduced by the revolution itself, also in the complete liberation from the consumption of alcohol."

"It would be awful," continued Mr. Nerman, "to imagine a revolution here in Sweden with the popular masses in the condition in which they are now in the cities, particularly, in Stockholm.

"As long as a great part of the working class consists of demoralized appellists\* and other lumpen proletariat, terror is as absolutely necessary, at the moment of revolution, in dealing with such anti-social elements, as it is in dealing with the counter-revolutionary bandits."

#### *How the Bolsheviks Got Rid of the Great Stores of Alcohol*

"At the outbreak of the revolution," Mr. Nerman said, "there were great quantities of liquor in Russia. In the Kerensky revolution, liquor therefore played a prominent role. But the Bol-

\* The "appellists" are readers of a Swedish periodical called *Appel*, which is edited by a prominent "Socialist" anti-prohibitionist, August Palm (born 1849).

sheviki viewed the matter in an entirely different way, from the very outset. I need only mention a single case to indicate what often was the procedure.

"A Bolshevik patrol encountered a tremendous store of valuable old wines in the cellars of the Winter Palace. Some of the Red leaders made efforts to intoxicate themselves with this wine, but were prevented. A conduit was prepared leading from the cellar down to the Neva river, and then the entire stock was shot to pieces with machine guns. The spirits flowed down to the river in great streams."

Mr. Nerman added that it would be a positive pleasure, in a possible Swedish revolution, to have charge of a few such machine-guns, directed against a certain cellar under the Stockholm castle.

A great portion of the liquor stocks confiscated in Russia have been a valuable addition to the seriously depleted medicinal supplies of the country.

#### *Smuggling in Russia*

Mr. Nerman further pointed out that very little smuggling was going on. Of course it is not impossible, particularly on the southern fronts, such as the Crimean, to smuggle liquor in among the soldiers of the Red Army, and even to forward it into the country through them.

But all offenders are punished very severely, and the spirit among the soldiers is one of such consciousness of purpose that cases of this kind occur with great rarity. On the other fronts, smuggling in liquors is impossible, if only for the simple reason that these frontiers have thus far been almost hermetically sealed.

Of course, now that relations with Russia are to be opened, there is a great danger to prohibition precisely in these possibilities of smuggling. But the wisdom and energy thus far shown by the leading elements in the great Russian social system will surely be able to combat even this danger so powerfully that it will finally be eliminated.

#### *Temperance Propaganda in Russia*

Mr. Nerman also reports a number of interesting details concerning the temperance propaganda of the Russian Bolsheviks.

He says they are carrying on an instruction concerning the dangerous effects of the use of alcohol everywhere, in the cities as well as in the provinces, through their extraordinarily well organized schools. In addition they give instruction in all subjects connected with general hygiene.

In the ubiquitous and very artistically drawn posters you behold not rarely the vodka drinking peasant, lying on the ground like a pig, a horrible example of the destructive effect of liquor. Similar pictures are also seen in the famous propaganda trains which traverse Russia in all directions. In the newspapers and periodicals also, the ineluctable duty of the class-conscious worker and peasant to abstain from alcoholic liquors is also duly emphasized.

As counterparts and opposites of this horrible example from the period of the Czar and of vodka, one often beholds accompanying pictures of sober workers, studying their books or circulating literature among their comrades. On one of the trains you see painted on the side "What did the old regime give us?—Vodka, the nagaika (the knout), czarist oppression, etc." The accompanying picture is that of an intoxicated worker being led to prison. "What does the new regime give us?—university, books, instruction for children, etc."

There is no doubt that a powerfully conducted agitation of this kind will have a profound and serious influence on the masses. And there is also no doubt that such an intensive and purposeful agitation, coupled as it is with the fundamental principles of social justice and the dignity of man, will soon make the Russian people, who once were completely steeped in drunkenness and dissoluteness, the most sober nation of the world.

#### *Effectiveness of Russian Prohibition*

Mr. Nerman says that prohibition is so well carried out that in a stay of more than five weeks in Moscow and Petrograd, during which he has been as much as possible among the people on the streets and in the public places he was unable to find more than two or three slightly intoxicated persons. "On the first day of my return to Stockholm, on the other hand, I saw more than a dozen heavily intoxicated persons in barely an hour.

"It may be objected that the punishments for intoxication, inexorable and severe as they have been in Russia, have gone somewhat to excess in severity. But it is a fact that it was only this

method that made it possible in Russia to create a general respect for prohibition. And it is just this fact, in great measure, that made the Russia of the workers so strong and invincible. For, in the last analysis, it is this which made it possible to create the Russian Socialist society which is now being built up by the people with such enthusiasm and self-sacrifice."

#### *Russian Prohibition Permanent*

At the end of his interview Mr. Nerman said the following:

"I asked, among others, one of the leading men in the Soviet Republic whether he believed that prohibition in Russia would be of permanent character and would be maintained even after the complete establishment of the revolution. His answer was short and definite, and was spoken without hesitation: 'Yes, that is absolutely certain!'

"My opinion is that only a sufficiently well founded and therefore successful workers' revolution can create a truly effective and permanent prohibition of alcohol. The so-called total prohibitions which were finally carried out, in other countries, in Finland, Norway, and America, can be only half-measures as long as the capitalistic system of society endures. The ruthless and never seriously impeded lust for personal profit will never succeed in respecting the purely human demands that constant prohibition involves. Only in a socialistic society, where the welfare and happiness of the individuals composing it are the first considerations, where private property has been abolished and the watchword is '*Socially useful work by all for all!*' can the traffic in liquor be completely abolished."

## Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

New York City, July 10, 1920.

**I**N MY interview published in the New York *Call* of June 30, I stated definitely that the town of Minsk was already in the hands of the Red Army, and I pointed out the fact that the press is withholding the real truth about the situation on the Polish front.

For a long time I was suspicious that something of importance was going on in the northern part of the Polish front, which extends to the north of the Pripet Marshes, and that General Szeptitzky's army had suffered a considerable tactical defeat. This has become certain to me, now that I observe a considerable advance of the Russian armies between the Berezina and the Pripet Marshes, which could not have been accomplished to such an extent as one hundred miles west of Bobruisk, situated on the river Berezina, had Minsk remained in the possession of the enemy.

The dispatch from London, of July 9, informs us that all the bridges along the Brest railway, between Minsk and Baranovichi, have been destroyed by the Red cavalry. This absolutely con-

firms the opinion expressed by myself that Minsk has been captured by the Russians and consequently Vilno has had to be evacuated by the Poles.

Today I received a copy of *Krasnoye Znamya* (The Red Banner) of May 27, 1920, the official organ of the Communist Party at Vladivostok, in which I noticed some most important data connected with the capture of Minsk by the Red Army, a translation of which may, I think, interest the readers of SOVIET RUSSIA:

"*The Polish Defeat in the Region of Minsk. Omsk, May 24 (Sibrosta).*—The Moscow radio informs us that the resumed offensive of the Red Army progresses with success. The main blow was inflicted on the enemy in the region of Minsk, where, after three days of fighting, more than 60,000 Poles were made prisoners. There were captured also the Polish officers and great quantities of artillery and booty. The latter is being counted." Another dispatch in the same paper says that "Trotsky and Brusilov have left for Minsk, where a great quantity of property was left by the enemy."

So there cannot be any doubt that Minsk is in Russian hands.

In the same issue of the *Krasnoye Znamya*, a radio of the Central Executive Military Committee characterizes the situation on the Western Russian front. "The blow," the message says, "prepared by the Red command, has been inflicted upon the enemy, and the initiative henceforth is entirely with Brusilov. The Red General Staff will develop its plan, combining a wedge attack with parallel operations on the flanks." "Our former experiences," continues the message, "convince us that our plans will be accomplished in a masterly manner."

Indeed, it was so accomplished, in spite of all the lies of the capitalistic press agencies, and the prophecies of the western military experts, with General Foch at their head. It is perfectly well-known that the famous trench-warfare strategist, Foch, inspired in his victories, as he himself confessed, by God, brilliantly lost the Great War strategically, and that the same "great strategist" carefully prepared the Polish plan of campaign against Soviet Russia.

But unfortunately for General Foch, the Polish God was weaker than that of France, and the Poles are defeated not only tactically, like the Germans, but also strategically. Fieldmarshal Foch, a student of the old military routine, did not even dream of the possibility of accomplishing the daring and unprecedented strategical plan which the Red General Staff not only designed but also carried out, with a success unseen in military history.

Now, acknowledging the approach of the unavoidable end of the entire Anglo-French Polish scheme, the supreme French command is trying to utilize the last means which, they suppose, remain at their disposal, namely, Rumania and Germany.

According to the *Evening Sun*, of July 8, "a French delegation has arrived at Bukharest to urge the Rumanians to give all possible aid to the retreating Polish army." On the other hand, news reaches us from Sofia (Bulgaria), that "Rumanian mobilization is under way, and the Rumanian General Staff has announced its intention to erect a strong defence against the Bolsheviki along the entire Bessarabian front."

In one of my previous articles, I already stated that Rumania cannot intervene in the Russian-Polish war, after having suffered the German invasion, and herself accomplished a most disgraceful invasion of Hungary. Rumania knows what both things mean. It would be incredible to believe that Rumania, surrounded by enemies like the Hungarians and the Bulgars, would dare to attack victorious Soviet Russia, or support the beaten Poles at the moment when an uprising against the imperialistic Rumanian government is threatening Bessarabia.

My conjecture is now confirmed by Karl H. Wiegand, whose letter from Berlin of July 8, appeared in the *New York American*, of July 9,

1920. This staff correspondent of the above-mentioned paper says: "Advices reaching here state the Rumanian Government has refused to lend any assistance to the Poles and that Hungary likewise has turned down Poland's plea for aid."

And in addition to this hopeless situation of Poland, it may be noted that the social revolution already has begun in Poland. The most important strategical railway line, between Warsaw and Vilno, is afflicted with a strike, and this at the most critical moment for the Polish army. It is said that "the railway men in that area refuse to move additional troops to the front" (*N. Y. American*, July 9, 1920).

In short, the situation behind the Polish battle front reminds me of the situation of the great "strategical" retreat of Kolchak through Siberia, with the difference that before the Kolchak army there lay the extent of Western Siberia and Transbaikalia, as well as the Amur and Maritime districts, with Kamchatka in addition, while the last stand of the Polish army can be accomplished in the region of Brest-Litovsk only, where the Poles may try to defend themselves by using the railway communications for operations on inner lines. But this could only be possible of accomplishment in case the Polish army had concentrated toward Brest-Litovsk in full order. In reality, as far as can be judged from the hysterical Polish reports, confirmed by the British War Office, the situation of the Polish fighting forces must be in a state of general confusion and disorganization approaching that of a panic-stricken horde, flying before the energetic pursuit of General Budenny's cavalry. Had it been different Lloyd George, the protector of the small imperialistic nations, would never have so rudely refused the Polish delegation any aid whatsoever, besides looking after General Baron Wrangel's army, which officially he does not consider as a support to Poland. In such circumstances, there cannot be any question on that the Poles, in spite of the formation of a new militia, including even women, will be unable to avert the unavoidable end.

If the Polish army is in reality as numerous as it is claimed to be, its situation must be only worse, because in the Brest-Litovsk region, as well as in a possible future resistance on the Warsaw lines of defense, there will be not enough room to manage a large army and to undertake any serious manoeuver. The gloomy economic and sanitary conditions of Poland, on the other hand, besides all the disadvantages, military as well as political, of the Polish nation, make further resistance by militaristic Poland an impossibility, and the Polish command must know this, and therefore, in order to avoid a most criminal and useless bloodshed, it must surrender to Soviet Russia.

While the American press is keeping the public in complete darkness about real happenings on the Polish front, and, for one reason or another, is afraid to tell the people the truth, great events are in full progress in Central Europe.

The collapse of imperialistic Poland, created by

the coalition of the Entente world, may be considered as a prelude to a new sanguinary drama, more terrible and longer than the so-called "Great War," which will be child's play in comparison with the gigantic events which the "peace-loving" imperialistic Entente is so carefully preparing. Do Lloyd George and Millerand understand that by their unprovoked aggression on Soviet Russia they are challenging not only the Russian people, but also almost all Asia and very probably also Africa? Have they calculated the number of fighters whom their old-fashioned imperialistic armies have to meet on the battle-field, and do they really believe that the armies on which they are reckoning would all obey their criminal orders.

Far from any idea of friendly peace established with Moscow, and camouflaging her new preparation under trade negotiations with Soviet Russia, England in reality is planning a new plot against the Russian Soviet Republic. Her intention is now to create a new military coalition in Europe, in order to meet the Red Armies in Poland, and therefore England must have militaristic Germany at her disposal, which, together with the French colonial (colored and yellow) troops, and the remainder of the beaten Polish armies, supported by the child of England, the reactionary forces of Wrangel, would create a new front against Bolshevism.

This can be accomplished only on condition that the entire German population and part of the German army shall be disarmed. Only then would militaristic Germany be able to control the country, as British imperialism has promised to establish in Germany a regime suitable for the Junkers, able to help the Entente to carry out the new British plan against "Bolshevism," a plan similar to that which fell down so perfectly in Russia in 1917, when the Allies tried to create a new front against the Germans. For this purpose only, England, in spite of the complete collapse of the counter-revolution in Russia, still found it necessary to arm and to maintain Baron Wrangel's adventure.

It is an absolute absurdity that Germany, in her present economic condition, would present a menace to France, even if the Germans should have in their possession an army of more than one million men. I can say without any hesitation that even 2,000,000 German soldiers would be not at all dangerous for France and her allies, and, as a matter of fact, neither France nor England fears the military strength of the German regular army. They are afraid of the German workers and the transformed German proletariat, who are the possessors of weapons in Germany. The persistence of Lloyd George in forcing the German government to disarm them proves this. Lloyd George well knows that the German working class, as long as they are in possession of confiscated arms and ammunition, great quantities of which are hidden by the civilian population, would never allow the Entente to accomplish its new plot against Soviet Russia, and only this has forced

Lloyd George to be so persistent in his demand to disarm the German people. I can firmly state that in spite of all the attempts of England to utilize Germany as a weapon against "Bolshevism," at the moment of the collapse of militaristic Poland, England will not succeed, as she also did not succeed when she tried to entice Germany to participate in the blockade of Soviet Russia, so monstrous and criminal to humanity.

There is not the slightest possibility that Germany will be disarmed, regardless of the nature of the agreement she may be forced to sign at Spa.

The moment has come when the German workers may show their determination to overthrow the hydra of reaction which poisons their country, and they may rise once more in arms, to bar the way to the western invaders in their attempt to crush the Russian Revolution.

The workers and peasants of Germany, humiliated, ruined and oppressed by their imperialistic enemies, are anxiously watching the Russian people, ready to support them at the decisive moment.

#### "SOVIET RUSSIA PAMPHLETS"

The Russian Soviet Government Bureau has issued a series of pamphlet reprints of important Soviet documents. The following are the first four of these pamphlets:

1. *The Labor Laws of Soviet Russia*. Official text, with introduction, by the Bureau, and an answer to a criticism by Mr. W. C. Redfield. 52 pages, stiff paper cover, price 10 cents.  
This is a new edition of the Labor Laws, and every owner of the old edition should have it.
2. *The Laws on Marriage on Domestic Relations*. To be ready about September first. Price 15 cents.
3. *Two Years of Foreign Policy*, by GEORGE CHICHERIN. The relations of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic with foreign nations, from November 7, 1917, to November 7, 1919. 36 pages, stiff paper cover, price 10 cents.
4. *Protection of Labor in Soviet Russia*, by S. KAPLUN, of the People's Commissariat of Labor. This pamphlet, an interpretation of the labor laws of Soviet Russia, is necessary to a full understanding of these laws, and readers should therefore order it in addition to their copies of the laws. This pamphlet has never been published in SOVIET RUSSIA. To be ready August 1. Price 10 Cents.

Other pamphlets will follow. Special rates for quantities.

Address:

SOVIET RUSSIA

Room 304

110 West 40th Street New York City

Are you reading our weekly, SOVIET RUSSIA, the official organ of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau?

Original from

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

# The Provisioning of Petrograd

## I.

### *DISTRIBUTION OF FOOD PRODUCTS*

The system of communist economy differs from the economic conditions of capitalist society: in place of the anarchy in production and free competition, it establishes as the basis for the construction of all life, a complete inventory, made in accordance with a certain plan, of all the products and articles of consumption of the greatest necessity, as well as of their distribution.

At present, when the food crisis, determined by the world war of five years, is at its height, the regulation by the State of provisioning and the distribution of food acquires a capital importance, for the quantity of available food products and other articles of consumption is insufficient to satisfy all needs, thus necessitating a certain classification in their distribution.

Under such conditions, the application of the principle of the inventory prevails most completely in the great centers of consumption, first of which is our Red capital. Despite a considerable diminution of the population, a diminution produced by temporary causes, the total number of inhabitants in Petrograd is not below a million, of which about 250,000 are children. The entire mass of the population receives food products and articles of prime necessity, although in very small quantity, through the aid of a single organ—the Commune of Unified Consumption of Petrograd. This body is little by little enlarging its sphere of activity and aims to meet all the needs of the working population of the city. At the present time the Commune of Consumption is organized upon the following principal foundations of the economic system:

1. The concentration of baking, by which all the bread for a million of the population of the capital is baked in the minimum number of places: eight factories for bread making, and eleven bakeries.

2. Communal feeding with a large network of refectories for children in particular, and feeding stations near institutions, etc., in which most of the working population may eat.

3. A system of distribution by depots, Community shops, and distributing stations, from which products are distributed by card, the products being other than those destined for the "food commune."

4. A system for the distribution of articles of prime necessity, among which are: raw and manufactured tobacco, matches, soap, oil, etc.

5. The distribution of clothes, shoes, fabrics, and other articles of prime necessity.

6. The feeding of cattle with fodder and other foods.

In this manner, the Commune of Petrograd is a real center, affecting all sides of the life of the working population of the city. This center directs an enormous technical system which, in turn,

is divided into separate branches, sections, auxiliaries, etc.

All food products, all fodder, etc., arriving at Petrograd and addressed to the Commune of Consumption, are allotted at the moment of their storage in the depots—inventoried by the organization of distribution. They are then transferred upon special orders and according to established rations.

On the average, there pass each month, through the system of the distributing organization, one million poods of products.

Following is an approximate table of the daily distribution of products by the distributing organization of the Commune of Petrograd:

The bread is delivered daily in accordance with established rations to the amount of 15,000 poods. Next come the following products, delivered to the Communal refectories and the food stations: the vegetables which are daily distributed to the amount of 10,000 poods, the fish 4,000 poods daily, various groats almost 2,000 poods, fats distributed according to the quantity available, etc.

Bread is distributed to the population according to the ration calculated for two days. The products are delivered to the communal refectories and the institutions twice monthly, according to the established rations of consumption.

## II.

### *COMMUNAL PROVISIONING*

Immediately after the first realization of the principles of the October Revolution, energetic measures were taken for the solution of the problem of the socialization of popular provisioning at Petrograd. This problem each month acquired an increasingly greater importance, in view of the food crisis, which became steadily worse.

Under the pressure of circumstances, the solution of this problem proceeded so speedily that as early as the 1st of July, 1919, the working population of the Commune of Petrograd, more than a million in number, commenced to be fed by a single food commune. The infantile population had been, for more than a month, fed altogether without cost.

The advantage of communal provisioning, compared to individual provisioning in the home, are so evident as regards the economy of fuel effected in this fashion, the economy of products and of labor, and thus the diminution of the price of foods, that from the first moment of the appearance of the food crisis, communal food organization began to arise as if created by the forces of nature.

Towards the beginning of the month of December, 1918, the number of refectories under the jurisdiction of the Central Section of Communal Provisioning of the Commissariat of Provisions of the Commune of Petrograd, reached fifty-seven, the general number of consumers was about 108,578, and that of the personnel was about 4,011.

Towards the end of the year 1918, the refectories in question numbered sixty-two, with 120,133 consumers.

Parallel to the refectories dependent upon the center, communal refectories of another type were operating, such as the section refectories and the refectories near various institutions. In all, in the beginning of the year 1919, 281 refectories of different types were operating with 269,234 consumers.

In view of the continuation of the critical state of provisioning, the number of consumers in the communal refectories naturally increased a great deal. Considering this circumstance, the Commissariat of Provisioning took energetic measures for the proper operation of communal provisioning. The Commissariat attracted to an active participation in this work, on the basis of autonomy, principally the workers of the union of popular provisioning, the workers of the syndicates of employes of provisioning, the organizers of factories and shops, and the workers taken from the large masses of proletarian workers.

Thanks to these measures, an increase in the number of refectories and consumers was observed in the first half of the year 1919.

In the month of January of the same year, the central refectories alone reached the number of sixty-eight, with 154,700 consumers. In the month of February, the number of refectories remained the same, the number of consumers was about 150,111, and in the month of March about 160,687.

Parallel to the central refectories, there arose spontaneously in different quarters of the city, various organizations for communal provisioning, of lesser size. These organizations were under the jurisdiction of the Provisioning Committees of the districts and were calculated for a special number of consumers united by the place of their service, their work, or their occupations. The organizations mentioned served a relatively limited number of consumers who had attached themselves to them.

In the month of September, there were twelve great sectional refectories with 1,000 consumers and over, but less than 2,000. In the month of October there were twelve, and in December, fifteen. During the course of the year 1919, the general number of consumers in the sectional refectories continued to increase greatly.

Simultaneously with the sectional refectories a great number of refectories operated, which were closed to general consumption, as well as provisioning stations near institutions, as: hospitals, asylums, prisons, refuges, schools, etc., where the provisioning proceeded by lists. All these stations reached in the month of August, 1919, the number of 550.

If one calculates the number of refectories of all kinds which operated at the moment when the whole population of Petrograd began to receive communal provisioning, one arrives at the important number of 679 refectories with 480,423 consumers.

This reform, realized the 1st of July, was ef-

fectured very rapidly and energetically, despite the enormous difficulties encountered in the course of this realization, because of the necessity of promptly increasing the capacity of the refectories to meet the increased needs.

From the moment of this reform, the need naturally arose to concentrate the number of consumers in separate refectories with the purpose of encouraging products and fuel. This resulted in a subsequent increase in the number of central refectories among which arose several refectories of another type, and, at the same time, this led to a great increase in the number of consumers.

Thus, for example, in the month of July, the central refectories increased in number thirty per cent from 157 to 204, the number of consumers increased more than 100 per cent from about 340,657 to 695,852.

In the month of July, 1919, in keeping with the introduction of communal provisioning for the whole population, a very marked increase was observed in the number of consumers receiving provisions by card. The number of consumers rose to 825,363. In this manner almost the whole population of Petrograd was fed by the food commune and of ten persons an average of two children were fed without cost.

Simultaneously, a concentration of the food stations was effected, by the increase in the capacity of the best-provided refectories and the decrease in the number of the refectories having few consumers.

These results were attained in the course of but one year, and under conditions very unfavorable to the development of communal provisioning; these conditions became especially difficult in the month of July, at the very moment of the realization of communal provisioning for the whole population.

### III.

#### FEEDING OF CHILDREN

Solicitude for the children is always one of the principal problems of the Soviet power, and it marked with red ink all the enterprises of the latter. Free feeding of children, realized from the beginning of the month of May, 1919, represents one of the gigantic historic events which mark the world progress of the general unique proletarian commune.

The decree for free infant feeding, promulgated on the 17th of May of last year, declared that all food products distributed to children by the local food organs, with the exception of the food shops, as well as the public refectories, must thereafter be furnished free, at the cost of the State.

All the feeding organs were to distribute food products primarily to children. The right to free food was granted to all children, independently of the class ration received by their parents.

The right to infantile feeding was established primarily for infants, it was then extended to children under fourteen years, and later to all children to the age of fifteen years inclusive.

This right proclaimed also one of the most im-

portant principles of the new life: all children are children of the Socialist state. The importance and the historic role in the work of the organization of the Soviet Republic, of the decree regarding infant feeding, obliging the Section of Feeding of the Commissariat of Provisioning of Petrograd to take all effective measures for its realization,—are evident.

For all that has just been mentioned, the Council of Direction of the Commissariat of Provisioning of Petrograd issued a detailed order for the distribution of dinners to children, anticipating a whole series of prescriptions concerning the hygienic phase of the preparation of the dinners, the possible variety in the preparation of the dishes, and the general attitude to be taken towards the children.

In practice, the realization of the decree for free feeding of children in Petrograd was brought about very rapidly. Towards the 16th of June, that is, no less than one month after the promulgation of the decree, eighty per cent of all the children from one to three years of age enjoyed free feeding in the communal refectories. It is almost exclusively women who direct the children's refectories; they bring to this work much gentleness and cordiality; the refectories are often decorated with flowers and greens, and are distinguished by perfect order. In the course of these few months, the children have become accustomed to their refectories, they love them, and to frequent them has become for them a necessity. The work of infantile feeding in the institutions is not limited to the distribution to the children by the Sectional Communal Feeding of food products according to established rations: a bond is established with the Commissariats of Public Assistance and of Public Instruction. This bond had a very special importance in the summer for the organization of infant colonies, playgrounds, and excursion stations for children. The representatives of the institutions participate in the meetings of the communes: the preliminary lists of distribution and the menus are sent to them; for the control of the products dispensed, special persons are sent by the Section, etc.

#### IV.

#### *DETACHMENTS OF PROPAGANDA FOR FEEDING, ORGANIZED BY THE COM-MUNE OF PETROGRAD*

In the month of July, 1918, the Petrograd Soviet resolved to form among the workers of Petrograd detachments to list and secure the results of the harvest. A difficult task then fell to the Soviet power. The state of provisioning in Petrograd became disastrous. Several times telegrams were sent to the places of harvest, in the name of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet, with a prayer to increase to the maximum the shipments of food products for the famished northern center. But that was unavailing. A certain measure had to be taken, very simple, but effective, a

measure of internal organization of the masses. This measure was the creation of detachments of conscious workers of Petrograd who went to the villages of the Red north to inventory and distribute in a just manner the small amount of food products to be found in the Northern provinces, as well as the little excess which might be found in separate places. In the month of August, these detachments, under the general direction of their creator, Comrade Badaiev, set out for the provinces, dividing themselves into organized groups, assigned to various provinces, districts, cantons, villages, communes, and hamlets. The workers of Petrograd were for the most part communists. There has been described before the enormous work of organization of the party, the work of construction and cultivation which fell to the workers of Petrograd, and which was, for the greater part, accomplished by them. Committees of the poor were created in the provinces by hundreds and thousands. It was the period when, by the iron will of the revolution, division of the peasant class took place in the north, separating it into two groups: that of the poor peasants, and that of the well-to-do peasants. History decided that an important part of this work should fall to the workers' detachments of Petrograd, sent to list and secure the results of the harvest.

In the late autumn, after the harvesting in all the provinces of the north, in the districts, the cantons, the communes and villages, and after tens of thousands of pages of investigation were collected with exact figures, then only did the chiefs of the detachments of the cantons, the districts and provinces permit their detachments to return to Petrograd.

Those who took part in this campaign without precedent in the whole world, in its conception and its revolutionary character, assembled at Red Petrograd with their materials, their figures relating to their work, with interesting reports, a great acquired experience and revolutionary impressions.

The inventory of the crops and the realization of the harvests were accomplished, and, incidentally, the organization of the masses of the Red North was effected.

The surplus found in separate districts was sent to the places harrassed by famine.

The reserves which could be divided between the cantons and villages, were distributed in small quantities, but with perfect equity.

The different committees of provisioning began to operate more spiritedly and energetically.

Then these detachments under their organizer, Comrade Badaiev, set out for the provinces of Viatka, Ufa and others. From the province of Viatka alone there were exported, according to the report of the Commissariat of Provisioning, as many as 8,000,000 poods of wheat.

A considerable quantity of wheat was exported from the government of Ufa, etc.

Here the detachments, called Detachments of Propaganda for Provisioning, worked not only to

make an inventory of the crops, but principally to prepare reserves of grain.

In the spring of the year 1919, the detachments, after their stay at Petrograd, with renewed spirit, and reinforced by hundreds of fresh communists, were sent to work some in the Ukraine, some in the Don district. After a slight interruption in their work caused by the retreat of the Red troops, the detachments of provisioning propaganda of Petrograd were sent again to the provinces of Ufa,

Viatka, Samara, Saratov, and to Siberia.

These detachments were again reinforced at Petrograd before being sent to solve new problems of provisioning. After the arrival at the places, as before, these detachments have their provincial general staffs supported by chiefs of districts, cantons and villages. They are scattered through every province, and, as before, there is going on without interruption, a work of organization and reserve of the grain supply.

## Ukraine

By HANNES SKÖLD (*of Stockholm*)

**WHAT** is Ukraine? What sort of people are the Ukrainians?

"They are a nationality by themselves," say some, "who were oppressed by the Russians, and who when the revolution began, made a number of attempts to cut loose from the Muscovite yoke."

Let us examine this statement more closely.

What is it that constitutes a "nationality?" To be sure, the members of one and the same nationality speak the same language; they have the same manners and customs, the same culture, and in most cases, centuries of common history, which unite them into a single whole as opposed to other "nationalities." However, purely ethnographic descent plays a very small part in the feeling of "national" solidarity. The Swedes, who are considered as the most purely Germanic people, have probably in their veins the overwhelming proportion of about ten per cent of Germanic blood, and the "leading Germanic nation," the Germans, to judge by all available indications are, from the purely ethnographic standpoint, a Slavic people. While the leading Romance nation, the French, are descended chiefly from a blend between Teutons and Celts, and the leaders of the "Slavs," the Great Russians, are doubtless from the anthropological standpoint a mixture of various Finnish and Tartar tribes.

If you apply this rather generally recognized yardstick to the Russians and "Ukrainians," do you think you will be able to show that the latter are a separate nationality?

By no means! Their customs may in certain respects differ from those of their Great Russian brothers, particularly in those sections of the Little Russian linguistic territory which were under the authority of the former Austrian empire. But not more than, let us say, a difference between the customs of a Dalecarlian and a Skouing, or, between those of a native Gudbrandsdal, and one of Troender. And as to language, it is much easier for a Little Russian to understand a Great Russian than—let us say—for an adherent of the Norwegian Landsmal (the Norwegian provincial dialect) to make himself understood by one speaking the Norwegian Riksmal (the official language of the Norwegian kingdom) or, for a native of Lulea in Sweden to understand a man from Trelleborg. The

Little Russian and the Great Russian languages are, in other words, dialectic divisions of one and the same main language.

And, as to culture, Kiev, the capital of "Ukraine," is the cradle, not of a Ukrainian separatist culture, but of Russian culture as a whole. If "Ukrainian" did ever exist as a separate language, the entire Russian culture would have become "Ukrainian" instead of Russian. Not even the most daring "Ukrainian" national ambitions go so far as to deny that Kiev was the first city in which Russian culture flourished.

Great portions of the Ukrainian language territory have also a history in common with that of the rest of Russia.

The close connection between Ukraine and Russian culture is most clearly seen perhaps from the manner in which all attempts to draw it into another cultural sphere have ignominiously failed. In the last century, when the church was the chief bearer of the cultural development, it was attempted to convert the Little Russians from the orthodox Russian church to the Roman church, but these attempts, on the whole, were failures, as were likewise those to arrive at a compromise between the two peoples by a "union" on Little Russian territory, in order to draw the Little Russians away from their community with the Great Russians in the religious field.

Propaganda for the "Ukrainian" idea in our days has likewise turned out to be a failure. The "Ukrainian" movement from the very start was essentially a movement among the Intelligentsia, who have never succeeded in penetrating into the great masses of the people, who always felt that they were "Russians" and not "Ukrainians."

But, one may object, it is hardly possible for such a thing as the Ukrainian "national movement" to have arisen from nothing.

Of course not. There are, or rather, there were, important political moves behind the origin of the "Ukrainian" movement. The fact was that the Little Russians living within the former Austrian-Hungarian monarchy did feel a natural tendency to unite with their kindred in Russia. And this is the case all the more, since the Austrian policy in the last decades did aim at a combination of Germans, Hungarians and Poles in a sort of ruling

caste in Austria, as opposed to the other nationalities of the Dual empire. Now, the Poles were the ruling class in Galicia, while the impoverished tillers of the soil were precisely Little Russians, and therefore there came about the almost inconceivable condition, from the standpoint of the policy of nationalities, that the Slavic majority in Austria-Hungary was condemned for decades to be powerless, and this, above all things, in the very period of the strong nationality movement.

But if it was to the interest of the Austrian state to sow dissension among the Slavic nations and to make use of the Polish plans against the Little Russians (Ruthenians), it was nevertheless in Austria's interest not to permit the Little Russians within the state to cast their eyes too much to the East. The latter condition was particularly dangerous in view of future warlike collisions, and therefore there was created in Austrian territory a "Ukrainian national movement," which naturally, apart from the direct support by the Austrian Government, also enjoyed a certain not less important support in the stupidity and folly of the Russian Government system, which found its expression in a number of repressive measures.

The close connection between the Vienna Government and the "Ukrainian" propaganda cannot be disputed. Personally, I have a very lively recollection, from the earliest days of the war, of two "Ukrainian" students, who had come to Bulgaria in order to carry on a propaganda for the erection of a "Ukrainian" national state, under the rule of an Austrian archduke. I met these young men at the house of the Bulgarian Party Secretary, Kirkov, and we both laughed heartily at the two propagandists when they tried to convince us that they were Socialists. Their central office was of course in Vienna. Even Pilsudski is a Socialist—God save the mark!

It was striking, that not only was the Ukrainian propaganda carried on diligently as long as Austria had any means to support it, but that it suddenly suffered a remarkable atrophy, as soon as Ukraine became a "nation" by itself. It then no longer received the powerful support it had gotten before.

The history of the Ukrainian idea after the outbreak of the revolution is of too recent date to require more than a hasty recapitulation.

Under the early revolutionary governments, the Ukrainian "Rada" did not dare make any attempts to separate Little Russia from the rest of Russia. These "Socialistic" nationalists, of the type of Grushevsky and Vinnichenko, allied themselves however with the great opposition party, with the Bolsheviks. But it turned out, as was also the case with Finland, that the opportunism which expressed itself by cooperating with the nationalists was destined to avenge itself in the most terrible manner. Hardly had the Bolshevik revolution been victorious, than its friends of yesterday grasped every opportunity to fall upon the Bolsheviks from behind, and to proclaim independent

worlds with arbitrarily chosen boundaries, without even consulting the other parties interested.

But the Ukrainian peasants were as little inclined to tolerate a bourgeois republic as were their Great Russian brothers, and when finally the usurpers in the Rada was forced to take to their heels before the Soviet troops, they turned in their distress to the enemy of all democracy, to the German imperialists, which was very natural after all, for, as Austria was allied with Germany, Austria's vassals were also, of course, allied with Germany.

The reward for this treachery was not lacking. After the Central Powers had made use of the Ukrainian nationalists who had been literally driven out of the Ukrainian territory, at the peace comedy in Brest-Litvosk, they were considered to have done their duty, and one fine day the German military forces dispersed the Rada and installed as a director one of the former creatures of the Czar, who naturally wanted to hear of no "Ukrainian movement."

Well, the sacred Ilium of the Central Powers was destined to fall, and one fine day Skoropadia collapsed. The Soviet power was reestablished, but the statesmen of the "Directorate" and the "Rada," who, like the Finnish bourgeoisie, had suddenly discovered that they were pro-Entente, now turned, with the aid of Black troops, merely for the pleasure of beating their heads against another ally of the Entente, to Denikin, and finally, together with him, were turned out of the country by the discontent of the people and the Red Army of the Bolsheviks.

What happened during the past year, particularly the refusal of the Entente to drop their support of Denikin, produced a great change of opinion among the "Ukrainian intelligentsia," that is, among the university trained *petite bourgeoisie*, which had held aloft the flag of nationalism. Both Professor Grushevsky, the President of the former Directorate, and one of the most sympathetic and able advocates of the "Ukrainian idea," and Vinnichenko, the famous author, chairman of the Rada, have recognized that the Entente intends only to reestablish the old Russian Czarism. They have therefore declared themselves to be advocates of the Soviet system. Personally, I regard the Soviet Republic of Ukraine also as an unnecessary cession to a petty bourgeois Ukrainian ideology, but one thing is certain: the Little Russian individuality has certainly developed more freely under the Bolsheviks than under Denikin, who began his rule in Ukraine by closing all the Little Russian schools, as well as the university at Kiev. When Petlura, this king without a kingdom, allies himself in an armed coalition with the Poles, this is no more than the logical conclusion of the Ukrainian movement.

We in Scandinavia cannot as a rule be in a position to understand the ridiculous baseness that is involved in the declaration of the Poles, with Petlura as their right hand, that they are again going to "liberate" Ukraine. For the Poles are hated by the Little Russian population with a

hatred that has been kept warm by centuries of maltreatment and exploitation. About one-half of the territory of Little Russia was in the possession of the great Polish magnates, and it is the ruling junker class of Poland that now wants to recover the dominions lost by it during the revolution. This is the real cause of this war of "liberation." Another element is the desire of Poland, at the command of the Entente, to cut off Soviet Russia from the granaries of southern Russia for the lifting of the blockade could not otherwise be materialized, in other words, the blockade could not be maintained in practice in any other way!

And the national hero Petlura is beginning to do his share in this nation liberating process, by ceding to his great political companions the genuinely Little Russian territory of Galicia and Cholm! And his further cuts will probably not be better than his beginnings.

We are now beginning to understand what it was that lay behind the constant Polish shouts of the last half year, concerning a projected Russian offensive. It is precisely the same mode of thought, as lay behind Germany's herostratically notorious act of war when she marched through Belgium for the reason, as she said, that France had planned to march through it if she did not.

But it is always a very risky thing to attempt to force the Lord's hand. Pan Pilsudski will learn this to his cost. For it is no use putting any faith in the fact that his army, as Karl Ferdinand Lundin maintains, is far more disciplined and trained than Denikin, Kolchak and Yudenich's armies. The fact is that a revolutionary war is not the same as any other kind of war. Great masses of the population of the country itself will sympathize with those attacked, and these feelings cannot be prevented from spreading to the army also. And this will be all the more the case in a country like Poland, where Bolshevism is, as a matter of fact, already gnawing away the ground under the feet of the present system, and there is the additional fact that all the social classes of Russia will rise as one man against the plans of these mad imperialists. A consideration of these facts will enable one to understand what a dreadful mess the Poles have prepared for themselves, and that they will probably have no cause to be pleased with the outcome. The consequence will probably be that the catastrophe which was feared, and which they wish to avoid, will befall them all the earlier.

It is my opinion that Poland will be ruled by Soviets within six months.

### THE VERDICT ON KOLCHAK'S REIGN

A revolutionary tribunal of the Siberian Revolutionary Committee has announced its verdict over the members of Kolchak's former government. The verdict records:

1. That these members of Kolchak's government took part in a conspiracy together with foreign governments against the Government of the

Workers and attempted to reerect the old Czarist regime;

2. That they organized an armed war of starvation against the Soviet Government;

3. That they plundered the property of Soviet Russia and handed it out to foreign governments;

4. That they treasonably invited the armed troops of foreign imperialistic governments to come in against the state to which they themselves belonged;

5. That they brought about a gigantic devastation of Russian national property as well as that of the working population;

6. That they systematically organized mass executions.

In all twenty-four persons were sentenced, including five sentenced to death by shooting. The others were sentenced to hard labor either for life or for periods of five or ten years.

The telegram does not report the execution of the death sentences. While the death penalty has been abolished in Soviet Russia, this does not apply to the front, and the tribunal referred to is within the war zone.

### ENGLISH PRISONERS AT BAKU

AMSTERDAM, June 3.—A representative of the military authorities in the English House of Commons, declared, upon inquiry, that when the Bolsheviks occupied Baku, they took five marine officers and twenty-five sailors prisoners and that all attempts on the part of the English Government to obtain their release had thus far been fruitless. When asked why the English Government was continuing her peace negotiations with the Bolsheviks when they were holding English seamen prisoners, the representative of the War Office replied: "This is a matter of diplomacy which does not concern our department."

### NEW SCHEMES AGAINST RUSSIA

*Mad France.*

KOVNO, May 22 (Lithuanian Telegraph Agency).—The chief of the French Military Mission of this city, has set out for Riga to attend a conference, the object of which is to strengthen the Entente Cordiale between the three Baltic States.

The mad imperialists of France are continuing their machinations against Soviet Russia. It is their purpose to drag the countries round about France into the same destructive policy; Foch, the greatest bandit and assassin of the continent, desires new victories. The working people of every country must do away with this monstrous policy of intrigue on the part of France, no matter what the cost may be.

### MOSCOW DISINFECTION STATION

The Council of People's Commissars has published a decree stating that Moscow is to erect a disinfecting station. All travellers arriving in the capital must take a bath there, and their clothes must be disinfected.

## 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.

**T**HE blockade is broken. Not by the recent announcement of the American State Department, which changed nothing and left the barriers as high as ever between America and Russia, as the official statement published elsewhere in this issue points out. But the blockade is broken, nevertheless. Indeed, at this moment when we are forced to take a most pessimistic view of the prospects of an early resumption of trade between Russia and America, we are all the more glad to be able to bring our readers the good news, which reaches us from many sources, that at last the gates are down and a great stream of long awaited supplies is steadily flowing into Soviet Russia. Trade has begun, and large consignments of tools, machinery, medicines and food stuffs are actually crossing the border at many points. The first shipments are only the beginnings of the enormous quantity of goods of all sorts needed to fill the requirements of a population suffering from the deprivations wrought by war and blockade. But even these first shipments are large. Before the end of June several hundred carloads of agricultural implements had already reached Reval consigned to Soviet Russia. According to the *London Daily Herald*, a list of shipments shortly expected, as published in *Pravda* last month, included: fifty-two locomotives to be delivered by July 1; over a million scythes; 15,000 threshing machines, 7,000 reaping machines, 400 cultivators; 102,000 ordinary files and 330,000 saw files, of which half were to be delivered by July 1. In view of the large amount of goods expected at Reval and Petrograd, arrangements were being made to run a daily freight train of six cars from Reval to Petrograd and a daily train of forty cars from Petrograd to Moscow. On June 22 the third cargo of Swedish merchandise, consisting of agricultural implements, machinery and books, valued at one million kroner, left Stockholm for Reval consigned to Soviet Russia. It was announced at that time that regular weekly freight sailings would shortly be inaugurated to carry the increasing volume of Swedish manufactures ordered for Russia.

According to a recent Moscow radio message, between May 8 and June 19 the following consignments from abroad had passed through Yamburg into Soviet Russia: 269 carloads of agricultural implements, 117 carloads of paper, eight carloads of leather, three carloads of saws, eleven car-

loads of tanning extract, sixty-two carloads of garden seeds, 827 carloads of potato seed; a total of 1,297 carloads. In addition, the same wireless message reported, among the goods unloaded at Reval and awaiting shipments to Russia were thirteen automobiles, 2,400 poods of sole leather, 5,000 barrels of herrings.

Cheerful news of the same sort comes from the south. Traffic is moving. Fuel and oil are coming to the factories and the wheels are turning faster and faster. A correspondent of the *London Daily Herald*, recently returned from a trip down the Volga, reports a brisk revival of the river traffic:

All day we passed tows, tank and wood barges, and long processions of lumber . . . The river presented a busy scene. A good percentage of the 2,000 river craft is back in use.

This means a great deal to Russia. In all the cities along the route, factories had been crippled on account of the lack of fuel, oil and wood. In Nizhni the great Samarov steel works, and in Samara the flour mills, have been hampered. Now they are commencing at a high speed to work again, because oil from Baku is moving up the river via Astrakhan.

Samara now has a store of 400,000 poods of oil, and her mills will turn out more than 30,000,000 poods of flour this year.

It will be long before all the want and wastage of the last two years is repaired. But the period of isolation is over at last and a start has been made towards replenishing the depleted stocks. The volume of commerce is steadily swelling and before long factories in all lands will be contributing their products to supply the needs of the Russian workers. In the end, even the United States will send its share.

\* \* \*

**F**OR the present, American manufacturers and merchants remain debarred from entering the Russian market. The announcement from the State Department regarding the lifting of restrictions against trade in certain unspecified commodities in no way removes the main obstacles. Indeed, the official declaration of American policy, unless considerably modified by further explanation, appears to proclaim a continued policy of non-intercourse and embargo. Postal and cable communications between Russia are not restored. Travelling facilities are not to be granted. There is no hint of any provision for the establishment of Russian credits in America and no suggestion of any means by which Americans can be paid for their goods. So far as its actual effect upon the resumption of trade is concerned, the recent announcement is an empty gesture. Without the essential means of communication and financial exchange, trade cannot be resumed. Russia remains as effectively blockaded from America as ever.

Comparatively small lots of American goods have already been purchased and shipped to Russia. But these transactions depended upon the willingness of the American merchant to wait for payment until the receipt of his goods in Esthonia. No considerable volume of business can be tran-

sacted in this inconvenient and uneconomical manner. So long as the Soviet Government is not permitted to establish credits in this country and so long as drafts upon Russian funds abroad cannot be safely brought to New York, there is no way in which the vast purchases commensurate with Russia's needs can be made in America.

Of the great volume of manufactured articles already in transit to Soviet Russia only a very small portion are of American origin. Moreover, as this commerce rapidly increases, as it will during the next few months, the American share of it will not increase proportionately. Some articles of American make, sold to middlemen in Europe and Scandinavia, will find their way into Russia. But the Soviet Government will desire, so far as possible, to avoid uneconomical commission transactions of this kind. If the goods manufactured by America cannot be purchased directly from America, substitutes will have to be found for them elsewhere.

We see it confidently predicted in the usual quarters for such predictions that the so-called "lifting of the blockade" will result in the unmasking of Bolshevik propaganda and the speedy downfall of the Soviet Government. The line of reasoning involved here is not quite clear to us. So far as we can see, the only effect to be anticipated is the further confusion and entanglement of the American exporter, with perhaps a further acceleration of the activities of British and other European merchants who may have been spurred to even greater haste by a mistaken notion that the Americans were at last to be permitted to enter the field.

\* \* \*

**A**LTHOUGH every returning traveller of intelligence brings the same report, it is pleasant and reassuring, nevertheless, to remind ourselves now and then of the constant normality of many phases of life in Russia, even in the midst of civil war and invasion, and in spite of plague and blockade. We dwell so much in our thoughts upon the unexampled hardships and sufferings of the Russian workers, we rejoice so greatly over their fortitude and are so constantly inspired by their heroism in battle with the enemy and their no less heroic successes in the daily economic struggle, that the picture we carry of the whole of life within Russia suffers a certain distortion, which the monstrous perversions of the capitalist daily press in no wise serve to correct. The proportions are restored by reading such a letter as that sent out by one of the British Labor Delegation to Soviet Russia, William McLaine of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers.

The people, McLaine writes, live their lives much as we do at home. They go to work; they take their leisure; they read their daily and weekly newspapers, and do all the thousand and one things that ordinary people do.

The theatres are full every evening, and it is rather interesting to note that they are open on Sunday, when the people can more easily get there, and closed on Monday, so that the artists and workers can rest. Last

Thursday we went to the Summer Theatre to hear Shaliapin in the "Barber of Seville" . . .

On Saturday we went for a week-end in the country. We took our food with us, and travelled third class in the usual way. It was just like a week-end from London or Manchester. Crowds of people were doing the same, and as we came back on Sunday they were to be seen on the station platforms with great bunches of wild flowers gathered from the fields and woods. There is nothing very exciting about all this. I know, but I am just trying to show that the normal is the dominant note.

For those who desire religion there are the enormous number of churches for which Moscow is noted, all open in the usual way.

Another English observer gives a similar picture after a trip through the southern provinces. Mr. George Young, the correspondent of the London *Daily Herald*, writes:

The provincial cities present a normal appearance. Everywhere reigns perfect order without the apparent use of police. I sat in the Park at Saratov and watched the parade of pretty girls in white and young men neatly dressed, and almost thought myself in a prosperous English provincial city . . .

In the villages . . . the peasants have everywhere they want to eat and look very fit . . . In most villages you see plenty of pigs running about the lanes. One village of 5,000 inhabitants boasted 7,000 head of cattle . . .

I spent Sunday in one little hamlet and watched the peasants streaming out of the local church. They stated that religion is not interfered with and that they supported the priest now themselves instead of the State. Said they: "Maybe he doesn't get quite so fat as he used to."

So life runs on in the towns and villages of Soviet Russia: the peasant better fed than ever before, and the priest perhaps not quite so overfed. Where, then, is all the "chaos," where the "utter collapse," where the "dissatisfaction," which we are told is so shortly to bring on the downfall of the Communist regime? Is it in the ranks of the Red Army hurling the Polish invader out of the land? Or is it concealed in this picture of peaceful, normal people going about their work and play, in and out of church and theatres, on Sunday picnics in the country or walking out in the parks? Or is perhaps only in the bitter minds of those who hate this new thing so that they will never stop to learn that it has come to stay?

\* \* \*

**S**OME must remember the glorious visions and proud programs that were developed in the press of this country and elsewhere when, after intervention had become a fact, the means were discussed by which the western civilization, with its highly developed industry and orderly process of economic life, would come to the aid of Russia, to rehabilitate the country and make happy its people as soon as the hateful Soviet regime should be overthrown. To be sure, prosaically speaking, the magnificent program would reduce itself to investments and trading with that country, so rich in natural resources. But in the situation in which Russia found itself after the devastations of war, this prosaic program meant progress and better life to the Russian people.

The program, however, had a "string to it" in

the form of the Soviet rule in Russia, and so the sphere of its action had to be reduced, to apply only to those parts of the country which, thanks to intervention, were prevented from having a government to their liking, and had to accept, for a time, one of foreign choice. But, unexpected to the "civilized" world, the hateful Soviets were able not only to establish their rule firmly in the regions which Allied intervention was not able to reach, but even slowly but steadily to drive out the interventionists from the occupied territories of Russia. As a result, the scheme of "aiding the Russian people" had to undergo changes, shrinking more and more in its field of application. One by one, Odessa, Archangel, Murman, Siberia, the Don and Kuban territories, the Caucasus, had to be abandoned, and the people left "to help themselves," as the "benefactors" of Russia invariably put it. Still, they have not lost all hopes for Russia's "rehabilitation" for, in certain recent issues of the *New York Times*, we read of the great hopes that are being pinned, in some circles, to the development of trade with—the Crimea. Mind you, of the hundred and sixty million people that were to receive the benefit of western trade, the "benefactors," with strange self-restraint, are ready to accept the homeopathic dose of some two million of Crimean population.

How is the head by hope not all forsaken,  
That ever cleaves to staliest stuff, and when  
With greedy hand he digs for treasures, then  
Is overjoyed, if earth-worms he hath taken!

So Faust might repeat in this case. On our part, we wish to console the "benefactors" with the thought that in case even these "earth-worms" should fail, and the Crimea be captured by Soviet arms, there nevertheless still remains a limited but grateful field of action in the persons of the Russian *émigrés* living in the large cities of Western Europe and America. Let the interested business world take heed, especially pawnbrokers, ready to cash aristocratic family jewels, smuggled out of the country, runners of card games, *petits chevaux*, roulette, bookmakers, and men of kindred occupations. Here is their opportunity. And perhaps the clients of these gentlemen—and the idle Russian nobility has always afforded them many clients—are more likely to "fall for" the schemes of ambitious "promoters" than the real people of Russia, who want real business for the real interests of both sides.

\* \* \*

WHEN large masses of mankind are stricken with calamities, it is next to impossible to expect even from sympathetic souls any attention to individual cases of misery and sorrow. The human field of vision is limited, and cannot be concentrated on a microcosmic world at a moment when its eye is focused on the great macocosm.

And yet a calamity that befalls the masses of people is reflected in multiform ways in the life-struggles of individuals and quite often attains,

in this little world, an intensity that brings it to the point of tragedy.

It is over two years since the intervention and the blockade of the Allies began to subject the people of Russia to war, starvation and all kinds of miseries. The Russian people bear all this heroically, happy in the consciousness that out of this misery and sorrow there will come a better and happier world, if not for themselves, then for their children. They go to war, they exert themselves in the Sisyphus task of building up their country, they limit their needs to the demands of the most primitive life, and they are nevertheless happy, with the happiness that great achievement gives to man.

Much worse is the case of the tens of thousands of Russian war prisoners, scattered all over Europe, some even in the hot regions of Africa, undergoing worse privations, in the concentration camps in which they are kept; and they must pass through even worse mental torments, due to the constant attempts on the part of the reactionaries to compel these innocent men to join the counter-revolutionary bands, and to war on their own brothers, and suffer maltreatment owing to their invariable refusal to obey the call of their masters.

A different case is that of the Russian emigrant workers and poorer intellectuals living in a strange land, and unable, because of the blockade, to return to their home country. Although they are in most cases better off materially than they were before they left Russia, and surely incomparably better off materially than they would be on their return to Russia, they invariably long with all their heart to return to their home land, ready to sacrifice all their savings to buy passage for themselves and their families, and suffering from their inability to do so. They feel that there, far away, their kin are passing through a great historic upheaval that is radically changing all that had existed before and that, by the way, had driven them away from their country and sent them to a strange land. They feel that their kin are living a great life, despite the fact that it is full of privations, and they want to unite with their brothers in their inspirations and in their sufferings, at the cost of abandoning a more comfortable and easy life, which is for them devoid of that human element that gives meaning to life. Those that have families may forget, through the worries of every day life, the longings of their hearts. But there is a considerable number of Russians who, in their exile, have no one to whom they could attach themselves, and are as lonesome as shooting-stars in the immense spheres of the universe. They wander around without aim, and sometimes, in despair of a better day, they put an end to their unenviable lives. A case of this kind, which recently was brought rather forcibly to the attention of this office, impels us to say these words concerning the unhappy lot of the solitary Russian in America.

## Terror in North Russia

[A recent number of "Krasnaya Gazeta" published the following article under the title "The White Guard Torture Chambers," written at Archangel by A. Dedikov, describing the customs prevailing under the "government" of General Miller, on the island of Yokanga, a place of banishment for political prisoners.]

THE head of the prison at that place was a certain Sadukov, a former convict in a prison for criminals, who had acted as warden in a Siberian prison. This "head" was a grim executioner, a real Sadist, who delighted in murdering and torturing prisoners. He commanded his subordinates to shoot the victims in their cells whenever the slightest noise could be heard on the part of the prisoners within. The latter had a categorical order to "sleep from five o'clock in the afternoon until eight o'clock in the morning." After five o'clock the earth huts (the place where the prisoners were kept) were as if dead, for the people in them, sentenced to a slow death, lay there without the slightest motion.

Whenever any seriously ill person in the earth-huts was heard to cough, the warden would step to the window and call out: "Quiet, or I shoot!"

Occasionally, at night, Sudakov would get up a little massacre in which the prisoners were the victims. In such cases he would have his henchmen surround the earth-huts and order them to beat with their gunstocks all the prisoners that happened to come their way. The "White" hangmen would pass from one hut to the other, leaving behind them the cries and moans of the maltreated victims. To find an occasion for such massacres Sudakov would also resort to provocation. He once decided to arrange a little "flight," for which purpose he made use of tunnels that had been dug in the huts. After a shot was fired as a signal there came a general shooting, which resulted in seven killed and more than twenty wounded, of whom several died later. With the aid of provocative denunciations Sudakov also succeeded in arranging a special trial concerning the above-mentioned "flight," thirteen prisoners were put before the court-martial at Murmansk and it was only due to some accident that they were not shot. The general conditions of life for the political prisoners were fully in accord with the character of the head of the prison. They were obliged to sit naked in their earth huts, practically without air, tortured by monsters. Under the floor they heard the trickling of water; when it rained, streams of water would flow into the huts through the roofs, which were full of holes. Every day, regardless of the weather, all the prisoners, half naked, were led out into the yard, where they were subjected to inspection. When the unfortunates requested clothes with which to cover their bodies, the guards would answer with derisive laughter and with assurances that things were better as they were, for they would die quicker. Under these circumstances the prisoners fell ill in great numbers. The "hospital" was not better than the earth-huts; it is not surprising that no one got well at the

"hospital." Of the prisoners, 185 died; the number who were ill rose to 400.

The author concludes: Yokanga will constitute the blackest page in the golden book of capital, which is soiled with the blood of tortured men.

The story of this prison should be trumpeted forth all over the world, so that men may shudder at its horrors.

This article is stated to be only the first of a series which will give accounts of the doings at Yokanga. The reports of those who will return from the other world—from Yokanga—will contain even worse things.

The bourgeois press of the world, daily reports every possible kind of fabricated story concerning the "cruelties" of the Bolsheviki, but guards carefully against reporting any of the acts of the Whites, who in this matter have really beaten the record in the history of the world.

### ARCHANGEL UNDER ENGLISH RULE

A recent number of *Krasnaya Gazeta* gives additional details of terror by describing scenes from the period in Archangel when the English were the administrators of the city.

Most of the schools in the northern territory were not operating during that period. English soldiers had broken up school benches and blackboards. Many schoolhouses had been transformed into Anglo-French barracks. At school entertainments the director of the gymnasium, as well as the students, were in the habit of drinking themselves into a state of intoxication. The English officers molested even school girls. In a girl's school in Archangel, eighty girls were found to be pregnant, a great number of whom were infected with venereal diseases. And from Archangel, syphilis cases were being spread in the northern region to an alarming extent. These gentlemen were so enterprising with regard to Russian women that no woman dared to go out into the streets at night. The English did not even hesitate to carry off women by force in broad daylight. The women who were so unfortunate as to be found infected with venereal diseases were shot down without further warning.

In addition to these diseases, English whiskey and other liquors were also imported by the English. The bourgeoisie at Archangel had expected entirely different things from the English. The "White" Russians had imagined that these bearers of civilization would bring them white bread and sugar as well as "order." In reality they acted as a "civilized" nation is accustomed to act towards an "uncivilized" colony. The English soldiers called the Russians pigs and treated them as such.

Street fights between English and Russian sol-

diers, as well as between Americans and Englishmen, were the order of the day. In June, 1919, such a street encounter, which had begun, quite "modestly," between a Russian civilian and an English soldier, finally assumed such gigantic dimensions that the number of English participants rose to about two thousand persons. To put down this "peaceful" scrimmage, a detachment of English sailors was sent out, and even the English Commander-in-Chief made a trip to the scene of battle. The greater part of the Russian participants in the encounter were immediately locked up. On the next day, the English Commander-in-Chief, General Miller, declared in the order of the day that those who were guilty of preparing for "Bolshevik uprisings," would be sentenced according to the rules of war.

Before their evacuation, at the end of September, the English stationed on the Northern Dvina (to be distinguished from the Western Dvina, which flows through Latvia) sank in that river 25,000,000 cartridges, 80 aeroplanes, cannons, several lighters full of coal and many automobiles. Intensive labor is being carried on now to recover these valuable properties. The English tried to make their flight appear as an intended evacuation. They tried to carry with them a part of the Russian population, in order to point out to the English workers that "the peaceful" inhabitants of Russia were fleeing before the "cruel Bolsheviks." But in spite of these indications of "evacuation," in spite of the promises of a splendid trip on an Atlantic steamer, and other alluring things, the English were compelled to leave Archangel in empty steamers on which they had loaded only a number of dilapidated German locomotives, which the Englishmen were annexing from Archangel.

But the English "benefactors" were boasting of their sugar and white bread. Thus, for example, an Allied officer said to a Russian lady who was cautiously censuring the conduct of the civilized nations at Archangel:

"Yes, that is the gratitude shown us by these Russian pigs for our white bread and sugar."

#### THE FAR EAST ECONOMIC POLICY

The peaceful policy of the Soviet Government placed before us a number of questions of a political and economic nature. Having introduced by force with the aid of the laboring masses, Soviet forms of rule in central Russia, the Soviet Government considers that in the interest of establishing the peace of the country, both internal and external, it is necessary to substitute peaceful methods for those of force. The boundary regions, which are in direct contact with capitalistic countries, must enter upon the path of a slow transition to unified state forms. The compulsory methods used in the Far East injured the interests of foreigners and created a state of nervousness among the people. It is necessary to make it understood that in these regions we considered forcible measures necessary in so far as the

Allies were in active opposition to Russia. At present, however, when the Allied policy towards Russia assumes a peaceful character, there is no need for a severe attitude towards the interests of foreign capital. Inasmuch as Russian proposals are received sympathetically by Europe and Asia, we, in the Far East, in our financial and economic relations with foreigners, will meet sympathetically and discuss all of their proposals.

Soviet Russia believes that it is possible to settle peacefully all questions pertaining to the exploitation of the natural resources of the Far East, and it does not hesitate to permit to a certain extent the participation of foreign capital in such exploitation, provided the capital is assigned to carry on long, serious work. One of our direct problems is to eliminate the private and cooperative capital now invested in the Far East, and to endeavor to set it to the task of increasing productivity; it is necessary to create, of these capitals, two compact active forces, and to direct their activity into one channel. We must turn these two forces into a strong competitor of the possible great aspirations of foreign capital.

Having admitted the view that the development of this region is to be carried on with the aid of capital, we modify only that portion of our labor policy which states that the workers are to take a direct part in the management of the affairs of the enterprises. This modification pertains to all private enterprise. The forms of contracts between labor and capital will continue their transformation, and will gradually assume the legislative form. We believe that productivity of labor and the development of industry can only be possible when the workers are well organized; the organs of the state power will only then be able to introduce the well-drawn up economic plans of the state, when they will deal with organized capital and organized labor.

The government organs will give enough attention to labor as well as to capitalist organizations, and will utilize all the efforts of either of these to cooperate with the government for the purpose of strengthening the economic and political power of Russia as a whole.—*Krasnoye Znamya*, April 28, 1920.

#### ELECTIONS TO MOSCOW SOVIET

At Moscow the elections of the Council of Workers' and Red Soldiers' Deputies are now taking place. The communists are elected in overwhelming numbers. Among the elected deputies are, the celebrated savant, K. A. Timiryazev and Maxim Gorky.

A resolution was adopted by the elective assembly of more than 1,000 persons. It declared that the railroad workers of the shops of Kursk elected Professor Timiryazev, thus symbolizing the union of labor and science; similarly, the workers of the railroad station of Parkhovo (Kazan railroad), in electing Maxim Gorky, wish to mark the union of labor and art, of which the popular proletarian writer is a brilliant representative.

## A Communist Manifesto from Poland

[The following is a translation from "Swit," Vienna, May 28, 1920.]

INSTEAD OF PEACE—A NEW WAR.

### SOLDIER WORKERS!

A new conflagration has come upon the Polish land.

Pilsudski is proclaiming in his manifesto a war for the "liberation of Ukraine." He announces that Polish armies will drive the "foreign invaders" out of the territories inhabited by the Ukrainian people. And the Ukrainian hireling of the Warsaw Government, Ataman Petlura, promises in his manifesto to conquer Ukraine beyond the city of Yekaterinoslav with the aid of the Polish arms.

That means a new war for life!

For almost four months the Polish Government has been deceiving the masses of the Polish people, concealing first the peace proposals of the governments of Russia and Ukraine, and then simulating a desire to take up peace negotiations. Public opinion was being hoodwinked with disputes over the place of negotiations, Borisov. Meantime, behind the scenes, in concert with French generals, a great offensive was being prepared against Soviet Ukraine, a bargain was being negotiated with Ataman Petlura, Ukrainian detachments were being reorganized and armed. The Government was speaking falsely of peace while it was preparing for a new war.

In the year 1918, Petlura, together with his government, brought upon Ukraine the German invasion, in order to strangle in its blood the workers' and peasants' revolution. Today, the same bandit becomes a convenient tool in the hands of new "liberators," the Polish conquerors, masquerading under the cloak of defenders of the "people's" Republic of Ukraine.

The real nature of such "liberation" a la Hindenburg can be seen right now in Lithuania and White Russia, in Volhynia and Podolia, where by the order of Pilsudski the predatory occupational authorities are now ruling. They are robbing the whole country, throttling the popular strivings for liberation, shackling the people with the chains of peonage while crushing all resistance with blood and iron.

The manifesto of Pilsudski is a declaration of war upon the revolutionary Ukraine. Revolution is to be crushed on the vast stretches of Ukraine—is to be swamped in the blood of the Polish soldiers. *The comedy of the peace negotiations is finding its conclusive end.* A war is beginning for the destruction of the Ukrainian revolution, and later the Russian as well.

**SOLDIER WORKERS!** The mad campaign of the Polish militarists cannot end with a victory. By squandering the blood of the Polish people for the purpose of strangling the revolution in the neighboring countries, Polish reaction is digging its own grave. But it depends upon us to bridle

this bloody madness, to prevent the war being drawn out into the seventh year.

Let us understand once for all, that they are deceiving us infamously those who under the cloak of defending Poland or liberating Ukraine are spilling ever new streams of our blood, placing Poland in the position of a gendarme of the capitalist counter-revolution in the east of Europe. Let us thrust aside the infamous deceivers of the Polish Socialist Party, who are hoodwinking us with their peace agitation, but who in reality are supporting Pilsudski and the imperialist government, who have drawn Poland into a new slaughter, in order to strangle the rule of the workers and peasants in Ukraine.

The Polish people will gain nothing from this predatory war under the leadership of bourgeois hangmen—nothing except famine, misery, and destruction. The toiling masses of Poland have an enemy not in the workers and peasants of Russia and Ukraine, but in their own exploiters. The toiling masses of Poland would trample upon their own rights and interests if they allow themselves to be thrust into war against their own brothers liberated by the revolution.

It is not Ukraine which we must liberate now, but *Poland from the rule of the bourgeoisie*. Our arms must be raised against the ruling band, always greedy for spoils and acquiring them at the price of our blood.

Only one thing can extricate us from the abyss of constant war calamities—the conquest of power by the proletariat, a Government of Workers' Councils.

In the face of the new terrible war that has been started, new slaughter for capitalist profits, there is only one way out for us—revolution.

Let the new criminal campaign of the ruling hangmen awake to a struggle the entire proletariat of the villages and cities.

Down with the piratical campaign against Ukraine!

Down with the Government of Mass murder!

Long live Soviet Ukraine!

Long live Soviet Russia!

Long live a Polish Republic of the Workers' Councils.

*Central Committee of the Communist Labor Party of Poland.*

### SUBSCRIBE TO SOVIET RUSSIA

If you are going to the country, you will not want to depend on chance or on a small news-stand for your copies of SOVIET RUSSIA. You may be sure of its delivery regularly for ten weeks by sending us one dollar for that purpose.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

## An Appeal to the Labor Army of Petrograd

[The following appeal was adopted in the course of the meeting of the Petrograd Soviet after the report of Comrade Zinoviev on the creation of the Labor Army of Petrograd.]

Comrades, Soldiers of the Labor army! The Petrograd Soviet salutes you in the name of the entire working population of Petrograd on this day that you enter a new and glorious arena. The heroic Red Army having repulsed the attacks of the world organization of the "White Guard" on all fronts, has obtained for the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia the possibility of giving themselves to the works of peace. But the counter-revolution, defeated on the fronts, is not yet entirely crushed.

Remnants of the Denikin bands are still to be found in the Northern Caucasus. The Ukraine is not yet entirely freed of the "White Guard." The North of Russia is still in the hands of the creatures of English imperialism. The capitalists of the Entente countries are still trying to set the Polish "White Guard" upon Soviet Russia.

These pitiable remnants of the counter-revolution must be completely settled with, or they may again become a formidable menace.

Thus, we must in no way diminish our military force. But also we must not for a moment abandon the most energetic struggle against economic disorganization, hunger, cold, disease. That is why the Soviet Republic is transforming entire military armies into armies of labor, without demobilizing them, but maintaining them as military units. These labor armies now devote all their forces and means to the fight against economic disorder, while remaining a formidable military force, ready to rush into combat at any moment, at the first call of the workers' and peasants' government.

Comrades, Red soldiers of the old Seventh Army, now soldiers of the Revolutionary Labor Army of Petrograd! Your heroic and glorious army, united with the workers of Petrograd, twice defended the city against a menacing danger. Thanks to what were we strong in this struggle? What was the force which annihilated Yudenich and wrested peace from Esthonia? It was the force created by the union of the Red front with the Red forces in the rear. We have now before us a new and immense work.

And we can accomplish this work, upon which depends the fate of Soviet Russia, if we not only preserve this military union, but increase it five-fold, and transform it into a union of labor. Our factories are idle. The railroads are destroyed. Locomotives are wanting. There is no fuel. There is no bread. Peasant exploitations are disorganized. The country is suffering from lack of articles of the greatest necessity. We must procure fuel, repair the locomotives, operate the factories, in order that the city may aid the country—to bring its products there.

The peasants must be supplied with agricultural implements. Agriculture must be raised to the necessary level. The country must be given elec-

tric light, and chemical fertilizers; the peasants must be given fabrics, nails, oil. The labor army will help the peasants work the soil, and harvest and store the products. We cannot do it without your aid and if we should not do it, it would mean that the sacred blood of our best comrades, fallen for the defence of Red Petrograd, shall have been shed in vain. We must overcome the economic disorder. And we shall vanquish it with the aid of the Revolutionary Labor Army of Petrograd.

Comrades, soldiers of the labor army! It is together that we beat Yudenich, let us then march together, shoulder to shoulder, to a new combat against the cursed misfortunes of the people.

And let our enemies know that the fighting strength and military discipline remain the same in the ranks of the labor army of Petrograd, and that at any moment it can again, from a labor army, become a military army. And if the frou-sards and the lazy are still found in the ranks of the army, let them know well that deserters from labor will be punished as pitilessly as those deserting from the war.

Defenders of Petrograd against the white hands, forward! Forward in the name of the regeneration of Petrograd!

Eternal glory to the heroic Seventh Army—the protector of Petrograd. Long live the Revolutionary Labor Army of Petrograd!

---

### ADDRESS ON LABOR MOBILIZATION

At a meeting of railway engineers held several days ago, Professor Gredeskul, a former Cadet, delivered a particularly important address on the mobilization of labor, and admonished his colleagues to devote all their energies to the economic reconstruction of the Soviet state. In an article in *Economic Railway Exploitation*, the same professor states that the Soviet Republic has undertaken the task of realizing the ideal of the liberation of labor from economic and moral oppression.

---

### REVIEW OF THE GARRISON OF PETROGRAD

The second day of the fetes on the occasion of the second anniversary of the creation of the Red Army began on the 23d of February with a review of the troops for internal defence of Petrograd. Towards noon, the vast Place Uritzky was black with troops of all the armed branches. There was also numerous cavalry, bristling with a forest of lances, prettily decorated with Soviet emblems. On the two flanks of the Art Palace (the old Winter Palace), were the infantry and the military aspirants, forming a circle ringed, near the Arch, by the marines and the troops for internal defence.

## Official Soviet Radios

### RADIO SENT TO LORD CURZON BY CHICHERIN ON JUNE 11

The Russian Government cannot refrain from remarking that the change of attitude of the British Government towards the new offensive of Wrangel's White guards against Russia would have been more beneficent to the real interests of the Russian and British people and to the cause of the mutual understanding of the two Governments had it happened at an earlier state of the above offensive. As much as the declaration of the British Government disassociating itself from Wrangel's attack upon Russia is to be welcomed, the fact remains that this attack is the outcome of the political protection lent to Wrangel's White Guards by the British Government's diplomatic intervention, and of the direct help rendered to them by the Allies. If, under the cover of Great Britain's diplomatic protection, the White Guards have prepared their offensive, the latter cannot be considered as being in no connection whatever with the British Government's attitude. The White Guards Commander-in-Chief, Wrangel himself, in an order to his men, dated May 6, openly and bluntly refers to Great Britain's diplomatic intervention on his behalf as to a means for securing for him Crimea and for preparing a new blow against Soviet Russia. It is true that it is Wrangel with his White Guards and not a British general who is once more attacking Russia, but the arms and munitions he is using have been given to him by the British Government and other Allied Governments; his strategical movements have taken place under the protection of British and other Allied ships; he has received the necessary coal from Great Britain and the Allied fleet has partly assisted him, partly directly participated in his landing operations. The Russian Government cannot therefore share the point of view of the absence of responsibility of the British Government as to this new aggression against Russia. It considers it the more important to ascertain what actual effect will be given by the British Government to their present opposition against Wrangel's offensive move. Seeing that at the time when the British Government, on the basis of the non-reception of our answer which was held back by its own agents, considered us as being adverse to the British proposals of amnesty—the same government threatening us with new military operations of the British forces against our troops and our territory—we claim the right to expect that the same measures will be applied to Wrangel now that it is he the obstacle to the accomplishment of the British Government's will, and we would find it expedient to be timely informed thereof in order to enable us to coordinate our measures in this respect with those of the British Government running in the same direction. Seeing likewise that in this question all that hindered a full community of views between both govern-

ments seems to have been removed, we would like to know what is the obstacle still in the way of general negotiations between our governments aimed at a full agreement upon all pending questions.

*People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,*  
CHICHERIN.

### LITHUANIA'S DEMANDS

Moscow, May 26.—At the fourth meeting between the Russian and Lithuanian Peace Delegation, the Lithuanian delegation presented its objections on the boundary question. These were chiefly to the effect that Lithuania should receive, in addition to the Kovno provinces, also certain districts of the provinces of Suvalki, Vilna, and Grodno. The objections were based on ethnographic data and religious statistics, which assumed that the entire Catholic population should be considered as belonging to Lithuania. Rosenbaum, representing the Lithuanian Jews, spoke in favor of the right of self-determination not only for nations but for all groups living on certain territories. In his answer, Yoffe expressed his distrust of his correctness of the historical "facts." To demand that every Catholic should be considered belonging to Lithuania would be very bad for the Poles, for instance. The only righteous and acceptable principle is the right of self-determination of populations. To yield this right to every group would be equivalent to making every town an independent republic.

At the congress of White Russians, recently held at Minsk, the wish was expressed for independence, while other delegates spoke for a union of White Russia with Russia. The province of Grodno can therefore not be given to Lithuania. Yoffe proposed that all boundary questions should be treated in detail by a special commission.

### SUPPLYING POLAND WITH MUNITION

Moscow, June 3.—The People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, sent a telegram to the Czecho-Slovak Foreign Minister, Benesch, in which he protested against the action of Czecho-Slovakia, in continuing the delivery of war supplies to Poland, in view of the fact that this occurred at a time when the governments of both countries had agreed to begin an exchange of prisoners and citizens of their respective countries.

### SOVIET RUSSIA AND AZERBEIDJAN

Moscow, June 5.—The Central Committee of the Communists of Azerbeidjan have expressed the gratitude of the peasants and workmen of Azerbeidjan to Lenin and Trotsky for the help given them by the Russians. They have offered their aid against Poland.

# Press Cuttings

## Russia's Raw Materials

[The following interview with Rykov, President of the Supreme Council of National Economy, appeared in the "Manchester Guardian" on June 18, 1920.]

REVAL, June 10.—Rykov, the President of the Supreme Council of National Economy, is one of the hardest-worked men in the Republic, and the only day on which I was able to have a long talk with him (although on several occasions he snatched minutes to give me information on particular questions which interested me) was on a holiday in Easter-week, when the old Siberian Hotel, now the offices of the Council, was deserted and I walked through empty corridors until I found Rykov and his secretary at work as usual. Most of our conversation was concerned with particular economic perspectives of Russia on which I was collecting information. Some parts of it, however, were of more general interest, and these I am putting together here.

After talking of oil, the building of the railway from Alexandrov Gai to the Emba, the prospects of developing the oil industry in that district, the relative values of those deposits with those of Baku, and the possible decreasing significance of Baku in Russian industry, generally, we passed to broader perspectives. I asked him what he thought of the relations between agriculture and industry in Russia, and supposed that he did not imagine that Russia would ever become a great industrial country.

He replied: "Of course not. But we may have to wait a long time before the inevitable arrives, and there is a Supreme Economic Council dealing with Europe as a single economic whole. If that should come about we should, of course, from the very nature of our country, be called upon in the first place to provide food for Europe, while the western countries would supply our mechanical needs. We should hope enormously to improve our agriculture, working on a larger scale, using mechanical ploughs and tractors, which would be supplied us by the West. But in the meantime we have to face the fact that events may cause us to be, for all practical purposes, in a state of blockade for perhaps a score of years, and, so far as we can, we must be ready to depend on ourselves alone.

### *Gigantic Electricity Schemes*

"For example, we want mechanical ploughs, which could be produced abroad. We have had to start making them ourselves. The first electric plough made in Russia and used in Russia started work last year, and this year we shall have a number of such ploughs made in our country, not because it is economical to make them so, but because we could get them in no other way. In so far as is possible, we shall have to make ourselves self-supporting, so as somehow or other to get along even if the blockade, formal or perhaps willy-nilly (imposed by the inability of the West to supply us), compels us to postpone cooperation with the rest of Europe. Every day of such postponement is one in which the resources of Europe are not being used in the most efficient manner to supply the needs not only of our own country but of all."

I referred to what he had told me last year about the intended electrification of Moscow by a station using turf fuel.

"That," he said, "is one of the plans which, in spite of the war, have gone a very long way towards completion. We have built the station in the Ryazan government, on the Shadul peat mosses, about 110 versts from Moscow. Before the end of May that station should be actually at work. Another station at Kashira, in the Tula government (on the Oka), using the small coal produced in the Moscow coal fields, will be at work before the autumn. This year similar stations are be-

ing built at Ivanovo-Voznesensk and at Nizhni-Novgorod. Also, with a view to making the most economic use of what we already possess, we have finished, both in Petrograd and in Moscow, a general unification of all the private power stations, which now supply their current to a single main cable. Similar unification is nearly finished at Tula and at Kostroma. The big wyter-power station on the rapids of the Volkhov is finished in so far as land construction goes, but we can proceed no farther until we have obtained the turbines, which we hope to get from abroad.

"As you know, we are basing our plans in general on the assumption that in course of time we shall supply the whole of Russian industry with electricity, of which we also hope to make great use in agriculture. That, of course, will take a number of years." (I have collected detailed information and maps on these wider perspectives of Russia's economic development which I hope to include in a separate article. They are of interest as indications of future geographical redistributions of industry in Russia, of eventual tendencies and not of immediate possibilities.)

### *Raw Materials: A Transport Problem*

Considering the question of the import of machinery from abroad, I asked him whether in existing conditions of transport Russia was actually in a position to export the raw materials with which alone the Russians could hope to buy what they want. He said:

"Actually we have at hand about two million poods (a pood is a little over 36 English pounds) of flax, and any quantity of light leather (goat, etc.), but the main districts where we have raw material for ourselves or for export are far away. Hides, for example, we have in great quantities in Siberia, in the districts of Orenburg and the Ural River and in Tashkent. I have myself made the suggestion that we should offer to sell this stuff where it is—that is to say, not delivered at a seaport, and that the buyers should provide their own trains, which we should eventually buy, paying with the raw material itself, so that after a certain number of journeys the trains should become ours. In the same districts we have any quantity of wool, and in some of these districts corn. We cannot, in the present condition of our transport, even get this corn for ourselves. In the same way we have great quantities of rice in Turkestan, and actually are being offered rice from Sweden because we cannot transport our own. Then we have over a million poods of copper ready for export on the same conditions. But it is clear that if the western countries are unable to help in the transport they cannot expect to get raw materials from us."

I asked about platinum. He laughed.

"That is a different matter. In platinum we have a world monopoly, and can consequently afford to wait. Diamonds and gold, they can have as much as they want of such rubbish; but platinum is different, and we are in no hurry to part with it. But diamonds and gold ornaments, the jewelry of the Czars, we are ready to give to any king in Europe who fancies them, if he can give us some less ornamental, but more useful locomotives instead."

I asked him if Kolchak had damaged the platinum mines. He replied, "Not at all. On the contrary, he was promising platinum to everybody who wanted it, and he set the mines going; so we arrived to find them in good condition, with a considerable yield of platinum ready for us."

(I am inclined to think that, in spite of Rykov's rather intransigent attitude on the question, the Rus-

sians would none the less be willing to export platinum, if only on account of the fact that in comparison with its great value it requires little transport, and so would make possible for them an immediate bargain over some of the machinery they most urgently need.)

Finally we talked of the growing importance of the Council of National Economy. Rykov was of opinion that it would eventually become the center of the whole state organism, "it and the trade unions, which will then be the purely productive unions organizing the actual producers in each branch."

#### *Political Parties Disappearing*

"Then you think that as your further plans develop, with the creation of more and more industrial centers, with special productive populations concentrated round them, the councils of the trade unions will tend to become identical with the Soviets elected in the same districts by the same industrial units?"

"Precisely," said Rykov, "and in that way the Soviets, useful during the period of transition as an instrument of struggle and dictatorship, will be merged with the unions." (One important factor, as Lenin pointed out when considering the same question, is here left out of account, namely the political development of the enormous agricultural as opposed to industrial population.)

"But if this merging of political Soviets with productive unions occurs, the questions that concern people will cease to be political questions, but will be purely questions of economics?"

"Certainly. And we shall see the disappearance of political parties. That process is already apparent. In the present huge Trade Union Conference there are only sixty Mensheviks. The Communists are swallowing one party after another. Those who were not drawn over to us during the period of struggle are now joining us during the process of building, and we find that our differences now are not political at all, but concerned only with the practical details of construction." He illustrated this by pointing out the present constitution of the Supreme Council of National Economy. There are under it fifty-three departments or centers (textile, soap, wool, timber, etc.), each controlled by a "college" of three or more persons. There are 232 members of these colleges or boards in all, and of them eighty-three are workmen, seventy-nine are engineers, one is an ex-director, fifty are from the clerical staff, and nineteen unclassified. Politically 115 are Communists, 105 are of no party at all, and twelve are of non-Communist parties.

He continued: "Further, in following the other parties, the Communists themselves will cease to exist as a political party. Consider only that youths coming to their manhood during this year in Russia and in the future will not be able to confirm from their own experience the reasoning of Karl Marx, because they will have had no experience of a capitalist country. What can they make of the class struggle? The class struggle here is already over, and the distinctions of class have already gone altogether. In the old days, members of our party were men who had read, or tried to read, Marx's 'Capital,' who knew the 'Communist Manifesto' by heart, and were occupied in continual criticism of the basis of capitalist society. Look at the new members of our party. Marx is quite unnecessary to them. They join us, not for struggle in the interest of an oppressed class, but simply because they understand our aims in constructive work. And as this process continues we old Social-Democrats shall disappear, and our places will be filled by people of entirely different character grown up under entirely new conditions."

#### **WHAT THE CONFISCATED ISSUE OF "OSAKA MAINICHI" CONTAINED**

The first wire sent by Fusse on April 12 from Moscow was printed in *Osaka Mainichi* of April 18. This issue was confiscated by order of the authorities. The

Central Information Bureau succeeded in obtaining a copy of this issue.

The wire is headed: "A disclosed secret of the workers' and peasants' Russia." At the beginning of the report Fusse states that he received from the Soviet Government an official permit to enter Moscow. In Reval he boarded a train put at his disposal by the Soviet of People's Commissars. On entering the territory of Russia Fusse received a definite amount of bread and sugar. He was greatly surprised by the surroundings: women were cleaning the stations while singing the "Internationale"; the word "Tovarishch" (comrade) was heard everywhere. The correspondent further says: "It seemed to me that I had entered a new world."

The correspondent, Fusse, passed Yamburg and Gatchina—these places of recent terrible battles. The suburbs of Petrograd have wire obstructions and trenches everywhere. The correspondent regrets that he was unable to stop in Petrograd for lack of time, and he had therefore to content himself with just a walk within the surroundings of the stations. He states that the appearance of Petrograd had not changed at all; the streets of Petrograd are very crowded. The correspondent observed the faces of the inhabitants but could not detect traces of fatigue and privations, although much is said about this in foreign countries.

On the 7th of April Fusse arrived in Moscow. The city has changed entirely. Almost all the stores are closed and no signs with golden letters may be seen. Instead of these, government stores can be seen; these issue all sorts of articles on presentation of cards. The correspondent saw in various places small stores, in which handicraft articles were being sold.

Fusse noticed that the change in the psychology of the population is much more serious and profound than the change in the exterior surroundings. The workmen and women, soldiers and children, are full of energy and merriment. One can seldom meet a "bourgeois." The Intellectuals, who placed great hopes in Kolchak and Denikin until last fall and have since been sabotaging, are now convinced that it is futile to struggle against the course of events.

Further, Fusse describes his meeting with one of the former rich landowners, who lost their property on account of the Bolsheviks. This former landowner said that he was employed in a factory in the capacity of engineer, was getting a decent salary, and, in general, lead a quiet life.

According to Fusse the situation within the Republic is gradually getting better: the disturbances have ceased, the epidemics of typhus and other illnesses are disappearing. The future of Russia can be looked upon optimistically. Economic disintegration and the shortage of food are felt keenly.

The correspondent admits that before he entered Russia he did not expect to find such a fine situation. Immediately upon arriving in Moscow, Fusse visited the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. The Assistant Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Eastern Division, Mr. Voznessensky, told Fusse: "Your arrival coincided with the opening of military operations by the Japanese troops in Khabarovsk and Nikolaevsk; you have come at an unpleasant time. Is the position of your military party really so strong?"

Fusse was given a room in one of the luxurious buildings. The Afghan representative lived in this building during his visit to the Soviet Government. When Fusse arrived in Moscow, two conventions were held there at the time: the Ninth All-Russian Conference of the Communist Party, and the Third Conference of the trade unions.

The Communist Party number at present 600,000 members, and the trade unions unite three million workers. Fusse declares that the 600,000 Bolsheviks are the kernel of the Soviet Republic; all responsible posts in all government institutions, factories, schools, railroads are filled by them.—*Krasnoye Znamya*, Vladivostok, April 30.

### UKRAINIAN SOVIET CONGRESS

The newspaper *Byednota* for May 27 prints a short account of the Ukrainian Soviet Congress. There took part in the Congress 811 men and 784 women. The following resolution on the question of the war with Poland was unanimously adopted: "Before all the working people of Poland and all the Soviet republics, the Soviet Congress vows to devote all its forces and all its thoughts to the struggle against the Polish masters.

"All the delegates to the congress must place themselves at the head of every provincial uyezd, volost, and rural trade union, at the head of the workers and peasants organizations, in order to strengthen the front and the work of defence behind the front.

"All the members of the Congress are mobilized as one man for labor and for war against the Polish masters."

In addition the Congress passed resolutions on the food stuffs and agrarian questions. In the first named resolution, the necessity is emphasized of continuing in the future the system of state confiscations of grain, and of fixed prices. In addition a resolute struggle must be begun against all speculation. In the resolution on the agrarian question occurred the following words:

"Peasants having no land or too little land are to be provided with land according to the working norm of each land worker. Such individual farm lands as exceed the norm but do not exceed the land area fixed in certain districts are to be retained, but all lands going beyond the latter limits must be taken from the individual owners."

### A DECREE ON THE ELIMINATION OF ILLITERACY

[The following decree on the elimination of illiteracy among the population of the Russian Soviet Republic appeared in "Izvestia," Petrograd, on December 30, 1919.]

Moscow, December 29 (Rosta).—In order to enable the entire population of the Republic to participate consciously in the political life of the country, the Soviet of People's Commissars decrees:

1. That all citizens of the Republic, between the ages of eight and fifty, who cannot read and write, must learn to read and write in their native tongue or in Russian, as they may choose. Such courses are given in the existing government schools, as well as in those which are now being organized for the illiterate elements of the population in accordance with the plans of the Peoples' Commissariat of Education.

*Note:* This decree extends to the Red Guards. Responsible work in the military units is carried on with the direct participation of the Political Departments of the Red Army and Navy.

2. The period of time in which illiteracy is to be eliminated shall be determined by the provincial and city Soviets of Deputies. The

general plans for the elimination of illiteracy in the localities are to be worked out by the organs of the People's Commissariat of Education within two months from the publication of this decree.

3. The People's Commissariat of Education and its local organs have the right to call the literate elements of the population, which were not recruited, for the purpose of teaching the illiterates. They are to be called in the compulsory labor order and are to be remunerated in accordance with the standard of educational workers.

4. All organizations of the toiling population, such as: trade unions, local branches of the Russian Communist Party, unions of the communistic youth, etc., are called by the People's Commissariat of Education to participate in the elimination of illiteracy.

5. If those who are taught to read and write are employed (except those working in military organizations), their working days are made two hours shorter for the period of learning, and they receive full wages.

6. For the purpose of eliminating illiteracy the organs of the People's Commissariat of Education are given the right to utilize public houses, churches, clubs, private houses, appropriate space at the factories and works of the Soviet Government, etc.

7. The supply organizations are ordered to give preference to the needs of the organizations combating illiteracy before the needs of other organizations.

8. Those who disregard the rulings of this decree and prevent the illiterates from attending schools, are held liable under criminal law.

9. The People's Commissariat of Education is to issue within two weeks detailed instructions for the execution of this decree.

*Chairman of the Soviet of People's Commissars:*

VLADIMIR ULIANOV (LENIN).

*Chief Clerk:* BONCH-BRUEVICH.

*Secretary:* BRICHKINA.

### PRAVDA ON THE POLISH DEFEATS

*Pravda* on May 25 prints a leading article entitled the "Red Army a Liberator," which says among other things that the Polish imperialists began their campaign against Soviet Russia with the object of driving the Reds from Ukraine. But the Polish agents miscalculated and underestimated the military forces in Soviet Russia. The Red Army will not retire from Ukraine, but will instead drive the Poles from the Lithuanian and White Russian districts occupied by them. On an earlier occasion the Red troops were not able to come to the assistance of the Lithuanians and White Russians in their battle against the Polish imperialists. Now, however, Soviet Russia is strong enough to be successful in its aid to Lithuania, and White Russia, in shaking off the Polish yoke.

**EXPEDITION TO THE KARA SEA**

The rescue expedition to the Russian ice-breaker in the Kara Sea, as is well known, was delayed at Tromsø because the Norwegian Government had required assurance that the Russian Government would also cover the insurance for the English ice-breaker *Sviatogor*. To our request for information on this subject from Foreign Minister Chicherin, we today received the following radio-telegram, dated May 30:

“According to Minister Ihlen’s communication of April 29, the total expense of the expedition was estimated at about 2,000,000 crowns, including the sum of 350,000 crowns insurance against the total loss of *Sviatogor*. In pursuance of this estimate from the Norwegian Government, the sum of 2,350,000 crowns was remitted on my order to the *Centralbanken for Norge*, for the rescue expedition, and the sum, as acknowledged by Minister Ihlen is already at the disposal of the Norwegian Foreign Department.

After we received the latest communication from Minister Ihlen concerning the necessity of providing the Norwegian Government with two additional millions, especially for insurance, I on May 25 telegraphed to our Representative Litvinov, asking him to communicate personally with Ihlen in order to adjust this question. In this telegram I presumed the possibility that the Russian Government would assume the general responsibility for any damage that might occur to *Sviatogor* in the course of the expedition, if the Norwegian Government was satisfied with this regulation of the insurance question.

“By wireless message of May 25, I informed Minister Ihlen of the steps that had been taken by Litvinov, simultaneously asking the Minister to use his influence that the expedition might not be delayed by reason of the insurance question.”

In connection with the above mentioned telegram the press bureau of the Foreign Department reports that the 350,000 crowns mentioned in the telegram for the insurance are for the coaling ship that was to accompany *Sviatogor*. The Department has received a telegram from Litvinov, proposing that the Soviet Government take over the responsibility for the entire Kara Sea expedition, including the insurance. The Department has accepted this proposition, and declares that the Norwegian state will advance the money while Russia may regulate the payment. As soon as Litvinov’s approval is received for this arrangement, *Sviatogor* will receive clearing papers.

**RESUMPTION OF TRADE RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA**

As is well known, the Norwegian Trade Department has appointed a committee to treat the question of a resumption of trade relations with Russia, as well as all questions connected with it, including also the Norwegian indemnity demands.

The committee (under its chairman, Director of Fisheries, Asserson, has recently been holding

daily meetings at Christiania. Its transactions have now been closed and the members of the committee have traveled to their homes.

The Trade Department has received the committee’s report, which will be used as a basis for the further work of the department in this matter.

Most of all, this is interesting the fishermen and merchants of northern Norway, who have already received information as to the contents of the report.

Essentially, the report states that the Norwegian nation will not place any hindrance in the way of a continuance of the local trade between Russia and northern Norway and guarantees that the vessels coming from Russia to purchase fish may return unmolested to Russia.

The state will also assume an accommodating attitude if the Russian authorities should wish to have the resumption of trade take another form. It will support an eventual other form by declaring a guarantee.

Large deliveries of fish to Russia may be based upon gold or other species in Norway. The Norwegian state guarantees that the gold or species deposits sent to Norway for this purpose will not be confiscated.

The report further states that the exchange of goods should be encouraged upon the broadest possible foundations, that sales bureaus should be opened in northern Norway and that the Russian business men should have the easiest possible access to Norway, and that holders of commercial scholarships should be sent to Russia.

Note: *Social-Demokraten*, of the same date, prints a strong editorial demanding that the report of the committee be complied with, and that full trade relations with Russia be entered into at once.

**SUBSCRIPTION BLANK**

SOVIET RUSSIA  
110 W. 40th St., Room 304  
New York, N. Y.

The undersigned herewith sends { check  
money order  
for \$.....to cover cost of subscription  
to SOVIET RUSSIA for.....months.

Signature.....

Address.....

Original from  
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

**STATEMENT BY L. C. A. K. MARTENS**  
*Representative in the United States of the Russian  
 Socialist Federal Soviet Republic*

July 8, 1920.

I welcome the announcement by the State Department that the restrictions which have hitherto stood in the way of trade between Soviet Russia and the United States have been removed.

I must say frankly, however, that the statement published this morning, as it stands, does not at all dispose of the problem of establishing trade between Russia and the United States. There is no indication in the statement as to how or whether Russia is to be permitted to pay American business men for goods purchased in this country. We have long been prepared and willing to establish credits in favor of American manufacturers in Esthonia. The Federal Reserve Board, however, some time ago, issued a warning to all American banks advising them against honoring any drafts drawn upon Esthonian banks. In this manner all plans for the payment of American goods by drafts on Esthonian banks were effectively checked. We cannot establish credits by the deposit of Russian gold in American banks so long as there is danger that these deposits may be molested. The statement published this morning gives no assurance that any practical credit arrangements may be effected. It is further stated that postal communication and travelling facilities are not to be restored. It is plain enough that trade cannot be resumed if there is to be no opportunity for the establishment of the essential means and facilities for international commerce. Trade is dependent upon an intricate machinery for transfer of funds with proper guarantees and securities on both sides, and commerce cannot be successfully carried on without postal and cable communication and the ordinary facilities for

travel and international intercourse. The announcement of the State Department, while ostensibly setting aside restrictions, appears actually to announce a policy of continued restriction.

Although the question of diplomatic recognition in all its formalities and niceties may be indefinitely postponed, the effective resumption of trade relations must depend upon the establishment of a certain minimum of political relations. The English and Canadian Governments in their commercial negotiations with Russia have already recognized this fact. Mr. Krassin has returned from London to Moscow for the very purpose of perfecting the political arrangements essential to the resumption of trade. The Canadian Government has sanctioned the establishment of a Commercial Bureau of the Soviet Government in Canada and has officially approved the commercial arrangements already entered into between Canadian business interests and the Russian Government.

This morning's announcement of course has excited much interest and we have been overwhelmed by inquiries from American business men who desire to know just how this statement affects their opportunities for trade with Soviet Russia. We can only refer them to the American Government for a further explanation of its policy. The Soviet Government is ready, as it has been ready for over a year, to establish trade relations with America. We will gladly go more than half way to meet any practical arrangements. All we ask is the right to buy goods in the American market, to have them shipped to Russia and to pay for them. If the statement means that these things can be done we are heartily glad. But the spirit in which the statement is composed, with its many reservations and ambiguities, compels us to await developments before deciding upon its practical outcome.

**THE NEXT ISSUE**  
 of  
**SOVIET RUSSIA**

*Will Contain, Among Other Features, the Following:*

1. **AGRICULTURAL COOPERATION**, by *V. Milyutin*. *This highly instructive article, written by the Vice-Chairman of the Supreme Council of National Economy in Soviet Russia, contains a historical review of the development of agricultural cooperation in Russia and its present stand.*
2. **THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE RED ARMY**. *An account of festivities in celebration of the creation of the Red Army that is saving Russia from the onslaughts of her enemies.*
3. **REGULAR WEEKLY MILITARY REVIEW**, by *Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek*.
4. **IMPORTANT OFFICIAL COMPILATIONS OF RECENT ECONOMIC PROGRESS OF SOVIET RUSSIA.**
5. **WHO PARTICIPATES IN THE GOVERNMENT?** *An analysis of the party affiliations and social class of those who control the destinies of the Russian people.*
6. **POLAND AND WHITE RUSSIA.** *A letter just received from our Paris Correspondent.*

Subscription Price: \$5.00 per year; \$2.50 per half year; \$1.00 for ten weeks. (Make all checks payable to L. C. A. K. Martens.)

SUBSCRIPTIONS RECEIVED BY

**SOVIET RUSSIA**  
 (Room 304)

110 West 40th Street

New York City

Ten Cents at all News Stands