

NEW PHOTOGRAPHS *from* SOVIET RUSSIA

SOVIET RUSSIA

Official Organ of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau

Ten Cents

Saturday, August 7, 1920

Vol. III, No. 6

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. Changes of address should reach the office a week before the changes are to be made.

TABLE OF CONTENTS:

	PAGE		PAGE
RUSSIA: As I Saw It, by <i>Robert Williams</i>	129	EDITORIALS	136
A CHALLENGE TO THE INTELLECTUALS, by <i>Maxim Gorky</i>	130	PORT REGULATIONS	137
MILITARY REVIEW, by <i>Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek</i>	131	SOVIET RUSSIA AND TURKEY.....	138
A JAPANESE CORRESPONDENT IN RUSSIA.....	133	SATURDAYINGS IN THE VILLAGES.....	139
FROM THE SECRET CHAMBER OF DIPLOMACY... ..	135	OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT	141

And a Special Supplement of eight pages of new photographs from Soviet Russia, on calendared paper (pages i—viii), between pages 136-137.

Russia: As I Saw It

By ROBERT WILLIAMS

(Member of the British Labor Delegation to Russia)

ALL my previous wishes and expectations have been more than borne out by my experiences and actual contact with Soviet Russia's affairs. In view of the appalling difficulties—two revolutions, counter-revolution, and external and internal war—Russia is manifesting a prodigious capacity for social reconstruction on Socialist lines.

I visited the War Office, witnessed parades, investigated munition and engineering establishments, saw aeroplane construction, investigated military transport, and saw the actual operations on the Polish front, and I am fully convinced that the Soviet Power is unshakably established before the entire world. Despite the immense drain upon the skilled urban proletariat caused by revolutions, casualties, and migration, and by providing revolutionary leaven for the Red Armies, and also by the appointment of alert and energetic individuals to administrative posts, industry is being carried on with phenomenal resourcefulness.

Proletarians are used in diluting the skill of the competent men by the introduction of lesser skilled and unskilled labor, combined with a wonderful development of technical and scientific training and education, united with the provision of all possible incentive to increase output and accelerate transport by a bonus system paid over the normal flat rate. Trade unionists and their leaders are cooperating with technicians and commissars, thus accelerating output in all departments of industry and agriculture. While capital and labor are at death grips under capitalism in Europe generally, in Russia the government and the people are cooperating and coordinating in the most remarkable manner. It is here demon-

strated that men and women will make sacrifices for social and collective well-being, as contrasted with hampering output and stultifying organization of labor under a capitalist regime where private profit is the only motive and the advantage is only for the privileged few.

I saw the great engineering works of Putilov and Somora, near Nizhni-Novgorod, and I observed that the heartiest cooperation existed between the management and the workers. The Soviet Government is admitted, by opponents and supporters alike, to be the only possible form of government. The Red Armies go to the front with unparalleled enthusiasm and zeal for the cause of working-class emancipation and the real brotherhood of nations. The national hymn is "The International," and it is sung everywhere and played everywhere by the military bands.

Our delegates were received with acclamation, and as an appreciation of the first real indication that the barriers set up by hostile capitalism are breaking down. The Russian people displayed an unqualified appreciation of the efforts of the British Triple Industrial Alliance to prevent intervention, restore peace, and establish commercial relationships between the nations. The Russian proletariat want only to live in peace and progressive development with the rest of the world's workers.

The delegation made their own plans, went where they liked, interviewed and saw whom they pleased and made absolutely independent inquiry regarding the general economic, political and industrial conditions, and were much impressed with the intelligence and ability of the heads of the

Soviet administration, who compare more than favorably with bourgeois politicians and administrators.

The food position is gradually improving, despite the terrific strain of six years of war; transport facilities are improving and Sverdlov, Acting Commissar of Ways and Communications, assured me that transport had improved forty per cent in three months. While on the Volga trip I saw the improvement of the river transport since the defeat of the raiding Cossacks and counter-revolutionaries. Oil fuel is proceeding up the Volga as rapidly as transport can convey it. It is expected that the deliveries will shortly reach thirty-five million poods per month, and coal is now being won from the Donets region. Oil and coal will enormously assist rail and water transport, and allow wood to be used for heating in the cities during the coming winter.

Wheat from the "black belt" is being sent to

the northern areas to supplement rye products; and this will provide sufficient cereals to carry on. The peasants are accepting more readily the Soviet regime, although still lamentably short of agricultural implements and the amenities of life which reorganized industry can alone provide.

My general impression, after exhaustive study, is that the Russian Soviet regime has come to stay.

The more formidable obstacles in England against trade with Russia are collapsing. Russia's eastern policy is not one of imperialism and conquest, but is simply one to provide a diversion for British imperialism, and the prevention of continued intervention, and the organization of intervention, against the Soviet regime.

I am confident that in the battle of brains between Lenin, Trotsky, Bukharin, Zinoviev, Chicherin, and the world's bourgeois diplomats, the former must ultimately triumph.

A Challenge to the Intellectuals

By MAXIM GORKY

PETROGRAD, January, 1920.

AN INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS of intellectuals is to be held about the end of this month at Bern, Switzerland. Representatives of the intellectual forces of Great Britain, Germany, France and of other countries will meet under the same roof. The enemies of yesterday, victors and vanquished, will come face to face.

Among these men there will probably be also moral participants in the most infamous crime, the war of 1914-1918, whose indescribable vileness—having clearly demonstrated to honest thinking men how thoroughly rotten the old order of life has become—has somewhat moderated the nationalistic fanaticism and shaken the prejudices which caused the universal degradation to savagery of the cultured men of Europe and led to the shameful all-European bloody slaughter.

If this should happen, if such men should also come to the international congress of the representatives of the intellect, it would be a very important fact which might have abundant results of great social value. The importance of this is, of course, not in the fact that there will be expression of belated repentance and useless self-condemnation, but that, at last, the congress will have to resolutely and firmly take up the question of the universal function of the intellectual principle in the historic process.

Only after solving this question can the intellectuals firmly and unshakably choose an absolutely definite position either at the head of the popular masses who are striving for new forms of social life, or among those classes who selfishly and senselessly exploit the physical energy of the people, obstructing their spiritual and intellectual growth.

If the intellectuals would realize that heretofore they have played the onerous part of the mule

of capitalism, it would be a fact of immense importance. An earnest merging of the comparatively small fund of intellectual forces with the inexhaustible mass of emotional energy of the people, the harmonization of the exploring and organizing intellect with the unorganized but aroused will, would give to the progress of universal culture an impulse of enormous force and fantastic velocity.

In short, the intellectuals of the world are facing the grave question, demanding a courageous solution: with the people toward the radical transformation of all forms of life, or with capital for the defense of the decayed order.

The role of the Russian intellectuals in the events of the last two years should be highly instructive for the intellectuals of the west. Had the Russian intellectuals been more sound spiritually and more far-sighted practically, had they immediately after the "Bolshevist" revolution established contact with that group of intellectuals who had the courage to lead the labor masses and to seize political power in the country which had been ruined by the autocracy and the war, then the sweep of the emotional storm would not have caused such appalling destruction in the domain of industry, technique and culture, then there would have been less bloodshed and fewer mistakes, then the moderating power of intellect would have been more effective. I am not condemning any one, I am merely pointing to an indisputable fact. The withdrawal of a certain part of the intellectual forces from the process of the revolution had this effect—that the solution of the question of the quality of life became inevitably subordinate to the needs of the quantity of backward people, as I believe the Russian peasants are.

To the numerically small Russian working class has fallen a colossal task—to transform the vast mass of the peasantry, of many tongues and nationalities. This mass is capable of developing immense energy for destruction, but is not likely to create anything new, anything more refulgent than a life thoroughly permeated by the psychology of the small owner. From this point of view, a well organized large industry is not so dreadful an enemy of the worker and intellectual as the endless swamp of small property owners, who are usually indifferent and even hostile to the high interests of universal culture.

The Russian intellectuals are gradually beginning to feel the tragedy of their position. It is true they lived thus before the revolution, between the anvil and the hammer—the people and the authorities, but at present the fatal inconveniences of this position are too evident and too painful for them. But, I repeat, they are beginning to realize that the power is held by an intellectual force spiritually akin to them. And probably the near future will witness the merging of the organized intellect with the aroused will, and these two factors are capable of creating wonders. These—I believe—are the thoughts and questions which

cannot be ignored by the international congress of intellectuals.

Sincerely believing in the honor and conscience of the Western European representatives of the intellectual principle, I confidently expect that the congress will also take up the question of the blockade of Russia.

It is not necessary to point out how vile is this blockade which condemns the Russian people to death from famine, from lack of medical supplies, etc. But the congress should perhaps be reminded that the first and worst victims of the consequences of the blockade are the children, and next to them—the representatives of the world of learning, who as men of the study room and the laboratory are ill adapted to practical life and are not hardened in the struggle for existence.

To starve the children, the future strength of the people, to starve the accumulated intellectual energy of the people,—is this what “enlightened,” “cultured” Europe wants?

The congress should and must take up this question. And it is extremely interesting what answer will be given by the governments of Great Britain, of France, and of other countries, which consider themselves the “abodes of culture and civilization.”

Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

July 27, 1920.

IF ONE of the belligerent parties suddenly appeals for an armistice this does not prove that it sincerely desires a peace. Very often, under the shelter of an armistice, one who suffers a series of tactical defeats may be able to recover the fighting power of his armies and accomplish a regrouping which may permit him to continue military operations at the first favorable opportunity.

In military history we have many examples of a renewal of warfare after an armistice. During the Russo-Japanese war, the Japanese, after several fruitless attacks, directed against the line of forts of Port Arthur, succeeded in obtaining from the Russian command an armistice which lasted only twenty-four hours, and thus gained not only time to bring to their battle lines a considerable reinforcement, but also to move their artillery closer to the attacked points.

During the Great War there was no interruption of military operations at all, and the armistice signed by Field-Marshal Foch and the German command practically put an end to the hostilities of the engaged parties.

But this early armistice was a great mistake on the part of the Allied military command, and now the Allies are face to face with the bitter consequences of their error. The Germans, now stronger militarily than is supposed by the Allied command, have never fulfilled their obligations as fixed by the armistice, and, overlooking this, the

Allies signed an abortive peace with the enemy, which will remain a scrap of paper.

The differences which have arisen amongst the Allies have prevented them from acting in harmony in order to force their enemies to fulfill their obligations, and the new adventures in Russia and other parts of the globe, as well as the unstable internal political situation in their own countries, weakened them to such an extent that there cannot be even a question that the Allied armies may again resume hostilities against the Germans, especially when we consider the serious turmoil now spreading throughout Europe, Asia and Africa.

An armistice signed and not fulfilled cannot bring a good peace; on the contrary, it will be followed by endless conflicts and small wars, which may provoke a new terrible catastrophe.

The side requested to grant an armistice must be very careful, because it might be confronted with a dangerous trap. Only in case there is no question of the complete demoralization of the tactical body of the enemy, and when a possible intention on the part of the latter to reorganize his fighting forces and to attack may be suitably opposed and finally overpowered, thus inflicting on him a strategical defeat—only then may such an armistice be granted.

So it becomes clear that in some cases, when an armistice is fixed too early, the tactically beaten enemy may escape strategical defeat, as was the case with the Germans. On the other hand, an

armistice established at the moment when the enemy has already lost the campaign strategically, and is unable to break his pledged obligations, thanks to the superior forces of his adversary, would be a real armistice, undoubtedly followed by a stable peace.

Now let us consider the position of Soviet Russia in regard to Poland, in granting an armistice to the latter.

The victorious Russian Red Army, holding the most important strategical points, such as Bialostok, Brest-Litovsk, Kovel, and, very probably, Kholm, to the east of the latter city, and having reached the East Prussian frontier in the north, as well as north-east Galicia in the south, is in a position to take Warsaw without any difficulties in a very short time, thus bring the victory of the Russian arms to a complete strategical consummation. So it is now and so it will be if the Poles should decline to fulfill the conditions of the armistice granted to them.

After a short time for rest, the Soviet army cannot be other than stronger, morally as well as physically, while it is hard to expect that under the unfavorable circumstances in which the Polish military organization is now situated, there could be possible a new regroupment and reinforcement of the Polish battle front, even by her foreign protectors.

Germany has refused to allow the Allies to send military aid to the Poles through German territory, and has decided to be strictly neutral. This means that the Polish army is left to fight on its own, in case it should try to continue the senseless struggle against the formidable Soviet army.

That the Poles have suffered not only tactical reverses, but also a strategical defeat, and that their army is practically annihilated, is not only my personal opinion, but also that of Major-General Hoffmann, one of the foremost specialists on Russia on the former Great Central Staff of the German Empire, and General Ludendorff's chief of operations in the east, and later on Chief of Staff of Prince Leopold of Bavaria, then virtually commander-in-chief of the entire eastern front. General Hoffmann made a remarkable statement to the *New York World*, July 25, about the Polish situation. The opinion of this German strategist is "that it is too late to save Poland," and that northern and central Germany will be inevitably reached by Bolshevism. "The Polish army has suffered serious reverses," says Maj.-Gen. Hoffmann. "In connection with such reverses invariably panicky reports are disseminated, the effect of which must not be over-estimated. But even by a cautious evaluation of the reports, the *complete collapse* of the Polish Army, and therewith of the Polish state, appears unquestionable, whereupon the Moscow Soviet Government's armies would appear on Germany's eastern border."

I agree with General Hoffmann that the capitalist Polish army and the imperialistic Polish state are on the eve of their complete collapse, but I do not see any danger for the rest of Europe

from the Red Army, in case Poland should be ruled by Polish Soviets; in that case it would be the Polish Soviet army, and not the Russian Red Army, that will appear on the eastern border of Germany.

Further on, General Hoffmann confessed that "the German Government is not in a position to defend Germany against an attack by the Red Army," and his opinion of the new Russian military force is well illustrated by his words:

"The operations of the Bolshevik armies against Denikin and Kolchak, as well as in the Caucasus and Persia, have proved that the Moscow Soviet Government's troops are well fed. This is all the more apparent since the Poles' plan of operation was projected by Foch and the Poles were led by French general staff officers. The success achieved by the Soviet Government's armies has further shown that the troops of the Red Armies, under rigid discipline, fight better than their enemies, that they are adequately equipped with war material, and that the Russian railroads are still efficient enough for moving large masses of troops."

And in his fear of the proletarian military strength of Russia, this representative of the fallen militaristic Germany exclaims: "The Moscow Soviet Government never had other intentions than a military conquest of the world!"

"*Fear has large eyes,*" is an old saying.

But far from conquering the world, the Russian Soviet Government has not even the intention of conquering Poland, and has agreed on an armistice at a moment most unfavorable for the Polish strategy, thus depriving the Red Army of the pleasure of most brilliantly concluding the campaign with the capture of the Polish capital. Once more Soviet Russia has proved to the world that her political and strategical aim with regard to the border states is far from that of enslaving or conquering their population.

"Victorious over reaction in her own country, and having defeated the armies of the imperialistic coalition of the world, Soviet Russia has won a great diplomatic victory as a result of the correspondence over the proposed peace between Russia and Poland," cabled the *Chicago Daily Tribune* representative, John Steele, from London, July 26. "She has compelled," continues the message, "the western Allies to recognize her diplomatically, and the next step undoubtedly will be negotiations for a general peace and recognition."

John Steele is quite right. Russia has won a great diplomatic victory, the way for which was so wonderfully prepared by the Russian strategy. It is sufficient to read the answer of Chicherin, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Soviet Republic, addressed to the British Government, in which Soviet Russia rejects any British intervention in her dealings with Poland and with the former General Wrangel, in order to understand the significance of the victory which the young proletarian diplomacy has won over the crafty old statesmen of the remainder of the so-called civilized world.

There is no doubt that, in spite of the fact that the complete victory of the Russian arms is evident, there will be further efforts to renew the attacks on the Russian proletariat.

Even now, one observes that France endeavors to protect the life of one of the bitterest enemies of the Russian Soviets, former General Wrangel, whose army is doomed to unconditional surrender, and that at a very near moment. What is Wrangel to France? Is he a French national hero, or are the French people not satisfied with having a hero like Foch, and do they need in addition also Wrangel?

It is quite clear why the French Cabinet desires to have Wrangel back at Paris. The brain-

less French statesmen think that this adventurer would be a good puppet in their hands for the future campaign against Russia which is now planned in Paris and in London, while the British and French governments are hurrying to sign a peace with Moscow.

But, in spite of all these preparations for a new war, with all its superhuman horrors, which the dying capitalistic-imperialistic coalition is planning against the proletarian movement, I am sure their plan will end in a general collapse. They will not be able to draw troops from their own populations, which are already hostile to the prosecution of any such enterprise.

A Japanese Correspondent in Russia

I.

THE CONDITION OF RUSSIA'S INDUSTRY

Interview with Commissar Milyutin by Nakahira
Moscow, May 9.

AS THE Special Correspondent for *Osaka Asahi*, I met Mr. Milyutin, the President of the People's Supreme Economic Council. He spoke of the industrial conditions in Soviet Russia, saying:

"Owing to the condition of civil war, up till now all the factories of Russia have been mobilized for military purposes. But since we have been victorious, we are now entering on the period of reconstruction. Industry is almost entirely nationalized, and there exist already 197 cooperative societies. Thus we are planning by the application of electric power to increase our productive power to the maximum. Hitherto the industry of Soviet Russia has been greatly handicapped due to the lack of fuel and labor power, but now that we have recovered the Donets basin, and swept the Denikin partisans from the Caucasus, vast amounts of coal and crude oil are being sent to the center of industrial localities and increasing amounts are daily being forwarded. The newly organized labor has solved the problem of lack of labor power. Just at present we need various kinds of machines. In Russia at present there are vast amounts of flax, hides and other raw materials. These materials are now stocked up and we wish to barter machines for these raw materials."

At this point I asked what kind of goods Russia desires Japan to ship on the day that peace is signed between Russia and Japan. To this question Mr. Milyutin answered that in the first place Russia needs medicines. Besides medicines they will welcome every kind of manufactured goods, in compensation for which Russia will consent to give Japan various privileges in Siberia, including the labor power of places where concessions are given.

II

INTERVIEW WITH KAMENEV

Nakahira, a special correspondent, interviewed Kamenev, President of the Moscow Soviet, on May 13, 1920. The following is his reply, to my questions:

"After the Bolshevik Revolution of November, 1917, all the Socialist parties fell into a condition of bankruptcy. The laboring classes entirely lost their confidence in them because of their conduct, their power weakened and fell away. We, the Bolshevik Party, shall never tolerate them—the Socialist Parties. Some people may say that the majority of the peasants are opposed to the Bolshevik Government, but this is a mere empty supposition, without any foundation in fact. The peasants well know that they cannot produce without the industrial cities. This —(something missing). This is the reason for the support of the Bolshevik party by the vast majority of the peasants. Yes, it is the necessity for war that enables the Bolshevik Government to collect more from the farming people than it gives them, but the wars also interfered with the development of the industrial life of the workers and peasants. It is these wars that almost gave a death blow to their development. But the peasants do not doubt—because they know the real facts of the matter—that the government has done everything possible in view of the situation. The foreign policy of the Bolshevik Party is expressed in one word: Peace. Russia possesses vast land and resources and is rich in labor power. But there is no necessity for secrecy in the politics of Soviet Russia, which has no intention or thought of invading foreign territory. We, by the utmost efforts of mutual aid, are able to restore our industries and to plan the development necessary for the organization of the Red Army (something missing). Passed by the Censor.—*Osaka Asahi*, Tokyo, May 30, 1920.

III

FROM MOSCOW—THE RIDDLE METROPOLIS
Special

MOSCOW, May 25, 1920—Despatched from Moscow by Mr. Nakahira.

INTERVIEW WITH CHICHERIN, Commissar for Foreign Affairs.

As special correspondent, I interviewed Mr. Chicherin, the Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Government today. Below are the questions which I put to the Commissar for Foreign Affairs and his answers:

1. What is your policy toward Japan?

We have no aggressive policy toward Japan. The policy of the Soviet Government is simple: namely, peace and non-interference.

2. If the Soviet Government and Japan should conclude peace, what will the peace terms of Soviet Russia be?

Japan must withdraw her army from Siberia and must further recognize the democratic Far Eastern Republic to be a neutral zone state.

3. Is it true that you have given up your Bolshevik propaganda in other countries and (something missing here).

I firmly believe that the peoples of other countries are becoming class-conscious (something missing); the peoples of other countries are now awakening, though very slowly (something missing). Soviet Russia has no time to attend to other matters. She is occupied in the reconstruction of her own country. We are now bending all our efforts toward this reconstruction.

This declaration of Mr. Chicherin, the Commissar for Foreign Affairs, is (something deleted). (Passed by the Censor.)

IV

INTERVIEW WITH LENIN

By *M. Nakahira, Correspondent of "Asaka Asahi."*
Moscow, Special Despatch by Nakahira, June 6, via Peking.

June 3, 1920.

I interviewed Mr. Lenin at his office in the Kremlin. Contrary to my expectation, the decoration of the room is very simple. The hall that leads to the office is guarded. Passing through the guards we reached the office. Mr. Lenin's manner is very simple and kind—as if he were greeting an old friend. In spite of the fact that he holds the highest position, there is not the slightest trace of condescension in his manner. He did not wait for our question, but started to speak of the relations between Japan and Russia,—to the effect that it is regrettable that Japan does not seem willing to adopt an attitude of willingness to meet the Soviet Government's attitude of peace. The Soviet Government stands for peace, and therefore it recognizes the neutral zone government. He then asked: "Is there a powerful land-owning class in Japan? Does the Japanese farmer own land freely? Do the Japanese people live on food produced in their own country, or do they import much food from foreign countries?" He

asked many other questions, showing his deep interest in living conditions in Japan. Mr. Lenin next asked whether Japanese parents beat their children, and said that he had read of this in a book. "Tell me whether it is true or not," said he, "it is a very interesting subject." I answered that there may be exceptions, but as a rule parents do not beat their children in Japan. On hearing my answer he expressed satisfaction and said that the policy of the Soviet Government is to abolish this condition. After that he asked about the revolution and subsequent developments. In giving a resume of Russian revolutionary history, he said: "Before the revolution, the working and peasant classes of Russia were extremely oppressed—in fact, their oppression was without parallel in past history. As a result of this most severe oppression, the revolutionary spirit of the poorer class gradually increased until it broke out in the revolution. But the organizing capacity of the lower strata of Russia is comparatively weak and the degree of education is lower than in other countries. In spite of all this they could not be suppressed. But now, after two and a half years of experience, the Russian working and peasant masses have obtained a great deal of political and social discipline. The experience of this two and a half years can truly be compared with the development of several centuries. At this point we asked why the Soviet Republic, in spite of its having repudiated the national debts of czarism, had promised to give Esthonia vast amounts of gold, when concluding peace. Smiling, Mr. Lenin said: "Esthonia has shown her good will toward the Soviet Government and therefore the Soviet Government has promised to pay her this gold. Moreover," he continued, "to deal with the propertied class is really a very difficult matter. The propertied class cares for nothing but its own material interests. For instance, look at America. America proposed a peace treaty with Soviet Russia. When we examined the treaty, we could not accept it because it was based on exploitation. So we rejected it. Of course we do not consider ourselves incapable. The Allied nations, rejecting recognition, attempt to interfere with Russia. There is reason to think that if the intervention of the Allies should continue, it will be profitable to the Bolsheviks. All in all, considering the prospects of Russia's industries, the situation is promising. If our electrical program is attained, entire industries can be electrified. The creative capacity of communism will be increased and will exert the greatest influence in solving these problems, and the development will be equal to that of several decades."

SPEECH BY NIKOLAI LENIN

This speech, which was delivered on the subject of "New Problems for Russia", at the Ninth Congress of the Russian Communist Party, has had to be omitted this week for lack of space.

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

From the Secret Chamber of Diplomacy

A Few Documents of Recent Date

THE documents printed below were published in the Moscow *Izvestia* of February 4, 1920, with the following introductory note:

"The former White officer Oleinikov, who joined the side of the Soviet power after a serious internal struggle, turned over to us documents which he was bringing through Sweden to Yudenich from Kolchak's Minister of Foreign Affairs Sazonov at Paris. The documents contain a note from Sazonov to Konstantin Nikolayevich Hulkevich, Kolchak's ambassador to Sweden, with two supplements—a communication in code from Kolchak's Washington ambassador, Bakhmetiev, to Sazonov and a coded communication from Sukin at Omsk, transmitting instruction from Kolchak to Sazonov at Paris. The latter speaks of negotiations with General Knox, the representative of the British Government to Kolchak. Bakhmetiev's communication speaks of instructions by the American Government to its Commissioner for the Baltic states, Mr. Gade. In addition, the documents contain a coded communication from Kolchak's Charge d'Affairs in London, Sablin, to Sazonov regarding a conversation with General Radcliffe of the British War Office, and telegrams passing between Sazonov and Bakhmetiev, Kolchak's ambassador at Washington.

"These documents vividly reveal the attitude both of Kolchak and of the United States to the Baltic nationalities, to whom the American Government even refuses recognition of the right to self-determination."

PARIS, October 14, 1919. No. 668.

S. D. Sazonov, attesting his perfect respect to Konstantin Nikolaevich, has the honor to transmit herewith, for information, copies of telegrams from B. A. Bakhmetiev, No. 1050, and from I. I. Sukin, No. 28, concerning the question of the situation in the Baltic provinces.

To K. N. Hulkevich.

Rec. October 12, 1919. Ent. No. 3347. D. 24. West.

Sukin—to the Minister.

OMSK, October 9, 1919. No. 28 (code).

Knox presented to the Supreme Ruler a communication from the British War Office, in which the latter warns that the Baltic states are disposed to conclude peace with the Bolsheviks who guarantee immediate recognition of their independence. In connection with this the British War Office asks if the Government should not counteract these promises by satisfying on its part the wishes of the above mentioned states. We replied to Knox by referring to the principles which were stated in the note of the Supreme Ruler to the powers of June 4, and at the same time pointed out that the conclusion of peace with the Bolsheviks by the Baltic states would be an unquestionable danger, since it will allow the release of a part of the Soviet troops and will remove the barrier which keeps Bolshevism from the west. The mere fact of their readiness to discuss peace bears witness, in our opinion, to the extreme demoralization of the parties of these self-governing units, which cannot alone defend themselves against the penetration of aggressive Bolshevism.

Expressing the belief that the powers cannot sympathize with the further spread of Bolshevism, we

pointed out the necessity to stop further aid to the Baltic states, which is an effective method of pressure in the hands of the powers and also a more expedient method than rivalry in promises with the Bolsheviks, who have nothing to lose.

Informing you of the above, I beg you to make proper representations in Paris and London. With Bakhmetiev we are communicating separately.

Received October 12, 1919. Entry No. 3346. D. 24. West.

Bakhmetiev—to the Minister.

WASHINGTON, October 11, 1919. No. 1050.

Referring to my telegram No. 1045* (coded), the Department of State orally informed me of the instructions given to Gade. His title is American Commissioner to the Baltic Provinces of Russia. He is not accredited to any of the Russian governments. His mission is to observe and report. His conduct must not inspire among the local population hopes that the American Government might consent to support separatist tendencies going further than autonomy. On the contrary, the American Government hopes that the Baltic population will help their Russian brothers in their national effort. The instructions are based on the interpretation of the understanding between the Allied governments and the Supreme Ruler as developed in my memorandum to the Government of June 17. Gade is furnished with excerpts from the latest speeches of the President in which he attacked Bolshevism.

Rec. October 9, 1919. Incoming, No. 3286. D. 24. West.

Sablin—to the Minister.

LONDON, October 7, 1919. No. 677 (code).

In a letter to Guchkov, the Director of the Department of Operations of the War Office, to whom G. wrote offering our tonnage to help the English in the delivery of supplies to Yudenich, that in the opinion of the War Office Yudenich now has everything, and that England finds it inconvenient any longer to provide supplies for him. He adds, however, that since we have vessels we could organize the supplying of Yudenich on a commercial basis, provided we could obtain credits. At the same time General Radcliffe recognizes that Yudenich's army must be properly equipped, being the only force among the Baltic states which is able to undertake active operations against the Bolsheviks.

To Washington, for Minister Bakhmetiev.

PARIS, September 30, 1919. No. 2442 (code).

In a letter from a confidential Swedish source I am informed that Morris, American Ambassador at Stockholm, speaks of the growing sympathy toward the Bolsheviks in the United States and of the intention of stopping aid to Kolchak in order to enter into relations in the interests of American trade. Such statements by the official representative produce a strange impression.

Rec. October 5, 1919. Incoming, No. 3244.

Bakhmetiev—to the Minister.

WASHINGTON, October 4, 1919. No. 1021.

With reference to your telegram No. 2442 (code). I was confidentially informed at the Department of State that Ambassador Morris at Stockholm, and especially Hapgood at Copenhagen, are really known for their personal left sympathies, but that they have not influence or standing (authority) here, and that the Government is compelled to admonish them periodically, stating categorically that the American policy unalterably aims at supporting our Government in the struggle against the Bolsheviks.

* Entry, No. 3343.

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

SOVIET RUSSIA

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



This weekly will print 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. Manuscripts are not solicited; if sent in, their return is not promised.

IT WAS an apt phrase Churchill used when he designated imperialist Poland as "the linchpin of Versailles." When the hammer-blows of the Red Army shattered that vital link, the whole ramshackle contrivance of the Entente politicians tumbled into wreckage and confusion. Despite their cynical repudiation of the Polish enterprise in the hour of its defeat, it is plain that the Allies, out of sheer lack of any other plan or resource, had staked everything on this last desperate gamble of force. To be sure, French officers, in reports which were carefully suppressed, had exposed the futility of the Polish campaign and predicted its inevitable disaster; likewise, a few English liberals like Cecil and Asquith had protested openly against its immorality and inexpediency. But these warnings that the thing was both bad policy and bad strategy did not deter those whose actions were dictated neither by prudence nor humanity.

Confronted by the accomplished defeat of the Polish army, the Allied politicians bluster and clutch at straws. Lloyd George twists and turns and tries in vain to dodge the barbed shafts hurled with such unerring aim by the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. Millerand threatens war in one breath and begs for gold in the next. The irrepressible Churchill calls upon Germany to join with the Allies against the Russian workers. "Not by reckless military adventure nor with ulterior motives," says Churchill—though he does not suggest how else can Germany "build a dike of peaceful, lawful, patient strength and virtue" against Soviet Russia. To which Ludendorff replies by offering to raise an army in return for Posen and Danzig. The German Government meanwhile declares its neutrality in the struggle between Poland and Russia; though we learn that it took a "crowd of German civilians" to halt a trainload of munitions in transit across Germany to Poland. Dr. Simons, the German Foreign Minister, points out that the function of Poland should be that of a bridge rather than a barrier between Russia and Germany. This appears a most sinister suggestion to those who have become so possessed by their plans for blockades and barriers that they have lost all conception of the ordinary economic interests of the peoples of Europe. Dr. Simons,

for his own purposes, saw fit to take a bold line in a recent speech before the Reichstag.

"I do not believe," he said, "that it is to the interest of the Soviet Republic to devastate Germany with murderous, incendiary hordes. What the Soviet Republic requires is economic support . . . I am not one of those who see in Russia merely chaos. I know from thorough reports of unbiased, intelligent men that a variety of enormous, constructive labor is being performed—a work which, in certain respects, we would do well to use as a model."

Thus each separate leader cries his pet panacea in the market-place; each with a different nostrum to cure the ills of a decayed world order. A wild confusion of tongues tells the wreck of capitalist ambitions in Europe. The tottering edifice went down in a heap when the Red Army smashed through the Polish lines.

* * *

WRITING in *The New Europe* for July 1, Professor George Young, who was, if we are not mistaken, formerly in the service of the British Foreign Office, gave a succinct account of the achievements of Soviet Foreign Policy.

"The tide has turned, and time is running against us," writes this Englishman. "Russia is fast making peace with the Finns at Dorpat, and soon the Petrograd water-gate will be opened through the blockade and added to the Reval sally-port. Already a long train of trucks, with ploughs, seed potatoes, printing paper and medicines, leaves Reval daily. Already the mines are being swept off Kronstadt. And with the blockade goes our best basis for bargaining. The main clauses of the treaty with the Letts, including the frontiers, are already settled. The Lettish peace opens the line to Riga. Lithuania is unimportant, and depends on the Polish settlement. Peace with Poland offers no difficulties, and is much nearer than is generally supposed. Some say Moscow could turn Warsaw Red tomorrow if it wished it, and that Warsaw knows it. With Polish pressure goes our next best basis of bargaining. Roumania is strictly neutral, awaiting an agreement as to Bessarabia, to which Moscow will accede. Peace with Georgia was made in half an hour a month ago. The new frontiers of Armenia, to include Trebizond and a transmigration of populations such as was effected recently in Thrace with Bulgaria, have now been settled by Russian mediation. The Turks of Asia Minor are allied with Russia, like the Tartars of Azerbaijan. Persian nationalism seeks Russian support, and Persia is going Red rapidly. Khiva is Red already. Bokhara could be turned Red at any moment. The Far Eastern Republic of Siberia at Verkhne-Udinsk, which will shortly extend to Vladivostok, is only kept by Moscow's influence in

The Life of the Masses in Soviet Russia

A Review of the Red Army by Trotsky

People's Commissar for Army and Navy, Leon Trotsky, wearing a soft black hat, and mounted on horseback, is seen in the background, to the left of the armored car. A military band is marching ahead of the car. The review is being held at Moscow as is also the parade in the following picture.



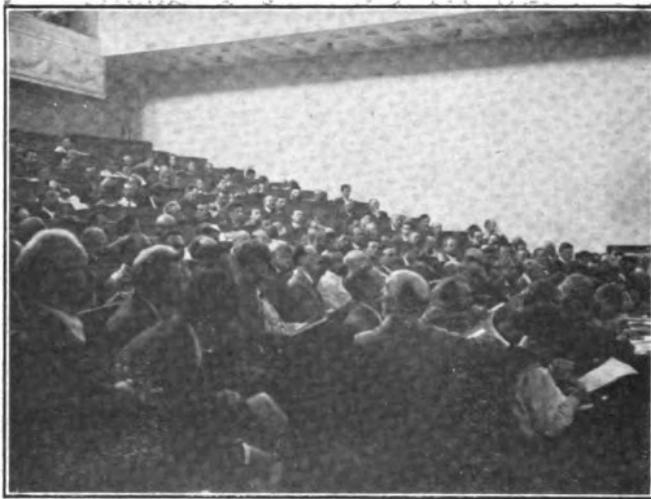
Red Infantry

The Red soldiers, well-clothed in warm coats, in parade on Khodinskoye field, Moscow. The white structures in the background are soldiers' messes, a moving-picture theatre, and a concert hall where the best singers appear.

First of May Celebration

The crowds are assembled in front of the old Historical Museum, Moscow, later the home of the Moscow City Duma. Banners with inscriptions celebrating the achievements of the Revolution are held aloft by the paraders.





Educational Conference, Moscow

A Moscow Congress of Educational Soviets discussing reforms in higher education. Eager interest is shown in the proceedings not only by the men, but also by the women, of whom a number are present.

Congress of Working Women

The All-Russian Congress of Working Women was held at Moscow in 1919. The banner seen on the right indicates that it is borne by the delegates of the Petrograd women workers.



A Lesson in Geometry, Moscow

A class in the Workers' Section of the University of Moscow. The picture shows only how interested are the students. It cannot show—but it is none the less a fact—that education is now accessible to all in Russia.



Volunteers for the Labor Army

The scene shows Moscow workers, chiefly young men, reporting voluntarily to be assigned to urgent tasks of reconstruction.



Purchasing Horses

The brilliant cavalry manoeuvres of General Budenny would have been impossible without good horses. The latter are carefully inspected and registered.



Revolutionary Songs

A chorus of trained voices leads the singing of revolutionary hymns at the unveiling of the Monument of Liberty, Soviet Square, Moscow, (see pictures of the Monument, page viii).

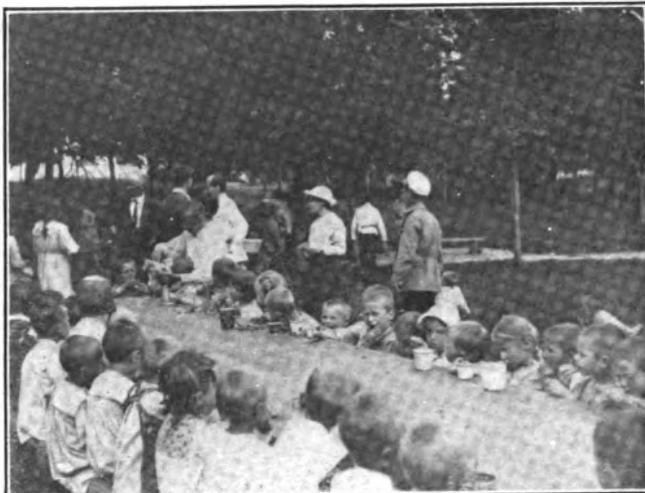
Religious Procession, Moscow

A scene on "Red Square", where so many victims of the Czars had bled. The Church of St. Basil is in the central background, with the Historical Museum on the right and the old Spassky Gates on the left.



Children Lunching

Tsarskoye Selo, formerly the summer home of the Czar's family, is now Dyetskoye Selo ("The Children's Town"), where all the splendid buildings have been converted into sanatoria and vacation-houses for children.



Children's Holiday, Pirogov County

The children of this community, not far from Moscow, are evidently gathered in one of their school-rooms to prepare for a parade and outing.

Out in the Country

After having listened to speeches and recitations, the children are marching with their banners over the country roads.





Church and People

The struggle of the Revolution evidently injured churches as well as other buildings, as may be inferred from the above photograph of a shell-scarred church near Moscow, but the other picture shows that the Soviet Government does not prevent religious processions. The scene is at the Nikolsk Gates, the Kremlin, Moscow.



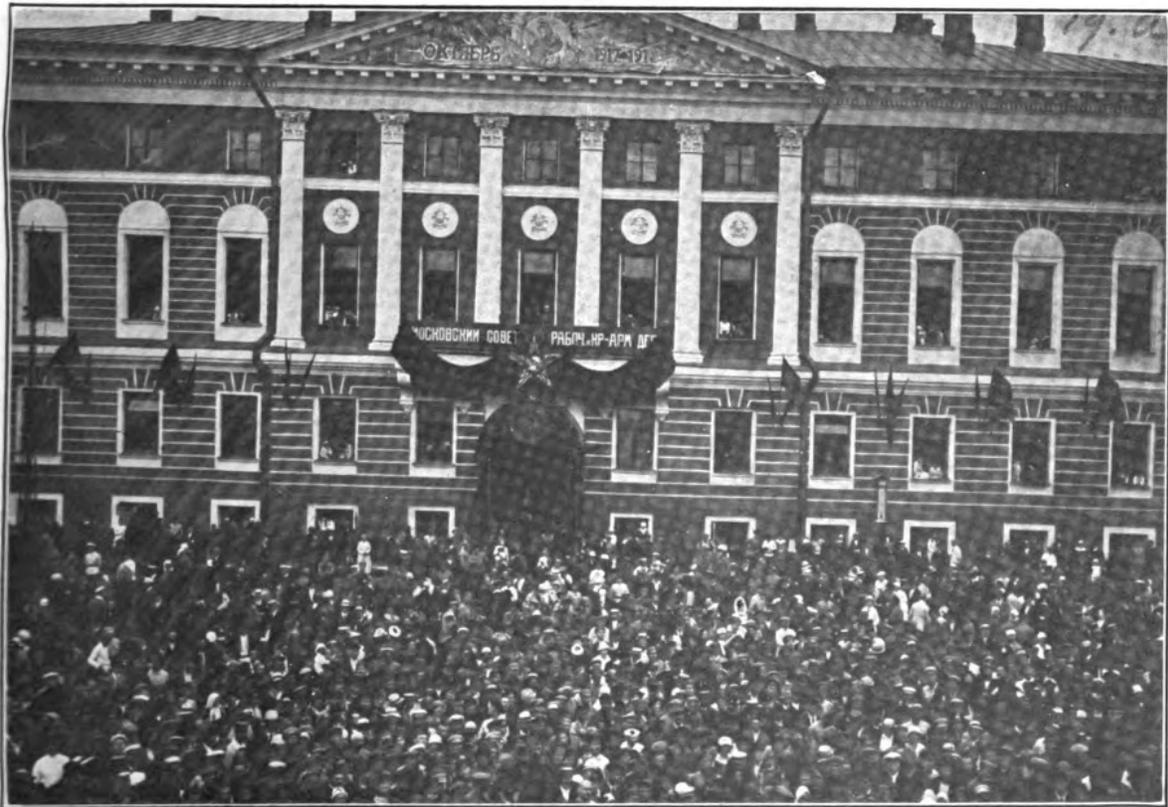
Peasants' Soviets, Moscow

A photograph of some of the sessions of the Congress of Poorer Peasants at Moscow; a discussion of the future of exploitation.



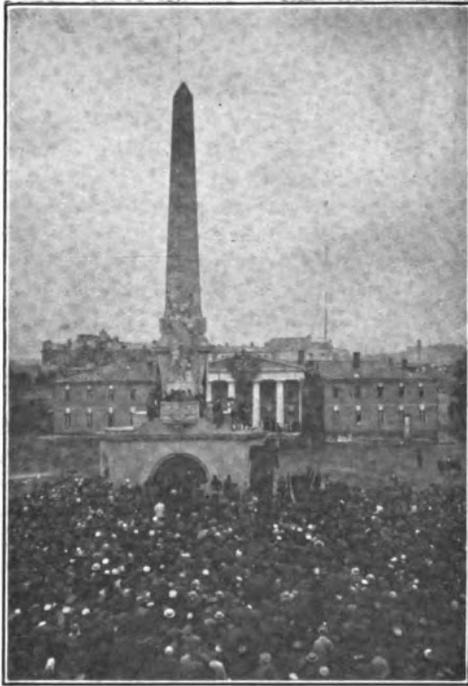
Kamenev Speaking, Moscow

A rally in Soviet Square, Moscow, in the spring of 1919, connected with the organization of the Red Army.



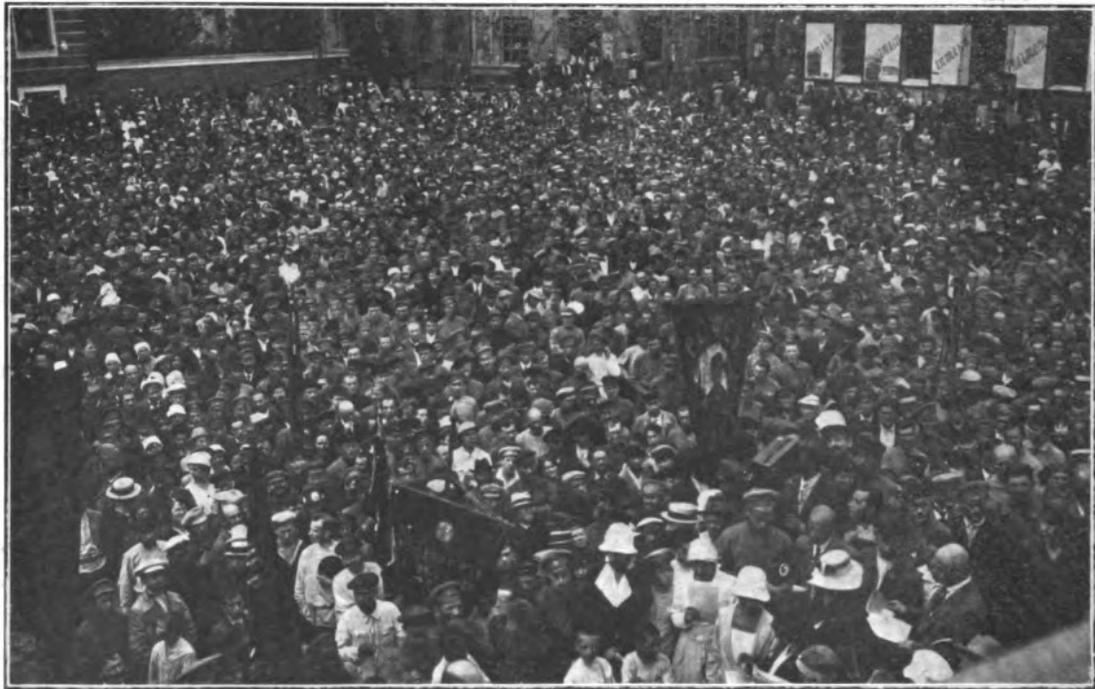
Unveiling a Monument

The crowds here shown are in front of the building of the Moscow Soviet of Workers' and Red Army Delegates, waiting for the unveiling of the Monument to Liberty (see next page). The red star of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic may be seen over the door of the building.



The Monument to Liberty

The Monument has recently been unveiled on Soviet Square. The detail picture shows that it is also equipped with a speaker's rostrum, bearing the seal of the Workers' Republic, with sickle and hammer crossed.



Another View of the Crowds at the Unveiling of the Monument.

the pink of propriety. If we stick in the mud of our old diplomacy much longer, the line will not run through Turkey, Persia and Kashgar, but through Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, and China. We cannot fight Eastern nationalism and liberalism with White terrors and black troops. Why should we let the Russians exploit all the true forces and facts of foreign relationships against us?"

Dissatisfied with "the tattle of refugee governesses, dished up in *Times* and *Morning Post* leaders," Professor Young went to Moscow to seek an explanation of this series of diplomatic successes. The explanation was not far to seek. Moscow acts, he found, "by common sense and in self-defense." He was somewhat surprised by the frankness of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. "How do you venture to tell me this?" he asked a Soviet official who had described a *coup* that was to come off the following week in Asia Minor to the confounding of British imperialism there. "Why not?" was the reply, "your people can't stop it, and they must be pretty stupid if they don't know what is going to happen. We, each of us, ought to know by now what is in the other's hand. We can lay our cards on the table because we know them to be better than yours."

A GREAT DEAL of adverse criticism has been directed by American editorial writers against the disfranchisement of clergymen by the Soviet Constitution. In this connection the following bit of constitutional history of the State of New York may be pertinent. The Constitution of the State of New York, adopted in 1777, just one year after the Declaration of Independence, contains the following provision (Section 39):

And whereas the ministers of the Gospel are by their profession dedicated to the service of God and the cure of souls, and ought not to be diverted from the great duties of their function; therefore, no minister of the gospel, or priest of any denomination whatsoever, shall at any time hereafter under any pretence or description whatever be eligible to or capable of holding any civil or military office or place within the State.

RUSSIAN PRISONERS IN GERMANY

QUEDLINBURG, GERMANY.—The first detachment of Russian prisoners of war, to the number of 600, have left the prison camp for their homes. For this reason solemn memorial services in honor of the dead took place Wednesday afternoon at the soldiers' graves in the parish cemetery. In closed procession, wearing mourning-crepes, and with a black flag, the Russians walked to the cemetery where several of their compatriots made addresses, interspersed with hymns and strains of mourning from a near-by chapel. After the services the Russians, wearing red insignia and with a red flag at the head of the procession, returned to the camp. On the graves were placed large quantities of flowers and wreaths.—From *Die Kommunistische Sturmglöcke*, June, 1920.

PORT REGULATIONS

Circular to all governments concerning entrance into the ports of the Soviet Republic in accordance with the naval command.

The following rules are established for the entrance of foreign vessels into the ports of the Soviet Republic.

First, for the Black Sea. Vessels arriving from the high seas must first, before entering, having come within ten miles of the port, inform the authorities of the port by wireless telegraph; next, at a distance of from three to five miles, make known by the international code signals the purpose of their arrival. At both times the vessels must ask the right of way, and the hours and local rules of entry into the port. If weather permits, foreign vessels will, upon their approach, be received by the coast-guard scouts, who will furnish them all necessary information with regard to entrance into the port. Only the port of Odessa is open to foreign vessels.

Second, for the White Sea. Entrance of foreign vessels is not authorized on the Murman coast in Pechenga and on the coast west of the Isle of Fishers, on the White Sea, in the Gulf of Kandalaksha, in the Gulf of Onega, at Kem, in the Solovetsky Isles, in the mouth of the Pechora. On the other hand there are open to them Murmansk, Archangel, Novaya Zemlya, continuing on the Sea of Kara, and at the mouths of the Obi and the Yenissei. It is established as a condition that they announce themselves at the right time. To inform by wireless the commandant of the naval forces, who will send to meet them a warship from Murmansk to the Cape Pogan, from Archangel to Mudtug. Foreign vessels can communicate by signal with the lighthouses of Voids-Guba, Tsypanovskii, Teriberka, Pogan, Sviatoi, Nos-Gorodetski, Orlovskii, Sosnovetski. The "flame" of the international code, placed above the disk, indicates—free passage; under the disk—indicates entrance only with a Russian military pilot. The same "flame" under the cone with an apex indicates—possible, await arrival of a Russian war vessel. Hoisted between two disks it signifies—anchor until further orders.

Third, for the Baltic Sea. Rules for approach to the Russian coasts will be given out after the completion of dredging operations.

People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,

CHICHERIN.

Commandant of Naval Forces,

NEMITS.

June 7, 1920.

ENGLISH GUNS FOR WRANGEL

COPENHAGEN, July 8, 1920.—The counter-revolutionary Russian paper *Golos*, published in the Crimea, announces the arrival in Sebastopol of a steamship from England with 12,000 machine-guns, among them being 9,000 of Vickers pattern.

Soviet Russia and Turkey

[An indication of Soviet Russia's readiness to live at peace with governments that are not based on Communism will be found in the following interesting items from the negotiations between the present government of Turkey and Russia. The two items are: 1, a wireless message from Chicherin to Kemal Pasha, with suggestions of the conditions on which the Turkish Government should make peace with foreign countries, offering the assistance of the Russian Soviet Government as mediator; 2, a clipping from a London newspaper of recent date, reporting the progress of direct negotiations, at Moscow, with Turkey.]

NOTE TO TURKEY

Note addressed June 4 by Chicherin through the offices of the representative of the new Ottoman government to the President of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey at Angora, Mustafa Kemal Pasha:

"To the President of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. The Soviet Government has the honor of acknowledging receipt of the letter in which you express the desire of entering into regular relations with it, and taking part in the common war against the foreign imperialism which menaces the two countries. It is with satisfaction that the Soviet Government has taken cognizance of the fundamental principles of the foreign policy of the new government of Angora.

"These principles are: First, the declaration of the independence of Turkey. Second, the inclusion in the Turkish State of territories incontestably Turkish. Third, the proclamation of Arabia and Syria as independent states. Fourth, the decision taken by the Grand National Assembly to allow Turkish Armenia, Kurdistan, the territory of Batum, Oriental Thrace, and all the territories of Turco-Arab population, to decide their own destiny. The government naturally understands by this that a free referendum will take place in the countries with the participation of the refugees and emigrants previously obliged to leave their country for reasons independent of their wishes, and who will have to be repatriated. Fifth, the granting to the minor nationalities of the territories forming part of the new Turkish state, having at its head the Grand National Assembly, of all the rights allowed minor nationalities in the most liberal states of Europe. Sixth, the reference of the question of waterways to a conference of the states bordering on the Black Sea. Seventh, the abolition of the conventions and economic control of foreign states. Eighth, the abolition of zones of foreign influence of every kind.

"The Soviet Government takes cognizance of the desire of the Grand National Assembly to conform your labors and your military operations directed against the imperialist governments to the noble ideal of the liberation of oppressed peoples. The Soviet Government hopes that diplomatic pourparlers will permit the Grand National Assembly to establish between Turkey on one side and Armenia and Persia on the other side, exact frontiers determined by justice and the right of peoples to decide their destiny. The Soviet Government is always ready, upon the invitation of the interested parties, to act as mediator.

"In order to bring about amicable relations and enduring friendship between Turkey and Russia, the Soviet Government proposes immediately to enter into diplomatic and consular relations. The Soviet Government extends the hand of friendship to all the peoples of the world, remaining invariably faithful to its principle of recognizing the right of all to dispose of their destiny. The Soviet Government is following with the greatest interest the heroic struggle which the people are undergoing for their independence and sovereignty, and in the present painful days for Turkey she is happy to establish a firm foundation for the friendship which ought to unite the nations of Turkey and Russia.

"In bringing to your knowledge the above, Mr. President of the Grand National Assembly, I have the honor in the name of the people of the Federated Republic of Workers and Peasants, to offer you our wishes for the success of the peoples of Turkey fighting for their independence."

People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,
CHICHERIN.

NEGOTIATIONS AT MOSCOW

Moscow, July 6.—In an interview I have had with Djemal Pasha, who was formerly Governor of Syria, and was Turkish Minister of Marine during the war, he made the definite statement to me that

Last January a British Emissary visited Enver Pasha in Germany, and made a proposal to him for an alliance with Enver, Talaat, Djemal and the Turkish Nationalists. This alliance was to assume the form of armed aid for the anti-Soviet forces to be sent into Russia.

The British Emissary spoke on behalf of Lloyd George and the Secretary for India, and went so far as to invite Enver to London.

The latter discussed the matter with the Turkish group in Germany, and it was decided that, while they wanted the Turkish Nationalist aims recognized, nevertheless they were not justified in interfering in Russian affairs, nor was it politic to do so.

Turning to other subject, Djemal expressed his hope to see the creation of an independent Armenia.

He maintains that racial difficulties in Asia Minor were due to the old czarist policy of rousing one nationality against the other. Shortly after the Balkan War, Russia urged reforms in Armenia. Fearing Russian interference at that time, Turkey developed a scheme of creating three large provinces in Asia Minor covering the mixed populations. The scheme was submitted to Britain, who was asked to recommend inspector-generals and experts to help to govern the new provinces.

This verbal proposal was accepted, but when a written proposal was handed to the British Foreign Office, the answer was a refusal, on the ground that Russia would not approve—a happy example of old-school diplomacy.

Saturdayings in the Villages

By L. SOSNOVSKY

THE importance of the saturdayings as a means of training the proletarians in the direction of communism is at present generally recognized. And their importance as a school in the organization of collective mass labor is not disputed, though not appraised at its full value.

More important from this standpoint is the use of saturdayings in the villages, among the politically and culturally backward peasants, where the individualistic, private property conceptions are particularly strong, offering great resistance to the new—communistic—conceptions.

Unfortunately, there is no record of the saturdayings in the villages. The party organizations do not give the saturdayings the serious attention which they merit. They are still looked upon as demonstrations. And who would bother to keep a record or make a study of demonstrations?

We are therefore forced to make use of accidental data. On looking over a few dozen provincial Soviet newspapers, I got the impression that the idea of the saturdayings has gotten quite a firm foothold in the villages. From the Archangel forests to the steppes of the Turgay region and the Yenisseisk province, not to mention the central provinces,—everywhere the saturdayings are mentioned. As a general rule, the village saturdayings are not directed by the city, but are organized by the peasants themselves, according to their own plans.

The only part in which the directing arm of the capital is still shown, is the tilling of the Red soldiers' fields, through the saturdayings. And even this is rather a compromise. The tilling of the soldiers' fields is *obligatory*, according to the decrees. And in this way the burden is placed upon the *volunteer* participants of the saturdayings, that is, first of all, on the communists and the sympathizing poor peasants. At any rate, the spread of the saturdayings has greatly advanced the work of aid to the soldiers' families. All reports mention not only the tilling of fields, but also the repairing of houses and implements.

Particularly noteworthy in the list of saturdaying works is the service for schools. Repairs on school buildings, cleaning, the storing of wood for the winter, the ploughing of the school garden—such is an incomplete list of the various tasks. A remarkable feature of the saturdayings is the participation of the teachers, who are sometimes even the initiators of the saturdayings. This was not the case before.

But, most of all, the saturdayings are devoted to the improvement of the unattractive surroundings. Here is a brief summary of the work for the First of May and for the week of the labor front only for one volost (Lenin volost, of Koliazin County—province of Tver).

"During the week for the labor front and the First of May saturdayings, 130 bridges were put

up in the volost, whose total length is 1,050 feet, and in addition the Votrin bridge of 175 feet.

"Ditches were dug for approximately fifteen versts, an average of about 1/14 verst for each village.

"Roads were repaired for over thirty versts, an average of a little over two versts for each village.

"This does not include the smaller scale work—the loading of wood on twenty-three carts, public tilling, etc."

The Cheliabinsk newspaper *Sovietskaya Pravda*, contains a summary of the work for the labor front week for a whole county. In forty-two volosts (townships) of Kurgan county, 35,262 men and 27,441 horses participated in the work during the week.

Repaired: seventy-three mills, twenty-six schools, 364 soldiers' houses, 201 storage places, fourteen oil mills, 183 bridges, twenty-two dams, 914 carts, 684 ploughs, 1,029 harrows; made—102 axes, 145 axes.

Mended: 1,954 pairs of boots, 1,035 pairs of shoes, 1,613 harnesses, 1,274 cart-seats.

Cleaned: 7,940 yards, 382 streets, and moved out 44,489 wagon loads of garbage.

Chopped 7,945 feet of wood and moved 6,055 feet; ground 13,450 poods of grain, and loaded and sent away 12,000 poods; brought in 8,000 pieces of timber; moved out 30,000 wagon-loads of straw, hay, ice, pulp and brush-wood.

The newspaper adds that similar work, though not so well recorded, was performed also in other counties of the province.

Let the reader ponder on these figures, this varied work, and chiefly on the expedient selection of the work. This list shows, firstly, what divers wants have accumulated in the villages for the last few years. Only great collective effort can save the villages from this situation.

Starting with the above mentioned work on bridges, mills, schools, oil-mills, storage places, roads, etc., the peasants will be led by experience to the socialization of the basic economic process—the exploitation of the soil.

The total figures are very considerable. This will be admitted by everybody who has been in touch with the Russian peasants during the last (after-war) years.

And this for but one week!

Let there be more such weeks, properly organized, directed by the party, and linked with a sensible propaganda of communism. No agitation—by speech or press—could compare in results with this agitation by actual creative work.

Try, for instance, to keep step with the agitation of the Red soldiers of the Fifth Army, who, in undeveloped Siberia, beyond Krasnoyarsk, effected in one day—the First of May—the electrification of the village of Sukhobuzimskoye.

The communist unit of the Fifth Army initiated

this idea, formulated a detailed plan of work and executed it in military fashion.

On April 29 a motor, dynamo, tools, and a group to prepare poles were sent ahead from the city. On the next day a detachment of Red soldiers departed with music. On the morning of the First of May the detachment, at a given signal, took up their places in the village and started to work. They erected poles, put up wires, attended to the interior wiring, and mounted the motor and dynamo.

During this time the educational unit and the agitators were holding several meetings in the neighboring villages.

At six o'clock in the afternoon the work was completed. A special commission examined the work and saw that everything was in proper order. In the evening, at the conclusion of a meeting where the significance of collective labor was explained to the peasants, the light was turned on. Later in the evening a play was staged for the peasants in the club-house, which was illuminated by electric light. Altogether, light was provided for eighty houses, for the school, the headquarters of the Revolutionary Committee and for the club-house.

On the next day two addresses of appreciation were presented to the Red soldiers in the name of the peasants.

Such is the result of one day of volunteer collective labor. The electrification of the village of Sukhobuzimskoye is a miniature anticipation of the bright future which awaits the country after we shall have overcome the main obstacles on our road.

In order to overcome these difficulties, it is necessary to attract the peasants to the common work, to awaken them to a conscious attitude toward the general work of reconstruction, to arouse the villages to volunteer collective labor, preparatory to the coming universal obligatory service—and the saturdayings in the villages are of great value for this purpose.

The saturdayings departments attached to the committees of the Russian Communist Party must become efficient, practical organs, must be in touch with the committees on labor service and must give particular attention to the development of volunteer labor in the villages.

This is one of the methods through which communism will make its way into the villages.—*Pravda*, June 6, 1920.

THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS AT DORPAT

The first session of the peace negotiations at Dorpat began Saturday at 11.45 A. M. Both delegations were present in a body, with secretaries, experts, stenographers, and newspaper representatives. The meeting was opened by the chairman of the Russian delegation, Bersin, who stated that it was not the fault of Soviet Russia that the conference was holding its first meeting two and a half years after the proclamation of the independence of Finland, and expressed his joy that

the representatives of the two countries had at last met to clear up misunderstandings and create new relations. The chairman of the Finnish delegation expressed his thanks to the government of Esthonia for the hospitality it had afforded by allowing the negotiations to proceed on Esthonian territory. He stated that the aim of the negotiations was the creation of a foundation for political and economic relations between Finland and Russia which should last for a long time to come, and that this aim would be reached if, in addition to consideration of the historical and judicial facts of the past, the ideas of justice and self-determination of the peoples are laid down as leading principles. Numerous questions which had arisen during the time when Russia and Finland were united, as well as later ones, require solution. As for instance, the question of the territory between the northern boundary of Finland and the Arctic Ocean, to which Finland has an old historic right, derived from former times. The demand of the people of East Karelia to decide their political future for themselves, in accordance with the right of self-determination of peoples, must be taken up during these negotiations. The speaker expected happy results from the conference, if these principles were adhered to and impartially applied to the questions pending between Finland and Russia.—*Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, June 14, 1920.

Just Off the Press!

I

Two Years of Soviet Russian Foreign Policy (1917—1919)

By GEORGE CHICHERIN

Gives a complete account of all the negotiations between the Russian Soviet Government and all foreign countries, for the two years beginning November 7, 1917, and ending November 7, 1919.

Price Ten Cents

II

The Protection of Labor in Soviet Russia

By S. KAPLUN
of the Commissariat of Labor

This pamphlet, reprinted for the first time from an English translation that appeared in Petrograd this year, is an authoritative study of the actual operation of the Code of Labor Laws, which has already been reprinted by us in pamphlet form.

Price Ten Cents

SOVIET RUSSIA

Room 304

110 West 40th Street

New York, N. Y.

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Official Communications of the Soviet Government

ECONOMIC SITUATION IN SOVIET RUSSIA

1287. April 20, 1920.

LENIN'S SPEECH AT TEXTILE CONGRESS

The congress, at the proposal of the president, gave an ovation to Lenin on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of his birth. Lenin greeted the congress in the name of the Council of People's Commissars. He recalled to the audience the resolutions adopted by the last Communist Congress, especially those which concern the intensification of production and working discipline. Lenin invited all the workers in the textile industry to the labor front. In this branch, as in others, the situation is difficult. Russia must depend upon this industry if no cotton should be obtained from Egypt nor America, but only from Turkestan, in addition to which the ways of communication must be improved at all costs. The question of fuel must also be solved by the exploitation of peat-bogs. Peat constitutes the salvation of Russia in the matter of fuel. There are rich peat deposits near the textile factories, and the workers of these factories must be the first to exploit them in this way surmounting all difficulties and sacrifices. On the bloody front which the Red soldiers have held in water and mud, they have known how to carry off victory even under these conditions. On the labor front no task should be beyond our strength. Whoever yields is not a communist. The capitalists place their greatest hopes in our weakness. They hope that the Russian workers will become professional reformers of the old style. They wish to destroy all our production. The moment of the greatest and most severe trial has come. Every worker should repeat the deeds of prowess achieved on the front by every Red soldier. And these deeds will be one hundred times more profitable than the latter. We must be victorious. Down with the old trade unionism. Happily, the textile workers have maintained the proletarian enthusiasm with which they will repeat on the front of labor the miracles which have given victory to the Red Army. The congress resolved to distribute Lenin's speech widely among the members. The reports read at the meeting in the evening show that energetic measures have been taken for the transport of eight million poods of cotton, available in Turkestan. One hundred and fifty locomotives and six thousand cars will be repaired to this end, with the collaboration of the textile factories. The directing commission of water-ways promises to transport an important part of these supplies by the Caspian, Astrakhan and the Volga. Six great textile enterprises are already undertaking the repair of locomotives.

AGRICULTURE

The general policy of the Commissariat of Agriculture aims at increasing the amount of surface under cultivation. To this end, the committees of the districts and the cantons of the province of

Saratov have organized extraordinary commissions to assure the cultivation of all available land. Moreover, the provincial agrarian section is organizing cultivation by the State with the aid of the labor army. Throughout the Republic and Soviet Ukraine, shops are being multiplied for the repair of plows and agricultural implements in general. In numerous provinces an increase is observed in the number of agricultural communes. Thus, in the single province of Saratov, sixty-four new associations for communal cultivation have been established in the month of March. Likewise, there are four hundred and sixty-seven communes and associations for communal cultivation in the provinces. In the province of Nizhni-Novgorod there has been declared an agricultural week, in the organization of which are taking part all the instructors and students of the agricultural faculty, and the communist committees. The Council of National Economy has sent into the country forty-six experts for the repair of agricultural implements. The cultivation of the land of all the mobilized is assured.

WORKING MONTHS IN THE URALS

During the first six days of the working month, production in the mines of Cheliabinsk increased about seventy per cent. The workers in certain enterprises have spontaneously fixed a day of from ten to twelve hours. New excavators will shortly be put into operation. The machinery abandoned by the Whites has been returned to Cheliabinsk. The speed of trains has been restored to that of peace times, for example thirteen hours between Omsk and Cheliabinsk. The enthusiasm for work has taken possession even of the country districts, and everywhere the orders of the day establish spontaneously a working day of from nine to twelve hours. Bridges and roads are repaired, and the stocks of provisions demanded by the center are entirely made up. The peasants bring their grain to the railroad stations.

In the zone of the first labor army, with its center at Yekaterinburg, sixty-six railway bridges have been rebuilt since the creation of this labor army.

INDUSTRIAL RENAISSANCE

In the region of Krasnoyarsk, the construction has been undertaken of an immense metallurgic factory, capable of working each year seventy-five million poods of metal with blast furnaces and Martens ovens for the manufacture of coke and the extraction of carbon or metals. Studies on a large scale are being carried on in the minor deposits of the region. Expert Russian and foreign engineers have been attached to the enterprise.

The Council of National Economy of the province of Tambov has sent to the bureau of the Supreme Council of National Economy a report, in twelve articles, on all the manufactures of the

province for the month of March, the leather industry, building, textiles, automobile repairs, manufacture of preserves, paper, forestry, etc.

COAL

Extraction of coal in the Moscow basin has increased by about six hundred thirty thousand poods from February to March. At Kizal, in the Urals, there was an increase of about fifty-four per cent. Everywhere there is evident improvement in the mines.

THE LABOR ARMIES

The first labor army during the first twenty-five days of March furnished more than three thousand highly qualified workers to the principal factories in the Urals.

RAILROADS

At Kharkov the railway construction shops are operating at maximum capacity. During the last fifteen days, two new locomotives have been constructed and three major repair operations completed, exclusive of the repair of numerous trains, six camion automobiles, two light automobiles, etc.

On the Volga-Bugulma line the trains are now accomplishing in forty-eight hours the trip which recently took eleven days.

On the Alexandre line working production is on a constant increase throughout the system. Days of idleness are diminishing in number and the workers are spontaneously instituting supplementary working hours.

1300. April 22, 1920.

CHEMICAL INDUSTRY

The Supreme Council of National Economy is organizing into a single group all the enterprises for the manufacture of oxygen and acetylene. The purpose is to develop these manufactures.

The production of potash in the province of Saratov is expected this year to reach seventy thousand poods instead of the twenty-two thousand of last year.

FUEL

An article in *Pravda* points out the excellent results obtained by the use of peat coke, already employed for two years on the Alexander line and in two or three factories in Moscow. This coke can be used with advantage for the forge and without inconvenience for the foundry. It may be obtained either by rudimentary processes, as coke is obtained from wood, by the means of kilns, or pits, or by the use of special coke ovens.

TRANSPORTATION

The resumption of transports is proceeding rapidly on the Southern lines. In the month of March five hundred and thirty locomotives and fourteen hundred and ten complete cars underwent capital and lesser repairs. The organization of the work also has made enormous progress.

The report of the commissar of the third sector of the Kazan line, that is, in the region of Murom, indicates general and significant improvement in all the services. Orders are executed with mili-

tary precision, loading attains the fixed figure and even surpasses it sometimes. Idleness has disappeared. During the "week of the front" four hundred sixty-eight seriously damaged locomotives were repaired in addition to routine repairs.

In *Pravda*, Arski points out that in the first week of April in the entire system of Russia the number of cars loaded and unloaded has exceeded the figure fixed and reaches sixteen thousand one hundred and ninety-five, an increase of fifteen hundred over the preceding week. Similarly, the time that the cars stand idle has diminished considerably, being reduced to three days at Moscow, for example, instead of four days at the end of March. The results are insufficient, but incontestable.

A NEW BRIDGE

On the 29th of March, several hours before the break-up of the ice on the Volga, a bridge was opened on the Savielovo-Kaliazin-Kachin line, which is under construction. This event must be noted as the first example since the revolution of a bridge newly built on caissons. Construction, begun in 1917, was resumed in the winter of 1918, and has just been completed, thanks to the extraordinary energy of the workers and the technical personnel, who worked as much as fourteen hours a day to insure completion at the moment of the breaking up of the ice. This bridge is the shortest route between Moscow and the rich forests of the province of Cherepovets and the districts north of the province of Tver. Thus the Soviet Republic not only repairs the destruction wrought by the Whites, but also enriches the country with absolutely new roads and works.

May 2, 1920.

ECONOMIC SITUATION

Bukharin compares the economic situation with that in which the Soviet Republic has been from a military point of view. "On the laboring front the proletariat inherited the same ruins as in the army. The old regime of labor was nothing more than a mass of filth and debris. The first step of the workers to piece together the little that remained was the communist Saturdays. They constituted on the laboring front that which the Red Guard was formerly. The communist Saturdays embraced all Russia. There were seen to appear detachments of volunteers or partisans fighting sometimes heroically on the laboring front. Then the Soviet power accomplished the next step in realization of universal obligatory labor. The corresponding decree plays the same role as the decree for the formation of the Red Army. Since, then, we possess the necessary form, it is necessary that we place in it a content worthy of it. We must obtain the power of enthusiasm for work indispensable to overcome the crisis. We must understand the necessity for an implacable war, a regular war on the laboring front. We are already on our way. The enthusiasm for work is in process of being born. The masses understand their

duty more and more. Thus we see the regular labor army being created at this moment."

INDUSTRIAL AWAKENING

At Petrograd the Council of National Economy has ordered all enterprises to furnish for the 5th of May a detailed report of the products manufactured by them and the quantity of fuel utilized.

The extraordinary commission for the repair of rolling stock has noted a considerable increase in the production of the shops of the Northwest system at Petrograd. They are making repairs with great success and send locomotives to the central shops only in exceptional cases.

Recently the San Galli factory at Petrograd was still scarcely operating. It is now in full swing and its production is increasing. It is repairing the bodies of locomotives and cars, manufacturing hatchets and all kinds of material for hospitals, etc., with the same number of workers. The weight of metal worked has tripled between February and April. In the same period the value of the articles manufactured has also tripled. The factory is directed practically by a workingman president and an engineer.

The Kalinkin brewery at Petrograd has been shut down since the Yudenich invasion, when all the workers were obliged to take arms to repulse the enemy at the gates of the capital. Now it is again operating for the manufacture of starch.

A factory has just been organized at Petrograd for the production of turpentine essence. This manufacture is absolutely new for Petrograd.

RAILWAYS

In an article in which he indicates that the situation remains serious, and in which he urges the proletariat to redouble their efforts, Krumin notes that the average number of cars, loaded each day on the Soviet railway system has nevertheless increased about twenty-three per cent between January and March.

TRADE UNIONS

At Petrograd has just been held a full meeting of the council of trade unions, the purpose of which is to put into practice the last resolutions adopted by the communist congresses, as reenacted by the congresses of trade unions.

THE GRATEFUL PROLETARIAT

Under this title Krizhanovski describes the vast horizons which are opening to agricultural and industrial Russia, thanks to the communist regime. This article, written by one of the first engineering specialists of Russia, the creator of the ambitious plan for the electrification of the entire country, and president of the commission designated for its realization, is a symbol of the union which now exists between the scientific forces and the Soviet Government. Krizhanovski recalls that the productivity of a hectare of Russian soil is from three to six times inferior to that of a hectare in other countries. The imbecile enemies of the Soviet power reproach it because Russia now suffers from hunger, while formerly she nourished Europe. It

is true that Russia exported a fourth of her crops, but it was at the expense of her people. The proletariat and the peasant know this truth by experience. Since 1880, famine has been a recurrent phenomenon of Russian life. Extensive cultivation on an exhausted soil had become insufficiently remunerative, and the Russian peasant was obliged to emigrate to the virgin lands of Siberia. This was the case until October, 1917, when the proletariat came to the aid of the peasant. Then the peasants received two hundred and two million hectares of land of the nobles or of the crown, and were freed from a redemption tax of from four hundred to four hundred and fifty million rubles per year. Now the proletariat is preparing to give the peasants their liberty, by no means the liberty understood by the ruling classes, but rather the liberation of the man from all the debasing influence of toil, from perpetual care for his daily bread, from fear of the morrow, from stupid submission to nature. The liberty given by the proletariat to the peasants will be the destruction of ignorance, of misery; it will be the firm and sure step of the man who knows why and how it is necessary to act, it will be the domination of the forces of nature. To deliver the villages from ignorance it was necessary to destroy the privileged classes. The proletarian alone is interested in having the peasant enlightened, for then only does he become his friend and ally. But this ambitious program cannot be attained by ordinary means. Fifteen years will be necessary to repair the loss of horses in the war. Fifteen years are needed to repair the ordinary agricultural materials of peasant exploitation. To repair the ruins of the great catastrophe which has put an end to capitalism it is necessary then to employ new methods. Agriculture cannot get out of its impasse except by the support of industry. A profound and attentive mechanization of agriculture is a fundamental condition for Russian crops. Thanks to the communist regime, this ideal is capable of realization. We shall be the witnesses of the gigantic rivalry between powerful tractors and rapid electrical ploughs. Electrical energy will also play an essential part in technical cultivation, such as that of flax. Electrical current will set in motion all kinds of contrivances, facilitating the care of cattle, the manufacture of milk products, etc. Already, following upon their revolutionary experiences, the Russian people are making colossal progress. Their pacific and military alliance with the proletariat is showing itself more plainly each day. In the near future we shall see new progress towards a superior conscience and quality of human labor. The new model worker will rapidly assimilate the principles of agriculture and electrotechnical theory and practice, and will himself know how to use to his profit the electrical energy which is available in the peat deposits or in the rivers. Already the Russian peasant is demanding electric light for his homes and electric motors for his mills. Henceforth famine has ceased to dominate the Russian land. But the scientific

cultivation of the soil was not possible until the day the proletariat put an end to the arbitrary egoism of the petty proprietors, discovered the riches of the soil and the treasures of science and consecrated all its governmental forces to the service of the workers.

1441. May 4, 1920.

ELECTRIFICATION

The question of the electrification of the Donetz basin is on the way to realization. The entire plan will be executed in two or three seasons. Work on the construction of the electric stations in the Valdai lakes has passed the preparatory phase and will be completed next summer. The Supreme Council of National Economy has given orders to the effect that the commands necessitated by night work be executed immediately.

RAILROADS

The factories and shops of the Petrograd railways have in the month of March made capital repairs upon twenty-one locomotives and nine hundred and ninety-five cars as against twenty locomotives and six hundred and seven cars the preceding month.

On the Tomsk line traffic has doubled since the power of the Soviets was established. The park of locomotives is henceforth sufficient. Coal is furnished by the mines of Andjer Sudja Temirov, which are constantly increasing their production. The situation is improving every day.

COTTON FROM TURKESTAN

Several train-loads of cotton are en route from Turkestan to Samara and Moscow as well as the industrial centers of the Volga.

FOOD

The Council of People's Commissars publishes a fundamental decree and proceeds with long discussions and studies regulating the whole food question. "In order to assure a more intelligent distribution of food products among the working population of the cities, the industrial centers, and the non-agricultural population of the country, in order to increase the capacity for work and productivity, the Council of People's Commissars has decided, first, to distribute food products among the working population in conformity to a uniform system for the whole republic, the distributions being calculated according to the number of days of effective work or of legal inactivity. There will be distinguished among the workers the following groups: first, manual workers in Soviet enterprises, second, intellectual workers or those in the office of Soviet institutions; third, workers in private enterprises not exploiting the work of others. The relative proportion of rations between the first and second groups will be composed by the Commissariat of Provisioning, in accord with the Commissariat of Labor and the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions." The remaining articles of the decree anticipate the particular cases regarding invalids, the unemployed, children, the families of the mobilized, and the medical personnel during periods of epidemic.

THE NEXT ISSUE

of

SOVIET RUSSIA

Will Contain, Among Other Features, the Following:

1. TRANSPORTING NAPHTHA FROM THE CAUCASUS, by U. Larin.
2. BERTRAND RUSSELL IN RUSSIA. *An attempt at a sympathetic understanding of the well-known English pacifist's impressions of conditions under the Soviet Government.*
3. REGULAR WEEKLY MILITARY REVIEW, by Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek.
4. BOOK REVIEWS. *A number of books on Soviet Russia will be described and judged.*
5. NEW OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS, *including short decrees and a wireless message of July 10 to the Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mirza-Firouz.*

Ten Cents at all News Stands

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